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UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

Archaeology, English, and History

Roger Machado: A Life in Objects

by

Gemma Louise Watson

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

Abstract

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

Archaeology, English, and History

Doctor of Philosophy

ROGER MACHADO: A LIFE IN OBJECTS

by Gemma Louise Watson

This thesis is the micro-history of Roger Machado, who is best known as Leicester Herald for Edward IV, Edward V, and Richard III, and the senior herald, Richmond King of Arms, for Henry VII. Prior to this thesis, Machado has only been sparsely considered by scholars because he is elusive in the historical record. There is, in the College of Arms, his extant memorandum book, but otherwise, sources referring to him are few and far between. However, in the 1970s, Machado's Southampton residence was excavated, which unearthed a rich artefact assemblage associated with his occupancy. This discovery has allowed for a fresh perspective on Machado's life. This thesis, therefore, uses both documentary and archaeological sources to unlock the man from the records, and consequently, places a strong emphasis on the importance of interdisciplinary research.

By pursuing a micro-historical approach that focusses on Machado's engagement with objects, this thesis uses Machado as a window into the world in which he lived. Machado lived through the later years of the Wars of the Roses and through the entire reign of the Tudor dynasty's first monarch, Henry VII. Therefore, his life is well placed to enable this thesis to consider broader themes. The first chapter discusses the micro-historical approach. The second chapter discusses how Machado, as a foreigner, came to work and live in England, how he came to join the exiled Henry Tudor, and examines the herald and Office of Arms in the fifteenth century. The third chapter considers the ceremonial role that Machado and the heralds played at the Yorkist and early Tudor courts. The fourth chapter considers Machado's life and home in early Tudor Southampton, using the objects excavated from his house and others recorded in his extant inventory. The fifth chapter discusses how Machado would have used such objects in dining.

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Declaration of Authorship

I, Gemma Louise Watson

declare that this thesis entitled

Roger Machado: A Life in Objects

and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
7. Either none of this work has been published before submission, or parts of this work have been published as: [please list references below]:

Signed:

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Date:

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Abbreviations

BL	British Library, London
Bod. Lib	Bodleian Library, Oxford
CA	College of Arms, London
<i>CCR: 1476-1485</i>	<i>Calendar of the Close Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office: Edward IV, Edward V, and Richard III, 1476-1485</i> (London: HMSO, 1954).
<i>CFR: Henry VII</i>	<i>Calendar of the Fine Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office: Henry VII, 1485-1509</i> (London: HMSO, 1962).
<i>CPR: 1467-1477</i>	<i>Calendar of the Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office: Edward IV, Henry VI, 1467-1477</i> (London: HMSO, 1900).
<i>CPR: 1476-1485</i>	<i>Calendar of the Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office: Edward IV, Edward V, Richard III, 1476-1485</i> (London: HMSO, 1901).
<i>CPR: Henry VII</i>	<i>Calendar of the Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office: Henry VII, 1494-1509</i> London: HMSO, 1916).
<i>CSP: Milan</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts Existing in the Archives and Collections of Milan</i> (London: HMSO, 1912).
<i>CSP: Venetian</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice, and in Other Libraries of Northern Italy</i> (London: HMSO, 1864-1947).

GL	Guildhall Library, London
<i>Leland's Collectanaia</i>	<i>Joannis Lelandi antiquarii de rebus Britannicis Collectanea</i> , 6 vols (London: Impensis Gul. & Jo. Richardson, 1770).
<i>Letters and Papers: Richard III & Henry VII</i>	<i>Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III and Henry VII</i> , ed. by James Gairdner, Vol. 24, <i>Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores</i> , 2 vols (London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1861).
<i>Letters and Papers: Henry VIII</i>	<i>Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII Preserved in the Public Record Office, the British Museum, and Elsewhere</i> . 21 vols. (London: HMSO, 1920).
<i>Materials</i>	<i>Materials for a History of the Reign of Henry VII, From Original Documents Preserved in the Public Record Office</i> ed. by William Campbell, <i>Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland During the Middle Ages</i> Series, 60, 2 vols (London: H.M.S.O., 1873-5).
<i>Memorials</i>	<i>Memorials of King Henry VII</i> , ed. by James Gairdner, <i>Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland During the Middle Ages Series</i> , 10 (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1858).
NA	National Archives, London
<i>ODNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>
SAL	Society of Antiquaries, London
SCRO	Southampton City Record Office

The Antiquarian Repertory

The Antiquarian Repertory: A Miscellany Intended to Preserve and Illustrate Several Valuable Remains of Old Times, by F. Grose, T. Astle, and others, 4 vols (London: Printed for the proprietors and sold by F. Blyth, J. Sewell, T. Evans, 1775-1784).

