

The Bosworth Crucifix

John Ashdown-Hill

This article explores the provenance and transmission of the crucifix. In 1811 the first account was published of a fifteenth century gilt bronze crucifix, reportedly found in 1778 at the Bosworth battlefield site. However a footnote to this account speculated that the object might have been found near Husbands Bosworth rather than on the battlefield site. Subsequently the provenance of the Bosworth Crucifix has remained a matter of debate.

Description

In the collection of the Society of Antiquaries of London there is a fifteenth-century crucifix 23 inches tall and 11 inches wide (585mm × 280mm).¹ It is generally known from its find location as the 'Bosworth Cross' although it is in fact not a cross but a crucifix since it bears an effigy of the crucified Christ. This object has an outer frame forming a foliated border, damaged at each extremity of the transverse limb of the cross.² The frame surrounds an inner cross formed of strips of decorated metal and bearing a *Corpus* (figure of Christ crucified) somewhat crudely cast in a bronze alloy. A knop on the crown of the head probably indicates that a nimbus was once attached. The whole object was originally gilded; substantial traces of this remain.

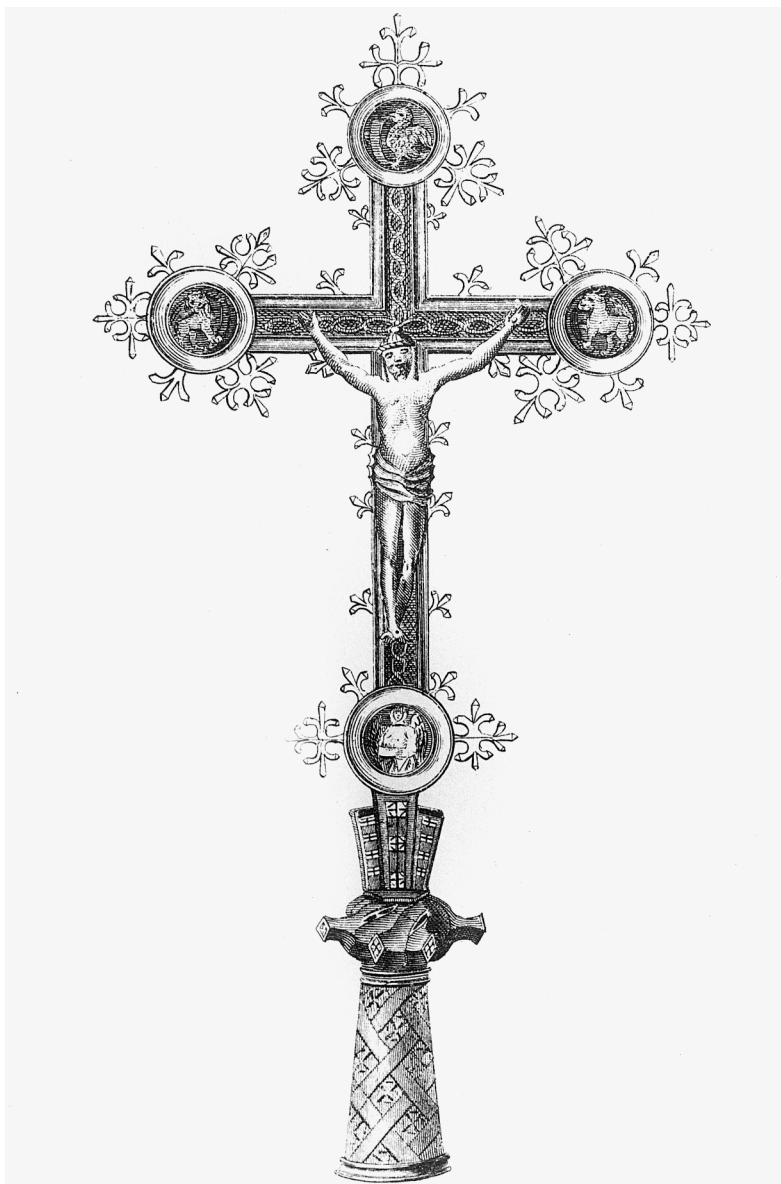
The arms of the crucifix end in roundels which are decorated on the front with symbols of the four evangelists. From the spectator's point of view these symbols are arranged as follows: at the top, an eagle, at the bottom a winged man, to the left a winged lion, and to the right a winged bull.³ The backs of these roundels display suns or stars with many rays which have been interpreted as Yorkist emblems; the sunburst badge of Edward IV and, by extension, of the house of York.⁴

¹ Society of Antiquaries accession no. 446. The measurements are those given on the Society of Antiquaries object file, and have not been checked.

