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Summer 2017

# An Examination of the Integral Support of His Father's Family for the Royal Aspirations and Maintenance of the Crown of King Henry VII

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## Recommended Citation

Rea, Kyle W., "An Examination of the Integral Support of His Father's Family for the Royal Aspirations and Maintenance of the Crown of King Henry VII" (2017). *Honors Research Projects*. 575.

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*An Examination of the Integral Support of His Father's Family for the Royal Aspirations and  
Maintenance of the Crown of King Henry VII*

*An Honors History Thesis by: Kyle Rea*

There has been extensive work done studying the life of King Henry VII. He was a person of supreme importance during a particularly volatile time in English history; therefore, study of his life is extremely important to posterity. In 1502 Bernard Andre, who was tutor to Arthur Prince of Wales and a noted monk and court poet to the Tudor dynasty wrote a biography of Henry VII. Sir Francis Bacon also wrote a history of Henry VII during the reign of Queen Elizabeth I where he drew a historical narrative of the circumstances of Henry VII's life and reign.<sup>1</sup> More recently S.B. Crimes wrote an extensive biography on Henry VII as did Sean Cunningham.<sup>2</sup> Their works served to create a strong narrative of Henry VII's life. These works used primary sources such as letters and historical narratives written during his life. The fundamental difference between my research and theirs, is that I argue that the Welsh support which Henry VII was able to acquire due to his father's family was indispensable to his reign as King of England. Throughout this work, I will cite frequent connections between events in his life and the support he gained as a result of his father's family.

The primary sources which I will be using here are various documents which were written by contemporaries of Henry Tudor or Henry Tudor himself, such as charter rolls, parliamentary records and historical letters. I will also be heavily relying upon Polydore Virgil who was a royalist historian of Henry VII and later Henry VIII. He penned a grand narrative of the lives of Edward IV, Richard III and Henry VII which proved to be invaluable in the pursuit of

this thesis. His work largely favored the Tudor family because they were his patrons. Because of the bias this source will be viewed critically in order to glean what information is subjective to his opinion and which information displays a truly objective response. Bernard Andre's *Life of Henry VII*, was a significantly more biased source of purely royalist propaganda; however, Andre's bias will be acknowledged when necessary.

The paper will also utilize the *Life of Sir Rhys Ap Thomas* which was a series of articles about Sir Rhys Ap Thomas, first officially published in the *Cambrian Register* in 1796. This work was supposedly written by Henry Rice (who was a direct descendent) in 1635 as a result of his research into his familial history. This source presents a strong historical narrative of the events surrounding Henry VII in relation to his interactions with Sir Rhys Ap Thomas in Wales. An important caveat nevertheless must be acknowledged for the use of this source; it is certainly biased in Sir Rhys Ap Thomas' favor because the work praises him an innumerable amount of times. Since Henry Rice was allegedly the writer who penned it, he would naturally possess a strong incentive to glorify his direct ancestor. This source still retained value because it provided more information to support the overall argument. This source was also supported by the *History of the Gwydir Family* by Sir John Wynn which served to illustrate the history of the prominent Gwydir family that had connections to the events cited in the *Cambrian Register*. This source was first officially published in 1770 but was written by Sir John Wynne sometime in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century allegedly from painstaking research and primary documents. The overall conclusion of this thesis will be the necessity of the Welsh support in Henry VII's regal aspirations and a strongly definable link between this support and his overall success.

Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, was the last claimant to the throne of England who could be supported by Lancastrian adherents. He was, however, an extremely unorthodox candidate for the throne compared to the traditional Lancastrian candidates. The reason for this unorthodoxy was his ancestry. Henry Tudor was a man of divided heritage with only a faint claim to the Plantagenet line. Polydore Virgil reported that from his mother, Margaret Beaufort, he could claim descent from John of Gaunt, a son of King Edward III, through his mistress Katherine Swynford.<sup>3</sup> This was a precarious connection because Katherine Swynford's children were not recognized as legitimate claimants to the throne. Dubious as Henry Tudor's claim to the throne of England was from English succession laws which normally only permitted succession through legitimate lines, this was nevertheless the manner in which Henry Tudor claimed the throne of England. Through his patrilineal descent through his father, Edmund Tudor, he could claim descent from a prominent Welsh aristocratic family, the Tudors.<sup>4</sup> The Tudor family, while a strongly respected and old Welsh family, had absolutely no legitimate claim to the throne of England. Polydore Virgil reported that they claimed heritage from the legendary Welsh king Cadwaladr, who ruled in the 7<sup>th</sup> century but this had no viable connection with the English royal line.<sup>5</sup>

Despite the Tudor family possessing absolutely no claim to the English throne, Henry Tudor's connections that he was able to garner through his father's family would prove critical in the establishment and maintenance of his royal position as King of England. As a result of the influence gained through his father's family and his Welsh heritage Henry Tudor was able to make vital connections which enabled him to be able both to acquire and maintain the throne of England specifically through the direct intervention of key individuals who were able to

support Henry Tudor during critical events in his life. His uncle, Jasper Tudor would prove to be the most prominent supporter of Henry Tudor's regal enterprise. On numerous occasions Jasper Tudor's direct intervention would ensure that Henry Tudor was able to succeed with his endeavors and maintain his own survival. A prominent Welsh aristocrat with strong Tudor connections named Sir Rhys Ap Thomas would also serve to be a strong supporter of Henry Tudor in multiple situations and his direct intervention would also serve to support him before and during his reign.

In order to fully understand the political situation in Wales during Henry Tudor's invasion in 1485, some history is necessary to illustrate the fundamental relationship between England and Wales. Howell T. Evans presented a strong illustration of the status of Wales during the War of the Roses; he reported that the government of Wales was divided into marcher lordships whose lords had significant powers on their own lands because of the rebellious nature of Wales. This arrangement had its roots in the organization which King Edward I enacted for the Welsh government after he conquered Wales.<sup>6</sup> While Wales had turbulence throughout the entire English occupation, the 15<sup>th</sup> century was an especially volatile period. Following the defeat of Owain Glyndwr's rebellion in 1410 there was a significant backlash which came from England. In direct response to the rebellion there were a number of penal laws enacted which limited the Welsh from buying property, intermarrying with the English and created supreme difficulty with gaining status as English subjects.<sup>7</sup> It is noted by Evans that more prominent individuals such as members of the Thomas, Tudor, and Herbert families were able to avoid these difficulties by having English status granted to them, but for common Welsh there was still significant oppression.<sup>8</sup> In 1485 when Henry Tudor launched his invasion against

Richard III, Evans noted that most of the penal laws had fallen out of use due to the chaos of the War of the Roses; however Wales was still in a subordinate position to England.<sup>9</sup> The political situation was still divided between royal officials who ruled the country on behalf of the king and because of this arrangement they still possessed extreme personal power over their domains. Evans noted that with the penal laws and general oppressive nature, there was a great deal of resentment among the Welsh, particularly the common people.<sup>10</sup> This state of affairs suggested an extremely hostile relationship between the two countries. Because of its governmental structure and penal laws, Wales still resembled an occupied state in many ways. With this dangerous state of affairs and the subsequent great powers allotted to the rulers of Wales this meant that powerful lords such as the Duke of Buckingham, Sir Rhys Ap Thomas and Sir Walter Herbert possessed enough influence that their actions greatly affected the sequence of events during Henry Tudor's war against Richard III.

During King Henry VI's last rebellion, Polydore Virgil reported that Jasper Tudor Earl of Pembroke, uncle to the future King Henry VII and half-brother of King Henry VI, was a staunch supporter of Queen Margaret, the wife of Henry VI. Queen Margaret was one of King Henry VI's strongest supporters. Henry VI, who was a Lancastrian member of the House of Plantagenet, had been driven from his own kingdom in 1465 by King Edward IV, who was the Yorkist contender for the kingdom of England. In 1470 Edward IV was driven from the city of London and Henry VI was once again, very briefly declared king. This created a brief restoration which ignited a fresh conflict between the Yorkist and Lancastrian sides, once again. During this brief rebellion Queen Margaret raised support amongst the Lancastrian adherents to attempt to defeat Edward IV. Jasper Tudor was reported by Polydore Virgil to be a strong supporter of the

Lancastrian side. Despite the bias which Polydore Virgil had for the Tudor dynasty, Jasper Tudor's support of Henry VI can be safely assumed; since the king was his half-brother, Jasper Tudor had significantly more reason to support Henry VI over King Edward IV because he owed all his rank and position, including the Earldom of Pembroke, to him. Polydore Virgil reported that Earl Jasper accordingly marshalled forces to support Henry VI's rebellion against Edward IV.<sup>11</sup> The mustering of his troops did not succeed in assisting Henry VI because the rebellion was defeated before Earl Jasper was able to lend his support to Queen Margaret.<sup>12</sup>

Polydore Virgil reported that Henry VI was murdered in the tower of London in 1471.<sup>13</sup> It is interesting because Virgil reported that Richard Duke of Gloucester, later King Richard III was the one who allegedly killed Henry VI with his sword to spare his brother Edward IV the necessity of executing him.<sup>14</sup> This if taken as a true statement would lend more credibility to Henry Tudor because it would make Richard III a regicide. Since Virgil was a Tudor historian, this reference must be treated carefully. His portrayal of the death of Henry VI as murder aligns with the Lancastrian viewpoint. From a Yorkist perspective, Henry VI's death could be shown as merely the death of a dangerous usurper. Therefore, caution is needed when accepting Virgil's account of Henry VI's death as murder; nevertheless, Henry VI was dead and Edward IV had control of England.