WAM

Westminster Abbey Muniments

Introduction

This thesis has come out of research for an AHRC Collaborative Doctoral Award between the Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Culture at the University of Southampton and Southampton City Council Arts and Heritage. As a result, it has taken a very interdisciplinary approach, using objects left to us in the archaeological and documentary records to discuss and document the life of the fifteenth-century herald, Roger Machado. My research has had two outcomes: this thesis and a display on Machado in SeaCity Museum's *Gateway to the World* gallery.

Roger Machado is a relatively obscure and elusive character in the history of Henry VII's reign. He is best known as Henry's personal herald who came to England with Henry in 1485. Machado observed and was involved in some of the most important events of the day, including Richard III's demise and the establishment of the Tudor dynasty. Machado documented in his extant memorandum book, kept at the College of Arms in London, some of the events he witnessed and participated in.¹ However, the excavation of his residence in Southampton in the late 1970s has provided an opportunity not only to study his life through historical documents, but also through material remains. This thesis takes a micro-historical approach that places Machado's objects and documents in their broader historical and cultural contexts to unlock the man from the records and tell his story.

Background

Before going on to discuss the methodological approach of this thesis (Chapter 1) it is necessary to outline what was previously known about Roger Machado before this research was undertaken. Machado is the subject of two *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* articles: The first by A. F. Pollard in 1893, and then more recently by Adrian Ailes in 2009.² Further short biographies can be found in Rev. Mark Noble's *A*

¹ CA, MS Arundel 51, fols 14-88.

² *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/>

History of the College of Arms and in the so-called *College of Arms* monograph.³

Anthony Richard Wagner has also commented on Machado's life several times in his works on the English heralds: *Heralds and Heraldry* and *Heralds of England*.⁴

Although all these biographies are invaluable sources for the life of Roger Machado, it is often difficult to distinguish between fact and hearsay. This is particularly a problem of Hugh Standford London's biography of Machado in the *College of Arms* monograph where references to original sources are few and far between.⁵ All of the biographies noted here are short, which is not surprising considering the vast gaps in the sources for Machado's life. This thesis, therefore, has aimed to add to what we already know about Machado by extensive archival research and by examining his engagement with objects.

Roger Machado's story is set in the final years of a period in English history known as the Wars of the Roses, when the royal houses of Lancaster and York were at odds over who had the right to rule. The climax was Henry Tudor's victory over Richard III at the Battle of Bosworth Field on 22 August 1485. Machado witnessed many of the pivotal events of that time, including the usurpation of the English throne by Richard III, the events surrounding the probable murder of the famous Princes in the Tower, the rebellion that followed this act of infanticide, Henry Tudor's victory over Richard III at Bosworth, and the establishment of the Tudor dynasty.

Unfortunately, relatively nothing is known about Machado's early life, and even the date of his death is uncertain, but he is thought to have died sometime during 1510.⁶ Machado is best known as Richmond King of Arms, a senior herald for Henry VII. He is thought to have been a close friend and special favourite of Henry's.⁷ Machado was not English, but of probable Portuguese descent. There has been some confusion over his nationality in the past, with scholars and heralds claiming he was French or

³ Mark Noble, *A History of the College of Arms* (London: T. Egerton, R. Faulder, R. Lea, Vernor and Hood, J. Walker, W.I and I. Richardson, T. Booker, J. Asporne, and E. Lloyd, 1805); Walter Hindes Godfrey and Anthony Richard Wagner, *The College of Arms* (London: The London Survey Committee, 1963), pp. 79-80.

⁴ Anthony Richard Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry in the Middle Ages: An Inquiry into the Growth of the Armorial Function of Heralds* (London: H. Milford, Oxford University Press, 1939); Anthony Richard Wagner, *Heralds of England: A History of the Office and College of Arms* (London: H.M.S.O., 1967).

⁵ Godfrey and Wagner, *The College of Arms*, pp. 79-80.

