
Niclas von Popplau: LOST IN TRANSLATION?

Part 1

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'... there is also a stronghold castle. In there, the king keeps his treasure, also all noble Lords, such as the king's children and sons to the princes just like you keep prisoners.'¹

An Extended Translation of the Travel Diary of Niclas von Popplau, March 1484 to April 1485, on behalf of The Missing Princes Project by Doris Schneider-Coutandin.

Introduction

In the summer of 2016, Doris Schneider-Coutandin, a German theatre director specialising in the Hussite Wars of the fifteenth century and with a background in Medieval European History and Middle-High German, joined The Missing Princes Project to offer her expertise. As part of the project's continuing analysis of contemporary source material, the travel diary of Niclas von Popplau seemed an obvious next step. The diary includes his visit to England in 1484 and subsequent meeting with Richard III, together with his travels in Europe, specifically France and the Low Countries (1483–6). Doris graciously agreed to undertake an extended translation of Popplau's diary to build on the earlier work of Livia Visser-Fuchs,² and to create a timeline. For reasons of space, and to make this important source

available, these will shortly be accessible on the The Missing Princes Project website. Our very grateful thanks go to project member Albert Jan de Rooij for his notes, which have enhanced both documents.

Part 1 considers an intriguing passage³ from Popplau's travel diary containing possible information about the disappearance of the sons of Edward IV during the reign of Richard III. Provisos concerning the source as an eighteenth-century copy (1712), and the use of a Latin interpreter for Popplau at one point, must be noted (see below).

As Doris's original translation first notified the project about this intriguing passage, it was therefore important to check and confirm its accuracy. This was done blind without any reference to, or sight of, the original



Location of Silesia, where Niclas von Popplau was born in c.1440. Silesia is a historical region of northern Europe mostly in Poland, with small parts in Czechia (Czech Republic) and Germany. Creative Commons Licence

translation. Our very grateful thanks go to Dr Eleoma Bodammer, Senior Lecturer in 18th- and 19th-century German Literature at the University of Edinburgh, and Professor Henrike Lähnemann, Chair of Medieval German Literature and Linguistics, St Edmund Hall, University of Oxford, for their translation.⁴

Thanks also to project member Christopher Tinmouth for his ongoing searches of the Duchy of Lancaster and Pontefract records (locally and at Kew) and his transcription and analysis of the records of Honour of Pontefract. Christopher's PhD is on Furness Abbey. He is also chairman of the South Cumbria Group.

In Part 2 (to come in the March 2021 *Bulletin*) Popplau's diary is analysed with project member Doris Schneider-Coutandin, and this includes a reassessment of some of its better-known passages.

Page 53 of Popplau's diary records the Silesian envoy's journey from Doncaster to York on 30 April/1 May 1484. In York, Popplau met with Richard III and his court. Popplau writes:

Ten miles away from Doncaster, when you travel towards York, there is also a stronghold castle. In there, the king keeps his treasure, also all noble Lords, such as the king's children and sons to the princes just like you keep prisoners. The castle itself is called in Latin *pons fractus*, which was confirmed to me later by word of the king himself, whose name is Richard King of England, who had been Duke of York [sic]⁵ before.⁶

Before we analyse this passage it's important to note Radzikowski's interpretation from 1998.⁷ He notes that, 'Pontefract Castle was the prison and place of execution of many representatives of great dynasties.'⁸ This presupposes Popplau's meaning to be a general description of Pontefract Castle and its history, and this may be correct. However, it seems that Popplau discusses Pontefract Castle in terms of 'the king' (singular) and, as yet, I've been unable to identify a king who lived at Pontefract with his children. It was reputed to be a favourite residence of Henry Bolingbroke (before he usurped the throne), but his children were born elsewhere.

Pontefract Castle

Therefore on the basis that Popplau was referring to the current king, we will now analyse his report. First Popplau records:

Ten miles away from Doncaster, when you travel towards York, there is also a stronghold castle.

Analysis of the envoy's travel distances in England (in miles) are problematic, with only one correct.⁹ Some distances are out by a considerable margin¹⁰ but in all cases are underestimated. Interestingly, Pontefract Castle (depending on the route travelled) may be correct or



Above: Reconstruction of Pontefract Castle. Below: The ruins of Pontefract Castle's keep.

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overestimated, at around seven miles from Doncaster as you head towards York.¹¹ Certainly Popplau's description of Pontefract as a 'stronghold castle' is correct.¹²

The king's treasure

Popplau then adds:

In there, the king keeps his treasure, also all noble Lords, such as the king's children and sons to the princes just like you keep prisoners.