Polydore Virgil reported that immediately following Henry VI's rebellion that the brutal murder of Edward of Westminister, Prince of Wales, who was the son of King Henry VI, occurred. Virgil stressed the cruelty of Edward IV in the execution of his cousin.<sup>15</sup> He described a scene where Edward IV had Prince Edward brought before him and after asking him why he had attacked him, he waved Prince Edward away and had him summarily executed by the

soldiers who were standing nearby.<sup>16</sup> Noting that Virgil was a Tudor historian, and writing to establish the Tudor dynasty, the general cruelty and brutality alleged against Edward IV for executing his cousin is subject to interpretation. This entire scene may have only served as a fabrication where Virgil saw the opportunity to condemn Edward IV while citing the alleged brutality of the murder of Prince Edward. Virgil's presentation of Edward IV as a cruel tyrant and vicious murderer adds weight to his general laudation of the House of Lancaster and condemnation of the House of York. Nevertheless, whatever the specific events of Prince Edward's death or Edward IV's personal reasons for ordering his execution, Edward the Prince of Wales was dead and there were no other Lancastrian male claimants left, except for Henry Tudor. Therefore, Earl Jasper was reported by Virgil to conjecture that his nephew's life was in danger; as a result, after the Lancastrian defeat Jasper Tudor took steps to ensure his nephew's survival.<sup>17</sup>

Virgil reported that once he knew that his nephew's life was in danger, Jasper Tudor brought his nephew to Brittany in 1471 and enlisted Duke Francis of Brittany's protection against Edward IV. The reasoning for this removal was illustrated in Bernard Andre's *Life of Henry VII* in letters which were written by Margaret Beaufort and Jasper Tudor to each other. These letters are not dated, however it could be assumed, because of the content of the letters that, they were written shortly before Earl Jasper departed for Brittany with his nephew.

Margaret Beaufort wrote to Earl Jasper:

If my son were to remain here with you, I do not know how much I might help him, especially since my lord and husband would not dare to resist with his might. It therefore seems better and safer to yield to the wrath and raving of the tyrant and go abroad. Perhaps your prudence would suggest that the towns and castles in Wales are the most formidable for repelling the enemy's attack. But in uncertain situations one



finds it difficult to know whom to trust. How often have we heard that those in whom the greatest trust was placed and who showed proper maternal instinct, had revolted? And unless my imagination or maternal instinct deceives me, the great distance of the sea will help us avoid all perils. I know that the hazards of the sea will be great, yet his life will be safer on the ocean's waves than in this tempest on land. But if it turns out otherwise, heaven protects him who has no burial urn. I would prefer that God keep him from harm rather than see him killed by the bloody sword of a tyrant. I have told you how matters appear to me so far but dear brother if you see anything more clearly than I do pray attend to it.<sup>18</sup>

This letter which was reported by Andre illustrated the impending danger noticed by Margaret Beaufort for her son if he remained in England. It must be taken with reserve because with consideration of Andre's agenda to write strongly in favor of the Tudor dynasty, the report is obviously biased. In addition, as someone who had experienced extreme difficulty with the Yorkist government, particularly because she viewed it necessary for her only son to leave England in order to remain safe, this letter also depicted significant bias from Margaret Beaufort against Edward IV. The fact that she did not even acknowledge her cousin Edward IV by name and instead used the word "tyrant" to describe him indicated that this letter was obviously written by someone who favored the Lancastrian cause and denounced the Yorkist one. However, even when acknowledging this information critically and recognizing the scathing verbiage used, this letter further illustrates the danger which Henry Tudor would be in if he remained in England and does support the idea that he did need to leave the country for his own safety. Jasper Tudor's response further illustrated the need for Henry Tudor to leave.

My prudent Lady and dear sister, you have discerned wisely in this calamitous time in foreseeing that we should follow some paths and avoid others. Indeed, you have considered everything so circumspectly and so astutely that almost nothing is left for me to add. So let me say only a word or two. Because of my love for you both, I shall gladly undertake this office, and shall take as good care of my nephew as if he were my own son.<sup>19</sup>

Jasper Tudor's choice of words, because he stated that he would take care of his nephew as if he were his own son, also depicted the strong concern for his nephew's livelihood. It should likewise be noted that Andre's decision to prominently include Jasper Tudor's pledge of protection for his nephew in this work illustrated that the fact that he played such a significant role in protecting his nephew during his youth was an acceptable subject for a work about Henry Tudor. Therefore, the very presence of this letter in Andre's work about Henry Tudor acknowledges that Henry Tudor himself would have reacted favorably to the statement which, in itself, further supports the point that he was under deep obligation to Jasper Tudor and therefore to his father's family.

Judging by Jasper Tudor's actions it can be inferred that he kept the promise he made to keep Henry Tudor safe because of his continuous intervention on his behalf throughout his life. If Jasper Tudor had not taken his nephew to Brittany, Henry Tudor would never have lived long enough to become a threat to the Yorkist cause. Jasper Tudor's arrangement with the Duke of Brittany would serve to protect his nephew throughout Henry Tudor's entire residence there. This would be illustrated a number of times.

The first instances of Henry Tudor's impending danger were shown in the multiple attempts which his cousin, King Edward IV made to acquire him. Polydore Virgil reported two separate occasions where he attempted this. The first time in 1472 was soon after Henry Tudor and Jasper Tudor landed in Brittany. Edward IV offered money and gifts to Duke Francis if he would release them. Virgil reported that Edward IV was extremely dismayed that they had been positively received by Duke Francis and felt strongly compelled to acquire Henry Tudor. Virgil

reported that Duke Francis declined to release Henry and Jasper Tudor to Edward IV because of the pledge of protection which he had made to them, but did promise to maintain them securely in his custody. Duke Francis was also granted an annuity by Edward IV for maintaining them.<sup>20</sup>

This created an interesting situation when reported by Polydore Virgil; earlier he maintained that Henry and Jasper Tudor were received by Duke Francis as if they were the Duke's own brothers and treated with all kindness and respect. This would suggest an altruistic motive for the Duke to take them into his custody. The fact that he received an annuity contradicts the fact that he selflessly received them. Virgil also reported that Duke Francis separated them once Edward IV began paying him an annuity and removed their English servants, replacing them with Breton ones instead. So Virgil clearly indicated that at this point Henry and Jasper Tudor were under a form of benign house arrest but nevertheless does claim that Duke Francis was unwilling to release them to Edward IV. Because of the wording he chose, Virgil clearly intended to report the Duke of Brittany's conduct in a positive way. He did not condemn Duke Francis for receiving an annuity or placing the Tudors under house arrest. This would suggest that Virgil did not view anything wrong with this situation, or it suggests that Henry Tudor had extremely positive feelings for Duke Francis and would not see him maligned. The particulars of the situation, whether the house arrest was truly benign or whether the welcome which Henry and Jasper Tudor received was actually as warm as Virgil reported, are subject to interpretation. However, whatever the particulars of the situation, the fact remained that Duke Francis, whether posed from a genuine concern for the Tudors or because he viewed

it as politically advantageous, did not release Henry and Jasper Tudor to Edward IV, and therefore kept his promise to Jasper Tudor.

The next time Edward IV attempted to acquire Henry Tudor was when he offered to marry Henry Tudor to one of his nieces in order to unite the Lancastrian and Yorkist lines of the royal family as a subterfuge to capture him. Polydore Virgil reported that:

King Edward having by these means pacified as well martial and civil causes, although by victory of so many battles he was accounted the happiest man of that age, who might now pass the rest of his life in most perfect peace and security, yet for as much as young Henry Earl of Richmond (the only ympe [scion] now left of King Henry VI blood) was yet on live, he adjudged this the only thing to disturb all his felicity, so that he lived as if in perpetual fear.<sup>21</sup>

This quote while again biased because it was conjecture written by a Tudor royal historian who could not have known what King Edward IV was thinking, nevertheless presents a strong desire by Edward IV to acquire Henry Tudor. In addition, because he did further attempt to gain custody of Henry Tudor, his actions did not run contrary to his alleged manner of thinking which was cited by Virgil. Virgil's phrase the "only ympe of King Henry VI's blood" is interesting because it further reinforces the fact that Henry Tudor was the last viable candidate for the Lancastrian party. It therefore adds legitimacy for Henry Tudor as the only possible heir to Henry VI because there were no other family members who could claim the Lancastrian inheritance. Since Virgil acknowledged the Yorkist claim to the English throne as illegitimate, this further adds credibility to Henry Tudor's claims.