⁶ *ODNB*; Godfrey and Wagner, *The College of Arms*, p. 79.

⁷ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 137.

Breton.⁸ This is because Machado was thought to have met Henry Tudor in Brittany or France, and because he wrote predominantly in French. However, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it became apparent that Machado had also been Leicester Herald for Edward IV, Edward V, and Richard III, before he ever met Henry Tudor.⁹

What has been uncertain is how Machado met Tudor and how he came to switch his allegiance from being a herald for the royal house of York to becoming the Lancastrian claimant's personal herald. It would appear that Machado left England at the end of 1483 as he disappears entirely from English sources from that date, only re-emerging after Henry Tudor's victory at Bosworth in August 1485. During these missing years, Machado kept a memorandum book that shows he pursued mercantile activities, in particular the import and export of wine and cloth.¹⁰ This source also shows that Machado acted as an agent in the Low Countries for one of Tudor's supporters in exile, Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset, presumably on business for Henry Tudor's cause.¹¹

After Bosworth, Machado was made Richmond King of Arms and Southampton Searcher of Customs.¹² He was to continue in Henry Tudor's favour as he was promoted several times within the Office of Arms as well as being granted other privileges. From 1486 to 1497, Machado lived in Southampton where he was made Burgess in 1491.¹³ He is best known for his diplomatic duties as a herald during Henry VII's reign.

Much work has been done on the English heralds, especially by the heralds themselves. For instance, Sir Anthony Richard Wagner's (Portcullis Pursuivant, 1931-43; Richmond Herald, 1943-1961; Garter King of Arms, 1961-78; Clarenceux King of Arms, 1978-95) work is instrumental to the study and understanding of the

⁸ John Anstis, *The Register of the Most Noble Order of the Garter*, 2 vols (London: John Barber, 1724), I, 367

⁹ Anstis, *The Register of the Most Noble Order of the Garter*, I, 368; *Memorials*, p. xxxix.

¹⁰ CA, MS Arundel 51, fols 21-27.

¹¹ CA, MS Arundel 51, fol. 28.

¹² CFR: Henry VII, pp. 36, 38.

¹³ *The Cartulary of God's House, Southampton*, ed. by J. M. Kaye, Southampton Records Series, 19, 2 vols (Southampton: Southampton University Press, 1976), II, 289-291; *The Book of Fines: The Annual Accounts of the Mayors of Southampton, 1488-1540*, ed. by Cheryl Butler, Southampton Records Series, 34 (Southampton: Southampton Records Society, 2008), p. 17.

history and development of the Office of Arms.¹⁴ However, the heralds' opinions of their predecessors tend to be biased and romanticised, and are perhaps not the most accurate judge of the past role of heralds. There has been more recent research on the heralds by historians, such as Adrian Ailes, Nigel Ramsay, and Katie Stevenson that offer a more objective opinion of the medieval herald.¹⁵ This thesis aims to build on this research.

Machado's Objects

The objects that are used in this thesis to decipher the complexities of Machado's life are the material culture excavated from his Southampton residence, the documents in his memorandum book, and the objects described in this source. The excavation, conducted in the late 1970s, yielded a plethora of Venetian glass and imported continental pottery, which offers, in particular, an insight into late medieval and early renaissance Southampton and evolving dining practices at this time.

The excavated objects are complemented by Machado's extant memorandum book.¹⁶ Although the memorandum book is a documentary source, it can also be considered an object that was touched and used by Machado over several years. Today it can be found within an eighteenth-century volume along with another unrelated manuscript entitled *Cardinal Wolsey's Life* written by John Stowe.¹⁷ In its original state, the memorandum book would have been a convenient size for note-taking and for travel. It measures approximately 150mm by 215mm, is of paper, and written in brownish

¹⁴ For example, Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry*; Wagner, *Heralds of England*; Anthony Richard Wagner, *A Catalogue of English Mediaeval Rolls of Arms*. Harleian Society (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1950); Anthony Richard Wagner, *The Records and Collections of the College of Arms* (London: Burkes Peerage, 1952).