² Sharp's drawing of the crucifix (1793, illus. 1) shows no damage at these extremities. It is probable, however, that Sharp had restored the missing sections of foliation in his drawing.

³ Not all similar crucifixes have the same arrangement of evangelists' emblems. The specimen at Mount Carmel Catholic Church, Redditch, for example, has a different sequence, with the man at the top and the eagle is at the bottom, while the lion and bull are in the same positions as on the Bosworth example. The Lamport Crucifix (now at Peterborough Cathedral) shows the same sequence as the Bosworth Crucifix. In fact the Lamport Crucifix (24" × 12.5" or 609 mm × 315mm) is very close in size and design to the Bosworth example, though it is more complete and preserves the side figures of Our Lady and St. John. There are also certain differences. The Lamport Crucifix has enamelled strips forming the body of the cross. Its *Corpus* may have been silvered rather than gilded and has the head in a different posture (more inclined towards the right shoulder) so that it clearly does not come from the same mould as the *Corpus* of the Bosworth Crucifix. The arrangement of the foliation on the top and side roundels of the Lamport specimen is also different from that found on the Bosworth Crucifix. I am grateful to Andrew Watson of the Chapter Office, Peterborough Cathedral, for his help in respect of the Lamport Crucifix.

⁴ Oman describes the decoration on the reverse of the roundels as 'the Yorkist "sun in splendour"'. C. Oman, 'English medieval base metal church plate', *Archaeological Journal* vol. 119, 1962, p. 200. The



1. The Bosworth Crucifix, drawing by Thomas Sharp, 1793. Reproduced by kind permission of the Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester and Rutland.

The limbs of the inner cross which bears the *Corpus* are formed, both front and back, of strips of gilded metal, engraved with a foliate design. In the case of some

Bosworth Crucifix is not unique in having suns on the back of its roundels. The Lamport Crucifix also has them. Other similar crucifixes have single or double roses in this position. The Redditch example has enamelled red roses. A specimen in Durham, which is very similar to the Bosworth Crucifix (but which lacks the original knop and the shaft by which it was attached to the stave, both knop and shaft being

other, similar crucifixes, such strips are of champlévé enamel, typically with the background coloured blue, but the Bosworth example was never decorated in that way. It is made throughout of a yellow bronze alloy, now darkened, and originally overlaid with gold. Presumably the evangelists' emblems on the roundels once had enamelled backgrounds such as are seen on other examples of this type of cross but no trace of the enamel is now visible.

As now preserved, the item is mounted on a modern base, for display purposes. It was originally designed to be used either as an altar crucifix, mounted on a base, and with the addition of side brackets supporting figures of the Virgin and St. John, or as a processional cross, mounted on a staff. From the evidence of other, more complete specimens of the type, when mounted as an altar cross it would have had a six-lobed base surmounted by a dome, upon which a small open crown would have acted as the seating for the shaft of the cross. For processional use it would have been mounted on a long wooden stave, possibly covered by brass tubing and divided into several sections by knops, matching that which survives beneath the lowest roundel of the crucifix.⁵

Oman divides such crucifixes into three groups: A, B and C. Group C crucifixes are later (perhaps early sixteenth century) and the arms end in lozenges instead of roundels. Crucifixes of groups A and B are fifteenth century. They differ from one another in that group A examples have the front of the roundels decorated in champlévé enamel, whereas group B crucifixes have separately cast evangelist symbols riveted onto an enamel ground. The Bosworth Crucifix belongs to group A. Crucifixes of this group are to be found at Bagborough, Devon; Capnor, Hants; Peterborough (the Lamport Crucifix); London (the Bosworth Crucifix and two examples at the Victoria and Albert Museum, nos. 821–1901 and 136–1879); Ushaw College, Durham and in a private collection. In addition to Oman's list of crucifixes one might also note the existence of surviving figures of St. John, such as presumably once surmounted one of the side brackets of the Bosworth Crucifix, in Colchester Castle Museum (found at Marks Tey, 2002) and in Moyses Hall Museum, Bury St. Edmunds. However, both of these figures have been dated earlier than the Bosworth Crucifix.

