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Original Citation

Thornton, Tim (2017) Wales in Late Medieval and Early Modern English Histories: Neglect, Rediscovery, and their Implications. *Historical Research*, 90 (250). pp. 683-703. ISSN 1468-2281

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Wales in Late Medieval and Early Modern English Histories: Neglect, Rediscovery, and their Implications

The major histories written in England in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries demonstrate significant interest in Wales, how it came to be ruled by the English, and how relationships between rulers and people had developed. The histories most current in England in the late fourteenth and fifteenth century, by contrast, show far less interest in these Welsh topics. Readers of the most widely-available histories in the late fifteenth century, especially those which were part of the Brut and London Chronicle traditions, would have had relatively little sense of the situation of Wales and its conquest, still less of more recent events, not least the rebellion of Owain Glyndŵr in the early fifteenth century or the turbulence of the most recent half-century. By the late sixteenth century, this position had been reversed, and readers of widely available histories were plentifully supplied with accounts of the Welsh past and its relevance to the English experience. This poses questions as to the reasons for this change, and its impacts. First, it suggests we should explore the role we should attribute to perceptions of the historic and more recent impact of Welsh instability in shaping the civil conflicts of 1450-87; and, second, it points us towards a more subtle understanding of the rediscovery of a Welsh past in English historiography from the early sixteenth century. The intention here is to explore the significance of the Welsh identity of the monarchy and of many people at court in promoting this rediscovery, as well as the prominent role in historical writing and publishing of men such as Richard Grafton, Edward Hall and Raphael Holinshed who had strong marcher connections.

It is important in doing so to be aware of less positive interpretations of the portrayal of the Welsh in many late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century English sources. Mark Stoyale has emphasised the way in which negative stereotypes of the Welsh interacted with political divisions in the seventeenth century to create a general perception of Welsh inferiority and even 'heathenness'; Lloyd Bowen has made similar points about an 'innate suspicion' of the Welsh based on a 'semi-imperial' view which was fed by the politics of Parliament. This reflects an important strand in recent historical writing about Wales which emphasises the limits to the accommodation represented by the processes of 'Union' in the second quarter of the sixteenth century, especially on the part of the English.¹ There is general agreement that many Welsh people accepted the opportunities provided by the 'acts of union' and associated policies and that there were opportunities too for the English in some aspects of Welsh contributions to the polity

¹ L. Bowen, 'Representations of Wales and the Welsh during the Civil Wars and Interregnum', *Historical Research*, lxxvii (2004), 358-76; idem, 'Civil War allegiance', in L. Bowen, *The Politics of the Principality: Wales, c. 1603-42* (Cardiff, 2007); M. Stoyale, *Soldiers and Strangers: An Ethnic History of the English Civil War* (New Haven CT, 2005), esp ch. 2; J. O. Bartley, *Teague, Shenkin and Sawney: Being an Historical Study of the Earliest Irish, Welsh and Scottish Characters in English Plays* (Cork, 1954); A. H. Dodd, *A Short History of Wales: Welsh Life and Customs from Prehistoric Times to the Present Day* (1977), chs. 2-3; G. Williams, *Renewal and Reformation: Wales c. 1415-1642* (Oxford, 2002), preface, ch. 19; J. G. Jones, *Early Modern Wales, c. 1525-1640* (1994); G. H. Jenkins, *The Foundations of Modern Wales: Wales, 1642-1780* (Oxford, 1987). Earlier versions of this paper were given at the North American Association for the Study of Welsh Culture and History in Kingston ON (July 2014) and at the Seventh Bangor Colloquium on Medieval Wales (November 2014); I am grateful to participants and colleagues, especially Ralph Griffiths and Cliff Davies, for their comments and suggestions. I would also like to thank Profs S. L. Peverley and Ralph Griffiths, and Dr Peter Roberts for permission to refer to unpublished dissertations.

as a whole.² Still, in spite of this, there has over the past few decades been a consistent tendency to emphasise the impact of continued disadvantage and divergence, for example in the progress of the Reformation and of the Welsh economy, and consequent lack of regard on the part of English for the Welsh, widely expressed in different genres and especially newsbooks.³

Literary scholars have, however, over the past two decades developed a sense of the complexity of the development of Englishness, and its interactions with Welsh- and Irishness, and Britishness during this period. That complex development is, however, seen by them as the domain of the poets of the sixteenth century, and one in which the men of power of the period are less interested. Historiography in the conventional sense has therefore tended not to be their main focus.⁴ In addition, thanks especially to the efforts of those students of literature, it has for some

² The latter notable especially in the work of Peter Roberts: 'The union with England and the identity of "Anglican" Wales', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., 22 (1972), 49-70; 'Wales and England after the Tudor "union": crown, principality and parliament 1543-1624', in *Law and Government under the Tudors: Essays Presented to Sir Geoffrey Elton ... on ... his Retirement*, ed. C. Cross, D. M. Loades, and J. J. Scarisbrick (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 111-38; 'The English crown, the principality of Wales and the Council of the Marches, 1534-1641', in *The British Problem, c. 1534-1707: State Formation in the Atlantic Archipelago*, ed. B. Bradshaw and J. Morrill (Basingstoke and London, 1996), pp. 118-47.

³ A very effective example of this approach is provided by M. Stoye, 'Caricaturing Cymru: images of the Welsh in the London press, 1642-46', in *War and Society in Medieval and Early Modern Britain*, ed. D. E. S. Dunn (Liverpool, 2000), pp. 162-79; see more generally the work by him and by Bowen cited in fn. 1.

⁴ See e.g. P. Schwyzer, *Literature, Nationalism, and Memory in Early Modern England and Wales* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 37, on waning political commitment after the upsurge of the late 1540s prompted by

time been agreed that there was from the 1530s a change of view on the 'British history' (strictly defined, as relating to the narrative derived from Geoffrey of Monmouth of mythical events following on the arrival of Brutus, notably concerning Arthur). Although there had previously been many English sceptics on the subject of that 'British history', from the 1530s this narrative became part of the reformation claim to empire and was very widely committed to by English writers. This development in the use of the 'British history' has for the last half-century been the subject of intense scholarly scrutiny.⁵ But that is not the same as the study of the Welsh elements within that mythical 'British history', and of the more securely grounded historical narratives mentioning Wales which were associated with it. English attitudes to the Welsh in history remain to be addressed.

The fourteenth century saw Wales and its recent and more distant past presented extensively in English historical sources. This was due to the continuing resonance of the conquest, just a few

hopes of Scottish union. Also D. J. Baker, *Between Nations: Shakespeare, Spenser, Marvell, and the Question of Britain* (Stanford CA, 1997); W. Maley, *Salvaging Spenser: Colonialism, Culture and Identity* (Basingstoke, 1997); idem, *Nation, State and Empire in English Renaissance Literature: Shakespeare to Milton* (Basingstoke, 2002); A. Hadfield, *Literature, Politics and National Identity: Reformation to Renaissance* (Cambridge, 1994); idem, *Shakespeare, Spenser, and the Matter of Britain* (Basingstoke, 2004).

⁵ M. McKisack, *Medieval History in the Tudor Age* (Oxford 1971); F. J. Levy, *Tudor Historical Thought* (San Marino CA, 1967); J. Carley, 'Polydore Vergil and John Leland on King Arthur: the battle of the books', *Arthurian Interpretations*, xv, no. 2 (Spring 1984), 86-100; Schwyzer, *Literature, Nationalism, and Memory*, esp. ch. 1; S. J. Mottram, "'An empire of itself': Arthur as an icon of an English empire, 1509-1547", *Arthurian Literature*, xxv (2008), 153-73.

decades before, of Gwynedd during the late thirteenth century, and to the possibly not unconnected centrality of Chester monk Ranulph Higden in the development of the universal chronicle tradition in England.⁶ It was also evident in the historiography generated at and in contact with St Albans, within which it had been given a prominent role by Matthew Paris.⁷ Even writers whose immediate circumstances provided few prompts to an interest in Wales spent significant effort in chronicling recent events there. This was, for example, true of the Lanercost Chronicle and the *Scalacronica*, both written from the perspective of the Scottish borders. In the former case, both the earlier part of the narrative, perhaps that of Richard of Durham, and that of the later author who takes up the story from 1297, give significant space to Welsh affairs. In the latter case, Sir Thomas Grey of Heaton in Northumberland showed his willingness to take forward from Higden and John of Tynemouth (himself heavily dependent on Higden) the same interest in Wales.⁸

That interest tended to express the approach observed for earlier centuries by Simon Meecham-Jones, of history being used as a vehicle through which discourses of authority, Britishness,

⁶ Higden covers mythical origins, through the Conqueror's intervention, Henry I's invasion, Baldwin's preaching of crusade, and Rhys ap Gruffudd of Deheubarth, to the involvement of John, including the marriage of his daughter Joan to Llywelyn ab Iorwerth, and Joan's adultery with William de Briouze: *Polychronicon*, ed. C. Babington and J. R. Lumby, Rolls Ser., xli (9 vols., London, 1865-86), i. 394, 396; vii. 362; viii. 40, 68, 74, 158, 160, 186, 206.

⁷ E.g. Susan M. Johns, *Gender, Nation and Conquest in the High Middle Ages: Nest of Deheubarth* (Manchester, 2013), pp. 102-8.

⁸ *The Chronicle of Lanercost, 1272-1346*, trans. H. Maxwell (Glasgow, 1913), pp. 16, 20, 31-6, 38, 47-8, 51, 107-9, 142-4, 209, 229, 253; T. Gray, *Scalacronica, 1272-1363*, ed. A. King, Surtees Soc., 209 (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 8-17, 92-5, 185 (praise of Welsh archers).

peripherality, and unequal value are articulated in relation to Wales.⁹ This is not unalloyed: from his vantage-point in Chester close to the northern Marches of Wales Higden was able to express some sympathy for the Welsh as ‘fragiles’ but unsurprisingly so given that they had been put out of their land.¹⁰ It is only with the rebellion of Dafydd ap Gruffydd in 1282 that the Welsh become for Higden the ‘false Welsh’, and his most condemnatory tone appears.¹¹ Higden’s account of the Welsh in the early fourteenth century is one of a people which had started to behave, in his eyes, responsibly: to live as Englishmen, gather treasure, and fear the loss of their goods.¹² For most writers, however, the history of the Welsh tended to emphasise their instability and untrustworthiness, and the role of the English, and increasingly of the English crown, in asserting a natural authority over them in the arrogation of a claim to Britishness which was increasingly indistinct from Englishness. Contemptuous, occasionally dismissive and condescending though this approach might have been, it meant the Welsh were not infrequently prominent in English historical narratives, as when the author of the *Vita Edwardi Secundi* extensively acknowledged the role of Wales and the Welsh in the politics of that king’s reign.¹³

⁹ ‘Where was Wales? The Erasure of Wales in Medieval English Culture’, in *Authority and Subjugation in Writing Medieval Wales*, ed. R. Kennedy and S. Meecham-Jones (Basingstoke, 2008), pp. 27-55.