¹⁵ Adrian Ailes, "You Know Me by My Habit": Heralds' Tabards in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries', *The Ricardian*, 13 (2003), 1-11; 'Ancient Precedent of Tudor Fiction? Garter King of Arms and the Pronouncements of Thomas, Duke of Clarence', in *The Herald in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. by Katie Stevenson (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2009), pp. 29-39; 'The Development of the Heralds' Visitations in England and Wales 1450-1600', *The Coat of Arms*, Third Series Vol. V part 1 (2009), 7-23; Nigel Ramsay, 'Richard III and the Office of Arms', in *The Yorkist Age*, ed. by Hannes Kleineke and Christian Steer, Harlaxton Medieval Studies Volume XXIII (Donington: Shaun Tyas and Richard III and Yorkist History Trust, 2013), pp. 142-163; Katie Stevenson, ed., *The Herald in Late Medieval Europe* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2009).

¹⁶ CA, MS Arundel 51, fols 14-88.

¹⁷ William Henry Black, *Catalogue of the Arundel Manuscripts in the Library of the College of Arms* (London: S. & R. Bentley, 1829), p. 93.

coloured ink in Machado's own distinctive hand (See Appendix B, Fig. 29). It does, however, appear that not all of the original manuscript survives as it starts mid-way through the description of Edward IV's funeral and stops abruptly mid-way through his second journal of an embassy to Brittany in 1490.

Machado's memorandum book is varied in its content (See Appendix B, Nos. i-vi for transcriptions and translations). It includes typical heraldic narratives as well as sources for the more personal aspects of Machado's life. It is laid out as follows: a description of Edward IV's funeral (fols 14-17); the title to an intended narrative of Edward's V entry into London (fol. 18); an inventory (fol. 19); mercantile accounts referring to the purchase of wine in a syndicate with two merchants (fols 21-22); accounts referring to the purchase of cloth and luxury textiles, and the record of the profit made from the wine venture (fols 26-27); a record of money owed to Machado for business undertaken on behalf of the Marquis of Dorset (fol. 28); and three accounts of diplomatic embassies he participated in, one to Spain and Portugal in 1488-9 (fols 29-68), and two to the Duchy of Brittany in 1490 (fols 69-88). Folios 20, 23, 24, 25, 89, 90, and 91 are blank. The majority of the memorandum book is written in French, apart from the account of wines (fols 21-21), which is written in Portuguese. The memorandum book offers new perspectives into not only Machado's own life, but also more generally, the life of a herald living at the end of the fifteenth century. The inventory also provides us with awareness of other objects belonging to Machado that have not survived physically.

The memorandum book forms part of the Arundel manuscript collection in the College of Arms, which was originally part of the collection of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel (1585-1646). The Arundel Library was formed by the Fitzalans, Earls of Arundel and became the property of John Lord Lumley, who married Jane, a daughter and coheir of Henry Fitzalan, last Earl of Arundel of that name. The library was then purchased by King James I and became part of the Royal Library, which was then given to the British Museum by George II in 1757. However, it appears that in 1678, a selection of manuscripts related to the heralds were given to the College of Arms by Henry Howard, Duke of Norfolk (grandson of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel), and we can assume that Machado's memorandum book was one of these. How Machado's memorandum book originally ended up in the Arundel collection is currently

unknown, but it is not surprising. Richard III incorporated the College of Arms in 1484 and gifted them the use of the London mansion of Coldharbour for their chapter meetings and library.¹⁸ Henry VII, however, cancelled large classes of grants made by Richard III in his Act of Resumption, passed during his first parliament in 1485. This included the incorporation of the heralds, which resulted in Coldharbour being removed from them and given to Henry's mother, Margaret Beaufort.¹⁹ The heralds, therefore, did not have a library of their own until they were re-incorporated in 1555, and their books were scattered amongst the different heralds and their families.

From 1485, the office books from Coldharbour remained in the custody of John Writhe, Garter King of Arms until his death in 1504. It then becomes unclear what became of the library as there are conflicting arguments as to where they went. Writhe's son, Thomas Wriothesley, said that he and his brother handed them over to Machado from whom they later passed on to Thomas Benolt, succeeding Clarenceaux King of Arms after Machado's death, although this was disputed by Benolt. It does appear, however, that Machado's memorandum book did end up with Benolt. Benolt's will gives instructions that all his books and rolls of arms were to go to the succeeding Clarenceux Kings of Arms to 'enjoy as his own during his natural life'.²⁰ A table was drawn up by Thomas Wall, Windsor Herald, and included Machado's memorandum book.²¹ However, instead of the collection going to the next Clarenceaux at Benolt's death, it was in fact inherited by Benolt's deputy, Thomas Hawley, Carlisle Herald. Hawley became Norroy King of Arms in 1534, and at Hawley's death, Benolt's library was passed on to William Harvey, the succeeding Norroy.²² What happened to Machado's memorandum book between this time and when it finally ended up in the Arundel collection is unknown, but it could have easily become separated from Benolt's library because there was not a permanent place to keep the heralds' extensive collection of books and manuscripts at this time.