Virgil reported that in 1474, Edward IV executed his plan to acquire Henry Tudor through subterfuge. This application to the Duke for custody is described in Virgil as follows:

Wherefore he determined yet once again to solicit Francis Duke of Brittany, with gift, promise and prayer, to betray that young earl into his hands, who he thought would then rather satisfy his desire, because all of King Henry VI's faction was by him in effect extinguished; and therefore he sent ambassadors in all haste to the duke, laden with great substance of gold and that his demands might seem more honest, he commanded them to tell the duke that he desired Earl Henry because he might make some match with him in marriage, by affinity whereof the roots of the adverse faction might be utterly pulled up....the Duke heard the ambassadors courteously and first began to deny and make many excuses why he might not lawfully do it. At the last wearied with prayer and vanquished with price, he delivered the earl to the ambassadors, commending him by his letters to King Edward, not supposing that he had committed the sheep to the wolf, but the son to the father, as one who thought that King Edward IV meant simply to marry with Henry, Elizabeth his eldest daughter.<sup>22</sup>

Virgil's report of this situation strongly illustrated the bias which Henry Tudor felt towards Duke Francis; his choice to indicate that the Duke was essentially duped by Edward IV showed that Henry Tudor did not condemn Duke Francis for releasing him. Nevertheless, whatever his personal reasons, Duke Francis initially did release Henry Tudor. Henry Tudor was sent to the coast of France to be delivered to Edward IV. After Henry Tudor had been released, Virgil reported that a nobleman of Brittany named John Chalet approached Duke Francis with concern for Henry Tudor since he thought he would be killed because he had been released to Edward IV. He engaged in a discourse with the Duke to present these concerns to him and the Duke argued that Henry Tudor was only being delivered so that he could be married to Edward IV's daughter Elizabeth of York. Chalet stated that this marriage was a false pretense for acquiring Henry Tudor and that Edward IV would kill him once he received him. Once the fact that Edward IV's offer was a ruse to kill Henry Tudor was brought to the Duke's attention, he immediately recalled Henry Tudor to his protection and intercepted him before he reached the coast of France.<sup>23</sup> Since he took measures to save Henry Tudor from his release, it is made clear that Duke Francis still honored the protection which Jasper Tudor solicited from him for his

nephew. This report by Virgil indicated the harrowing danger which Henry Tudor was in and his acknowledgement that it was the Duke's honor and goodwill towards Henry Tudor which caused him to recall his earlier decision further illustrated the debt which Henry Tudor owed to Jasper Tudor for his protection in Brittany.

Much later there would be more instances when other powers would attempt to acquire Henry Tudor. In 1483 the Duke of Brittany was under significant pressure from King Louis XI of France to release Henry Tudor to his custody. This was illustrated in a letter which was sent in August of 1483. The Breton ambassador George de Mainbier wrote to Richard III, requesting him to lend troops and support against King Louis XI.<sup>24</sup> He specifically stated:

In the like manner he shall say to the said king (Richard III) that King Louis XI of France, since the decease of the late prince of good memory King Edward IV, late deceased, has several times sent to the Duke (Duke Francis of Brittany) to pray and request him to deliver to him the Earl of Richmond his cousin and the said King Louis XI has made the Duke great offers; but the Duke has given him no inducement, fearing that the said King Louis XI would thereby create annoyance and injury to some of the friends and well-wishers of the Duke. In consequence of which the said King Louis XI gives great menaces to the Duke of making war upon him, and the appearances of it are great. Also he shall represent to the said King of England the great power of war, artillery and finances which the said King of France has, and the nearness of the said kingdom to the Duchy of Brittany, the two lands joining together without having between them brook or river which might hinder the said King of France from entering the said Duchy of Brittany with all his power. And although the said Duke should have good and abundant strength of men of war and artillery, nevertheless he would not be able long to support the war against such a power as that of the said King Louis XI without the aid and succor of the said King of England and of his other cousins and friends, whereby the Duke might be compelled to deliver to the said King Louis XI the said Earl of Richmond...<sup>25</sup>

This passage, taken directly from the letter which George de Mainbier wrote to the ambassador of King Richard III, showed that King Louis XI very actively pursued the possession of Henry Tudor. Naturally because De Mainbier was the Breton ambassador, his indication of

affairs in the letter may be illustrative of how Duke Francis wished him to portray his relationship with Louis XI. His insistence that Louis XI wished to make war with him, could have indicated a desire to make war upon France for his own political reasons. Therefore, a critical view is needed when viewing De Mainbier's portrayal of political affairs at the time. However, given the clear political advantage which could be derived from the possession of Henry Tudor and the public declaration in the letter of Louis XI's intent, it could safely be assumed that Henry Tudor's possession was a goal of the King of France. If taken literally, this situation indicated a dangerous state of affairs for the Duke of Brittany where he was in real danger from Louis XI. Whatever political conclusions are drawn from this explanation of affairs, nevertheless, Duke Francis chose not to release Henry Tudor to either Richard III or Louis XI. It is clear that the situation would have been easier for Duke Francis if he had simply released Henry Tudor to one side or the other but he still proved unwilling to do so.

Had Henry Tudor been released to France, Louis XI would have been able to use him as leverage against England. This might have jeopardized Henry Tudor's relative autonomy he enjoyed in Brittany, which had been granted to him after Edward IV's second attempt to acquire him as reported by Polydore Vigil, and may have later impeded his own ability to wage war effectively against Richard III.<sup>26</sup> This could be determined because if surrendered to Louis XI, Henry Tudor may have only been able to muster a force to challenge Richard III with the French king's authorization. This would mean that the King of France would have final authority on whether Henry Tudor would be permitted to wage war against his cousin.

Another significant instance where this protection would be displayed was in the negotiations between Richard III and Archduke Maximilian of the Holy Roman Empire in

February of 1484. Because he desired to acquire the custody of Henry Tudor, Richard III made overtures of negotiation to Archduke Maximilian. The Archduke was encountering mass rebellion in his recently acquired Flemish lands, where he was profoundly disliked and as a result, required significant assistance.<sup>27</sup> Richard III desired an arrangement which would involve the Archduke striving to use his personal power and influence to coerce the Duke of Brittany to cease all military and monetary support of Henry Tudor in exchange for Richard III providing military aid to the Archduke. Archduke Maximilian had his personal secretary write Richard III a letter where he responded to Richard III's overtures. In the letter he referenced Richard III's primary concern which was the possession of Henry Tudor.

...And because the king (Richard III) may complain of that which has taken place in Brittany, touching the person of the Earl of Richmond, and of the other fugitives of the realm of England, both during the time they were in Brittany and since they left it, the said ambassadors of my said lord shall confer on this matter with those of Brittany aforesaid, showing them that if the Duke is content to leave the party of the said Earl of Richmond and fugitives and no longer to support or have anything to do with them, my said lord will be the said Duke's pledge and surety of that which shall be by him promised therein to the said King of England.<sup>28</sup>

This letter illustrated the essential agreement which Archduke Maximilian sought; he was attempting to use his influence to convince the Duke of Brittany to completely withdraw his aid to Henry Tudor on Richard III's behalf. It also depicted the capability which Archduke Maximilian had of coercing Brittany. Nevertheless, despite the potential threat of the Archduke, Duke Francis refused to withdraw his support for Henry Tudor and continued his ongoing protection of him.

The protection which Jasper Tudor was able to enlist from Duke Francis would be illustrated a final time in the monetary assistance which he gave Henry Tudor. This was



depicted in the sizeable loan of 10,000 crowns, which the Duke of Brittany provided Henry Tudor in November 1484, so that he was able to oppose Richard III and pay for his army.<sup>29</sup> Without the loan Henry Tudor would have had very scant resources of his own during the initial rebellion. This is another critical development; the only reason that Henry Tudor had a strong relationship with Duke Francis to the point that he was willing to grant such a colossal loan to him was because of Jasper Tudor. This all could be traced back to his initial request of Duke Francis' protection.

These developments were crucial to Henry Tudor's ultimate success. Henry Tudor was only able to oppose the House of York because he was able to live long enough to do so. Because of the pact which Jasper Tudor made with the Duke of Brittany, the Duke felt responsible for the wellbeing of Henry Tudor and refused to grant his release or withdraw his support on the numerous occasions where it was solicited on behalf of Edward IV, Richard III and Louis XI. This support which was garnered by Jasper Tudor clearly illustrated the strong assistance which he granted to Henry Tudor during his youth.

Polydore Virgil reported that Henry Tudor landed at Pembroke in Wales with a small army of 2000 men in August 1485. Virgil stated that when Henry Tudor landed he was initially dismayed because while he was in France he had received intelligence that Sir Rhys Ap Thomas and John Savage were both strong supporters, but once landed, he found out they were energetically supporting Richard III instead. However, Virgil reported that his mind was eased when the inhabitants of Pembroke pledged loyalty to him. A town spokesman named Arnold Butler, apologized for their previous offenses in supporting Richard III during Earl Jaspers absence and declared fealty once again to Earl Jasper and Henry Tudor.<sup>30</sup> Pembroke was his

uncle's fief and even though he had been attainted of his properties by Edward IV, he still claimed to be Earl of Pembroke. The Tudor family had a longstanding history in Wales and were well received by the Welsh people. This was clearly illustrated because the inhabitants of Pembroke immediately supported Henry Tudor and augmented his army. This early support ensured that Henry Tudor did not lose his initial momentum and was able to move very quickly from his incipient landing. He did not have to worry about traversing a country hostile to him.

The manner in which Virgil described this early support is interesting because he stated specifically that Arnold Butler said that he and his men were willing to support Earl Jasper. This suggested that the reason that the men in Pembroke joined him was because of Jasper Tudor. Virgil implied that they felt obligated to support their rightful liege lord and because he stated that they apologized for their earlier offenses, that they viewed their support for Richard III against Jasper Tudor, while he was in exile, as a crime. Of course it must be acknowledged that common people viewing their fealty to Richard III as a crime would serve to further illustrate the validity of Henry Tudor's rule, which would align with Virgil's goal to illustrate the legitimacy of the Tudor dynasty, so the statements made must be taken critically. Nevertheless, if this profusion of loyalty to Jasper Tudor is taken as valid, this would suggest that the reason these inhabitants supported Henry Tudor was not merely because he was a Welsh earl of the prominent Tudor family and the Lancastrian contender for the throne of England, but because his uncle was the rightful Earl of Pembroke. This description again showed an instance in which, Henry Tudor owed his success to his uncle. Because Jasper Tudor had been a respected leader during his rule of Pembroke, this guaranteed the warm reception of the inhabitants there.