The Bosworth Crucifix entered the collection of the Society of Antiquaries in 1881, when the following account of it was published:

June 16 1881. James W. Comerford Esq., exhibited and presented, through Edwin Freshfield Esq., V.P., in the name of his late father, James Comerford Esq., F.S.A.,a bronze Processional Cross, which had been in the possession of the Comerford family for about seventy years, and is supposed to have been dug up on the Field of Bosworth, in or about the year 1778. Round the neck of the staff there remains a hinged metal ring, closing with a snap, evidently intended to fix either an ornamental cloth or tassel round the top of the shaft, after the manner of a halberd'.⁶

From this account it can be deduced that the crucifix had come into the hands of the Comerford family in about 1810. The survival, probably unique in the case

preserved in the Bosworth example) has suns on three of the roundels and a double rose on the fourth. It also has a pattern of foliation identical to that of the Bosworth Crucifix.

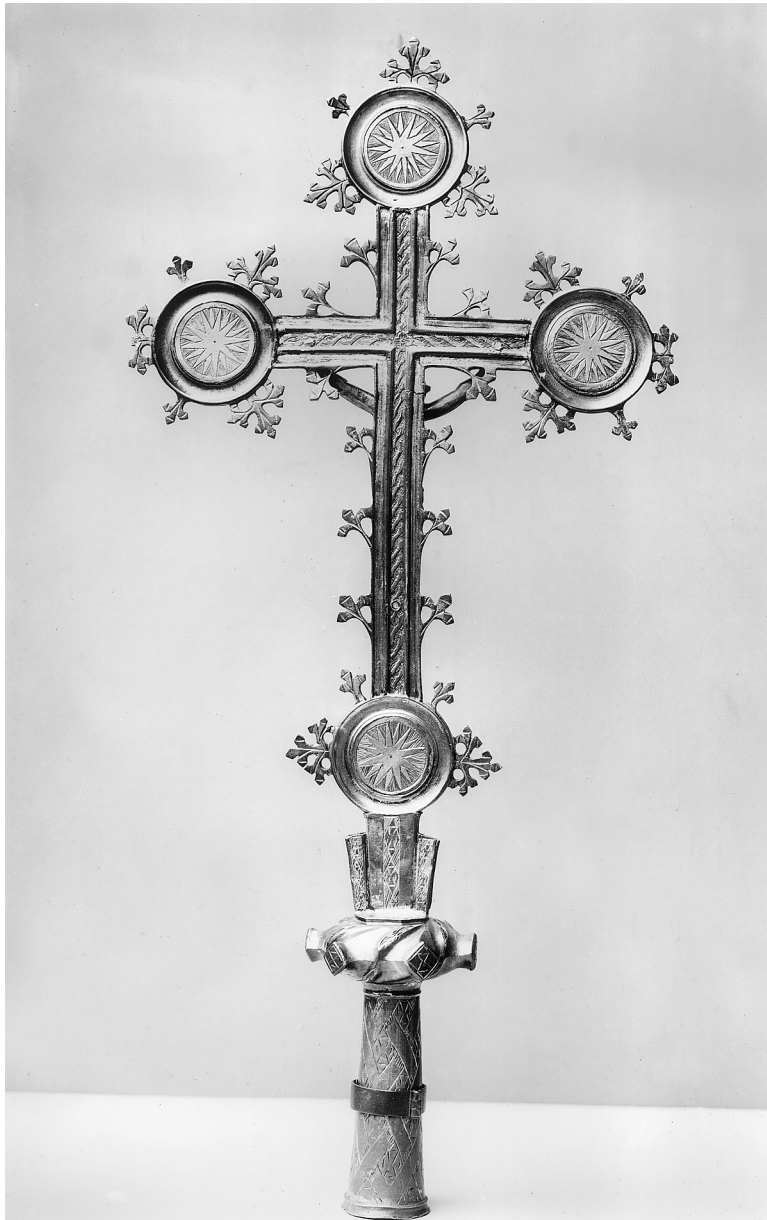
⁵ Oman 1962, p. 200. It should be noted, however, that Oman's description of the stave differs from what is reported to have been found with the Bosworth Crucifix (see below).

⁶ *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, second series, vol. 8, London 1881, p. 541.



2. The Bosworth Crucifix (front). © Society of Antiquaries of London.

of the Bosworth Crucifix, of the hinged metal ring on the neck of the shaft, to take an 'ornamental cloth or tassel' is worthy of remark, since it may be suggestive of the circumstances in which the Bosworth specimen was abandoned. The metal ring could easily have been removed, and no doubt would normally



3. The Bosworth Crucifix (back). © Society of Antiquaries of London.

have been removed (together with its cloth or tassel) when the crucifix was stored, and when it was mounted on its base for altar use. Its presence therefore suggests that, when it was abandoned, the Bosworth Crucifix was in use as a processional cross. This contention is supported also by the absence of the side figures of Our Lady

and St. John, and by the presence of its long processional staff with the crucifix at the time of discovery.