Popplau's statement that 'the king keeps his treasure' (in Pontefract Castle) seems to be supported by Richard's signet (Harleian 433)¹³ and Popplau himself,¹⁴ and suggests that some of King Richard's regalia and jewellery may have been housed there.¹⁵

However, it is the next section of Popplau's statement that is the most intriguing, and potentially significant for the project. Popplau records that at Pontefract Castle the king keeps

... all noble Lords, such as the king's children and sons to the princes just like you keep prisoners.

The king's children

This seems, at face value, to be a description of the royal household and nursery with 'all noble Lords, such as the king's children'. With the death of the king's son and heir, Edward of Middleham, a few weeks earlier on or around 17 April 1484,¹⁶ this would therefore refer to Richard's illegitimate children, John of Gloucester (Pontefract)¹⁷ and Katherine Plantagenet.¹⁸ However, if as it seems, Popplau did not know about the death of Prince Edward (to be discussed in Part 2) then this could of course include him. But Popplau goes on to add, 'and sons to the princes just like you keep prisoners'. This statement was believed by Popplau's editor, Radzikowski, (as above) to refer to the castle's noble prisoners during its long history¹⁹ but it's important that we do not dismiss or ignore any potential source of evidence when another interpretation may be possible. Therefore, could this refer to one or more of the sons of Edward IV and is it significant that the mention of 'sons to the princes just like you keep prisoners' follows on directly from the statement regarding the king's children, with Popplau apparently recording who is in the castle at the time of his visit in early May 1484?

This position seems to be supported by Popplau's next statement, when he adds that the name of the castle 'was confirmed to me later by word of the king himself'. Popplau met Richard III the following day, 2 May 1484 (to be discussed in Part 2).

'... sons to the princes just like you keep prisoners'

It is also significant (as above) that Popplau describes 'princes' (plural), as he does with the king's 'children'. If we accept that this is not an error by the eighteenth-century copyist, or by Popplau himself, then who might these 'princes' (plural) be who are kept 'just like you keep

prisoners'? It is possible that one of these was Edward, earl of Warwick,²⁰ so could the other 'princes' be the king's remaining nephews through his sister, Elizabeth, duchess of Suffolk, the de la Pole brothers? This seems unlikely, considering that their elder brother John was a close associate of the king and trusted by him, and it is probable that John and his father were with Richard at the time (more in Part 2). Moreover there is nothing to suggest from the period that the de la Pole princes were kept in Richard's care or custody.²¹ Moreover, Edward of Warwick had been knighted by Richard a few months earlier in York and was part of Queen Anne's household.²² Warwick would of course be kept as a prisoner during the reign of Henry VII but Popplau was writing well before this took place (see Part 2 for an analysis of when this section of Popplau's diary was written).

We must also consider Francis Lovell's nephew, Henry Lovell, Lord Morley.²³ Morley was present in the royal household in the north on 24 July 1484²⁴ and may have been brought north during the royal progress.²⁵ On 1 May 1484 (the day Popplau arrived in York) Richard authorised a payment to his sister, the duchess of Suffolk, for the 'exhibition' (support) of Morley and her daughter (also Elizabeth), for their marriage.²⁶ It is not known where the marriage took place but as children it seems probable it would have been ceremonial at this time. However, it's unlikely this union with the king's niece would have made Morley a prince. Moreover, there's no evidence to suggest the boy was being kept like a prisoner; he enjoyed his breakfast each day with his brother-in-law, John, earl of Lincoln (see below).

The sons of Edward IV

So were these 'princes' who were kept like prisoners the sons of Edward IV and can this hypothesis be supported by any evidence? We have, of course, the detailed ordinances for the king's royal household in the north, issued two months later on 24 July 1484 (as above), which includes a description of the 'Children togeder at oon brekefast'.²⁷ This entry is generally assumed to refer to Edward of Warwick, his sister and a number of the daughters of Edward IV, including Elizabeth of York, and possibly John of Gloucester (with Katherine married by this time). This is largely due to Vergil's account of Robert Willoughby's mission to Sheriff Hutton castle immediately after Bosworth²⁸ but it also follows the Tudor tradition of the boys' deaths in 1483. So do we need to keep an open mind, and if Richard did place the boys in custody in the north at this time would he and his advisors, including his nephew, the earl of Lincoln as President of the Council of the North, decide to keep them in a separate location to the other children (and possibly with John of Gloucester/Pontefract), or to separate both boys, and might one of the locations used have been nearby Sandal Castle?²⁹