This initial support which Henry Tudor received is significant because this meant that unlike when the Duke of Buckingham raised his forces in October of 1483, an army did not immediately converge to destroy his rebellion. Henry Stafford Duke of Buckingham was a longstanding supporter of Richard III. He was a direct descendent of Thomas of Woodstock, who was one of the sons of Edward III. Therefore, he actually had a greater claim to the throne of England than Henry Tudor did, because Henry Tudor's descent from John of Gaunt, one of Edward III's other sons, was from an illegitimate line, only later legitimized. He later became discontented with Richard III and moved to rebellion when galvanized by the Bishop of Ely.<sup>31</sup> The Duke of Buckingham was reported by the *Cambrian Register* to have gathered his men at his lands in Brecknock.<sup>32</sup> This was a region in the middle of Wales where the Duke of Buckingham had his greatest power base. Virgil reported that Richard III marched out from London to meet the Duke of Buckingham and when the Duke of Buckingham reached Salisbury in England, the vast majority of his men immediately deserted him. It should be noted that Salisbury was the same point where Henry Tudor would cross into England later, so the point where he moved into England was exactly the same.<sup>33</sup> Therefore, his failure had nothing to do with the route he had chosen. This mass desertion meant that the Duke of Buckingham was no longer capable of offering battle to Richard III. Virgil attributed this desertion to a lack of faith in the Duke of Buckingham from his men.

...when the Duke of Buckingham with great force of Welsh soldiers, who he, as a sore and hard dealing man, had brought to the field against their wills and without any lust to fight for him, rather by rigorous commandment than for money, which was the cause of the revolt, went earnestly about to encounter the king, but he was forsaken suddenly of the greater part of his soldiers, and compelled thereby to fly...<sup>34</sup>

This report by Virgil indicated that the Welsh soldiers of the Duke of Buckingham had no real loyalty to him. It stated that he raised his men by command and not money and Virgil's use of the term "hard dealing man" indicated that he was not a beloved leader. The wording presented the Duke of Buckingham as an aloof harsh commander with no genuine appreciation of his troops. It is important to note that this passage was written by Virgil who had bias against the Duke of Buckingham because he had been such a longstanding supporter of the House of York. Virgil's negative opinion of the Duke was strongly evident; later he indicated that God had ordained the Duke of Buckingham to fail because he supported Richard III against the grain of his conscience.<sup>35</sup> Because of this clear bias against the Duke, Virgil's description of Buckingham's Welsh soldiery must be approached critically. His negative opinion of Buckingham may have tainted his portrayal of how Buckingham's troops viewed him. But Virgil's view of the Duke of Buckingham was also supported by the *Cambrian Register*. This work also illustrated the relationship between the Duke of Buckingham and his army. It read as follows:

His forces God wot, were but weak, his whole army being composed but of the riff-raff of the Welsh, and those too enforced and compelled rather by imperious menaces than courteous behavior or liberal entertainment, against the business he was to pursue was of no less consequence than a crown, a thing not likely to be procured with weak hands and cold affections.<sup>36</sup>

This further supports the idea that the Duke of Buckingham was not liked by his own men. However, like Virgil's writing, the *Cambrian Register's* account must be taken critically as well. It reported that Sir Rhys did not agree with Buckingham's conduct; he felt that Buckingham was foolhardy and picked the wrong time to attack Richard III.<sup>37</sup> This indicated that

the source was biased against the Duke of Buckingham as well. Polydore Virgil reported that after the Duke of Buckingham's army deserted him, that the Duke of Buckingham was forced to surrender to Richard III to try to save his life and he was summarily executed by Richard III's soldiers whom he surrendered to, without even the right to beg Richard III for mercy.<sup>38</sup> Ultimately because he was not Welsh and was a stranger to his soldiers, who did not inspire loyalty, the Duke of Buckingham's rebellion failed. Henry Tudor however, was a man descended from an old and respected Welsh family who were traditionally strongly admired and supported in Wales. Therefore, when Henry Tudor landed he found Welsh support very quickly and his men did not desert him once they swore fealty to him.

Sir Rhys Ap Thomas was one of the co-rulers of Wales at the time when Henry Tudor landed. The other ruler of Wales under Richard III was Sir Walter Herbert.<sup>39</sup> Sir Rhys originally supported Richard III and was not an early supporter of Henry Tudor. Historically Sir Rhys' family was long affiliated with the Tudor family; his late brother David Thomas was actually a friend of Jasper Tudor.<sup>40</sup> Polydore Virgil even reported that when Jasper Tudor was besieged in Pembroke right before he was able to leave Wales to arrive at Brittany, it was David Thomas who lifted the siege and allowed Jasper Tudor to flee the country with Henry Tudor.<sup>41</sup> This historic association with the Tudor family may have created sympathy for Henry Tudor by Sir Rhys along with the fact that he was discontented with Richard III. The *Cambrian Register* reported that Richard III had sent him a letter demanding his homage and support in Wales against the rebellion. The letter also demanded that Sir Rhys send his son as a hostage as a guarantor of his good behavior.<sup>42</sup> Sir Rhys declined to send his son and may have been concerned with the consequences of refusing his sovereign's request.<sup>43</sup>

This letter and report of Richard III's request of Sir Rhys is of course subject to bias. In the *Cambrian Register* the agenda of the work was to praise Sir Rhys Ap Thomas, so having a convenient reason for him to be able to resent Richard III would be useful for that work. Therefore, the validity of the letter is open to the interpretation of the reader; however, given the precarious political situation of the day, because Richard III was aware of the danger to his throne from Henry Tudor, it does make sense from a ruler's point of view for Richard III to desire to have hostages from his prominent rulers in Wales. This desire for hostages is plausible because Polydore Virgil reported that at the time of Henry Tudor's rebellion, Thomas Stanley's son was a hostage in the Tower of London as a guarantee for his father's good behavior and continued support of Richard III.<sup>44</sup> This makes the assertion that Richard III required Sir Rhys' son as hostage a viable statement. Whatever the conclusions drawn, Richard III's political situation was unstable given the events of Henry Tudor's rebellion and this request for a hostage may have lent consideration to Sir Rhys' eventual defection to Henry Tudor.

According to the *Cambrian Register* the final catalyst for Sir Rhys' support of Henry Tudor occurred when the Bishop of St. David's and the Abbot of Talye went to him with arguments against the validity of Richard III's right to the throne. After he spoke with them he finally decided to support Henry Tudor instead. They cited Richard as a usurper who was unworthy of his title. They also declared that Richard III had forfeited the rightful homage which Sir Rhys would normally have owed to him because of his actions.<sup>45</sup> As a result, Sir Rhys decided to support Henry Tudor and determined to bring his forces over to him.

This scene is again biased because by presenting Richard III as a tyrant by two high ranking men of the Church, it absolved Sir Rhys of forfeiting his personal honor for betraying his

king. This argument of Richard III invalidating his own right to the throne allowed Sir Rhys to support Henry Tudor without being a traitor. In their request for Sir Rhys to support Henry Tudor, they also stated that Henry Tudor was the man to “release them from their heavy bondage”.<sup>46</sup> This statement could have served as a reference to the political situation in Wales. In Wales, because of the penal laws and general oppression, this statement could indicate a belief that Henry Tudor would release the Welsh from bondage. Now this statement must be taken carefully because it could also have meant that the statement of “heavy bondage” referred to the oppressive rule of Richard III; however, because the statement was made by two Welsh men of the cloth, speaking to a Welsh aristocrat, it quite possibly could have been a genuine reference to the plight of Wales. This, if accepted as reference to the Welsh situation, would indicate that they were appealing to Sir Rhys’ patriotism to support Henry Tudor and regarded Henry Tudor as the potential savior of Wales.

It remains for the reader to draw their own conclusions to why Sir Rhys finally decided to support Henry Tudor. This scene could have been the real reason why he joined, then again, his early sympathy for the Tudor family could have influenced his final decision. It is also possible that he joined Henry Tudor purely for practical reasons. Polydore Virgil stated that Sir Rhys joined Henry Tudor because two days earlier he had been promised the office of Lord Lieutenant of Wales if he joined him.<sup>47</sup> This would have presented a clear and practical reason for joining him because of the rewards that he would be able to enjoy. In the end the reason why Sir Rhys joined Henry Tudor is obscured. Whatever the specific reason for his support is not ultimately crucial; the simple fact that he supported Henry Tudor instead of the Duke of Buckingham proves the point that the Welsh connections, which he had with the Tudor family

provided a sympathy for his cause which he did not feel for the Duke of Buckingham. His simple refusal to support the Duke of Buckingham, even though he had a better claim to the throne than Henry Tudor, effectively proved that because of Henry Tudor's Welsh connections, Sir Rhys ap Thomas felt more comfortable with joining his rebellion and argued for the Welsh connections being the fundamental reason why he supported Henry Tudor.

This was contrasted by the support of Sir Walter Herbert. Sir Walter Herbert, like Sir Rhys also had a history of close association with the Tudor family; Polydore Virgil reported that his mother held Henry Tudor in captivity on behalf of Edward IV, prior to Henry VI's rebellion. Therefore, Henry Tudor and Sir Walter would have known each other in childhood. Virgil also reported that while Henry Tudor was imprisoned by the Herbert family he was nevertheless "well-reared".<sup>48</sup> This suggested that there was some affinity between Henry Tudor and the Herbert family. Sir Walter had a significant power base in Wales; the *Cambrian Register* stated that the power base of Sir Walter was in Glamorgan and Monmouthshire.<sup>49</sup> Polydore Virgil reported that Henry Tudor was concerned with receiving significant support in Wales when he landed and desired to attach as many adherents to his cause as he could. During this time Richard III had been moving to marry his niece Elizabeth of York in order to prevent Henry Tudor from doing so. Since Henry Tudor had already professed to his supporters in France that he intended to marry Elizabeth of York in order to secure the Yorkist and Lancastrian branches of the Plantagenet family together, this caused him concern for the continued support of his adherents. Hence he wished to acquire additional support from Sir Walter Herbert.