The Discovery, and the Owners of the Bosworth Crucifix

The Society of Antiquaries has few records relating to James Comerford, the donor of the Bosworth Crucifix, despite his election as a Fellow in December 1840. Other sources tell us that he was born in Holborn in 1807, and that in 1841 and 1851 he and his family lived at 7, St. Andrew's Place, Regents Park. Details of him and his family are to be found in the 1841 London Street Directory and in the censuses of 1841 and 1851. We also know that he was a notary public, working in partnership with Thomas Samuel Girdler, from premises at 7, Tokenhouse Yard, Lothbury. He was married, with a son and a daughter, and he died on 8 March 1881.⁷ It is possible that James was somehow connected with those Comerfords who lived in St. Michael's Parish, Coventry, where, as we shall see, the crucifix had been located before his family acquired it, but if so the connection is obscure, and it is not clear how James Comerford's family acquired the crucifix. Since James himself was only a small boy when the crucifix came into the possession of his family, c. 1810, it presumably passed initially to a Comerford of an earlier generation, possibly James' father.

The Society of Antiquaries' accession entry refers to an earlier account of the crucifix, published in 1811 in J. Nichols, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester*, together with an engraving. Nichols reported the crucifix as one of a number of finds from the battlefield of Bosworth. Other items were also illustrated. Nichols stated that the illustration and account of the crucifix were 'communicated by Mr. Sharp of Coventry',⁸ who provided the following information:

The Crucifix was ploughed up about the year 1778, but in what particular part of the Field cannot now be properly ascertained. Immediately on its discovery, it came into the possession of Lady Fortescue, relict of sir — Fortescue, and was given by her to John Brown her servant; who, dying in 1791, left it, with several other Catholic relicks, to Mr. Joseph Carter, sexton of St. Michael's church in Coventry, in whose possession it remained in 1793. The staff on which it was carried was discovered with it; but, being of wood, it may easily be supposed, was much decayed; there were slight traces of its having been painted and gilt. Another staff, as nearly similar as possible, was made, and is now with the Crucifix. It very much resembles the staffs of the bishops crosiers we see in painted glass of the period; the height is about six feet. The height [of the crucifix] is 22½ inches, and the transverse piece 10½'.⁹

Several points arise from this account. Nichols published it under the heading of Market Bosworth, as part of his account of finds from the battle of Bosworth and the

⁷ *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, second series, vol. 8, London 1881, p. 522. Society of Antiquaries, *Minute Book* vol. 38, pp. 83, 102. *London Directory 1851*, p. 1511. 1841 and 1851 censuses, HO 107/684/17, f.17; HO 107/1493, f. 377.

⁸ Sharp supplied a drawing of the crucifix (illus. 1) which Nichols reproduced as an engraving.

⁹ J. Nichols, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester*, 4 vols, London 1811, vol. 4, part 2, p. 557. The measurements differ slightly from those given by the Society of Antiquaries' file. As has been noted above, the description of the wooden staff found with the Bosworth Crucifix seems at variance with the description given by Oman of a typical processional staff for a crucifix of this type, an example of which survives in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

crucifix is specifically reported to have been found on the battlefield site, although the precise find location cannot be ascertained.¹⁰ When discovered it was with, or mounted upon, a staff as a processional cross, and this wooden staff was also found and copied (although neither the original nor the copy seems now to exist). There is no mention in Nichols' account of any side brackets on the crucifix (although as preserved it has slots to accommodate side brackets similar to those preserved on the closely-comparable Lamport Crucifix) and none seem to have been recovered with the crucifix when it was dug up in 1778. We have seen that this implies that the crucifix was mounted for processional use when it was lost. These points are all consistent with the idea that at the time when it was deposited, the crucifix was in use out of doors, in a situation where it required to be carried about. The battlefield site would certainly fit this criterion.¹¹

The 'Mr Sharp of Coventry' who provided Nichols with his information and illustration was a prominent local antiquarian and businessman. Thomas Sharp was born in 1770 and died in 1841, and his antiquarian researches led to his published *History and Antiquities of the City of Coventry*. He is listed in the 1830 county directory as 'Thomas Sharp, hat manufacturer'. Sharp had clearly seen and handled the crucifix in Coventry, presumably while it was in the possession of Joseph Carter. By the time Nichols' account was published (1811) the crucifix was probably already in the possession of the Comerfords, who are not mentioned by Sharp (though parish records do show that there were Comerfords at St. Michael's in Coventry in the first half of the nineteenth century). The reason why Sharp makes no mention of the Comerfords' ownership of the crucifix is simple, and emerges from two letters from Sharp to Nichols which are preserved at the Bodleian Library in Oxford. These letters reveal that although the account of the crucifix was not published until 1811, Sharp communicated both the information and the illustration to Nichols much earlier, in 1793.¹²