¹⁰ *Polychronicon*, i. 402, 404.

¹¹ *Polychronicon*, viii. 264, 266, 268.

¹² *Polychronicon*, viii. 280, 282. For Higden and Wales, see also P. Morgan, ‘Cheshire and Wales’, in *Power and Identity in the Middle Ages: Essays in Memory of Rees Davies*, ed. H. Pryce and J. Watts (Oxford, 2007), pp. 195-210, esp. p. 203.

¹³ *Vita Edwardi Secundi: The Life of Edward the Second*, ed. W. R. Childs (Oxford, 2005), pp. 48-9, 56-7, 106-7, 114-21, 138-9, 184-91, 202-3.

This interest in Wales became progressively less significant in the English historiography, however. The influence of Higden peaked in the later fourteenth century, and, although the text was still owned widely in the fifteenth century, it tended to be held only in certain clerical circles. John Taylor noted, for example, that ‘there are hardly any examples of lay ownership’ of the *Polychronicon*.¹⁴ The text was translated into English by John Trevisa as well as by another writer, but even the former version, however well-known it is today, was not initially extensively circulated. Higden’s role as an inspiration for other chroniclers, who either continued his work or aped its approach, also died away after the turn of the century. Even where it remained, the presence of the Welsh in the historiography changed; they became less prominent and were still less sympathetically drawn. We can see some signs of the change which was taking place in the work of historians active later in the fourteenth century. Henry Knighton was both distinctly less interested in the Welsh, and more negative in his view of them.¹⁵ He took from Higden brief details of Aethelstan’s conquests, and of the activities of Godwin and of Harold in Wales.¹⁶ He offered an account of Henry, Robert of Belleme and the Welsh, but for 1219 he recorded simply ‘Wallenses rebellarunt.’ Knighton again depended heavily on Higden for later discussion of the

¹⁴ Taylor, p. 109.

¹⁵ G. H. Martin, ‘Knighton, Henry (d. c.1396), *Chronicler and Augustinian canon*’, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. G. C. Matthew and B. Harrison (61 vols., Oxford, 2004), xxxi. 941-2.

¹⁶ *Chronicon Henrici Knighton, vel Cnitthon, monachi Leycestrensis*, ed. J. R. Lumby, Rolls Ser., xcii (2 vols., London, 1889-95), i. 20, 38, 47.

conquests of Edward I.¹⁷ In 1386, in his own time, the Welsh are amongst a group of local inhabitants from the north and west of Britain accused by him of having committed plunder when, having been summoned to help defend against the French, they were disbanded without pay, although it was in practice Cheshiremen who were the chief target of his opprobrium.¹⁸ There is a similarly sparse (and more negative) view of the near-contemporary Welsh in Thomas Walsingham's *Chronica maiora*, developed from 1376 as the last major attempt to continue the Matthew Paris St Albans tradition. Accounts of some near-contemporary incidents involving the Welsh, present in Walsingham's earlier work, were omitted in his later writing.¹⁹ Walsingham's later career did, however, coincide with Owain Glyndŵr's rebellion, and he therefore manifests a brief upsurge of extremely hostile reporting of the Welsh, including the notorious atrocity story of the mutilation of English

¹⁷ Knighton, ed. Lumby, i. 116, 207, 210, 211, 213, 219-20, 225, 234-5, 271-7, 289-90, 349-50. There are brief mentions of Wales in his coverage of Edward II's reign: pp. 423, 432.

¹⁸ Knighton's *Chronicle 1337-1396*, ed. G. H. Martin (Oxford, 1995), pp. 350-51.

¹⁹ *Chronicon Angliae, ab anno Domini 1328 usque ad annum 1388, auctore monacho quodam Sancti Albani*, ed. E. M. Thompson, Rolls Ser., lxiv (1874), p. 7 ('ubi Wallici multa dampna fecerunt per illam moram, qui noxii sunt ubique'). This incident is absent from the *Chronica maiora*. For the association of Walsingham with Matthew Paris, rather than Polychronicon, see *The Chronica Maiora of Thomas Walsingham (1376-1422)*, trans. D. Preest, ed. J. G. Clark (Woodbridge, 2005), p. 10; the alternative view is taken by *The St Albans Chronicle: The Chronica Maiora of Thomas Walsingham*, ed. J. Taylor, W. Childs and L. Watkiss (2 vols., Oxford, 2003-10), i. pp. lx-lxii.

corpses on the field of Bryn Glas, and an account of the duplicity of Glyndŵr in foiling the siege of Aberystwyth.²⁰

Walsingham's influence soon waned, even at St Albans itself, and was replaced by the predominance of the Brut and London chronicle traditions.²¹ Their view of Wales and the Welsh was more limited, and their influence significantly more widespread. For the Middle English prose Brut, over 180 manuscript copies originating from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries survive, with over 200 separate entries in Lister Matheson's descriptive catalogue, as well as thirteen early printed editions, and an unknown (but large) number of Latin and Welsh translations and associated versions. Matheson has helped us to understand the text's extraordinary reach amongst the landed gentry, monastic houses, individual ecclesiastics, the merchant class, and both men and women

²⁰ *St Albans Chronicle*, ii. 320-23, 520-29. Clark suggests a classical model for the atrocity story, which is not found in other contemporary sources, notably Adam of Usk: *Chronica Maiora*, p. 9. As Livingston indicates, however, there are strong hints of brutality in another near-contemporary source, the *Historia Vitae*, specifically referring to mutilations carried out by Rhys ap Gruffudd: 'The Battle of Bryn Glas, 1402', in *Owain Glyndŵr: A Casebook*, ed. M. Livingston and J. K. Bollard (Liverpool, 2013), pp. 454-5.

²¹ *St Albans Chronicle*, i, pp. lxii-lxiii (chronicle for 1422-31). An example of those still influenced by the tradition, Capgrave, showed a reducing interest in Wales, while reproducing the recent hostile material on Glyndŵr; yet in his *Liber de Illustribus Henricis*, although it is in Wales that Glyndŵr wanders, Owain has lost even his own Welshness in the adjectives applied to him: *John Capgrave's 'Abbeviacion of Cronicles'*, ed. P. J. Lucas, Early English Text Society, original ser., cclxxxv (Oxford, 1983), pp. 31, 74, 91, 128-9, 153, 192, 217-19, 221, 223, 227, 229-30, 232. J. Capgrave, *Liber de Illustribus Henricis*, ed. F. C. Hingeston, Rolls Ser., vii (1858), p. 110.

readers; and geographically from the North, the West Midlands, and Wales, across through Cambridgeshire into East Anglia, and around the south of England.²² In the *Brut*, Wales appears in just a few main episodes after the mythical British period. These are chiefly in the conquest of Gwynedd in the reign of Edward I, and in an account of the rebellion of Owain Glyndŵr. In the former case, the story is carried forward from its source in Peter Langtoft's chronicle and, as in Langtoft, stands mainly to illustrate the fulfilment of the relevant section of the 'Six Kings to follow John' prophecy, and Edward's character.²³ It is, however, typically garbled and abbreviated from its source. The reader is, nonetheless, provided with an account of the 'rebellions' of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd and his brother Dafydd, and then finally of Rhys ap Maredudd. In each case, more or less clearly, the duplicity of the Welsh is described, and Edward's forbearance and persistence wins out.²⁴

²² L. M. Matheson, *The Prose Brut: The Development of a Middle English Chronicle* (Tempe AZ, 1998), pp. 8-16.

²³ The source for the Anglo-Norman *Brut* for 1272-1307 is an unedited version of Langtoft's Chronicle; major additions, between 1333 and the mid-fourteenth century, were probably made by an Exchequer clerk who accompanied the royal administration to York: Matheson, *Prose Brut*, pp. 32-3; J. Taylor, 'The French prose *Brut*: popular history in fourteenth-century England', in *England in the Fourteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1985 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. W. M. Ormrod (Woodbridge, 1986), pp. 253-4, and n. 30. For speculations as to the origins of this approach in Langtoft, see T. Summerfield, 'The testimony of writing: Pierre de Langtoft and the appeals to history, 1291-1306', in *The Scots and Medieval Arthurian Legend*, ed. R. Purdie and N. Royan (Arthurian studies, lxi) (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 25-41, esp. pp. 35-41.

²⁴ *The Brut: or, The Chronicles of England*, ed. F. W. D. Brie, Early English Text Society, original ser., cxxxi, cxxxvi (1906-8), pp. 180-87; cf. *The Chronicle of Pierre de Langtoft, in French Verse, from the Earliest Period to the Death of King Edward I.*, ed. T. Wright, Rolls Ser., xlvii (2 vols., London, 1866-8), ii. 170-85; R. R. Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence, and Change: Wales 1063-1415* (Oxford, 1987), pp. 327-8.

No other references in the Brut to Welsh affairs can really be considered more than passing, with the possible exception of the treatment of the Glyndŵr rebellion. This is described as arising from dissension between Owain and Lord Grey of Ruthin. Owain is said to have been at large for twelve years, to have taken Grey (and in some versions to have made him marry his daughter, confusing him with Edmund Mortimer). There is emphasis on the destruction wrought by the Welsh, and their falseness. Henry IV's intervention is described as being ineffective, with the Welsh daily causing damage to the king's forces, and the king's men able to do them harm 'yn no maner of wyse', as they could not reach them in the mountains. The king returns to England, and in one main version of the Brut there is then no more mention of the rebellion until the twelfth year of Henry's reign, when there is a mention of 'Rhys ap Die' (Rhys 'Ddu', Rhys ap Gruffudd ap Llywelyn ap Ieuan, from Cardiganshire, Glyndŵr's captain at Aberystwyth) as being taken as in rebellion with Owain, brought to London, and executed, with his quarters being sent to four towns and his head set on London Bridge.²⁵

Otherwise Wales makes very little impression on the Brut: overlordship under Edgar and Henry II, with his campaigns there and reinforcing Rhuddlan Castle, and passing mentions in relation to papal politics under John and Henry III. Other references are even more incidental, such as the acknowledgement that Welshmen were the troops that harried

²⁵ *Brut*, pp. 362-3, 370. The marriage to Grey is in the text in Cambridge University Library MS Kk.1.12, but not in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MS B 173 (written c.1420-30): p. 393. R. R. Davies, *The Revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 310-11; A. Marchant, 'A narrative approach to chronicles', in *Owain Glyndŵr: A Casebook*, ed. Livingston and Bollard, p. 560. The execution of Rhys in fact occurred in 1410.