Sandal Castle

Sandal Castle is an interesting location for the project due to its relatively secluded situation, and the extensive building works carried out there in the first year of Richard's reign. The hurried building of a new tower on 3 June 1484³⁰ and extensive repairs to a smaller tower³¹ certainly suggest preparations for the Council of the North on or around 24 July 1484.³² It is also interesting to note that ordinances for the royal household at Sandal actively dissuaded any extra visitors with 'wages being strictly controlled by the treasurer, no extra serving boys to be added and no extra breakfasts served other than to those already on the payroll.'³³ This, together with strengthening works (as above), suggests a highly controlled and secure household. An archaeological investigation between 1964 and 1973 discovered a pottery whistle from the period which may have been a child's toy³⁴ and a woman's belt with a decorative silver strip of flowers with five petals.³⁵

The sons of Edward IV in the north

So is there any evidence to suggest that one or more of the sons of Edward IV were domiciled in the north during the reign of Richard III? With Popplau's subsequent visit to King John of Portugal in August 1484 we'll consider a potentially important Portuguese source. Rui de Sousa was the Portuguese ambassador to England from 1481 to 1489. In 1496, with France and Spain vying for Henry VII's friendship, the Spanish monarchs wrote to Henry with help with the pretender 'Perkin Warbeck'. Warbeck had claimed the English throne as the youngest son of Edward IV, Richard, duke of York. The Spanish monarchs wrote that de Sousa:

knew the Duke of York very well and has seen him there (England). Two years later he saw the other person (Warbeck) in Portugal.³⁶

As Warbeck arrived in Portugal sometime after Easter 1486, Barrie Williams' calculations suggest that de Sousa may have seen the duke of York when the Treaty of Windsor was signed in York on 25 June 1484,³⁷ a few short weeks after Popplau's visit. It might also be important to note an intriguing payment made for the 'duke of York' in the Annals of Cambridge from the year ending 8 September 1484 (Nativity of the Virgin), and probably referring to Richard's visit to the university in March 1484³⁸ as he headed north to York and his meeting with Popplau. The accounts record:

For the servants³⁹ of the Lord the King, Richard the Third, this year, 7s.; and in rewards to the servants of the Lord the Prince, 7s.; and in rewards to the servants of the Queen, 6s. 8d.; and in rewards to the servants of the Duke of York, 6s. 8d.⁴⁰

Is this payment for the servants of Edward IV's youngest son, or with the earl of Warwick in Queen Anne's household, is it a scribal error for the young earl?⁴¹ Taken at face value it would seem to be a surprising error.



Top to bottom:

A reconstruction of Sandal Castle, artist's impression.

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A view of the motte and barbican at Sandal Castle.

A view of a remaining wall at Sandal Castle. Both reproduced under Creative Commons Licence.

Intelligence gathering

It's also worth considering who provided Popplau with this information concerning the king's treasure, his children and the 'sons of princes', and why. Who would have known this and felt comfortable enough to inform the foreign emissary? Did it come from ordinary people and local gossip encountered by Popplau and his party⁴² as they headed to York, with Popplau enquiring locally



The sons of Edward IV, from the Royal Window Canterbury Cathedral (1480). Creative Commons Licence

about the 'stronghold castle'? And if so, was the local gossip accurate or confused, or possibly conflated with nearby Sandal Castle.⁴³ Or could this information have been offered by someone at Richard's court – Lord John of Bergen,⁴⁴ the unnamed Latin translator, or the Spanish captain, Juan de Salazar?⁴⁵ However, Popplau goes on to record that this information was confirmed by King Richard himself. The construction of the sentence could suggest that Richard was only confirming the castle's name and status. However, 'then told me himself, and explained to me'⁴⁶ suggests the information may have come from Richard.⁴⁷ So was Richard only telling Popplau about the history of the castle?

Travel diary (page 59)

On page 59, Popplau then adds:

And King Richard, who reigns now, had put to death the sons of King Edward, **they say**, so that not they but he was crowned. But **many say** (and I count myself amongst them) they still live and are kept in a very dark cellar.⁴⁸

Could 'they say' refer to Popplau's earlier meeting in Flanders in March 1484 with the French advisor Gui de Rochefort at the court of Archduke Maximilian, or his later visit to the French court in April 1485, where Henry Tudor and his English rebels were present (discussed in Part 2)? If so, this clearly follows the Continental view that the boys were murdered so that Richard could be crowned. If this is correct then is Popplau referencing his earlier statement about Pontefract Castle, or had Popplau not connected the two? If the information Popplau received had been a general statement of 'sons of Princes' being kept like prisoners then his lack of connection is explicable. However, Popplau is now not only questioning what he has heard about King Edward's sons, but is quite direct in his view. He now confirms that 'many say' the boys are still alive, and he agrees with them.