Herbert's support would have added more viable manpower and resources. Therefore, Henry Tudor attempted to use Herbert's brother-in-law, the Earl of Northumberland in order to



broker a marriage alliance with one of Herbert's sisters in order to draw him to his cause. Virgil alleged that because Henry Tudor thought that the marriage with Elizabeth York would no longer be feasible, that Henry Tudor would be the one who married Herbert's sister. This may have been a marriage of reduced rank, however the Herbert family was still one of the most prominent families in Wales, so this was still a viable marriage. Virgil reported that this agreement would fail because unfortunately the passes through the mountains were blocked because of inclement weather, so Henry Tudor's messengers were unable to reach the Earl. This resulted in Sir Walter not supporting Henry Tudor.<sup>50</sup> This weather obstacle, ruined any chance which Henry Tudor had of becoming allies with Sir Walter and would result in the latter not supporting Henry Tudor while he was in Wales. Virgil did not specify which mountains the messenger was trying to go through but the quickest route through Wales to Northumberland would be through the route to Shrewsbury, which is the same route which the Duke of Buckingham and Henry Tudor took; so it can be assumed that this was the route which he had taken.

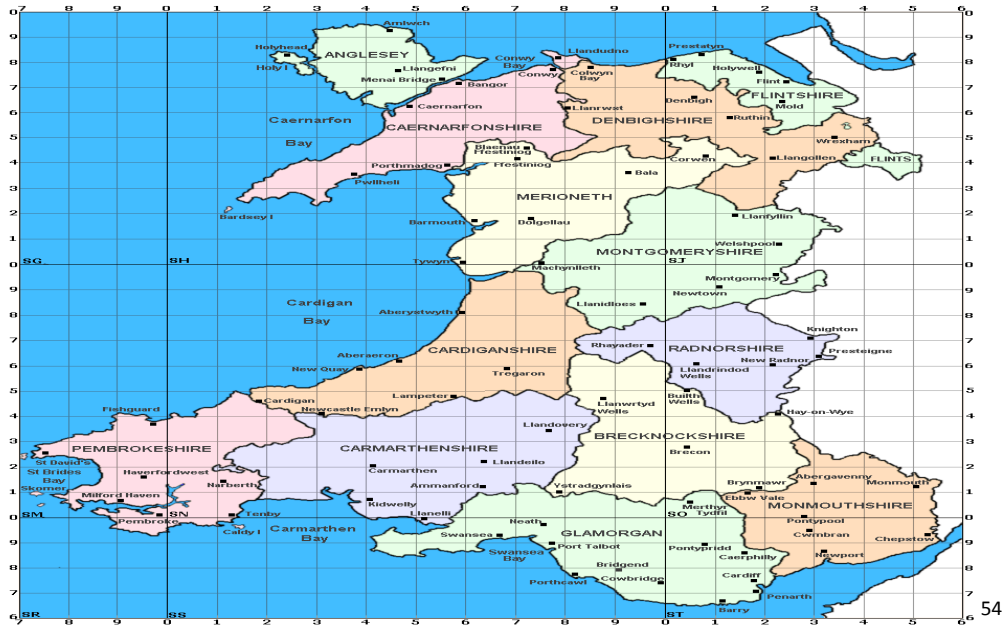
Polydore Virgil reported that Sir Rhys met Henry Tudor with an army of willing supporters, including many of his friends and supporters such as John Savage, who was a Welshman of note.<sup>51</sup> The troops which Sir Rhys was able to lend Henry Tudor augmented his forces greatly and these additional men were able to be used successfully at the Battle of Bosworth Field. Because Sir Rhys supported Henry Tudor there was little real opposition to his march through Wales, which if true opposition had been seen, the march could have been a disaster. Possibly because of the support of Sir Rhys, Sir Walter Herbert was unwilling to engage Henry Tudor directly. If Sir Rhys and Sir Walter had opposed Henry Tudor directly on behalf of

Richard III, he could have been severely hampered while marching or possibly could have seen his forces whittle away in engagements. Any delay would have given Richard III the opportunity to augment his forces which possibly could have contributed to him winning the day at Bosworth Field. Since Henry Tudor was able to march safely he was able to meet Richard III very quickly.



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This image of Henry Tudor's march illustrated that he took a coastal route through Wales to Shrewsbury. This march is strategically sound because when he left from Pembroke, Sir Rhys Ap Thomas was still hostile and his stronghold was at Carmarthen. Sir Walter Herbert's primary strongholds were at Glamorgan and Mounmouthshire.<sup>53</sup> Because Henry Tudor went the other way, he would have completely avoided Sir Rhys ap Thomas and Sir Walter Herbert's main strongholds. The image below illustrates the counties noted and also shows Buckingham's lands of Brecknockshire, which serves as an excellent illustration of the relative geography of those regions.



In addition to his martial support, Sir Rhys was also a tremendously influential Welsh aristocrat, so his support lent Henry Tudor significant credence in Wales. Sir Rhys was very respected and had a significant following. This enhanced Henry Tudor's credibility amongst his Welsh soldiery. Therefore, Sir Rhys' support of Henry Tudor in Wales was a strong positive development in Henry Tudor's march through Wales.

The *Cambrian Register* also reported a speech given by Henry Tudor after Sir Rhys endorsed Henry Tudor by allowing him to physically walk over him, symbolizing his homage to him. Henry Tudor addressed the soldiers and Sir Rhys as his fellow countrymen which sent a real message of solidarity to his men.

My dear cousin, and you my beloved countrymen and fellow soldiers, it is now upward of fourteen years, since my uncle Jasper and myself escaped out of these parts and hither at length we are returned again. I fled then for my life, I return now for a crown, a crown my undoubted right. My life and my crown are inseparable, I must either enjoy both or neither. David Thomas, your noble brother, Sir as all men here present and I shall ever acknowledge, above beyond all hope, most miraculously preserved my life: and you my dear cousin with the assistance of these valorous gentlemen, under your

discreet conduct, may serve as special instruments to help me to my crown injuriously withheld from me by a most tyrannical and bloody usurpation... My dear countrymen, you are all assembled here at this time for the same purpose. I read it in your looks, tis your valor and virtue which I principally heed, you are the men who add strength to good causes. Here I am come fellow soldiers, more in your right than my own; what shall I say? Here I stand before you but what name to give myself, I am altogether to seek? A private man I will not be termed seeing as I am by the best of the nobility and gentry of this kingdom, yea by all the world besides, that you have heard of my just title and pretense allowed for a prince, and yet a prince you cannot well call me while another possesses my right; besides a question may be raised weather you yourselves be traitors or true subjects till it be decided what manner of man you have amongst you, a true lawful prince or an enemy. What remains then but that we jointly use our best endeavors for the clearing of this point and show to all parties whatever we come by the invincible demonstration of our prowess...<sup>55</sup>

This speech attributed to Henry Tudor must be approached very carefully. The tone strongly illustrated the solidarity which Henry Tudor felt for his men and acknowledges his respect for them. However, the *Cambrian Register* was once again quite biased towards Sir Rhys Ap Thomas; as a result, it would be immensely favorable for Henry Tudor to appear in the most positive manner possible because he was Sir Rhys' patron and because he betrayed Richard III to support him. Therefore, some allowance must be made that this is obviously a biased portrayal of Henry Tudor. Hence, is it up to the reader to interpret the veracity of the reported speech. With the bias acknowledged, this speech still illustrated the great debt that Henry Tudor owed to his father's family for the way he was received by the Welsh soldiery.

The *Cambrian Register* then reported that Henry Tudor's speech resulted in a mass homage of his soldiers in which, they swarmed him, kissed his hands and feet and generally underwent a full jubilation of spirit.<sup>56</sup> This universal homage by Henry Tudor's soldiers is deeply contrasted by the aloof and imperious nature of the Duke of Buckingham. Henry Tudor's actions here illustrate his willingness to appeal to his soldiers as his loyal countrymen in arms.

The appreciation which Henry Tudor professed regarding his men was also supported in Sir John Wynne's *History of the Gywnidir Family*. This included a letter written from Henry Tudor to John Ap Meridith, who was another Welsh aristocrat of note. The letter helped support the speech alleged in the Cambrian Register because it carried the general tone of the claimed speech of Henry Tudor.