William Wallace in Stirling; under Edward II brief mentions of the ways in which the troubles of the reign involved conflict there; and that Henry V was born in Monmouth in Wales.²⁶ Obvious opportunities to refer to Wales are notably missed, such as the episode of Richard II's return from Ireland, which brings a mention of Flint, but no reference to Wales.²⁷

Much the same thing could be said about the other widely influential English chronicle tradition of the period, that of the London chronicles. In one of its versions, for example, we have brief mentions of interdict in 1203, and specifically just for Wales in 1216; and then, additionally to what is offered in the Brut, mention of war with the Welsh in 1243, with Gruffudd ap Llywelyn's death in 1244, and further war in 1256.²⁸ The struggle between Llywelyn and Edward I is retold, with Llywelyn yielding twice and being accepted by the king, until on the third occasion he rose and was killed. There is then more detail about the capture and execution of Dafydd and the king's occupation of all Welsh lands, dividing them into shires and hundreds as in England, and about castles built at Conway, Caernarfon, and Aberystwyth.²⁹ The London chronicle is also slightly more prone to giving

²⁶ *Brut*, pp. 113, 148, 160, 171, 193, 213, 224, 235, 237-9, 373. There is also mention of Sir Thomas de Turberville, traitor to Edward I, saying that all Englishmen *and Welshmen* should bow to the king of France: p. 188.

²⁷ *Brut*, p. 358.

²⁸ British Library, Harley MS 565 (which provides an account to 1443), printed in *A Chronicle of London, from 1089 to 1483*, ed. N. H. Nicolas and E. Tyrrell (1827), p. 5, 8, 16, 19; M.-R. McLaren, *The London Chronicles of the Fifteenth Century: A Revolution in English Writing* (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 103-4.

²⁹ *Chronicle of London to 1483*, pp. 26-7, 29-31.

incidental details relevant to Wales, for example of great hailstones which fell in the marches.³⁰ Further Welsh rebellions are then described, in 1287 and 1294; then in 1297 the Welsh appear as a key component in the force which Edward takes overseas.³¹

In the London Chronicle tradition, the troubles of Edward II's reign feature Wales only very briefly, as a location for the flight and capture of the Despensers and others.³² As with the Brut, opportunities to relate Richard II's reign to Wales are not taken, with Richard described as returning from Ireland 'into Engelond', although some of the action is specified as occurring at Flint. It is only in the aftermath of Richard's fall that there is a reference to the possible loyalty of Wales to the king, in the rebels at Cirencester 'seyenge that kyng Richard was up with alle Walys and Chestyrschire.'³³

Glyndŵr's rebellion is dealt with in similarly brief terms: the start of the rebellion, extremely briefly, and the expedition of the English king into Wales, with only the suggestion that it was instigated by Lord Grey of Ruthin to elaborate it (without any indication of its outcome, unlike the more pessimistic account of the Brut); the seizure of the earl of March's children in 1405, the longest passage on the rebellion; and finally the execution of Rhys 'Ddu'.³⁴ For the remainder of

³⁰ *Chronicle of London to 1483*, p. 33.

³¹ *Chronicle of London to 1483*, pp. 33, 36-7.

³² *Chronicle of London to 1483*, p. 50.

³³ *Chronicle of London to 1483*, pp. 84, 86.

³⁴ *Chronicle of London to 1483*, pp. 87, 89-90, 93.

the text, there are only very infrequent and passing references to Wales: as the location in which Sir John Oldcastle was captured, and the self-proclaimed home of a Lollard from Abingdon.³⁵

Contemporary chroniclers' references to Wales in the conflicts of the period from c. 1440 to the 1470s are usually very sparse. Only rarely are groups identified as 'Welsh', or 'the Welsh', ascribed any role, or individual actors described as Welsh. Among those who wrote and read and rewrote the history of the period, even as a geographical space within which events might take place or to which they might relate, Wales is barely mentioned. In one version of the London Chronicles, Cotton MS Julius B. I, Wales is the starting point for Richard, duke of York's march to Blackheath in 1452, and later his escape in 1459 from Ludlow, but no more.³⁶ The text in Vitellius A XVI suggests a little more interest in Wales, but only marginally: in addition to those passages, there is trouble there in 1454, and in 1461 Edward of March passes through Wales to Mortimer's Cross and through the Marches after his victory at Towton, before a mention of the fall of Harlech in 1468.³⁷

³⁵ *Chronicle of London to 1483*, pp. 106, 119.

³⁶ Printed (as a continuation to Harley MS 565) from 1444 in *Chronicle of London to 1483*, pp. 137, 140; McLaren, *London Chronicles*, pp. 100-3. Similarly, John Hardyng mentions only the flight from Ludlow – not even Mortimer's Cross: S. L. Peverley, 'John Hardyng's Chronicle: A Study of the Two Versions and a Critical Edition of Both for the Period 1327-1464' (unpublished PhD diss., University of Hull, 2004), pp. 550, 552-3.

³⁷ *Chronicles of London*, ed. C. L. Kingsford (Oxford, 1905), pp. 163-4, 170, 172, 176, 179. A similar example: the 'Short English Chronicle' in Lambeth Palace Library, MS 306, Blackheath and Mortimer's Cross only (*Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles: With Historical Memoranda By John Stowe, the Antiquary, and Contemporary Notes of Occurrences Written by him in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, ed. J. Gairdner, Camden Soc., new ser., xxviii (1880), pp. 69, 76-7); 'John Benet's Chronicle for the Years 1400 to 1462', ed.

Even the contemporary author who pays most attention to Wales, 'Gregory', while he adds detail to some of these events (such as in relation to Owen Tudor's execution in Hereford, although still not describing him as Welsh, and on Jasper, earl of Pembroke's doing justice in King Henry's name widely 'ovyr the contraye' before the fall of his base at Harlech), provides little more on Wales.

The other material amounts only to Queen Margaret's flight there after the battle of Northampton, and the duke of Somerset's departure from Wales towards the north of England late in 1463.³⁸ The main accounts of the rebellions and revolutions of 1469-71 often fail to identify any Welsh context for events,³⁹ illustrated particularly by treatments of the battle of Edgcote in 1469. While there is no question that Welsh and English (especially marcher) sources understood the largely Welsh character of the force led by William Herbert and his brother and the impact on them of the defeat they suffered, with the Gloucester annals referring to a battle 'inter Anglicos et Wallicos',⁴⁰ that perception of the battle was not widely disseminated. 'Warkworth's chronicle'

G. L. Harriss and M. L. Harriss, in *Camden Miscellany*, 24, Camden Soc., 4th ser., ix (1972), pp. 151-233, has York's return from Ireland in 1450, the Ludlow flight and Mortimer's Cross (pp. 202, 224, 229) and adds William Herbert's offences in Hereford 1457 and Edward IV's movements in the marches 1461 (pp. 218, 231).

³⁸ *The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. J. Gairdner, Camden Soc., new ser., xvii (1876), pp. 205, 209, 215, 223.

³⁹ *Historie of the Arrivall of Edward IV. in England and the Finall Recouerye of his Kingdomes from Henry VI A.D. M.CCCC.LXXI*, ed. J. Bruce, Camden Soc., original ser., i (1838), pp. 24, 27 (brief mentions of possible Lancastrian intentions to march north through the marches to gain 'th'assystaunce of Walchemen').

⁴⁰ C. L. Kingsford, *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford, 1913), p. 356; H. T. Evans, *Wales and the Wars of Roses* (reprinted, with intro. by R. A. Griffiths, Stroud, 1995), pp. 108-9;

<<http://www.gutorglyn.net>> [poems 24, 25; accessed 13 May 2016].

emphasised the Herberts' force consisted of 'Walysshmen, [th]e best in Walys', and the continuator of the Crowland Chronicle noted the outcome represented Welsh prophetic expectations disappointed.⁴¹ Yet several English chronicles immediately overlooked this aspect of the battle and it soon disappeared from view there. The London Chronicle in Cotton MS Julius B. I mentioned Edgcote and the death of Herbert but not the Welsh aspect to the battle.⁴² Vitellius A XVI, after Harlech in 1468, has nothing on Wales until 1483.⁴³ As the major chronicle traditions crystallised into print, in Caxton's work in the 1480s and the *Newe Cronycles* traditionally associated with Robert Fabyan and printed in 1517, Wales rapidly vanished. Caxton's accounts, to 1461, briefly mentioned only York's march to Blackheath and flight from Ludlow, and Mortimer's Cross, noting the impact in London of the news of Edward of March's approach in its aftermath

⁴¹ *Death and Dissent: Two Fifteenth-Century Chronicles: The Death of the Kynge of Scotis, Translated by John Shirley, and 'Warkworth's' Chronicle: The Chronicle Attributed to John Warkworth, Master of Peterhouse, Cambridge*, ed. L. M. Matheson (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 98-9; W. Fulman, *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptorum Veterum* (3 vols, Oxford, 1684-91), i. 542-3 (*Ingulph's Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland: With the Continuations of Peter of Blois and Anonymous Writers*, ed. H. T. Riley (1854), pp. 446-7); cf. the more limited references in the further continuation, *The Crowland Chronicle Continuations: 1459-1486*, ed. N. Pronay and J. Cox (1986), pp. 114-15. College of Arms, MS Arundel 5, also links Herbert with the Welsh: *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, p. 183 ('contra dominum Harberd cum suis Wallensibus'). Perhaps the most prominent association of the battle with the Welsh is not an English one but Jehan de Waurin, who may have been with the earl of Warwick when the news came 'que ceulz de Galles estoient sur les champz a grant puissance': *Recueil des Croniques et Anchiennes Istories de la Grant Bretagne, a Present Nomme Engleterre*, ed. W. Hardy and E. L. C. P. Hardy, Rolls Ser., xxxix (5 vols, London, 1864-91), v. 579-83.

⁴² *Chronicle of London to 1483*, p. 144.