The last owner of the crucifix named in Sharp's account is Joseph Carter, sexton of St. Michael's church, Coventry,¹³ 'in whose possession it remained in 1793'. Joseph Carter was certainly a parishioner of St. Michael's, Coventry in the late eighteenth century.¹⁴ He died in June 1808, and on 7 October 1808 the consistory court of

¹⁰ The traditional battlefield site (where the present visitors' centre is located) has been regarded as the site of the battle since at least the mid sixteenth century. Evidence that this is so survives in the *Mirror of Justice*, a collection of sixteenth century ballads, and in Bishop Corbet's *Iter Boreale* of circa 1620. For details of this evidence see J. Ashdown-Hill: 'The Location of the Battle of Bosworth', *Ricardian Bulletin* Winter 2003, p. 32, and 'The Location of the 1485 Battle and the Fate of Richard III's Body', *Ricardian Bulletin*, (forthcoming).

¹¹ Oman observes (*Op. cit.*) that crucifixes of this kind were sometimes concealed early in the reign of Elizabeth I by church wardens anxious to avoid having them confiscated. In the cases of concealment which are known from this period, however, the crucifixes are not mounted on processional staffs (which would make concealment more difficult). This tends, perhaps, to suggest that the Bosworth Crucifix was deposited under different circumstances.

¹² Bodleian MS. Eng. Lett. B. 16 f.117 (2 February 1793) and f.118 (2 August 1793). See note by Julian Pooley in the Society of Antiquaries object file on the Bosworth Crucifix. Sharp's second letter makes it clear that the crucifix illustration was enclosed with it, although Sharp was then still hoping to be able to provide further information. The original drawing (illus. 1) which Sharp sent to Nichols is now in the Leicestershire County Archives, where a note confirms that it was sent to Nichols in 1793. I am indebted to Robin P. Jenkins, Keeper of Archives, Leicestershire, for the latter information, and for permission to reproduce this drawing.

¹³ Later the second Coventry Cathedral, ruined in the Second World War.

¹⁴ On 15 December 1778, Joseph Carter married Elizabeth Brown at St. Michael's church, Coventry, and they are described as being 'both of this parish'. Bishop's Transcripts, St. Michael's, Coventry.

the diocese of Lichfield granted an administration in respect of the death of 'Joseph Carter of Coventry ... sexton'. The Lichfield administration, issued following the intestate death of Joseph Carter, bears the signature of his widow, Elizabeth, and values his estate at less than £200. It does not mention any specific property owned by Joseph, but presumably in 1808 Elizabeth Carter inherited the Bosworth Crucifix from her husband and it may have been Elizabeth who transferred or sold the crucifix to the Comerford family.

Joseph's widow was Elizabeth, *née* Brown, and it may have been through her that the crucifix originally came into his possession. Joseph is reported by Sharp to have inherited the crucifix together with other 'catholic relicks', from one John Brown. Joseph Carter and John Brown may have been relations by marriage. Elizabeth Brown (later Carter) was baptised at St. Michael's in 1760, the daughter of Matthew and Mary Brown. One of her brothers seems to have been called John.¹⁵ According to Sharp's account the John Brown who owned the crucifix died in 1791. Unfortunately it has not been possible to find confirmation of John Brown's death in that year.¹⁶

John Brown is said by Sharp to have been given the crucifix by his employer, the widowed Lady Fortescue. No such person as Lady Fortescue can be identified, although there were Fortescues (without titles) living at Hinckley, not far from the battlefield site of Bosworth, during the eighteenth century. Purely on the basis of the name Fortescue, Nichols introduced a curious footnote into his account of the crucifix. This footnote, which is numbered '5' (but appears to have no point of reference in the main text), states that 'from the name Fortescue, I think it rather probable that the crucifix was found at *Husbands Bosworth*'. This opinion flatly contradicts Sharp's account quoted in Nichols' main text, where the crucifix is clearly and exclusively linked to the battlefield site.