Does this intriguing statement offer any further clues? Certainly if the boys had been domiciled in Pontefract

Castle for any period of time then its constable, Sir John Neville,⁴⁹ and steward, Sir James Harrington,⁵⁰ would have known about it. Both fought for Richard at Bosworth and are persons of interest for the project. Neville survived and went on to make his peace with Henry VII. Could Neville be another reason why Henry's focus turned northwards immediately after Bosworth?⁵¹

Finally it's also important to note that although Keith Dockray suggested that Popplau stayed at Pontefract,⁵² this is clearly not the case. Popplau is very clear that after Doncaster he 'travelled on to York'.⁵³ It is not clear, however, if Popplau made a detour to see Pontefract Castle, or was merely told about it on his way to York.

Conclusion

We must of course proceed with caution, as this source is an eighteenth-century copy of Popplau's diary with all the provisos this entails (as above and more in Part 2). We must also bear in mind that by November 1483, the royal tutor, John Giles, archdeacon of London, may have been paid off.⁵⁴ Does this suggest that tutors in the northern nursery were in place and records for them have simply not survived, or that a tutor was no longer required?

Richard's proclamation of December 1484 (six months after Popplau's visit) may reveal a sense of powerlessness and frustration and, as Mike Ingram notes, may be related to the boys:

... ancient enemies of France, by many and sundry ways, conspire and study the means to the subversion of this our realm, and of unity amongst our subjects, as in sending writings by seditious persons with **counterfeit tokens, and contrive false inventions, tidings and rumours**.⁵⁵

What were these 'counterfeit tokens' – is this a reference to Continental rumours about the alleged murder, fuelled by France (and Henry Tudor)? If so, it seems that Richard and his council may not have had one or more of the boys to display by December 1484, or was it deemed prudent not to reveal who they had and/or their whereabouts?

At this remove this seems to suggest that Part 1 of our case study analysis (*Bulletin*, March 2020, pp 42–7), which raised the possibility that the boys were removed by someone outside Richard's government, should now become a significant focus of attention. This position may be supported by a general pardon received by Thomas Bourchier, archbishop of Canterbury, on 13 December 1483.⁵⁶ No reason is given but might the pardon have been connected to Bourchier's oath to Elizabeth Woodville (the boys' mother) in June to return her youngest son to her? Interestingly, on 2 May 1483, Bourchier had been tasked by Edward V to secure the Tower of London.⁵⁷ Bourchier was not on the royal progress and following his pardon would never serve again on Richard's council.

At face value this seems to represent a compelling way forward but, as we have seen, it is also important not to ignore any potential lead. Indeed, the sources from this

period seem to confirm that John Giles, the tutor to Edward V and Richard, duke of York, was being paid during Richard's reign and may, therefore, still have been in post.⁵⁸ Therefore, as we stand, with Popplau's intriguing statement and the evidences from Part 4 of our Case Study (*Bulletin*, September 2020, pp 41–7) we must consider the possibility that the sons of Edward IV may have been domiciled in the north for a period of time and at some point prior to the battle of Bosworth removed to a location overseas,⁵⁹ and/or potentially separated at this time. As ever, the investigation continues.