⁴³ *Chronicles of London*, ed. Kingsford, pp. 179, 190-1.

with ‘a grete meyne of Walsshmen’.⁴⁴ In ‘Fabyan’ it was not just that the Welsh context to key events was not expanded upon – there was simply no mention at all of either Mortimer’s Cross or of Edgcote.⁴⁵ Wales and the Welsh barely touched the consciousness of contemporary history. In a period, therefore, no more than a century and a half after major wars of conquest, and just a generation after a lengthy and threatening revolt, and one which saw a remarkable flowering of access to a vernacular historiography, reaching geographically, socially and across gender divides in a way that earlier historical writing had not done, Wales and the Welsh almost disappeared from the narrative developed and engaged with by English authors and readers.

This was even true of the events in the 1480s during which it is now generally accepted Wales played a more significant role than it had for many decades, or would again for many more. Cliff Davies has pointed out the absence in the last decades of the fifteenth century of an ‘official’ version of events between Richard III’s coup and the securing of Henry VII’s position on the throne in the later 1480s. The chronicle accounts of that period created in the years before 1520 are diverse and often sparse, but what is, nonetheless, clear as a common factor in most is that Wales

⁴⁴ W. Caxton, *In the Yere of Thyncarnacion of our Lord Ihesu Crist...* [*The Cronicles of England*] ([Westminster], 1480; STC 9991), caps 256, 259, 262; *Prolicionycion* ([Westminster], 1482; STC 13438), book viii, caps 27, 29, 32.

⁴⁵ *Prima pars cronecarum - The Newe Cronycles of Englande and of Fraunce* (‘1516’ [i.e. 1517]; STC 10659), ff. 211, 221-221v (R. Fabyan, *The New Chronicles of England and France*, ed. H. Ellis (1811), pp. 638-9, 657). *The Great Chronicle of London*, ed. A. H. Thomas and I. D. Thornley (1938), does mention that Herbert came from Wales with a force of Welshmen: pp. 208-9.

is not an issue.⁴⁶ However much Henry, earl of Richmond's road to Bosworth Field may now be one instinctively associated with Wales, thanks not least to influential work by Ralph Griffiths, Roger Thomas, and others,⁴⁷ for the authors of the Crowland chronicle continuation finished in 1486, or the London Chronicle known as the Great Chronicle finished in 1512, or 'Fabyan' printed in 1517, Wales barely appears. 'Fabyan' is a clear example: the duke of Buckingham's rebellion is related to Brecon, 'in the marche of Walys', but beyond that Wales and the Welsh are not mentioned once in the account of Richard's rule and Richmond's successful invasion. Henry's landfall is located at the mysteriously vaguely misstated 'Mylbourne', which is not further specified, and then there is no description of his march, simply reference to his gathering support and meeting with Richard at Bosworth.⁴⁸ The Great Chronicle does not even relate Brecon to the Welsh march, and in its Guildhall MS only makes Henry's landfall 'Mylfford haven yn Wales' through a later annotation.⁴⁹ Even Crowland, well informed though its author was in so many ways, only locates Henry's landing to Milford in Wales in order to make a point about the

⁴⁶ C. S. L. Davies, 'Information, disinformation and political knowledge under Henry VII and early Henry VIII', *Historical Research*, lxxxv (2012), 228-53; although it is not his main focus, there is a hint at p. 238 that Davies has noticed the lack of interest in Wales as a part of these early narratives of Henry's arrival (in relation to 'Fabyan's mention that Henry comes 'unto the land', Davies notes 'locality not mentioned; no hint of Wales').

⁴⁷ R. A. Griffiths and R. S. Thomas, *The Making of the Tudor Dynasty*, revised edn (Stroud, 2005); D. Rees, *Son of Prophecy: Henry Tudor's Road to Bosworth*, 2nd edn (Ruthin, 1997), pp. 93-128.

⁴⁸ R. Fabyan, *The New Chronicles of England and France*, ed. Henry Ellis (1811), pp. 670-72. S. B. Chrimes, 'The landing place of Henry of Richmond, 1485', *Welsh History Review*, ii (1964-5), 173-80.

⁴⁹ *Great Chronicle*, pp. 234, 237; London Metropolitan Archives, CLC/270/MS03313, fo. 213r (the first scribe left a blank for the location).

misinterpretation of prophecy, there being another Milford near Southampton which was allegedly the mistaken focus of Richard's defensive efforts. He then describes Henry's march through West and mid-Wales as taking him through *North* Wales, erroneously, in order to mention Sir William Stanley, chamberlain there, as a way of reintroducing to his story a key narrative line, the involvements of Thomas Lord Stanley, his wife (and Richmond's mother) Margaret Beaufort and his son Lord Strange, then effectively a hostage with Richard at Nottingham. Very swiftly the account comes to Bosworth itself, with no mention of Welsh support for Henry or specific Welsh locations as important on his march.⁵⁰ The Great Chronicle and 'Fabyan', the latter the main way in which the London Chronicle tradition in its fullest versions found its way into print, are therefore notable in their lack of interest in the Welshness of these episodes.⁵¹

Given this, it is hard to argue, as has become increasingly common, that English worries about Wales and a perception of the significance of the Welsh role in the political crises of the fifteenth century played a significant part in the causes of the civil conflict of the period. This is not to deny that there was turmoil in many parts of Wales, or that troops from Wales and the marches were important in the campaigns: that has been ably documented by Ralph Griffiths and others.⁵² But it

⁵⁰ *Crowland Chronicle Continuations*, pp. 176-81.

⁵¹ A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England* (2 vols., London, 1974-82), ii. 245-6.

⁵² For claims as to the allegedly vital role of Welsh disorder in precipitating crisis in the Lancastrian regime, see B. Wolffe, *Henry VI* (2nd edn, 2001), p. 309; A. J. Pollard, *Late Medieval England, 1399-1509* (Harlow, 2000), p. 151; M. A. Hicks, *Warwick the Kingmaker* (Oxford, 1998), p. 130; C. Carpenter, *The Wars of the Roses: Politics and the Constitution in England, c. 1437-1509* (Cambridge, 1997), p. 141; R. A. Griffiths, 'Gruffydd ap Nicholas and the fall of the House of Lancaster', *Welsh History Review*, ii (1964-5), 213-31; R.

is hard to argue that there was a perception in historically-informed English writing that Wales represented a particular threat or destabilising force. Readers did not encounter it in this form, and as they wrote up recent and more contemporary history, contemporary observers did not record it as such. Some of the most widely cited examples of such anxiety, even outside a straightforwardly historical context, on closer examination seem far less threatening than is often claimed. Wales in the ‘Libelle of Englyshe Polycye’ is presented as generically rebellious, but not in a specific or recent manner, and the advice associated with this is similarly vague,⁵³ and in an oft-cited speech of July 1455 the chancellor, Archbishop Thomas Bourchier, indicated that among the reasons for the calling of parliament was the need to establish ‘restfull and sadde reule in Wales’, but placed this at the end of his list of eight causes.⁵⁴

A. Griffiths, ‘Gruffydd ap Nicholas and the rise of the House of Dinefwr’, *National Library of Wales Journal*, xiii, no. 3 (1964), 256-68; R. A. Griffiths, ‘Royal government in the southern counties of the principality of Wales, 1422–1485’ (unpublished PhD diss., University of Bristol, 1962).

⁵³ *The Libelle of Englyshe Polycye: A Poem on the Use of Sea-power, 1436*, ed. G. F. Warner (Oxford, 1926), p. 40: headed ‘An exhortacione to the keypyng of Wales’ - ‘Beware of Walys, Criste Ihesu mutt us kepe, / That it make not oure childe childe to wepe’; ‘Men have be ferde’ of their rebellion (ll. 784-9). Ireland appears from p. 36, l. 699 including at ll. 730-31 a sense that if it is lost then so will be Wales.

⁵⁴ *The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*, ed. C. Given Wilson (16 vols., 2005), xii. 335-45 (at p. 337). Arguments for the special relevance of Wales to the crises of 1456-7 are countered in T. Thornton, ‘Wales and the crisis of the Lancastrian monarchy, 1456-7’, *Welsh History Review*, xxvii (2015), 459-78.

The inheritance of the sixteenth century was therefore of an English historiography which paid increasingly little attention to Wales and saw the thirteenth-century conquest and its aftermath in limited terms as the result of the actions of magnanimous but mighty kings and faithless rebels. Developments in English writing about Wales from that point were therefore all the more dramatic. The first manifestation of these changes is the most nearly contemporary: one of the earliest indications of a prompt from recent events is to be found in Polydore Vergil's *Anglica Historia*. Henry VII encouraged him, by about 1506, in his intention to write a history, and the account to 1509 was complete by about 1513; Vergil could access witnesses to many of the events he described, including Henry's own exile and invasion of 1485, especially in the persons of Bishop Richard Fox and Christopher Urswick.⁵⁵ The stimulus here is very clearly the testimony he could access from men who had participated in recent events and particularly the potential it offered Vergil in terms of the Welshness of the regime and even (controversial though this might now be) the Tudor identity of the ruling family. This was not the only account available at court, or even the predominant one, as the relative absence of Wales from the narrative provided by Bernard André under the king's direct patronage indicates, with Henry's landfall in that text being located 'in Anglia', for example.⁵⁶ But although Wales appears very little in Vergil's account of the earlier

⁵⁵ In Oct. 1484 Fox was admitted to Stepney vicarage, but by the following Jan. was known to be in exile with Henry: C. S. L. Davies, 'Fox [Foxy], Richard (1447/8–1528), administrator, bishop of Winchester, and founder of Corpus Christi College, Oxford', in *ODNB*, xx. 670-6. A Stanley associate from Furness in Lancashire, Urswick was in exile with Richmond and landed with him in 1485: J. B. Trapp, 'Urswick, Christopher (1448?–1522), courtier, diplomat, and ecclesiastic', in *ODNB*, lv. 959-60. D. Hay, *Polydore Vergil: Renaissance Historian and Man of Letters* (Oxford, 1952), chapter 4, esp. pp. 79-81, 93-5.