Right trusty and well beloved, we greet you well; and whereas it is so that, through the help of Almighty God, the assistance of our loving and true subjects, and the great confidence that we have to the nobles and commons of this our principality of Wales, we be entered in the same, purposing by the help above rehearsed, in all haste possible to descend into our realm of England, not only for the adoption of the crown, unto us of right appertaining, but also for the oppression of the odious tyrant Richard late Duke of Gloucester, usurper of our said right; and moreover to reduce as well our said realm of England into its ancient estate, honor and property, and prosperity, as this our said principality of Wales, and the people of the same to their dearest liberties, delivering them of such miserable servitude as they have piteously long stood in. We desire and pray you, and upon your allegiance strictly charge and command you, that immediately upon the sight hereof with all such power, as ye may make, defensibly arrayed for the war, we address you towards us, without any tarrying upon the way, until such time as you be with us, wherever we shall be, to our aid for the effect above rehearsed, wherein you shall cause be, to our time to come to be your singular good Lord, and that you fail not hereof as you will avoid our grievous displeasure, and answer it unto your peril.<sup>57</sup>

The language of "great confidence" chosen here further indicates the gratitude with which Henry Tudor had for his soldiers. The character of the letter supports the tone of the speech previously alluded because it exuded the same general appreciation for the Welsh soldiery and nobles by Henry Tudor. This further supported the idea that Henry Tudor was personally aware of the necessity of his soldiers from Wales and illustrated the point that the Welsh connections he was able to garner support from his fathers' family were instrumental in his success. The source is also unbiased because the letter was written by Henry Tudor himself, so while he did have biased opinions against Richard III, his own profusion of gratefulness for

the Welsh can be taken as a clear illustration of Henry Tudor's reliance on his men. The letter requested that John Ap Meridith mobilize his forces and move to support Henry Tudor which also further illustrated the need which Henry Tudor had for the Welsh support.<sup>58</sup>

Henry Tudor was strongly supported by a primarily Welsh army and while he commanded it personally, both Rhys Ap Thomas and Jasper Tudor held prominent commands in it. They both performed admirably under Henry Tudor and succeeded in helping him defeat Richard III and win the battle which would grant him the Crown of England.<sup>59</sup> Here the significance is critical; Henry Tudor owed his crown to Bosworth field. This battle would take place August 22, 1485, less than a month after Henry Tudor had landed in Wales. The death of Richard III was essential to the successful resolution of the rebellion, therefore his ability to contend with Richard III on a battlefield was vital to his ultimate success. Sir Rhys was reported by the *Cambrian Register* to have delivered over 2000 men to Henry Tudor, which matched the original amount of men which he had when he landed at Pembroke initially.<sup>60</sup> The men that Sir Rhys lent to Henry Tudor were instrumental to his army's composition. In total Virgil reported that Henry Tudor's men only numbered 8000 who were present at the battle of Bosworth field, so Sir Rhys' men constituted a full fourth of his total troops. By having his army skillfully commanded by Jasper Tudor and Sir Rhys Ap Thomas along with the other commanders, Henry Tudor was able to use his men to successfully win against Richard III.

Now as the officially crowned King of England, Henry Tudor well rewarded those who served him. Specifically, both Jasper Tudor and Sir Rhys Ap Thomas had supported him significantly in his endeavors. This gratitude that Henry VII felt for these men was shown in the patents which he granted them. Jasper Tudor was granted the Duchy of Bedford for himself and

his heirs in perpetuity. This was compounded by a preamble to the patent where Henry VII lauded his uncle's fidelity to him and his support from his infancy against dangers which had beset him.<sup>61</sup> The preamble illustrated a king profoundly grateful to his uncle and well aware of the debt he owed to him. It is significant because when Henry VII issued charters, he only rarely placed personal verbiage when he granted patents, and the fact that he qualified the patent with such a strong endorsement of his uncle showed how necessary Jasper Tudor's support was to his success.

Sir Rhys was granted the office of constable, lieutenant and steward of the lordship of Breghnoc in Wales. He was also granted the Lieutenancy of Wales. This grant to Sir Rhys acknowledged Henry VII's gratefulness to Sir Rhys' support and illustrated that he personally recognized the services that Rhys rendered to him.<sup>62</sup> In addition to the offices which Henry VII granted to Sir Rhys, Polydore Virgil reported that he also was granted membership as a royal councilor to Henry VII. Virgil stated that this council was used by the king constantly for advice on how to transact business.<sup>63</sup> This statement was a strong endorsement of Sir Rhys. This depicted a dependency of the king upon Sir Rhys and because Virgil was essentially writing a history for the Tudor dynasty, it can safely be assumed that this statement was not contrary to what Henry VII thought himself. Therefore, this further supports the idea that even during his reign, Sir Rhys was someone upon whom the king significantly relied, which supports the main argument that Henry VII's Welsh connections through his father's family were crucial to his success as a monarch.

Henry VII also rewarded minor supporters of his cause. Sir John Savage was a minor supporter in Wales who Henry VII rewarded. He gave him the lease of the Wyrkesworthy and

lead mines in the County of Denby; these leases were lucrative annuities.<sup>64</sup> He was also granted a number of herbage and pastures in various counties for a leasing term of seven years.<sup>65</sup> He was likewise granted the lordships, castles and manors of Gresley, Kymbley, Notts, Ilkeston, Elmeton, Holmesfeld, Grandby, Sutton, Hopbadler, Watton, Corston and Eudonburnell which were previously held by Francis Vicount Lovell, who forfeited them when he was attainted because of his staunch support for Richard III.<sup>66</sup> This enormous grant which was delivered to Sir John Savage further illustrated the great generosity with which Henry VII treated his supporters and further supports the gratitude which he owed his Welsh supporters.

Henry VII also granted Sir Walter Herbert the offices of steward and constable of the lordship of Cantresselly and the stewardship of the lordship of the Targarth.<sup>67</sup> This indicated a merciful turn for someone who did not directly fight for him. However, because he did not directly support Henry VII like Sir Rhys did, his reward was not nearly as great. This does contrast with how significantly Henry VII rewarded his followers. Had Herbert supported him, his reward would likely have been greater.

Sir Walter Herbert's reward is a mystery. The sources had virtually nothing to say on the future of Sir Walter and the patent did not indicate why Henry VII chose to reward him. There are a few plausible explanations for this. One possible reason why Henry VII rewarded him could be because he remembered, as Polydore Virgil pointed out, the kind treatment which he received at the hands of Sir Walter's mother when he was held captive by the Herbert family in his early youth. This may have prompted some sympathy for Sir Walter. Another possible explanation could be the intervention of Sir Rhys. Sir Rhys was a close relative and friend of Sir Walter and the *Cambrian Register* alleged that they both made a pact, even though they fought



on different sides, Sir Walter for Richard III and Sir Rhys for Henry Tudor, that they would work to receive the others' pardon in the event of their defeat.<sup>68</sup> Because there is no information which directly states why he was rewarded, either explanation could be a plausible argument.

These patents are significant because they illustrated Henry VII's personal recognition of the services he had been rendered by these supporters. The fact that he gave substantial rewards to these men showed that he himself felt obligated to them. That revealed obligation helped support the notion that they were crucial supporters of the acquisition of his kingship.

Henry VII had acquired the throne of England and finally united the Houses of York and Lancaster with his marriage to Elizabeth of York, ending the War of the Roses; however, significant developments would still arise threatening his position as king. This required his attention and the attention of his adherents. This was initially shown in the rebellion at York.

Francis, Lord Lovell and Humphrey Stafford were ardent adherents to the Yorkist party and strong supporters of Richard III. With Richard III's demise, Polydore Virgil reported that they proceeded to raise armies in Gloucestershire and York in July 1486. This was critical because York was the foremost stronghold of the House of York and served as a staunch traditional supporter of Richard III. In Northern England, Polydore Virgil reported, there was still tremendous sympathy for the Yorkist cause. A rebellion here, at the center of Yorkist support, when Henry VII had only just been crowned would therefore have been extremely dangerous.<sup>69</sup> The Yorkist loyalty to Richard III was depicted in a council meeting held after the defeat of Richard III at Bosworth Field:

We are assembled in the Council Chamber. Where and when it was shown by diverse persons and especially by John Sponder, sent unto the field of Redemore [Bosworth

Field] to bring tidings from the same to the city, that King Richard III, late mercifully reigning upon us, was through great treason of the Duke of Norfolk and many others that turned against him with many other lords and nobles of the northern parts, was piteously slain and murdered to the great heaviness of this city...<sup>70</sup>

Here the language is clear. The council lauded the alleged virtues of Richard III. The sympathy displayed by the council particularly in their choice of words such as, “mercifully reigning”, “piteously slain” and “great heaviness of the city”, indicated a council which loved their late sovereign and greatly grieved his loss at Bosworth Field, which strongly illustrated his support in York.<sup>71</sup> This was a disturbing development for the reign of Henry VII because these councilors were all men of influence in the city of York who still had sympathy for Richard III. This support for the Yorkist cause from the councilors presented a dangerous situation for Henry VII because these men would clearly, by the indications of the council records, have no qualms about supporting Lord Lowell and Humphrey Stafford in their subversion against Henry VII. Their blame of the Duke of Norfolk as a traitor is peculiar because Virgil stated that the Duke was commander of the archers for Richard III and actually died in battle fighting for him.<sup>72</sup> It could possibly indicate that the council blamed his leadership of his troops to Richard III’s defeat. Polydore Virgil also supported the hostility of the council to Henry Tudor because he openly described the city’s hostility, which even despite the obvious bias which Polydore Virgil would have against the prime stronghold of Yorkist territory, further supports the idea of an extremely hostile situation in York.<sup>73</sup>

At the time of the rebellion, Polydore Virgil reported that Henry VII had only just been crowned and was therefore extremely vulnerable to attack in York because he could not raise levies and did not have the ability to arm his men. Virgil reported that Henry VII was afflicted

with great fear and under tremendous concern for his generally weak position. He also reported that Henry VII himself was aware of the general hostility of the city.<sup>74</sup> This acknowledgement of the king's fear of the situation further added to the generally precarious nature of the moment.