It is true that, in the first half of the eighteenth century, the manor of Husbands Bosworth was held by a family named Fortescue, though they held neither knighthoods nor baronetcy.¹⁷ The last male member of this family died childless in 1748, leaving his manor to an unmarried sister who died in 1763. Thereafter the manor of Husbands Bosworth passed to a cousin, Francis Fortescue Turvile. It was Turvile who held the manor of Husbands Bosworth in 1778 when the crucifix is reported to have been discovered. He was at that time unmarried.¹⁸ Thus the mysterious widow 'Lady

¹⁵ The Register of St. Michael's, Coventry, records the baptisms of a number of children of Matthew and Mary Brown between 1757 and 1774. It also records the baptism of John Brown in 1763, but the entry is curious, for while it names his father as Matthew, his mother's name is given as Sarah. It seems very probable, however, that this is an error. A child of Matthew and Mary in 1763 could be expected (their other children were baptised in 1757, 1760, 1765, 1768 and 1774) and no other children of a couple called Matthew and Sarah Brown figure in the register.

¹⁶ A John Brown died at Kenilworth, south west of Coventry, towards the end of 1792. (Kenilworth Parish Register: burial of John Brown, mason, 10 October 1792.) He left a will, which was proved in the consistory court of the diocese of Lichfield on 5 April 1793. The will does not mention either the crucifix or the Carters, although John Brown of Kenilworth did have relatives in Coventry. The Kenilworth John Brown seems to have been in his early fifties at the time of his death. He was thus too old to have been Elizabeth Carter's brother although he could possibly have been her uncle.

¹⁷ There are no extant baronetcies in the name of Fortescue, nor were there any Jacobite baronetcies in this name. There are two extinct baronetcies in the name of Fortescue, which died out in 1682 and 1686 respectively. Both related to west country families. Of course the alleged 'Sir — Fortescue' may have been a knight rather than a baronet, if he in fact existed.

¹⁸ Francis Fortescue Turvile married Barbara Talbot in 1780. Barbara Talbot is potentially of interest in connection with the Bosworth Crucifix. See appendix.

Fortescue' proves as elusive at Husbands Bosworth as at Market Bosworth. Since her name was Nichols' only reason for attributing the crucifix to Husbands Bosworth rather than to the battlefield site, the fact that no such person existed at Husbands Bosworth in or around 1778 effectively undermines the change of location. There is therefore no real reason to doubt the attribution to the battlefield site. One possible solution of this enigma might be that the elusive 'Lady Fortescue' never really existed, but was merely John Brown's invention; his way of explaining how a valuable antiquity which he may possibly have acquired under dubious circumstances, came into his hands. Neither Sharp nor Nichols seems to have been able to identify Lady Fortescue with any certainty. In the account which Sharp communicated to Nichols he left her husband's name blank. Nichols, for his part, was clearly unsure of who she was, though the surname Fortescue led to his speculation regarding Husbands Bosworth.

Conclusions

There is no reason to believe other than that the Bosworth Crucifix was found in the vicinity of the traditional Bosworth battlefield site in or about 1778. Sharp (1793) and Nichols (1811) both report this, while Nichols' supplementary suggestion of a connection with Husbands Bosworth was merely an opinion, unsupported by any evidence and, as we can now see, inconsistent with the facts. However, there is equally no evidence to connect the Bosworth Crucifix with the battle of 1485. It could have been deliberately deposited where it was found at some later date, perhaps during the religious disturbances of the sixteenth century. If it was found mounted on its processional stave, this might tend to militate against the notion that it was deliberately concealed in the sixteenth century. Unfortunately precise details of the discovery are lacking and it is unclear whether the crucifix was found actually mounted on its stave, or simply associated with it. The 'sunbursts' on the reverse of its roundels may or may not be Yorkist badges.

A connection with the travelling chapel royal of Richard III, although unproven, is nevertheless not implausible. The crucifix is described in a note in its file at the Society of Antiquaries as belonging to a class of objects 'intended for use in minor churches and in private chapels'. It is therefore precisely the kind of artefact which one would expect to have figured amongst the church plate in use by those royal chaplains who, as we know from the Crowland Chronicle, certainly accompanied Richard III to Bosworth.¹⁹

The account of the transmission of the Bosworth Crucifix since its recovery, as reported by Sharp (1793) and published by Nichols (1811), is largely plausible but cannot be incontrovertibly verified. Joseph Carter the sexton certainly lived in Coventry and was connected by marriage to a family named Brown. 'Lady Fortescue', however, cannot be identified, indeed she may never have existed. Nor has it been possible to trace the means by which the crucifix passed from the heirs of Joseph Carter of Coventry into the possession of the Comerford family in London.