⁵⁶ B. André, 'de vita atque gestis Henrici Septimi historia', in idem, *Historia Regis Henrici Septimi*, ed. J. Gairdner, Rolls Ser., x (1858), pp. 9-75, at pp. 12-13, 24, 29-32: still, Henry's birthplace and early education

part of the fifteenth century (briefly in connection with Ludford, not at all in connection with Edgcote), when he begins to tell of the episodes in which Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, and his nephew, Henry, earl of Richmond, the future Henry VII, were involved, Wales begins to surface – and eventually it becomes a dominating theme. Jasper returns to Wales to his earldom during the readeption of Henry VI and finds Henry, although Wales is not referenced in the rest of the account of this episode. In the events leading up to the battle of Tewkesbury, Margaret of Anjou is said to have aimed to pass into Wales, ‘for increasing of hir army’, but was prevented by the resistance of the city of Gloucester. Pembroke’s flight after the battle is specified as running through Chepstow, Pembroke and Tenby, with a brief siege involved at Pembroke. It is, however, in Richard III’s reign that the narrative takes on its most distinctly Welsh colour. The duke of Buckingham’s conspiracy is located to Wales;⁵⁷ Reginald Bray, agent of Richmond’s mother Margaret Beaufort, comes to the duke in Wales; and a key actor in the process, the physician Lewis Caerleon who carried messages between Margaret Beaufort and the queen dowager Elizabeth Woodville, is specifically referred to as *natione Vuallo* (‘a Welshman born’). As Richard prepares to face Henry’s invasion, he commands the coasts be watched by local gentlemen, and *praesertim Vuallos* (‘chiefly the Walshe men’). In August 1485, in his momentous invasion, Henry *Vualliam attigit* (‘came unto Wales’): he specifically lands *in Wales*, not just in a particular port. And the early days of his march to Bosworth are characterised as involving Welshmen and the loyalty and future of Wales; prominence is given to Arnold Butler of Pembroke, ‘one Gryfyne [meaning Richard Griffith], a man of highe parentage, [who] did above the rest make them all

are clearly located to Wales, as is Buckingham’s rebellion, and Henry’s march in Aug. 1485 is identified as lying through Wales.

⁵⁷ One of its architects, John Morton, is pointedly referred to as being in Brecon.

mery' and whose name in its presentation made his Welshness obvious to the reader, and John Morgan, for example.⁵⁸ It is particularly significant that, as well as this, Vergil is the first writer to bring together in one passage Owen Tudor's alleged descent from Cadwaladr, his marriage to Catherine, his sons' elevation to the peerage as Pembroke and Richmond, and the birth of Henry.⁵⁹ Much of the character of this narrative, and in particular its Welshness, is then retained in the many accounts which draw on Vergil – as for example in the earliest to do so in print, Richard Grafton's continuation of Hardyng's chronicle and Edward Hall's *Union of the two Noble and Illustrate Famelies of Lancastre and Yorke*, in which almost all these details are retained: the only exception is the identification of the physician Lewis Caerleon as Welsh, lost in Grafton's continuation of Hardyng, but who reappears as 'a certayne Welsheman called Lewes' in Hall.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ P. Vergil, *Historiae Angliae Libri xxvi* (Basel, 1534), pp. 501, 510, 515, 522-4, 543, 551-4 (*Three Books of Polydore Vergil's English History: Comprising the Reigns of Henry VI., Edward IV., and Richard III*, ed. H. Ellis, Camden Soc., original ser., xxix (1844), pp. 104, 127-8, 134, 151, 154-5, 194-5, 213, 215-17). For these events, see Griffiths and Thomas, *Making of the Tudor Dynasty*, pp. 143-8.

⁵⁹ *Historiae Angliae*, p. 481 (*Three Books*, p. 61). Noticed by Davies, 'Information, disinformation', p. 240, although it does not sit easily with some aspects of his wider thesis of the failure to identify Henry and his children as 'Tudors.'

⁶⁰ J. Hardyng, *The Chronicle of Ihon Hardyng, from the Firste Begynnyng of Englande, unto the Reigne of Kyng Edward the Fourth wher he made an End of his Chronicle. And from that Tyme is added a Continuacion of the Storie in Prose to this our Tyme, Gathered out of Diverse and Sondery Autours*, ed. Richard Grafton ('1543' [i.e. Jan. 1544]; STC 12766.7), continuation foliation, fos. 76v-77, 89, 98, 99v, 100-01v.; E. Hall, *The Union of the two Noble and Illustrate Famelies of Lancastre and Yorke* (1548; STC 12721), 2nd foliation, fo. 36v. Hall was responsible for a wider re-presentation of Wales in the wars of the later fifteenth century, as in the reappearance of Edgcote, with previously unseen detail: *ibid.*, 1st foliation, fos. 202-3.

That this focus on Wales was not simply a matter of accurate reportage on recent events is seen in other sixteenth-century writing on the relatively recent past, as chroniclers and historians began to pay more attention to the revolt of Glyndŵr. Rees Davies described how Glyndŵr was the subject of little discussion in the fifteenth century, suggesting that this was because his memory was very immediate for many in Wales, real enough to be an explanation for an unproductive mill.⁶¹ Yet while this might be true for Wales, the person reading a chronicle in London or Norfolk was not in this position. They had no local prompts to memory; the rebellion seems to have all but disappeared from their historical consciousness. But in the sixteenth century, as Davies himself recognised, the English writers Hall, Grafton, and Raphael Holinshed and his collaborators created an account based on raids and burnings, the capture of Reginald Grey and Edmund Mortimer, alliance with the Percies, French invasion, and the Tripartite Indenture. Davies also highlighted the emergence within this account of myths such as the idea of Reginald Grey being forced to marry Owain Glyndŵr's daughter as a price for his freedom, and the confusion between the Edmund Mortimer captured in 1402 and his nephew and namesake, the future earl of March. In fact, as has been explained, the Brut and London chronicles already included some of these elements in their brief accounts emphasising the destructiveness of the rebellion, the capture and forced marriage of Grey, and the Rhys Ddu execution.⁶² Alicia Marchant has addressed the development of the

⁶¹ Davies, *Revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr*, pp. 327-8.

⁶² Above, p. 10. As late as 1530, J. Rastell, *The Pastyme of People: The Cronycles of Dyuers Realmys and most Specyally of the Realme of Englonde* ([London, 1530?]; STC 20724), could present just the Gray, failed English campaign and Rhys Ddu elements of the narrative. The Brut account was to be followed by Fabyan: *Newe Cronycles*, fos. 170v-1v (including the Grey marriage), 174v. One Brut version, in Oxford, Bodleian

narratives of Glyndŵr and pointed us to the importance of the ongoing influence of narratological choices in their constructions of Glyndŵr and of Wales by writers such as Walsingham.⁶³ What requires our attention here are the commonalities in the specific extensions of the narrative in the most commonly available new English accounts of the rebellion in the second quarter of the sixteenth century, in Grafton's edition of Hardyng and in Hall. These were the emphasis on the Percies and their interactions with Owain, almost certainly due to the influence, through Grafton, of Hardyng's text, published by him in 1544;⁶⁴ the emphasis on the French, which could only come from a knowledge on Hall's part of Monstrelet;⁶⁵ and the emphasis on the Tripartite Indenture,

Library, Rawlinson MS B 173, does include the Mortimer element, identifying him as the brother of the earl of March: *Brut*, pp. 392-3.

⁶³ "'In loco amoenissimo": fifteenth century St Albans and the role of place in Thomas Walsingham's description of Wales', *Place: An Interdisciplinary E-journal*, ii (Apr. 2008), 1-18; *The Revolt of Owain Glyndŵr in Medieval English Chronicles* (Woodbridge, 2014).

⁶⁴ It was Grafton and Hall who added the Mortimer element to the printed canon, including in Hall's case the confusion of Edmund Mortimer: Hardyng, *Chronicle*, ed. Grafton ([1544]), fos. 200-1; Hall, *Union*, 1st foliation, fos. 20-v. Marchant, 'Narrative approach', pp. 554-5, rightly emphasises Hall's deliberate exclusion of Mortimer, identified clearly as precursor of the Yorkists and of Henry VIII, from interaction with the traitorous Percies, or from meaningful interaction with Owain himself, including in the Tripartite Indenture.

⁶⁵ Hall, *Union*, 1st foliation, fos. 18-v (*Hall's Chronicle* (1809), p. 26), gives the names of the French casualties in their expedition to support Glyndŵr as 'Lorde Patrioles of Tries, brother of the Marshall of France, the Lord Mattelone and the Lord Vale and the bastarde of Burbon, with v. hundred gentelmen'; in Monstrelet, the first names on that list appear as 'messire patroullais de tryes frere dudit mareschal de france / le seigneur de martelonne et le seigneur de la Valle', showing Hall replicating Monstrelet's error in making de

which appears to be Hall's initiative.⁶⁶ The last has achieved some prominence in recent discussion, and its treatment by Hall has been read in isolation as directing particular scorn and vilification at Owain.⁶⁷ In truth, it is a manifestation of one of his other preoccupations, his determination to condemn false political prophecy, something seen elsewhere in his writing without an association with Wales.⁶⁸ The effect of Hall's other additions is certainly less

Trie marshal rather than admiral of France: *Le premier volume de Enguerran de Monstrellet. Ensuyuant Froissart, Des Croniques de France, Dangleterre ... et lieux circonuoissins. Auecques plusieurs autres nouvelles choses, aduenues en Lombardie ... et autres diuers pays* (Paris, 1518), fos. 12-12v. H. Wijsman, 'History in transition: Enguerrand de Montrelet's chronique in manuscript and print (c.1450-c.1650)', in *The Book Triumphant: Print in Transition in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. M. Walsby and G. Kemp (Leiden-Boston, 2011), pp. 199-252, esp. pp. 228-42.

⁶⁶ If, as Peter Herman has argued, across the whole of his work Hall was making a case for the disruptive influence of the nobility on politics, he did so weaving into it the role of Glyndŵr and his ambitions: P. C. Herman, 'Henrician historiography and the voice of the people: the cases of More and Hall', *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, xxxix (1997), 261-83; idem, 'Hall, Edward (1497-1547), lawyer and historian', *ODNB*, xxiv. 606-9. Davies, *Revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr*, pp. 193-5, is sceptical of the historicity of the elements of the French invasion which take the force beyond SW Wales, and especially of the 8-day stand-off near Worcester.

⁶⁷ M. Livingston, 'An "amazing" claim: the tripartite indenture', in *Owain Glyndŵr: A Casebook*, ed. Livingston and Bollard, pp. 489-95; Davies, *Revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr*, pp. 166-9.