¹⁸ BL, MS Cotton Faustina E I. fol. 23, printed in *Munimenta Heraldica, 1484-1984*, ed. by G. D. Squibb (London: Harleian Society, 1985), pp. 14-19.

¹⁹ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 124.

²⁰ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 171.

²¹ CA, MS Heralds, I, fols 189-91, as referred to in Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 171.

²² Wagner, *Heralds of England*, pp. 170-82.

Organisation of Thesis

The thesis is divided into five chapters. The first chapter introduces the methodological approach that this thesis has taken. The second chapter considers the years prior to Machado becoming Henry VII's herald. The chapter asks how Machado, a foreigner, came to be working in England as a herald and how he interacted with the troubled politics of the later years of the Wars of the Roses. Faced with dilemmas of loyalty, what personal decisions did he take and what effect did the political climate have on him? The ultimate question is how did Machado, a herald for Richard III, become Henry Tudor's herald in exile? The chapter will also explore the often overlooked practicalities of exile by using Machado's memorandum book. How would Machado have obtained an income in exile and what would he have taken with him from England? The chapter concludes by considering Machado's role as a herald after Henry Tudor's victory at Bosworth in 1485 by introducing the English Office of Arms and asking what a herald was at this time, and what rewards it would have brought to Machado.

The third chapter of this thesis considers the role of the herald in royal ceremonial, drawing upon Machado's own experiences of events such as funerals, coronations, weddings, and christenings, and his engagement with objects within these events. Questions that will be considered are: Did heralds organise any aspect of these events? Why did they record them? What exactly was the heralds' role in royal ceremonial? The heralds' role as recorders of royal ceremonial is particularly stressed in this chapter, and it is argued that Machado contributed to an important narrative, known as *The Heralds' Memoir*, that records the early years of Henry VII's reign.

The fourth chapter considers Machado's life in Southampton. It starts by discussing the town of Southampton, and its high society, thinking about why Machado chose to live there, before then going on to outline the excavation of Machado's house and discuss how and when we know Machado lived there. The chapter describes the material culture found and discusses its significance by comparing it with other excavations and probate inventories from the town. It asks what did Machado's home

look like, how was it laid out and decorated, how did Machado furnish it, and what objects would Machado have used day-to-day?

The fifth chapter considers how Machado used the objects that were excavated from his Southampton residence in conjunction with the objects described in his extant inventory. It is established that these objects would have been used during dining and offer an insight into the dining practices of the middling sort. As a result, the chapter will reconstruct and analyse a meal that Machado may have hosted for the ambassadors on embassy the night before they embarked on their journey to Spain and Portugal in 1489. It will be argued that changes brought about by the emerging Renaissance are visible at Machado's dinner table.

The thesis concludes with an epilogue that reflects on Machado's life and what it can tell us about the time in which he lived.

Chapter 1

An Interdisciplinary Micro-History

This chapter lays out the methodological approach of this thesis by introducing the concept of micro-history and the contribution that the study of material culture brings to understanding the life of Roger Machado. The benefits and pit-falls of interdisciplinary research and biography will also be discussed. Although this chapter is not intended as a literature review, works that have influenced the methodological journey of this thesis will be referenced, along with archaeological and anthropological theoretical and methodological approaches. The chapter will finish by considering the uses of micro-history beyond academia, with particular reference to the museum display based around the research for this thesis in the SeaCity Museum, Southampton.

Micro-History

This thesis has decided to take a micro-historical approach to the life of Roger Machado instead of a purely biographical one because it wishes not only to consider the man but also the world in which he lived. Micro-history is the pursuit of answers to larger questions from smaller places – individual lives, a single family, or one event.¹ Conversely, in order to understand a person's actions it is necessary to establish the context in which the person lived. The micro-history that is at the centre of this thesis is the life of one individual, Roger Machado, living at a time of great change in England – the time of the Wars of the Roses, the establishment of the Tudor dynasty, and the beginning of the English renaissance. As a result, Machado's life is well placed to enable this thesis to consider wider questions surrounding these events.