Notes and references

1. Doris Schneider-Coutandin, *An Extended Translation of the Travel Diary of Niclas von Popplau: March 1484 to April 1485, on behalf of The Missing Princes Project* (23 February 2017), p. 11. From: Piotr Radzikowski (ed.), *Reisebeschreibung Niclas von Popplau, Ritter, bürtig von Breslau* (1998), p. 53.
2. Livia Visser-Fuchs, "'He hardly touched his food, but talked with me all the time": what Niclas von Popplau really wrote about Richard III', *The Ricardian* (June 1999) Vol. XI, No 145, pp 525–30.
3. Philippa Langley, 'The Missing Princes Project – a case study. Part 4. The Fate of the Sons of King Edward IV: the aftermath of Bosworth 22 August to 3 September 1485', *Ricardian Bulletin* (September 2020) p. 44. Original translation by Doris Schneider-Coutandin (2017), p. 11.
4. 'Ten miles from Doncaster, when travelling to York, there is also a fortified castle where the King keeps his treasure and where all the great men, the King's children and the princes' sons are being kept, who are being detained like prisoners. And that's why the castle is called in Latin *pons fractus*, as the King, with the name Richard King of England, who was previously called the Duke of York, [sic] then told me himself, and explained to me.' Translation on behalf of The Missing Princes Project by Dr Eleoma Bodammer, Senior Lecturer in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century German Literature, at the University of Edinburgh and Professor Henrike Lähnemann, Chair of Medieval German Literature and Linguistics, St Edmund Hall, University of Oxford. 30 April 2018.
5. One of Popplau's mistakes: Richard was, of course, duke of Gloucester. For other mistakes, see Radzikowski, p. 51; Schneider-Coutandin, p. 10, fn. 24 for Richard's inheritance of the city of York from his father; for Henry VI being the brother of King Richard and Edward IV, Radzikowski, p. 59, Schneider-Coutandin, p. 17, fn. 52.
6. Schneider-Coutandin (2017) p. 11.
7. In 1996 Radzikowski first published Popplau's travel diary in Polish from the 1712 copy. In 1998 this was translated into German. Piotr Radzikowski, 'Niclas von Popplau – His Work and Travels', *The Ricardian* (March 1998) Vol. XI, No 140, pp 243–4, 246. Also Visser-Fuchs, p. 525.
8. Bodammer and Lähnemann, Radzikowski, p. 53, fn. 155 'Pontefract Castle was the prison and place of execution of many representatives of great dynasties.'
9. Radzikowski, p. 62, Schneider-Coutandin, p. 20. Newport to Yarmouth is given correctly as 10 miles (c. 9.6); Radzikowski, pp 59–60. Schneider-Coutandin, p. 18, for Popplau's distance from Newcastle to the Tweed at Berwick at 60 miles is very close (c.61.7 miles). Distances calculated are in the modern statute mile with the medieval 'old London' mile a little shorter by about 94 yards. See www.britannica.com/science/mile. The English mile was of course not a distance used by the Silesian knight but he confusingly mentions the *Gwende*, which is a Pomeranian unit of area: see Radzikowski, p. 48 and Schneider-Coutandin, p. 7, fn. 17. Also for Popplau's description of 'English miles make three times two for one German mile.', fn. 17.
10. For example, Cambridge to Stamford, given as 36 miles, is c.47 miles: Radzikowski, p. 51, Schneider-Coutandin, p. 9. Cambridge University is described as 50 miles from Oxford University when it is c.75 miles: see Radzikowski, p. 48, Schneider-Coutandin, p. 7.
11. Radzikowski, p. 53, Schneider-Coutandin, p. 11. Calculation taken from Eggborough on the road to York from Doncaster. If Popplau had meant Sandal Castle (or the king's response had meant Sandal) this distance is a further c.9 miles (16 miles in total).
12. Lorenzo Radgett, *Chronicles of Old Pontefract* (1905) p. 54. Pontefract Castle is described as impregnable and the 'key to the north'.
13. For *Harleian* 433 see below, note 15.
14. Radzikowski, pp 55–6, Schneider-Coutandin, pp 13–14, for Popplau's description of the king's collar and jewels.
15. Peter Hammond, *The Children of Richard III* (2018) p. 31, and Rosemary Horrox and P. W. Hammond (eds), *British Library Harleian Manuscript 433* (1980), Vol. 2, p. 25, for payment to Geoffrey Franke on 25 September 1483 from the Middleham accounts for the 'Jewelless from Londone'. Richard, Anne and Edward, prince of Wales, would have worn crowns and coronets for the entry into York and investiture. Analysis of the king's itinerary reveals that he spent nearly five months in the north and so may have needed some regalia locally. I've been unable to discover any record of treasure being kept there by another king. It's also possible the 'treasure' was kept at Sandal Castle. However, there's no record of Richard having visited Sandal Castle: see Rhoda Edwards, *The Itinerary of King Richard III 1483–1485* (1983).
16. Date of the death of Edward of Middleham is postulated as Saturday 17 April 1484, based on the contemporary account by John Rous, the Neville retainer and Warwickshire priest. The following day, Sunday 18 April, was Easter Sunday. See: Annette Carson, www.annettecarson.co.uk/357052362. On Monday (after Easter) 19 April no business was conducted (although it was the following year). See also Edwards, *Itinerary*, pp 17–18, 34. The 17 April date of death of Edward of Middleham might also be supported by Richard's belated order for the livery for St George's Day (23 April), not sent for until 24 April: see Anne Sutton, 'The Court and its Culture in the Reign of Richard III', in John Gillingham (ed.), *Richard III: a medieval kingship* (1993), p. 79. For date of death from 17–27 April, and possibly the 24th, see Marie Barnfield, 'The Death of Edward of Middleham, Prince of Wales', *Ricardian Bulletin* (September 2017) pp 42–3.
17. *Harleian* 433, Vol. 1, p. 271. An order referring to John's appointment as Captain of Calais calls him 'John de