⁶⁸ The discussion of the prophecy is at Hall, *Union*, 1st foliation, fos. 20r-20v; this does include Hall's favourite epithet, a reference to 'waueryng Welshmen'; but see elsewhere 'franticke waueryng' Welshmen, fo. 16v; 'waueryng Welshemen', fo. 18v; at fo. 23 after the death of Owain Glyndŵr they are characterised as 'wild and sauage.'

straightforwardly corrosive of the reader's consequent view of the Welsh. An association with the Percies and with the French makes the Welsh less a bizarre barbaric intrusion into the natural order of things: they become at once a more potent threat and one more meaningfully rooted in the politics of England and wider western Europe in the early fifteenth century.

Holinshed's *Chronicle*, in its first edition published in 1577, adds considerably to the detail provided in Hall's account of Glyndŵr, makes a significant correction to it, and enhances its integration within the overall narrative of Henry IV's reign: Welsh history is even more clearly integral to events as they unfold.⁶⁹ Further, while the Welsh rebels continue to be denounced, this does not occur with the vigour associated with it in Hall. The one exception, a major point of novelty which might heighten the impression of Welsh inhumanity is, in association with the capture of Mortimer during the English defeat at Bryn Glas, the added detail for the first time in English in print of the mutilation by Welsh women of the corpses of the slain. 'The shameful villanie vsed by the Welchwomen towards the dead carcasses, was suche, as honest eares would be ashamed to heare, and therefore we omitte to speake thereof.'⁷⁰ This story Holinshed (and a wider educated audience) could now access easily because of the production of printed Latin

⁶⁹ R. Holinshed, *The Chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande* (1577), pp. 1132-55. For the Holinshed histories, see A. M. Patterson, *Reading Holinshed's Chronicles* (Chicago and London, 1994); *The Oxford Handbook of Holinshed's Chronicles*, ed. P. Kewes, I. W. Archer and F. Heal (Oxford, 2013), esp. R. Griffiths, 'Holinshed and Wales', pp. 679-94.

⁷⁰ Holinshed, p. 1134; Davies, *Revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr*, p. 107; J. E. Lloyd, *Owen Glendower = Owen Glyn Dŵr* (Oxford, 1931), pp. 49-52 – Holinshed does acknowledge Walsingham directly at other points during his narrative of these years, if not specifically on this point.

editions of Walsingham in 1574; but the manner of its appearance could be seen as moderating its impact by dint of Holinshed's refusal to be explicit about the detail of what was done.⁷¹ Other additional information, on Owain's background for example, by contrast straightforwardly serves to soften his image - giving his father's name and his residence, and explaining his surname as springing from that location in the Dee Valley. There is mention of his being a serjeant-at-law, and part of the Flint garrison. Holinshed provides a significant correction to Hall's account, by having Glyndŵr's daughter marry Mortimer and not Grey. His understanding of the reasons for this, pondering whether it was through 'irkesomeness of cruell captiuitie, or feare of death, or for what other cause, it is vncertaine', does not entirely amount to condemnation of Owain – and it complicates the attempt made by Hall to isolate Mortimer, and those associated with Mortimer descent who now ruled the country, from taint of association with either Percy or Glyndŵr. Holinshed also moderates through abbreviation both the criticism of Welsh prophecy which so prominently features in Hall ('Such is the deuiation (sayth Hall) and not diuination of those blinde and fantasticall dreames of the Welch prophesiers'), and Hall's tendency to characterise the Welsh as 'franticke' and 'waueryng'.⁷²

To an extent, these additions were a result of the way in which Henry IV's reign was being constructed as an 'vnquiet tyme', in Hall or possibly Grafton's words, part of the trajectory of history set up by the deposition of Richard II and the disasters of the fifteenth century as a series of moral judgements, to be resolved in the triumph of 1485 as a providential climax. But this

⁷¹ *Historia breuis* (1574); *Ypodigma Neustriae vel Normanniae* (1574). This oblique treatment, and its softening effect, is noted in e.g. Baker, *Between Nations*, pp. 51-2.

⁷² Holinshed, pp. 1132, 1137.

construction did not require the development of the narrative of Glyndŵr, given the plentiful material available for the other troubles of the reign. There are more specific issues here, and first and foremost there is the sympathy for Glyndŵr which the use of Hardyng's text permitted, and which was gladly seized upon by Grafton. In Hardyng/Grafton, it is the king's failure to address Glyndŵr's complaint against Lord Grey, and the great wrong he had done him, which caused the Welshman to rebel. In the early days of the rebellion, Owen won himself a great name, and many were drawn to him, and remained true to him.⁷³ This is the most positive account of the early stages of the rebellion to have appeared in any widely circulated form.

But it was not only this more recent past that was brought back into focus. There was an increasing provision of detail on earlier periods of Welsh history that had been largely lost in the previous century. Holinshed's 1577 text restored and developed a continuous threading of Welsh involvement throughout the fabric of the historical narrative, for example using high medieval sources to provide a detailed account of the activity of the Welsh princes, and of their interactions with English kings: a 'chronicle of Anglo-Welsh relations, from confrontation to accommodation', as Ralph Griffiths has described it, which while hostile to Welsh 'rebels' is not unsympathetic to Wales and the Welsh more generally.⁷⁴ The English reader was therefore once again easily able to access a narrative which included accounts of the interactions between the Godwins and the Welsh, the involvements of the Conqueror and some of his followers, the death of Rhys ap Tewdwr, efforts to assert English overlordship under Henry II, succession politics after the death of Llywelyn the Great, including a detailed focus on the role of Senana, wife of Gruffudd ap Llywelyn,

⁷³ Hardyng, *Chronicle*, ed. Grafton ([1544]), fo. 199v.

⁷⁴ Griffiths, 'Holinshed and Wales', p. 694.

wars and alliances in the mid-thirteenth century, and culminating in a detailed account of the wars of conquest of 1276-7 and 1282-3.⁷⁵

As previously mentioned, what scholarly attention there has been to writing about the Welsh past in this period has been focused on the literary response to 'British history', and not on more recent events. As Schwyzer has pointed out, for Spenser in the *Faerie Queene*, for example, the metamorphosis of English into British requires us to pass very swiftly over the intervening centuries between Cadwaladr's death and the imminent present.⁷⁶ By contrast, what we have in the English understanding of Welsh medieval history is a process of re-writing and deepening in a relationship which had more immediate roots. That process of re-writing and deepening was going on from the first decades of the sixteenth century.

This was far from a simplistic caricaturing by the English of the Welsh, still less a writing of them into the margins of their community's history. By the final quarter of the century, the educated English reader, unlike his or her counterpart a century before, would have known their past included complex interactions with the Welsh.⁷⁷ At a time, therefore, when the chronicle tradition was reaching its apogee in the second half of the sixteenth century, progressively to be succeeded by successor genres such as historically-located poems and plays, antiquarian tracts, humanist 'politic' histories, and biographies, Wales made a significant entry into the body of historical knowledge it embodied.⁷⁸ It was as a consequence present in the body of raw material from which the authors of those successor genres could draw, and formed part of the frame of reference within which their readers, listeners and viewers could understand them. The sheer extent of works like

⁷⁵ Griffiths, 'Holinshed and Wales', pp. 688-91.

⁷⁶ Schwyzer, *Literature, Nationalism, and Memory*, pp. 40-5; *Faerie queene*, book III, canto iii, stanzas 42-9.

⁷⁷ For the reach of Holinshed's interpretation, see F. Heal, 'Readership and reception', in *Oxford Handbook of Holinshed's Chronicles*, ed. Kewes, Archer, and Heal.

⁷⁸ D. R. Woolf, *Reading History in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2000), chapter 1.

that of Holinshed meant that more historical knowledge across a range of geographical spheres and chronological periods was now accessible, and it is not the intention here to suggest that the simple addition of information about Wales to that corpus was in itself something unique. Still, the creation of a set of 'national' narratives, described by Wolff, which was such an important product of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, meant the devaluing and exclusion, even the re-generating as folklore, of more local and 'regional' stories. Key narratives of Welsh interactions with the English were not to be part of that process of exclusion but became part of the wider English story. It may be true that 'national' histories were emerging during this period and that they remained in many senses distinct, but they were not doing so in isolation or simply in terms of definition against the negatively defined 'other'.⁷⁹ If sixteenth-century monarchs might associate themselves in some ways with Welshness, and if Shakespeare could write his Henry V as in some sense being Welsh, then that was part of an increasingly important dialogue between those monarchs, and their subjects, and their understanding of the place of the Welsh in their shared pasts.⁸⁰

Why was this deepening engagement by the English with Welsh pasts occurring? It must be acknowledged that some of this development may have been stimulated by Welsh scholars making available Welsh historiographies, and especially by the work of Humphrey Llwyd and David Powel. Llwyd's *Cronica*, which drew on the dominant Welsh traditions represented by the 'Brut y

⁷⁹ D. Woolf, *The Social Circulation of the Past: English Historical Culture, 1500-1730* (Oxford, 2003), chapter 10, esp. pp. 382-91; D. Woolf, 'Senses of the Past in Tudor Britain', in *A Companion to Tudor Britain*, ed. R. Tittler and N. Jones (Malden MA, 2004), pp. 407-29: expressive of what Woolf called here 'examples of interpenetration of myths and sharing of historical episodes' (p. 408).

⁸⁰ 'For I am Welsh, you know, good countryman': *Henry V*, Act 4, Scene 7. It was not an uncomplicated relationship, especially in Shakespeare: P. Schwyzer, 'Thirteen Ways of Looking Like a Welshman: Shakespeare and his Contemporaries', in *Shakespeare and Wales: From the Marches to the Assembly*, ed. W. Maley and P. Schwyzer (Farnham, 2010), pp. 21-41; R. Wilson, 'Cackling Home to Camelot: Shakespeare's Welsh Roots', *ibid.*, pp. 191-210; P. Parker, 'Uncertain Unions: Welsh Leeks in *Henry V*', in *British Identities and English Renaissance Literature*, ed. D. Baker and W. Maley (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 81-100.

tywysogion', was completed in 1559, and Powel's printed version appeared in 1584.⁸¹ English developments may possibly be associated with Sir John Prise's work on Welsh historical texts, manifest in his *Historiae Britannicae defensio* probably completed by 1547, although again this was in circulation only in manuscript form at that stage, until its printing in 1573.⁸² Some of the most sympathetic manifestations of the incorporation of Welsh histories into English writing in the period can be traced directly to Welsh writers. Michael Drayton in the *Polyolbion* relied for 200 lines almost without a break on Powel, rather than Holinshed, being inspired to an even more adamant challenge to the use of the name 'Wales' and the extent of William the Conqueror's incursions than he found in Powel himself.⁸³ But for our purposes it is most important to

⁸¹ H. Llwyd, *Cronica Walliae*, ed. I.M. Williams (Cardiff, 2002); D. Powel, *The Historie of Cambria, Now Called Wales* (1584). Jason Nice's important arguments, for the association of Welsh historiography (in Powel, Francis Godwin, and Richard Davies) with the Council in the Marches and its place in the relationships between English government and Wales, are relevant here: *Sacred History and National Identity: Comparisons between Early Modern Wales and Brittany* (2009).