Appendix 1. Barbara Talbot

Sharp's mysterious 'Lady Fortescue', the first recorded owner of the Bosworth Crucifix, cannot be identified with any certainty. It is possible, however, that there

¹⁹ 'At dawn on Monday morning [22 August 1485] the chaplains were not ready to celebrate mass for King Richard'. N. Pronay & J. Cox, eds., *The Crowland Chronicle Continuations: 1459-1486*, London 1986, p. 181.

may be some link between 'Lady Fortescue' and Barbara Talbot, later the wife of Francis Fortescue Turvile who held the manor of Husbands Bosworth in 1778 when the crucifix was found. As the sister of the fifteenth earl of Shrewsbury, Barbara may, perhaps, have used the title 'Lady'. Indeed, if her father had held the earldom before her brother she would certainly have been entitled to do so, but actually her father was a younger brother of the childless fourteenth earl, and he never himself held the earldom of Shrewsbury. Barbara's brother succeeded to the title upon the death of their uncle in 1787.

However, evidence from the behaviour of other members of the Talbot family who were Barbara's very close relatives clearly indicates that the fact that Barbara was not an earl's daughter would not necessarily have prevented her from assuming the courtesy title of 'Lady'. The genealogy of the Talbot family at this period is complex. Several successive earls died childless with the consequence that the title passed to nephews and cousins. Some members of the family undoubtedly took advantage of the consequent confusion to surreptitiously upgrade their social status. Thus it is certain that Barbara's grandfather, who was never earl of Shrewsbury, nevertheless used this title and his widow continued to style herself 'countess' after his death. So successful were the couple in this pretence that the 1825 edition of *Burke's Peerage* allows for an extra earl in its enumeration, incorrectly counting Barbara's grandfather as the fourteenth earl, her uncle as the fifteenth earl, and her brother as the sixteenth earl. Barbara's father, the younger son of the *soi-disant* fourteenth 'earl' and his 'countess', carried on the pretence, styling himself 'the Honourable' as though he had really been an earl's son. Likewise his sisters, Barbara's aunts, all availed themselves of the title 'Lady' although they had no right to it.²⁰ Barbara may have followed this example.

It is interesting to note that Barbara Talbot was a catholic. Like the Howards of Norfolk, the senior line of the Talbots of Shrewsbury adhered to the old religion and Barbara's brother, the fifteenth earl, is specifically noted in *Burke's Peerage* for 1825, as having been unable to take up his seat in the House of Lords because of his religion. The fact of Barbara's catholicism might be thought to explain Sharp's reference to 'catholic relicks' given by 'Lady Fortescue' to John Brown.

Nevertheless, Barbara was not a widow in 1778, when the Bosworth Crucifix was reportedly discovered. In fact she was not even married then and had no connection whatsoever, at that time, with Husbands Bosworth, so that even if she is the original of Sharp's 'Lady Fortescue' that fact would not prove Nichols' footnote suggestion in respect of the find location of the crucifix. Interestingly, however, Barbara's father, 'The Hon.' Charles Talbot, had his seat at Horecross, Yoxall, Staffordshire, which is about 20 miles from the Bosworth battlefield site to the north west (whereas Husbands Bosworth is about 18 miles south east of the battlefield site). Charles Talbot had died in 1766 and it is not known where Barbara was living in 1778. However the possibility remains that she was, in fact, the first possessor of the Bosworth Crucifix after its discovery although this cannot have been because of her later connection with Husbands Bosworth, a connection which did not exist at the time of the discovery.

If 'Lady Fortescue' ever had an original, 'Lady' (?) Barbara Talbot (Turvile) seems the only likely candidate. Her subsequent connection with Husbands Bosworth may then be what mislead Nichols to suggest in his footnote that the Bosworth Crucifix might have been found there. It is nevertheless strange that in 1778 when the Bosworth Crucifix was reportedly unearthed, Barbara, far from being a widow, was as

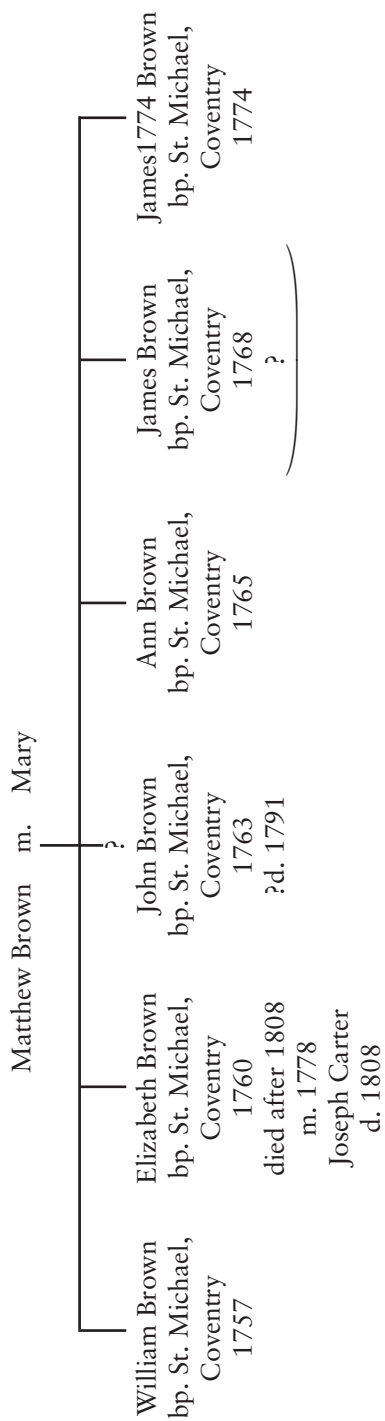
²⁰ *Complete Peerage* vol. 11, London 1949, p. 725.