Polydore Virgil then reported that Henry VII commanded the Duke of Bedford to move with alacrity and squelch the rebellion before his enemies could gather. While Henry VII frantically gathered what men he could, Duke Jasper quickly moved his men against the rebels. At this point Virgil stated that Duke Jasper once again stepped in and saved his nephew. Virgil noted that Duke Jasper's army was unruly and unsure in actual battle because of the rushed mustering of it. Therefore, Duke Jasper was able through quick thinking, to cripple Lord Lovell's army without the necessity of engaging his men. He offered mercy to all who threw down their weapons and this resulted in Lord Lovell not trusting his forces to fight against Henry VII. As a result, Lord Lovell decamped in the night without engaging Duke Jasper. Hence there was no chance of a pitched battle between Henry VII and the rebels.<sup>75</sup> This is crucial because Virgil himself acknowledged that Duke Jasper was in possession of an unruly army. Because lack of discipline is never a laudable situation with an army it is safe to accept Virgil's account because there was no incentive for bias. If anything the portrayal of the army could almost reflect negatively on Jasper Tudor's ability to muster a force. The fact that Virgil described Duke Jasper as unwilling to directly engage Lord Lovell with his forces also illustrated that directly engaging could have been disastrous for his army. Therefore, because Duke Jasper chose not to engage and instead relied upon his own political acumen to neutralize the army of Lord Lovell, this truly illustrated the debt which Henry VII owed to his uncle for maintaining royal control even in the

face of the Yorkist rebellion. Because Lovell decamped, Stafford abandoned his army and the joint attack on York which they planned between the two came to nothing.<sup>76</sup> This is important because the rebels' attack was both very carefully planned and Lord Lovell and Humphrey Stafford both had the resources to execute it. If they had been able to unite their forces they very possibly could have taken the city.

This is vital because without Duke Jasper the attack might possibly have succeeded or at the very least, led to a pitched battle large in scope, which if lost, could have toppled Henry VII when he had only just been crowned. The sympathy illustrated by the council meeting showed that Richard III still possessed a significant following in York. Henry VII's control of the country was still shaky and because Jasper Tudor was able to achieve a quick and almost bloodless resolution to this rebellion; it had no lasting effect on Henry VII's reign. By his celerity of policy and movement, Duke Jasper permanently removed Lovell and Stafford as a serious threat in a place where Lancastrian support was historically woefully low. This meant that the north remained staunchly in Tudor hands and further added to the stability of Henry VII's crown.

In 1487 another grave threat to the stability of the new Tudor dynasty arose. This involved a boy by the name of Lambert Simnel, a commoner who impersonated Edward, the Earl of Warwick who was the son of George the Duke of Clarence, who was the brother of Edward IV and Richard III. Polydore Virgil reported that this falsification was enacted by a priest named Richard Simmons who wished to make Lambert Simnel King of England and acquire the position of Primate of England for himself.<sup>77</sup> Virgil reported that because Simnel was roughly the same age as the Earl of Warwick and that a rumor had spread that Warwick had died in prison, that Simmons revealed Simnel as the Earl of Warwick and brought him to Ireland to garner

support amongst the Irish gentry. Virgil reported that Simnel subsequently was recognized as Earl of Warwick by the Chancellor of Ireland and that immediately Irish support for the rebellion spread. After this Simmons sent letters to Margaret Duchess of Burgundy exhorting her to support her pretended nephew. Virgil claimed that Duchess Margaret knew that Simnel was not her nephew but bore a grudge against Henry VII because of the ruin of the House of York and her brother Richard III.<sup>78</sup>

Virgil's assertion that Duchess Margaret hated Henry VII and knowingly pursued a falsehood is obviously a biased statement because he had little incentive to write laudably about her; she was Richard III's sister and not a supporter of the Tudor dynasty. Virgil also stated that the only reason that she supported Simnel was to provide a pretense for placing her actual nephew, the true Earl of Warwick, upon the throne of England had Henry VII been overthrown.<sup>79</sup> This statement must be taken critically because Virgil once again relied on conjecture of what she was thinking; however, it serves as a strong reason for the Duchess Margaret to support Simnel because the Earl of Warwick was her nephew and the last male member of the House of York.

Virgil reported that once Henry VII was aware that Simnel was raising troops in Ireland with the help of Duchess Margaret, he quickly moved to display the genuine Earl of Warwick in London to prove to the people that he was in the city with Henry VII and that Simnel was an imposter. Nevertheless, the rebellion proceeded because the Earl of Lincoln, Francis Lord Lovell and Duchess Margaret viewed an opportunity for rebellion too opportune to ignore. Virgil reported that they planned to use Simnel to raise auxiliaries in Ireland and then launch attacks on Henry VII wherever their allies were able. Virgil stated that only when they had finally

achieved their aims, that at that point they would crown the Duke of Warwick and depose Simnel.<sup>80</sup> Virgil's assumption of the plans of Henry VII's enemies is problematic because he essentially assumed their councils and personal reasoning behind their plans. As the historian for the Tudor court, he would not have had access to the opinions of these rebels, especially as the Earl of Lincoln and Lord Lovell both died at Stoke; however, his assumption for their intent did transcribe to how events transpired. Of course their final intent in regards to the Earl of Warwick is obscured because their defeat ensured that they were not able to execute their plans fully. The letter below offers some perspective on the mind of the conspirators, written by the Earl of Lincoln, who was one of the primary conspirators, which helps illustrate his support of Simnel. The letter was written in the name of Edward VI which is what Simnel was styling himself, on June 8<sup>th</sup> 1487.

To our trusty and well-beloved the mayor, his brethren and commonality of our city of York. Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And for as much as we being coming within this our realm, not only by God's grace to attain our right of the same but also for the relief and well-being of our said realm you and all others, our true subjects which have been greatly injured and oppressed in default of new ministration of good rules and justice, desire therefore and in our right hearty wise pray you that in this behavior you will show unto us your good aides and favors. And where we and such power as we have brought with us by means of travel of the sea and upon the land, having been greatly wearied and labored it be well, that we might have relief and ease of lodging and vitality within our city there and so to depart and truly pay for that we shall take. And in your so doing you shall do things unto us of right acceptable pleasing to us and for the same find us your good and sovereign lord at all times hereafter and of your dispositions herein to ascertain us by this bringer. Given under our signet at Masham the 8<sup>th</sup> day of June.<sup>81</sup>

This letter suggested a dangerous precedent because it was written on behalf of Simnel by the Earl of Lincoln. Since this letter was written by such a powerful and prominent nobleman this represented a significant concern for the stability of the realm. However, the letter also

presented potential danger because it was sent to the mayor of York where previously a strong Yorkist sympathy was shown which could easily translate to sympathy for this fabricated Plantagenet. As this was a letter which was penned by one of the conspirators personally, it also served as a convenient view into the mind of the conspirators. It is clear by the language of the Lord of Lincoln's letter that he and the other conspirators intended to recognize Simnel as the rightful King of England as long as it was convenient. The wording of the letter presented Simnel as the legitimate Earl of Warwick and supported the intent for Simnel to openly oppose Henry VII on behalf of the conspirators. This letter depicted the dire situation which Henry VII was in because it illustrated the support Simnel was receiving from his adherents.

Given the concern which Henry VII had, especially since his parading of the Earl of Warwick around the city of London had done nothing to eliminate the rebellion which he now faced, Henry VII wrote a letter to the Earl of Ormond entreating him to come with all haste and grant him council and assistance against the rebels who had landed in Ireland.

Right trusty and well-beloved cousin, we greet you well and have tidings that our rebels landed the fifth day of this month in our land of Ireland. Wherefore and forasmuch as we have sent for our dearest wife and for our dearest mother to come unto us, and that we would have your advice and counsel also in such matters as we have to do for the subduing of our said rebels, we pray you that, giving your due attendance upon our said dearest wife and lady mother, you come with them unto us, not failing hereof as you purpose to do us pleasure.<sup>82</sup>

This letter illustrated the real concern that Henry VII felt for the rebellion. He implored the Earl of Ormond to assist. In addition, the choice of Henry VII's words, that he openly requested the Earl of Ormond for advice and assistance for the subduing of the rebels illustrated that there was genuine concern for the status of the rebels in Ireland by Henry VII.

Polydore Virgil reported that the Duchess of Burgundy sent 2000 mercenaries under Martin Schwartz to Ireland to join the Earl of Lincoln and Lord Lovell. Thus augmented, they crossed over to England to depose Henry VII and place Simnel in his place.<sup>83</sup> The army was described by the records of the English Parliament as consisting of numerous malcontents who paid homage to Simnel. It was also described as consisting of an array of many well equipped men.<sup>84</sup> The parliamentary records are most certainly biased because they were written as the records of a parliament loyal to the Tudor dynasty. Furthermore, in the records there was significant condemnation of the troops who rebelled against Henry VII as men who had abandoned their rightful king. The description of the men as malcontents and the negative verbiage used is clearly something that has to be addressed carefully before taking it as fact. However, the acknowledgement that the army was well equipped because there was no clear agenda behind the statement like the clear bias shown when they labeled the troops as malcontents, can be taken as an accurate representation of the army. Hence this was clearly a professional army which would fight Henry VII at Stoke and therefore a significant threat.

Polydore Virgil reported that to combat this dangerous situation, Henry VII enlisted Duke Jasper to quell the rebellion. He made him joint commander of the army, further displaying his trust for his uncle.<sup>85</sup> Duke Jasper once again proved to be an able commander under Henry VII and successfully helped him defeat the rebels at the Battle of Stoke on July 16, 1487. Because his able command led to a victory, even though he was with other commanders under Henry VII, this illustrated the strong effect his support had in maintaining Henry VII's kingship. Polydore Virgil also reported that the enemy side fought with significant courage and that the fighting lasted for three hours with relatively even tactical advantage on both sides.<sup>86</sup>



Because there was not an overwhelming advantage for Henry VII's army, as reported by Polydore Virgil, this account of the actual battle further reinforces the idea that the situation was precarious for Henry VII and supports the idea that Duke Jasper's actions were instrumental in ensuring that Henry VII would achieve victory. Since Virgil reported that the rebels at Stoke fought with significant courage, his account of the Battle of Stoke seems to illustrate little bias. If he intended to purposely write favorably for the Tudor cause, he easily could have depicted that the army lost because they were cowardly. His depiction of the even tactical advantage can therefore be safely assumed.