⁸² *Historiae Brytannicae defensio* (1573); J. Prise, *Historiae Britannicae Defensio = A Defence of the British History*, ed. C. Davies (Toronto ON & Oxford, 2015).

⁸³ R. R. Crawley, 'Drayton's use of Welsh history', *Studies in Philology*, xxii (1925), 234-55. Spenser in the *Faerie Queene* made his account of Welsh history, covering in just six stanzas the period from Cadwaladr to Henry Tudor, feature Rhodri the Great, Hywel Dda, and Griffyth Conan, whose names he got from Powel: Schwyzer, *Literature, Nationalism, and Memory*, pp. 40-45. Other examples of direct access to Welsh historiography include John Dee's interest in the 'Annales Cambriae', and the transition of the 'Twelve Knights' texts via William Cecil: R. A. Griffiths, 'The Norman Conquest and the Twelve Knights of Glamorgan', *Glamorgan Historian*, iii (1966), 153-69; A. L. Rowse, 'Alltynyns and the Cecils', *English Historical Review*, lxxv (1960), 54-76, esp. pp. 54-5; *The Private Diary of Dr. John Dee, and the Catalogue of*

emphasise that this process in English writing began from within English historiography and was not simply a recovery of Welsh material from these Welsh sources that were being made available in the later sixteenth century. In fact, it could be argued that the appetite for this Welsh material was in part stimulated by the pre-existing developments within English historiography.⁸⁴ That is because this change in the English-based historiography appears to gather pace in the early 1540s. ‘Fabyan’, first printed in 1517, initially manifests the London tradition which pays scant heed to the Welsh. John Rastell’s *Pastyme of People* in 1529/30 has the same approach, and he is notable for his scepticism of Arthurian stories.⁸⁵ The 1533 edition of ‘Fabyan’ continues to include its prominent attack on the Cadwaladr prophecy that the Britons would recover their land when the relics of the king were brought back to Britain: ‘I holde yt for no parte of my beleue, though many Welshemen it doo.’ But the 1542 edition of ‘Fabyan’ has those words removed.⁸⁶ John Leland, drawing on Welsh informants and his own Welsh travels in the immediate aftermath of dissolution and the shiring of lordships after the ‘acts of Union’, showed a positive interest in Welsh history. His engagement with the events of the immediately previous century was minimal, beyond a recognition of the locations of the conception and birth of Henry VII and a confused reference to

his Library of Manuscripts, ed. J. O. Halliwell, Camden Soc., original ser., xix (1842), pp. 72, 78; Brit. Libr., Cotton MS Caligula A vi; Llwyd, *Cronica*, pp. 4-5.

⁸⁴ In the 1580s, Powel still felt angry enough about the disregard of Welsh history and especially of Welsh source materials (and a consequent tendency to ‘inforce euerie thing that is done by the Welshmen to their discredit’) to complain strenuously about it in the preface to his work: Powel, ¶[v]-[vi]. He was largely right, given the limited extent to which the change to English historiography had progressed, and given the different emphases the ‘rediscovery’ of Wales identified here might take.

⁸⁵ McKisack, pp. 97-8.

⁸⁶ Fabyan, *New Chronicles*, ed. Ellis, i. 126.

Edward IV and Denbigh. He did, however, make limited and cautiously positive statements about Glyndŵr, as directly responsible for destruction in only three locations, with a guarded reported allegation of responsibility in a fourth, and at Dinas Castle the result of actions by defenders.⁸⁷ There was nothing negative in Leland's attribution of ownership of castles to Owain, and certainly not in his detailed explanation of cousinage between him and Henry VII.⁸⁸ In January 1544 appeared the edition of John Hardyng's metrical chronicle and continuation - with its relatively positive approach to Glyndŵr's rebellion, and the Welsh view of 1483-5 made widely available for the first time. Hall's *Union* was being written in the years up to the author's death in 1547, and went through its first printing in 1547-8. Schwyzer has argued that the 'literary history of British nationalism' begins with two works authored by Arthur Kelton of Shrewsbury around this time, his *Comendacion of Welshmen* of 1546 and *Chronycle* of 1547.⁸⁹ The elaboration and re-articulation of the 'British history' with a more conventional historical element and pro-Tudor propaganda seen in Kelton's works may be a partially distinct development, particularly in the author's willingness to identify himself, questionably, as Welsh, but it is likely that it emerged (especially given that the

⁸⁷ *The Itinerary in Wales of John Leland in or about the Years 1536-1539: Extracted from his Mss.*, ed. L. T. Smith (1906), pp. 43, 98, 116.

⁸⁸ *Itinerary*, pp. 41, 52, 108, 111; 70-1, 78.

⁸⁹ A. Kelton, *A Commendacyon of Welshmen* (1546); idem, *A Chronycle with a Genealogie Declaryng that the Brittons and Welshemen are Linealiye Dyscended from Brute. Newly and Very Wittely Compyled in Meter* (1547). Kelton began by identifying himself as English, but by 1547 he could talk about 'we' in terms of British – see P. Schwyzer, 'British History and "the British history": the same old story?' in *British Identities and English Renaissance Literature*, ed. D. J. Baker and W. Maley (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 11-23.

publisher was in each case the same man) from the straightforwardly historiographical realignments towards an interest in Wales evident in the previous few years.

Other significant factors here include the availability through printing of some key English sources. Polydore Vergil's account of the recent (and more distant) past was made more readily available through its first printed edition, albeit from Basel, in 1534, for example.⁹⁰ This change was, however, clearly more than the result simply of the generally wider availability of texts permitted by printing, as is shown by the limited development seen in the Caxton edition of chapters of Trevisa's translation of the 'Polychronicon' (1480), which he called *Descripcion of Britayne*, and two years later his production of the whole of Trevisa's work. Caxton's continuations for the years 1440-61 of the chronicles that he printed both followed the main city chronicle, and showed no inclination to add to the Welsh material there.⁹¹ It was not printing in general which had an impact here, therefore, but particularly influential figures in the trade and the way they now helped shape emerging historiography, especially Richard Grafton, printer and historian. Grafton was behind the 1542 edition of 'Fabyan'. He was the instigator of the publication of Hardyng's Chronicle and its continuation using Vergil. He was heavily involved in the project which resulted in Hall's *Union* reaching the public. And he was the publisher of the texts by Kelton, *A Commendacyon of*

⁹⁰ It is, however, notable that one of the few aspects of the original MS which Vergil edited down when creating the first printed edition was some of the Welsh detail in 1485: Hay, *Polydore Vergil*, p. 198. There was also the later phase of editing associated with Archbishop Parker, including T. Walsingham, *Historia Brevis* (1574); *St Albans Chronicle*, i, p. lxiv. Important for Holinshed was M. Paris, *Angli, Historia Maior, a Guilielmo Conquæstore, ad ultimum annum Henrici tertii*, ed. M. Parker (1571).

⁹¹ Taylor, pp. 140-2; above, p. 16 on Caxton and Wales.

Welshmen and *A Chronycle*, which Schwyzer and others have seen as introducing a new mode of discussing Englishness and Britishness. Grafton's outlook and formation is significant here, and one aspect in particular has been relatively overlooked – his background in Shrewsbury, an association which he shared with Hall and Kelton.⁹² A familiarity with geography and 'local' history, including with manuscript sources and oral traditions, has already been noted as significant in the case of the Cheshireman Holinshed in contributing to an interest in and knowledge of North Wales and the march, as well as his own shire.⁹³ It is striking and significant that three of the dominant figures in English sixteenth-century historiography had this marcher connection.

We should also consider other factors, such as the existence in the 1540s for the first time in nearly thirty years of a prince of Wales, and the growing prominence of Welsh courtiers and administrators: we should note the dedication of Arthur Kelton's *A Commendacion of Welshmen* of 1546 to Sir William Herbert, later first earl of Pembroke, and that of his *Chronycle* of 1547 to Edward VI, whose descent from Osiris via Cadwaladr in thirty-two generations is mapped. It also includes the tolerance and more than tolerance of Welsh culture and language at court, for

⁹² M. G. Ferguson, 'Grafton, Richard (c.1511-1573), printer and historian', *ODNB*, xxiii. 166-9. J. A. Kingdon, *Incidents in the Lives of Thomas Poyntz and Richard Grafton, Two Citizens and Grocers of London, who Suffered Loss and Incurred Danger in Common with Tyndal, Coverdale, and Rogers, in Bringing out the Bible in the Vulgar Tongue* (1895), pp. 5-16; idem, *Richard Grafton; Citizen and Grocer of London, and one time Master of his Company, Servant and Printer to Edward, Prince and King, and First Treasurer General of Christ's Hospital: A Sequel to Poyntz and Grafton* ([s.l.], 1901), pp. 3-4, 14-16.

⁹³ Griffiths, 'Holinshed and Wales', pp. 688, 691, 694; T. Thornton, *Cheshire and the Tudor State, 1480-1560* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 45, 56, 232-3, 241.

example the instance of William Herbert, Kelton's dedicatee, whose advocacy of the language at court, including addressing a Spanish ambassador in Welsh, was well known.⁹⁴

There is also a significance to the period in its coincidence with developments in and debate on the governance of Wales. These were periods of legislative change leading up to the so called 'first Act of Union' of 1536, and of subsequent inertia and abortive initiatives, brought to a limited fruition in the Act of 1543. Those changes, as Peter Roberts has shown, were historically informed and followed an agenda which was as much about restoration and renewal as about new directions. They provide a context for the development of historiography in which ideas about the Welsh and their relationship with the king of England, and by extension the machinery of his government and law, were more actively debated than for many decades – and in which historiographies directly influenced policy.⁹⁵

⁹⁴ N. P. Sil, 'Sir William Herbert, earl of Pembroke (c.1507-70): in search of a personality', *Welsh History Review*, xi (1982-3), 92-107, at pp. 96-9; *The Works of Francis Osborn Esq* (9th edn, 1689), p. 8 (making the point that ambassadors should use their native tongue; 'I have often been informed, that the first and wisest Earl of Pembroke, did return an Answer to the Spanish Ambassador, in Welch, for which I have heard him highly commended'). Osborn had in his youth come to London as a servant of the then earl of Pembroke: M. C. Henson, 'Osborne, Francis (1593-1659), writer', *ODNB*, xlii. 7-9.