¹ Charles Joyner, *Shared Traditions: Southern History and Folk Culture* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999), p. 1; Carlo Ginzburg, *Threads and Traces: True, False, Fictive*, trans. by Anne C. Tedeschi and John Tedeschi (Berkley and London: University of California Press, 2012), p. 193-4.

The first person to use the word ‘micro-history’ as a self-defined term was the American scholar, George R. Stewart in 1959, when he minutely analysed the decisive battle of the American Civil War at Gettysburg, an event that lasted only twenty minutes.² He argued that by approaching the battle as a microcosm it was possible to see the American Civil War ‘as clearly by looking minutely and carefully at a period of a few hours as by looking extensively and dimly throughout four years’.³ The theory of micro-history, however, comes from Italian social and cultural history in the 1970s; known as *microstoria*, it was a reaction to the *histoire des mentalités* of the French Annales School. Both schools of thought shared the agenda of bringing common people into history, but the Italian micro-historians were more concerned with focussing on in-depth investigations of little-known individuals, families, communities, or events, whereas Annales School historians were generally preoccupied with quantitative methods and historical demography.⁴

This thesis has taken inspiration from micro-history, but also draws upon works not explicitly described as micro-history by their authors. Iris Origo’s biography of the fourteenth-century Italian merchant, Francesco di Marco Datini can be placed within the micro-historical genre.⁵ Origo gives a detailed study of the life of a medieval merchant drawing upon the extensive documentation surviving for Datini’s mercantile business and household. James Shapiro’s *1599: A Year in the Life of William Shakespeare* was also influential when writing this thesis.⁶ Shapiro takes the micro-historical approach further by not only considering an individual life, but also a single year within that life. The heart of the book is Shapiro’s desire to understand how Shakespeare became Shakespeare by focussing on the form and pressure of the time that shaped Shakespeare’s writing when he was thirty-five years old.

² George R. Stewart, *Pickett’s Charge: A Microhistory of the Final Charge at Gettysburg*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1959). Stewart’s work is discussed in Ginzburg, *Threads and Traces*, pp. 193-4.

³ Stewart, *Pickett’s Charge*, p. xii

⁴ Examples include Giovanni Levi, *L’eredità immateriale. Carriere di un esorcista nel Piemonte del seicento* (Einaudi: Torino, 1985), Carlo Ginzburg, *Il formaggio e i vermi* (Einaudi: Torino, 1976). As discussed in Ginzburg, *Threads and Traces*, pp. 193-214.

⁵ Iris Origo, *The Merchant of Prato: Francesco Di Marco Datini* (London: Penguin Books, 1992).

⁶ James Shapiro, *1599: A Year in the Life of William Shakespeare* (London: Faber and Faber, 2005).

Material Culture

Machado's objects (both material and textual) are the central axis on which this thesis rests. It is therefore necessary to define and discuss the term material culture and what its study brings to this research. Material culture can be defined as the material manifestation of culture. It can take different forms (*e.g.*, architecture, objects, ephemeral archaeological features revealed through excavation), but for the purpose of this thesis, material culture refers to the objects that Machado came in contact with throughout his life. This includes the objects excavated from Machado's Southampton residence, the objects described in his extant inventory, the objects Machado bought and traded that are documented in his mercantile accounts, and the objects he came into contact with whilst working as a herald. All these objects have something to say about Machado and the world he inhabited.

The medieval world was very visual; objects and other forms of material culture carried meanings that might surprise us today. The vast majority of the population could not read or write and therefore materiality was a significant part of everyday life. Things carried meanings that were subconsciously understood, and influenced day-to-day lives subliminally. This is explored by Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson in their edited volume *Everyday Objects: Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and its Meanings*. They argue that to understand people's experience of daily life, you need to know about people's possessions – their material culture.⁷ Therefore, by considering Machado's objects and what they can say about him and the world in which he lived, we can understand things about both his life and his culture that the documentary sources alone cannot offer.