Simmel's rebellion and the Battle at Stoke were critical developments in the maintenance of Henry VII's crown. At this time, the throne was still precarious and being able to raise and muster an effective army was critical to his policy. Because Duke Jasper was able to jointly raise this army and position it for Henry VII to command and then perform admirably in his own subordinate command of his forces, he was able to make sure that this dangerous rebellion, using a fabricated Plantagenet pretender, would be crushed. With Simmel the situation was especially dangerous because the usage of a "royal" pretender could galvanize old Yorkist support, which amongst Henry VII's enemies could serve as a standard to rally behind. Duke Jasper's quick mustering and support of his uncle once again served to solidify the Tudor hold on the throne and finally end Yorkist pretensions to the crown.

Henry Tudor owed much to his father's lineage. Through the influence of allies, he was able to gain consistently as a result of his father's family, he was able to truly achieve his goal of becoming the King of England. Jasper Tudor's interference on multiple occasions guaranteed that Henry Tudor would succeed. When Henry Tudor was a boy in mortal danger from the

security concerns of his cousin Edward IV, Jasper Tudor spirited him away to Brittany and made sure that Henry VII would be able to mature and thrive in a safe place. Later upon landing at Pembroke, the inhabitants' former loyalty to their former Earl Jasper Tudor, would serve to bring Henry VII ready support when he landed in England and was in a vulnerable state. Jasper Tudor would also serve as an indispensable tool for Henry VII when he commanded with skill at Bosworth Field under him, which was the battle to which Henry VII owed his crown. Jasper Tudor would also serve as critical support for the maintenance of Henry VII's crown after his nephew became king. Jasper Tudor's quick thinking during the initial rebellion at York ensured that Lord Lowell's army ceased to exist and guaranteed that the conspirators would no longer possess an army capable of challenging Henry VII's possession of York. Finally, Jasper Tudor would likewise serve to protect Henry VII from the dangerous Stoke rebellion because he was able with celerity to muster a force capable of challenging the mercenaries which the Duke of Burgundy sent into England and then was able to perform admirably under the command of his nephew Henry VII.

Sir Rhys Ap Thomas also illustrated how Henry VII's Welsh connections through his father would help him acquire his crown. Sir Rhys Ap Thomas was sworn to Richard III but actively choose to support Henry Tudor, a fellow Welsh aristocrat, rather than his sworn king. His support would guarantee that Henry Tudor would be able to move quickly through Wales without opposition and be able to readily challenge Richard III. Sir Rhys' troops would also serve to be a great augmentation of the small army which Henry Tudor possessed. Sir Rhys would then serve in a prominent command at Bosworth and help Henry Tudor win the day. Henry Tudor's father's family would also serve to guarantee the support of the Welsh soldiery. When

Henry Duke of Buckingham, a man with an arguably better claim to the throne of England than Henry Tudor, rebelled his predominately Welsh army melted away at the first sign of conflict. They felt no true loyalty to the Duke of Buckingham. Conversely Henry Tudor was a Welshman; his family name was among the oldest in Welsh aristocracy and this would serve to make sure that Henry VII had support among the Welsh soldiery and would not see the desertions which plagued the Duke of Buckingham. This further guaranteed that Henry VII would have an army capable of defeating Richard III at Bosworth. These instances taken together illustrated a clear chain of events where Henry VII's father's family connections would support him on multiple occasions. There is a clear line which traces the success of Henry VII's endeavors to being strongly supported by his Welsh connections. In conclusion Henry VII's father's family would prove critical in the acquisition and maintenance of his crown. Without his father's family, he may never have acquired the throne of England or have been able to actively maintain it.

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<sup>1</sup> Bacon, Francis, and J. Rawson Lumby. *Bacon's History of the Reign of King Henry VII.* (Cambridge: U, 1902. Print).

<sup>2</sup> Chrimes, Stanley Bertram. *Henry VII.* (S.B.: Chrimes,. London: E. Methuen, 1972. Print);

Cunningham, Sean. *Henry VII.* (London: Routledge, 2007. Print).

<sup>3</sup> Virgili, Polidoro, and Henry Ellis. *Three Books of Polydore Vergil's English history, comprising the reigns of Henry VI., Edward IV., and Richard III., from an early translation, preserved among the mss. of the Old Royal Library in the British museum.* (London: Camden Society, 1844), 12.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 62.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> Evans, H. T. *Wales and the Wars of the Roses.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1915), 26.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 19.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 19-20.

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- <sup>9</sup> Ibid., 11.
- <sup>10</sup> Ibid., 11.
- <sup>11</sup> Virgili, *Three Books of Polydore Vergil's*, 150.
- <sup>12</sup> Ibid., 151.
- <sup>13</sup> Ibid., 155-156.
- <sup>14</sup> Ibid., 155-156.
- <sup>15</sup> Ibid., 152.
- <sup>16</sup> Ibid., 152.
- <sup>17</sup> Ibid., 154-155.
- <sup>18</sup> Andreas, Bernard, and Daniel Hobbins. *The Life of Henry VII*. (New York: Italica Press, 2011), 13.
- <sup>19</sup> Ibid., 14.
- <sup>20</sup> Virgili, *Three books of Polydore Vergil's*, 158.
- <sup>21</sup> Ibid., 164.
- <sup>22</sup> Ibid., 164.
- <sup>23</sup> Ibid., 165-166.
- <sup>24</sup> Gairdner. *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III and Henry VII Volume 1*. (N.p.: Cambridge UP, 2012. Print), 39-41.
- <sup>25</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>26</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>27</sup> Gairdner. *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III and Henry VII, Volume 2*. (Cambridge University Press, 2012), 49-50.
- <sup>28</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>29</sup> Gairdner, *Letters and Papers Vol. 1*, 54.
- <sup>30</sup> Virgili, *Three Books of Polydore Vergil's*, 216.
- <sup>31</sup> Ibid., 194-195.
- <sup>32</sup> Griffiths, *Sir Rhys Ap Thomas*, 196.
- <sup>33</sup> Virgili, *Three Books of Polydore Vergil's*, 199.

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 201.

<sup>36</sup> Griffiths, Ralph Alan. *Sir Rhys Ap Thomas and His Family: A Study in the Wars of the Roses and Early Tudor Politics*. (Cardiff: U of Wales, 1993. Print), 205.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 207.

<sup>38</sup> Virgili, *Three Books of Polydore Vergil's*, 201.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 215.

<sup>40</sup> Griffiths, *Sir Rhys Ap Thomas*, 179.

<sup>41</sup> Virgili, *Three Books of Polydore Vergil's*, 155.

<sup>42</sup> Griffiths, *Sir Rhys Ap Thomas*, 198-204.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 202.

<sup>44</sup> Virgili, *Three Books of Polydore Vergil's*, 212.

<sup>45</sup> Griffiths, *Sir Rhys Ap Thomas*, 202.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 203.

<sup>47</sup> Virgili, *Three Books of Polydore Vergil's*, 217.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 134-135.

<sup>49</sup> Griffiths, *Sir Rhys Ap Thomas*, 228.

<sup>50</sup> Virgili, *Three Books of Polydore Vergil's*, 215.

<sup>51</sup> Griffiths, *Sir Rhys Ap Thomas*, 215.

<sup>52</sup> "The End of the Wars of the Roses." (The End of the Wars of the Roses. Accessed March 12, 2017.

<https://faculty.history.wisc.edu/sommerville/123/123%20185.htm>).

<sup>53</sup> Griffiths, *Sir Rhys Ap Thomas*, 228.

<sup>54</sup> "February | 2014." Stirnet. (N.p., n.d. Web. 08 Mar. 2017. <http://media-cache-ak0.pinimg.com/originals/84/e7/9e/84e79e1f95ab61032054272ed88dda58.jpg>).

<sup>55</sup> Griffiths, *Sir Rhys Ap Thomas*, 218-219.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

<sup>57</sup> Wynne, John. *History of the Gwydir Family*. (Oswestry, Eng.: Woodall, 1878. Print), 48.

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<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> Virgili, *Three Books of Polydore Vergil's*, 225.

<sup>60</sup> Griffiths, *Sir Rhys Ap Thomas*, 215.

<sup>61</sup> Campbell, W. (1873). *Materials for a history of the reign of Henry VII. From original documents preserved in the Public record office.* (London: Longman &), 102.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 105.

<sup>63</sup> Vergil, Polydore, and Denys Hay. *The Anglica Historia, A.D. 1485-1537.* (Camden Society, 1950), 6-7.

<sup>64</sup> Campbell, *Materials for a history*, 310.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., 332.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., 365.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., 443.

<sup>68</sup> Griffiths, *Sir Rhys Ap Thomas*, 228.

<sup>69</sup> Vergil, *The Anglica Historia, A.D. 1485-1537*, 11.

<sup>70</sup> Pollard, A.F. *The Reign of Henry VII from Contemporary Sources.* London: (n.p., 1913. Print), 17.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

<sup>72</sup> Virgili, *Three Books of Polydore Vergil's*, 222.

<sup>73</sup> Vergil, *The Anglica Historia, A.D. 1485-1537*, 11.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., 10-11.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., 11-13.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., 13.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., 15.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., 15.

<sup>81</sup> Pollard, *The Reign of Henry VII*, 50.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., 47.

<sup>83</sup> Vergil, *The Anglica Historia, A.D. 1485-1537*, 21.

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<sup>84</sup> Pollard *The Reign of Henry VII*, 47.

<sup>85</sup> Vergil, *The Anglica Historia, A.D. 1485-1537*, 22-23.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.