yet unmarried. In fact she never was a widow for she predeceased her husband. It thus remains difficult to understand why either Sharp, in 1793, or Nichols, in 1811 (by which time Barbara had been dead for five years) would have described her as the relict of Sir ... Fortescue.

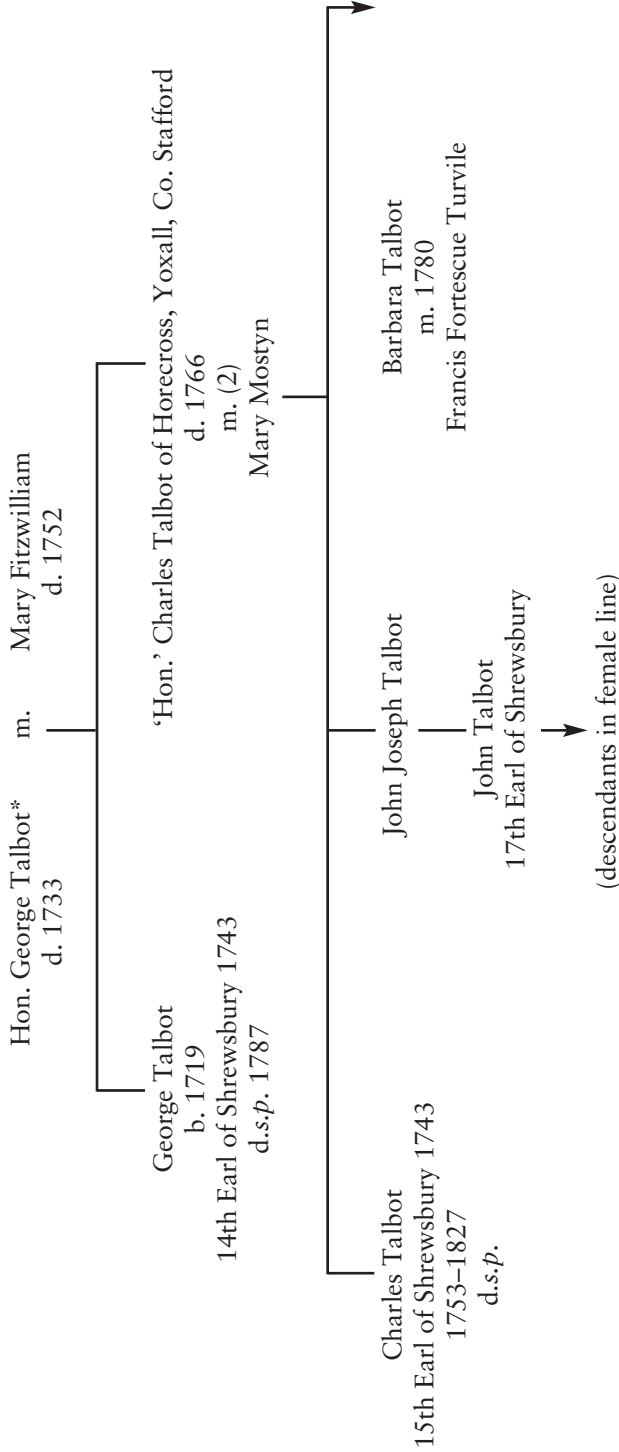
Personal details

John Ashdown-Hill has published a range of articles on mainly fifteenth-century topics, and has a special interest in Eleanor Talbot, Lady Butler, and the issues relating to Edward IV's pre-contract of marriage. He is currently working on the Essex and Suffolk connections of John Howard, 1st Duke of Norfolk.

Genealogical Table (1) *Brown and Carter*



Genealogical Table (2) *Talbot of Shrewsbury* (simplified)



* *self-styled Earl of Shrewsbury*

Genealogical Table (3) *Fortescue of Husbands Bosworth*