Materiality (the social value placed on physical things) is an integral part of culture and there are dimensions of social existence that cannot be fully understood without it.⁸ The anthropologist and material culture specialist, Daniel Miller, argues in his seminal work on materiality that: 'Objects are important not because they are evident and physically constrain or enable, but often precisely because we do not "see" them... They determine what takes place to the extent that we are unconscious of

⁷ Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson, eds., *Everyday Objects: Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and its Meanings* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010).

⁸ Christopher Tilley, et al. eds, *Handbook of Material Culture* (London: Sage, 2006), p. 1.

their capacity to do so.⁹ This implies that much of what we are exists outside of our body or consciousness, in the external environment that 'habituates and prompts us'.¹⁰ Therefore the study of the material dimension of society is fundamental to understanding culture.

In contrast to Miller, the anthropologist, Alfred Gell argues that people act through objects by distributing their personhood onto things which represent an index of their agency, rather than the objects themselves influencing human agents. As a result, these things have the potential to serve as secondary agents well beyond the biological life of the individual. The person is 'a spread of biographical events and memories of events, and a dispersed category of material objects, traces, and leaving... which may, indeed, prolong itself long after biological death'.¹¹ Therefore, we are able to reconstruct a person (and the life choices they made) through the material things they have left behind. Rather than seeing Gell's and Miller's interpretations of the relationship between human agent and object as distinct from one another, I consider the relationship to be reciprocal and far more complex. People do act through and consequently place a value on objects, whether intentionally or unintentionally, but they are also subconsciously influenced by the material world around them. This thesis will show how material culture can contribute to our understanding of Roger Machado's life and how his relationship with objects affected him.

Interdisciplinarity and the Biographer

As well as taking a micro-historical approach that uses and interprets material culture, this thesis also draws upon documentary evidence. The main difficulties facing biographers of the medieval and early renaissance is how to interpret the complexities of the different sources associated with the lives of individuals, and how to fill in the missing gaps in the records. One approach is to be interdisciplinary, mobilizing all available evidence. For instance, Robin Fleming's article in *Writing Medieval Biography* used the bone analysis of a seventh-century woman to gain

⁹ Daniel Miller, ed., *Materiality* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2005), p. 5.

¹⁰ Miller, *Materiality*, p. 5.

¹¹ Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 222.

insights into personal stresses affecting individual lives in Anglo-Saxon England.¹² However, being interdisciplinary has its own difficulties as highlighted in Elisabeth Salter's *Six Renaissance Men and Women*.¹³ Salter takes the lives of six individuals living between 1480 and 1560, all with a connection to the Tudor court. Her aim is to use these lives cumulatively to give personal and contextual details about 'Renaissance experiences'.¹⁴ However, Salter herself acknowledges that she is unsure how successful she was at doing this.¹⁵ Interdisciplinarity is a necessity when considering individual lives, something that Salter is fully aware of and comments on, because life-experiences at any time in history cross disciplinary boundaries.¹⁶ However, Salter falls into the trap of losing the individuals she discusses by focussing too much on the details of the different sources she investigates for their lives.

There is always the risk in interdisciplinary research of focusing heavily on our own specialism and reducing other types of evidence to mere illustrations, rather than being considered equally dynamic and important resources. This is due to the fact that the traditional separation of scholarship into different disciplines artificially compartmentalises textual, visual, and material evidence. This then creates the problem of how to combine different types of evidence in scholarly research.¹⁷ This research is an example of how we can overcome these difficulties by drawing upon all available evidence for Machado's life, both documentary and archaeological. As a result, this thesis draws upon and adds to the genre 'documentary archaeology'.

Documentary Archaeology

Documentary archaeology is a popular approach to history in North American scholarship. It brings together diverse source materials related to cultures and societies that peopled the recent past (within the last 500 years or so) not possible

¹² Robin Fleming, 'Bones for Historians: Putting the Body back into Biography', in *Writing Medieval Biography 750-1250: Essays in Honour of Professor Frank Barlow*, ed. by David Bates, Julia Crick and Sarah Hamilton (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006), pp. 29-48.

¹³ Elisabeth Salter, *Six Renaissance Men and Women: Innovation, Biography and Cultural Creativity in Tudor England, c. 1450-1560* (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2007).

¹⁴ Salter, *Six Renaissance Men and Women*, p. 4.

¹⁵ Salter, *Six Renaissance Men and Women*, p. 155.