- Pountfret Bastard'. Pountfret (Pontefract) may also refer to John's place of birth. Hammond, *Children*, pp 45–6, 84 fn 7 for the date of March 1485.
18. Hammond, *Children*, pp 49–50. Katherine was married to William Herbert, earl of Huntingdon (1451–91) in May 1484, with the marriage covenant dated 29 February 1484. Hammond suggests the marriage took place in York at the end of May. This would have certainly allowed for an appropriate period of mourning to have taken place for the king's son and heir, Edward of Middleham.
 19. Prisoners at Pontefract Castle included Thomas of Lancaster, James I of Scotland, the duke of Orleans and Richard II. There is also the short imprisonment of the earl of Salisbury (1460) before execution, and Sir Richard Grey and Anthony, earl Rivers, before their trial and execution in late June 1483 (see below). Thomas of Lancaster and the duke of Orleans can be described as 'sons of princes', as can the early imprisonment of James I before his father, King Robert's, death. Richard II could be described as the son of a prince but this seems an unlikely descriptor when he had been 'king'. In terms of Salisbury, Rivers and Grey it seems unlikely at this remove that Popplau would describe them as 'sons to the princes'. Certainly there is no mention of their execution, which seems a significant omission if Popplau was referring to them. As a royal envoy for Frederick III, Popplau would have also been well versed in who might be considered 'princes'. For the envoy's descriptions of those at King Richard's court, and possibly taken from introductions there, see Part 2 to come in the March 2021 *Ricardian Bulletin*.
 20. Alison Hanham, *Richard III and his Early Historians 1483–1535* (1975), p. 123. Rous records that Edward of Warwick was proclaimed King Richard's heir (following the death of the king's son): 'Later he was placed in custody and the Earl of Lincoln was preferred to him ...'. See Hammond, *Children*, p. 33, for Warwick's knighting in York by King Richard on 8 September 1483; also Denys Hay (ed.), *The Anglica Historia of Polydore Vergil A.D. 1485–1537* (1950), Book XXIV, p. 3 for the description of Warwick at Sheriff Hutton castle.
 21. www.geni.com/people/Edward-de-la-Pole-Archdeacon-of-Richmond/6000000006101269201. In 1484, Edward de la Pole was 19, Edmund 13, Humphrey 10, William (and Geoffrey?) 6 and Richard 4. Please note these ages may not be exact.
 22. C. A. J. Armstrong (ed.), *Dominicus Mancinus De Occupatione Regni Anglie per Riccardum Tercium* (2nd edn, 1969), p. 89. Armstrong's interpretation of 'custodiri' is 'confinement'. It can also mean 'kept' (also: keep safe, preserve, watch over, look after, keep under observation, guard, imprison). My thanks to project member Dr Betty Knott for this clarification (31 January 2020). Hay also uses the word 'kept' for Warwick at Sheriff Hutton castle, *Anglica Historia*, p. 3. See note 20 above.
 23. Monika E. Simon, *The Lovells of Titchmarsh: a late medieval baronial family (1297–148?)* (1999) <http://etheses.whiterose.ac.uk/10863/1/301146.pdf>.
 24. *Harleian 433*, Vol. 3, p. 114. See note 25 below. It's believed Henry Lovell was born c.1468 and so would have been about 16 years old in 1484.