⁹⁵ Seen most clearly in P. R. Roberts, "'A breviat of the effectes devised for Wales", c. 1540-41', in *Camden Miscellany*, 26, Camden Soc., 4th ser., xiv (1975), pp. 31-47; idem, 'The "Henry VIII clause": delegated legislation and the Tudor principality of Wales', in *Legal Record and Historical Reality: Proceedings of the Eighth British Legal History Conference*, ed. T. G. Watkin (1989), pp. 37-49. The process is charted in Roberts' 'The "acts of union" and the Tudor settlement of Wales' (unpublished PhD diss., Cambridge

Cliff Davies has in the past few years challengingly but convincingly dismantled the concept of a 'Tudor dynasty.'⁹⁶ He has shown that the term 'Tudor' was not used by the monarchs themselves, or by their supporters; it was not employed by contemporary commentators; nor was it much used by historians until the eighteenth century. It was used in derogatory terms by Henry's enemies before he came to the throne, and after, but that is all. Davies has used this insight to raise further questions about periodization and the self-definition of the monarchy of the period between 1485 and 1603. As one might expect from the writer who did so much in his early work *Peace, Print and Protestantism* to remind us of the continuities between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Davies argued from his questioning of the 'Tudor' concept to suggest the artificiality of any dividing line in the history of these islands in 1485. Henry VIII was Edward IV's grandson, plain and simple, even if his father had made his initial claim to the throne on the basis of conquest; he was Edward III's four-times great-grandson too.

But is the lack of a new dynastic name enough to convince us of continuity in the monarchy's understanding of itself, and of the ways it was perceived by its subjects and others? Part of the answer to this question comes in our consideration of historiographies. Our evidence seems to suggest that while the Yorkist kings and some of their supporters were undoubtedly aware of the Welsh elements to their 'British' origins, the dynasty and its associated polities constructed

University, 1966); 'Tudor Wales, national identity and the British inheritance', in *British Consciousness and Identity: The Making of Britain, 1533-1707*, ed. B. Bradshaw and P. Roberts (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 8-42.

⁹⁶ C. S. L. Davies, 'Tudor: what's in a name?' *History*, xcvi (2012), 24-42.

themselves through history as increasing English.⁹⁷ This was not the case with Henry VII and his successors. We know, of course, that Henry VII made less use of the 'British' past that some have imagined, as Sydney Anglo pointed out more than half a century ago.⁹⁸ This is reflected in, for example, Cliff Davies' quotation of John Davies, from his 1994 *History of Wales*, that 'it was not a matter of the Tudors identifying themselves with the Welsh, but rather of the Welsh identifying themselves with the Tudors', and in Cliff Davies' own splendidly pithily expressed hope that ideas that '[t]he line that Elizabeth was somehow 'Welsh' because Owen Tudor was her great-great-grandfather will... come to seem as odd as the once fashionable view that she was "middle-class" because Sir Geoffrey Boleyn, another great-great-grandfather, was lord mayor in 1457'.⁹⁹ But we also know Anglo's later work, and his growing recognition that, even if there was no mastermind behind a concerted 'British' propaganda machine working for Henry, yet there were actions by official and less official actors which promoted a particular view of the king.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ A. Allan, 'Yorkist propaganda: pedigree, prophecy and the "British history" in the reign of Edward IV', in *Patronage, Pedigree and Power in Later Medieval England*, ed. C. D. Ross (Gloucester, 1979), pp. 171-92; J. Hughes, *Arthurian Myths and Alchemy: The Kingship of Edward IV* (Stroud, 2002), esp. pp. 136-46 (although some of his more ambitious conclusions should be read alongside the review by R. A. Griffiths, *English Historical Review*, cxx (2005), 450-3).

⁹⁸ 'The British history in early Tudor propaganda - with an appendix of manuscript pedigrees of the kings of England, Henry VI to Henry VIII', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, xliv, no. 1 (1961), 17-48.

⁹⁹ J. Davies, *A History of Wales* (Harmondsworth, 1994), p. 219, quoted by Davies, 'Tudor: What's in a name?' p. 27.

¹⁰⁰ *Images of Tudor Kingship* (1992).

Specifically here we are concerned again with what Peter Roberts once wrote about as the ‘Welshness of the Tudors’, although now we are constrained to replace that ‘T’ word with something like ‘Henry VII, his children, and grandchildren.’¹⁰¹ Certainly Henry VII is hard to see as simply and straightforwardly English: he spent his first dozen years in Wales (mostly in the potentially Welsh circle of the Herberts at Raglan), and the next dozen in Brittany, and when he became king in choosing those who lived around him he showed disproportionate favour towards men from the Channel Islands who would have been at ease in speaking the French of the north west; and not only that, but he put others around his eldest son who would no doubt have shaped his formation.¹⁰² The Welshness of Henry VII, his children, and grandchildren could be seen starkly by some observers, and seems to be highlighted by their adoption of gift-giving to Welsh servants and the wearing of leeks at court on 1 March, for example.¹⁰³ More specifically for our purposes, however, it includes efforts to trace Henry VII’s ancestry through his Welsh forebears, and the

¹⁰¹ P. R. Roberts, ‘The Welshness of the Tudors’, *History Today*, xxxvi, no. 1 (Jan. 1986), 7-13. Interestingly, those who used the ‘Tudor’ name derogatively against Henry did not necessarily link it with Welshness, as for example in Richard III’s proclamations against ‘Henry Tydder’: *The Paston Letters*, ed. J. Gairdner (6 vols. reprinted as 1, Gloucester, 1983), vi. 81-4.

¹⁰² Griffiths and Thomas, *Making of the Tudor Dynasty*, pp. 47-115; C. S. L. Davies, ‘Richard III, Henry VII and the island of Jersey’, *The Ricardian*, ix (1991-4), 334-42; T. Thornton, *The Channel Islands, 1370-1640: Between England and Normandy* (Woodbridge, 2012), pp. 58-9.

¹⁰³ ‘[T]he most wise and fortunate Henry VII is a Welshman’, a Venetian diplomatic report stated baldly: *A Relation, or Rather a True Account, of the Island of England ... about the Year 1500*, ed. C.A. Sneyd, Camden Soc., original ser., xxxvii (1847), p. 19 (and NB the firm statement of Henry’s association with Wales through birth in P. de Commynes, *Mémoires*, ed. J. Blanchard (2 vols, Geneva: Droz, 2007), p. 423); A. E. Hughes, ‘The Welsh national emblem: leek or daffodil?’ *Y Cymmrodor*, xxvi (1916), 145-90; xxvii (1917), 155-7.

work of Thomas Gardiner, monk of Westminster, who produced a genealogical roll of Henry VIII's ancestry in the 1510s which included a clear statement of Welsh heritage.¹⁰⁴ And importantly, their Welshness is associated with this growing tendency for the history of their own family – and country – to be written with reference to Wales.

There is still a preference in some quarters to see confrontation based on ethnic stereotypes underlying the politics of the early modern period, manifest most acutely perhaps in Mark Stoyle's formulation of the wars of the mid-seventeenth century as an ethnic conflict.¹⁰⁵ Scepticism about this approach has been expressed: the civil wars were not simply or primarily the expression of English cultural and political nationalism seeking to destroy or exclude the non-English 'other.'¹⁰⁶ Without denying the existence of some of these pejorative stereotypes, the potential for a more rounded understanding of the Welsh did exist, and it was grounded in, amongst other things, a

¹⁰⁴ Powel, p. 391; Griffiths and Thomas, pp. 192, 195; D.R. Woolf, 'The power of the past: history, ritual and political authority in Tudor England', in *Political Thought and the Tudor Commonwealth: Deep Structure, Discourse, and Disguise*, ed. P. A. Fideler and T.F. Mayer (1992), pp. 19-49, at p. 21; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. Hist. e. 193. Gardiner was the son of Helen, claimed as illegitimate daughter of Jasper, earl of Pembroke: R. S. Thomas, 'Tudor, Jasper [Jasper of Hatfield], duke of Bedford (c.1431–1495), *magnate*', *ODNB*, lv. 514-15.

¹⁰⁵ Stoyle, *Soldiers and Strangers*; e.g. p. 30 for reference to fears of 'genocide'.

¹⁰⁶ T. Thornton, 'Nationhood at the margin: identity, regionality and the English crown in the seventeenth century', in *Power and the Nation in European History*, ed. L. Scales and O. Zimmer (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 232-47; P. Withington, review of Stoyle, *Soldiers and Strangers*, *American Historical Review*, cxi, no. 5 (Dec. 2006), 1589-90.

historical literature which had been transformed in the previous 150 years from one in which they were barely visible and, when they did appear, essentially the faithless occupants of a hostile conquered land, to a more constantly present partner in a more complex and not always negative relationship. This is congruent with what we know from other fields of enquiry. Ralph Griffiths has shown that in practical terms for Welsh people trying to make their way in English society the shadow of Owain Glyndŵr did not fall – negatively - much beyond mid-century; the Welsh presence was widespread at most levels of English society well before accession of Henry Tudor, although they do seem to have enjoyed a new prominence from his reign.¹⁰⁷ If we consider the histories which the English read in the early modern period, the fact that the civil wars in Britain were not, in practice, an ethnically-motivated holocaust is, therefore, more easily understood.

¹⁰⁷ R. A. Griffiths, 'After Glyn Dŵr: an age of reconciliation?' *Proceedings of the British Academy*, cxvii (2002), 139-64; idem, 'Crossing the frontiers of the English realm in the fifteenth century', in *Power and Identity in the Middle Ages*, ed. Pryce and Watts, pp. 211-25, esp. pp. 220-25 (but NB at pp. 215-16 he acknowledges there were more Irish than (the better integrated) Welsh at Oxford in the later Middle Ages: T. H. Aston, 'Oxford's medieval alumni', *Past & Present*, lxxiv (Feb. 1977), 3-40, at pp. 21-4); P. Fleming, 'The Welsh diaspora in early Tudor English towns', in *Urban Culture in Medieval Wales*, ed. H. Fulton (Cardiff, 2012), pp. 271-94.