 25. *Harleian 433*, Vol. 2, pp 28–9. This entry concerning Morley's tenants and income is dated October 1483 and may have been written on or around 5 October, when Richard was at Pontefract Castle (see p. 28, folio 120). The reference to Morley's 'nonne Age' confirms his youth and not having reached the age of inheritance. This took place on 5 February 1489 (see *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Henry VII, 1485–1494*, [CPR] (1914), Vol. I, p. 268.).
 26. *Harleian 433*, Vol. 2, p. 131.
 27. *Harleian 433*, Vol. 3, p. 114. 'Item My lord of Lincolne and my lord Morley to be at oon brekefast, the Children togeder at oon brekefast, suche as be present of the Counsaile at oon brekefast.' Might it be significant that the 'children' are not named? Does this further suggest heightened security at Sandal Castle (see also notes 30–33 below)?
 28. For an analysis of Willoughby and his mission to the north after Bosworth see, Philippa Langley and Judith Ford, *Ricardian Bulletin* (March–September 2020) Parts 1–4.
 29. Interestingly there is no record of King Richard having visited Sandal Castle. See note 15 above and Edwards, *Itinerary*. Sandal Castle was only c.9 miles from Pontefract Castle. See also note 11 above.
 30. *Harleian 433*, Vol. 2, p. 137. Also Lawrence Butler, *Sandal Castle Wakefield* (1991), p. 62.
 31. Butler, *Sandal Castle*, pp 62, 65. Another addition was abutments to help fortify the gatehouse bridge.
 32. *Harleian 433*, Vol. 3, pp 114–15, dated 24 July 1484. Also, pp 149–50 for payments made for food supplies, one dated 21 July 1484; *Harleian 433*, Vol. 2, p. 168, for October 1484 and a new bake-house to be built at Sandal on the advice of John de la Pole. See also Butler, *Sandal*, pp 62–3.
 33. *Harleian 433*, pp 114–15. Also Butler, *Sandal*, p. 65.
 34. Butler, *Sandal Castle*, p. 68.
 35. *Ibid.*, p. 71. Could this have been a Yorkist rose?
 36. Barrie Williams, 'Rui de Sousa's Embassy and the Fate of Richard, Duke of York', *The Ricardian* (June 1981) Vol. V, No 73, p. 341. At this time with the alliance between England and Spain in the Treaty of Medina del Campo of March 1489 and its agreed marriage between Prince Arthur and Katherine of Aragon, the Spanish monarchs helped Henry VII dismiss Warbeck's claim. My thanks to project member Rosemary Swabey for bringing de Sousa's timeline to my attention in her paper of 6 June 2019.
 37. *Ibid.*, p. 342. The Treaty of Windsor was a diplomatic alliance between Portugal and England, first signed in 1386. In 1484 it was signed (and ratified) at the Austin Friars in York. See: *Foedera XII*, p. 228. One of the witnesses was Francis, viscount Lovell.
 38. Edwards, *Itinerary*, pp 15–16. Richard was staying at the University of Cambridge on 9–11 March 1484.
 39. Hammond, *Children*, p. 82, translates this as 'servants'. Cooper had mistranslated it as 'minstrels' (see below, note 40).
 40. Charles Henry Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge*, Vol. 1 (1842), p. 230.
 41. There was a relatively small age difference between Richard, duke of York, and Edward, earl of Warwick, at only 18 months between them. In Cambridge, on 9–11 March 1484, Richard, duke of York, would have been 10½ and Warwick just turned 9 years of age. Could the two boys have been similar in appearance? However, see note 20 (above), Hanham, p. 123. So does this payment reference Warwick's place at court?

42. Werner Paravicini, *L'Etranger à la Cour. Nicolas de Popplau en voyage à travers L'Europe (1483–1486)* (2015), p. 17. As far as Brussels, Popplau is accompanied by an entourage including ten horses with his lance and jousting equipment. After this it is more modest, with three horses and two servants. With thanks to project member Joanne Larnier for her French translation, 10 March 2017. For Popplau's new manservant recruited in London for the trip north, see Radzikowski, p. 44, Schneider-Coutandin, pp 5–6.
43. Sandal Castle was c.8–9 miles from Pontefract Castle.
44. Radzikowski, p. 55, Schneider-Coutandin, p. 13. For the identity of John of Bergen as John II, Lord of Bergen op Zoom (1417–1494) see Zoë Maula on pp 54–8 of this *Bulletin*. Both John II and his son, John III (also known as John of Walhain), are persons of interest for the project.
45. Radzikowski, p. 59, Schneider-Coutandin, pp 17–18. Juan de Salazar is also a person of interest for the project.
46. Bodammer and Lähnemann translation (2018), fn. 4.
47. Richard may have spoken in English with Popplau. 'He addressed me no less than three times (as it was the common way in England)': Radzikowski, p. 55, Schneider-Coutandin, p. 12. Also, p. 56, Schneider-Coutandin p. 14: 'The king liked my way of speaking as he liked many of my answers because he did not eat much of the food, instead conversed with me all the time.' This cryptic statement on p. 47, Schneider-Coutandin p. 6. is also suggestive: '... which I was told by credible and noble people in this country'. Also for Popplau speaking in English, see, Paravicini *L'Etranger*, pp 15–16. Popplau also seems to have taken into his service servants who could speak a language.
48. Schneider-Coutandin, p. 17.
49. *Harleian 433*, Vol. 3, p. 5. Neville was commanded to make 'his abode' at Pontefract Castle. For more on John Neville see Pauline Harrison Pogmore, *Richard III: the house of York and their supporters* (2010) p. 43.
50. A. J. Pollard, *North-Eastern England During the Wars of the Roses: lay society, war, and politics 1450–1500* (1990) p. 325.
51. Langley, 'Case Study, Part 4: The Aftermath of Bosworth 22 August to 3 September 1485', *Ricardian Bulletin* (September 2020) pp 41–7.
52. Keith Dockray, *Richard III: a source book*, 1997, p. 5. Dockray confuses Pontefract with York and believed that Popplau attended the Mass in the presence of King Richard at Pontefract.
53. Radzikowski, p. 51, Schneider-Coutandin, p. 10.
54. For Giles being paid off see: Nicolas Orme, *English Schools in the Middle Ages* (1973), p. 27. My thanks to Dr David Johnson for alerting me to this source. See Orme fn. 1 for A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to AD 1500* (1958) Vol. II, p. 842, for likely identification as the 'Jo. Giles granted an annuity of £20 for his good service in instructing the king's sons, Edward, prince of Wales and Richard, duke of York, in grammar, 1 May 1476 (*CPR 1467–1477*, p. 592).'
55. Mike Ingram, *Richard III and the Battle of Bosworth* (2019), p. 165. My thanks to Mike for the original source and text from a letter to the mayor of Windsor, 6 Dec 1484: British Library Harleian Ms 787, fn. 2b, printed in William Hutton, *The Battle of Bosworth* (1813) pp 190–1. 'Forasmuch as we be credibly informed that our ancient enemies of France, by many and sundry ways, conspire and study the means to the subversion of this our realm, and of unity amongst our subjects, as in sending writings by seditious persons with counterfeit tokens, and contrive false inventions, tidings, and rumours, to the intent to provoke and stir discord and disunion betwixt us and our lords, which be as faithfully disposed as any subjects can suffice. We therefore will and command you strictly, that in eschewing the inconveniences aforesaid you put you in your uttermost devoir of any such rumours, or writings come amongst you, to search and inquire of the first showers or utterers thereof; and them that ye shall so find ye do commit unto sure ward, and after proceed to their sharp punishment, in example and fear of all other, not failing hereof in any wise, as ye intend to please us, and will answer to us at your perils.'
56. *CPR 1476–1485*, p. 373. General pardon 'of all offences committed by him before 12 December [1483]'.
57. Linda Clark, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB)* (Sept 2004).
58. See *Harleian 433*, Vol. 3, p. 194, for John Giles as the royal tutor. This entry may be dated 1 March 1485, if the signet folios in *Harleian 433* are in chronological order here. Under an extensive list of fees and wages granted out of the crown and 'underwritten by king Edward the iiiij (whom god pardon)', Master John Gyls (Giles) is described as 'enformer of the kinges children'. This entry for payment therefore may be just that and Giles was the royal tutor in the north. Others on the list for payment with Giles continued with their respective roles during Richard's reign. For Giles as Edward V's grammar master, see Josephine Wilkinson, *Richard: the young king to be* (2009) p. 65, fn. 2 (p. 293). See *CPR 1476–1485* (1901), p. 378, for a yearly grant of £40 to Giles on 27 November 1483. See *Harleian 433*, Vol. 2, p. 26, for Giles described as 'Archediacone of Londone and Collector of the pope' with a payment of 6s 8d. No date is given but the payment is placed in and around materials for September and October 1483. The ordinances for the children at Sandal Castle on 24 July 1484 mention no tutor but it would have been highly unusual for a tutor not to have been in place. For the household ordinances see *Harleian 433*, Vol. 3, pp 114–16. However, it might be significant that Master Giles received an annual payment of £20 for life on 30 July 1484, only six days after the king's royal household ordinances in the north were put in place. For this yearly payment to Giles see *CPR 1476–1485*, p. 481. This payment had been originally granted to Giles by Edward IV. For more on the heightened security at Sandal Castle see p. 49 and notes 27, 30–33 above.
59. For more on King Edward's sons being taken overseas, see, Arthur Noel Kincaid (ed.), *The History of King Richard the Third by Sir George Buck Master of the Revels, From the Original Manuscript of 1619* (1979) pp 138–9, 142.