¹⁶ Salter, *Six Renaissance Men and Women*, p. 153.

¹⁷ Hamling and Richardson, *Everyday Objects*, pp. 9-10.

through single lines of evidential analysis.¹⁸ Documentary archaeologists tend to see their archive of source material as including written records, oral traditions (where possible), and material culture that produces overlapping, conflicting, or entirely different insights into the past.¹⁹ Anne Yentsch's archaeological study of the eighteenth-century Calvert family of Annapolis, Maryland provides a good example of how the analysis of family papers in conjunction with archaeological remains can result in the construction of a richly detailed understanding of lived lives.²⁰ Yentsch describes how when she was analysing data collected from the Calvert site,

I deliberately blurred genres to explore what historical archaeology would be like if it was fused with the constructs of anthropological history, and I set aside the constraints of processual archaeology to see if a detailed understanding of social process could be gained through an interpretative approach that paid close attention to local context.... While this is a book that grew from an archaeological excavation, at its heart it is not so much about archaeology as about the ways one can use the historical record and a knowledge of anthropology to supplement traditional artefact interpretation. A fuller view of the artefacts, however, was not seen as an end in itself; the ultimate goal was to see the people through the things they left behind.²¹

This approach is similar to the one this thesis has adopted for the life of Roger Machado and the interpretation of his objects.

The analysis of the excavation of Block 160 of Five Points, New York can also be defined as documentary archaeology, and was also influential on the methodology of this thesis.²² *Tales of Five Points* combines anthropological analysis of artefacts with detailed study of primary documents relating to land ownership and tenancy, and secondary works on nineteenth-century New York history, to tell the story of the people that lived at Block 160. It is split into six volumes and is presented in report

¹⁸ Laurie A. Wilkie, 'Documentary Archaeology', in *The Cambridge Companion to Historical Archaeology*, ed. by Dan Hicks and Mary C Beaudry (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 13.

¹⁹ Wilkie, 'Documentary Archaeology' in *The Cambridge Companion to Historical Archaeology*, p. 14.

²⁰ Anne Elizabeth Yentsch, *A Chesapeake Family and their Slaves: A Study in Historical Archaeology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

²¹ Yentsch, *A Chesapeake Family*, p. xxii.

²² Rebecca Yamin, ed., *Tales of Five Points: Working-Class Life of Nineteenth-Century New York* (Pennsylvania: John Milner Associates, 2000).

format with contributions from individuals from various fields of research. The first volume, entitled *A Narrative History and Archaeology of Block 160*, uses a storytelling methodology to help answer the project's objectives. This methodology was seen as a way to mesh historical and archaeological data into an accessible narrative of life in Block 160. Each accommodation 'lot' is taken separately and a narrative of who lived there and how they lived is given drawing on documentary and archaeological data. The second volume is entitled *An Interpretive Approach to Understanding Working-Class Life* and uses a contextualising technique to interpret the data to answer the project's main objectives. The following volumes included specialist analyses of the different data types, more akin to a traditional archaeological report. This publication offers one method of combining archaeological and documentary evidence. However, for me, it does not go far enough in meshing the two together seamlessly because it follows a rather dry and disjointed report format.

Documentary archaeology studies that have successfully combined archaeological and documentary data include Laurie Wilkie's research on two African-American women and their families who lived in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.²³ Wilkie similarly drew upon documentary and archaeological evidence as well as oral history. In *Creating Freedom*, Wilkie analyses four families who lived on Oakley Plantation in West Feliciana Parish, Louisiana at the 'microscale level' through the integration of material culture data drawn from archaeological investigations in conjunction with oral histories, ethnographies, and documentary sources.²⁴ Wilkie argues that: 'Archaeological analysis and interpretation that focuses at the household level can more fully explore the construction of African-American identity, family life, and community than previously published works have'.²⁵ Wilkie's *The Archaeology of Mothering* is, on one level, an archaeology of Lucrecia Perryman and her life, but it is also an archaeology of Lucrecia Perryman as representative of the broader experiences of thousands of other women who shared her experiences, and an archaeology of African-American women who were

²³ Laurie A. Wilkie, *Creating Freedom: Material Culture and African American Identity at Oakley Plantation, Louisiana, 1840-1950* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000); Laurie A. Wilkie, *The Archaeology of Mothering: An African-American Midwife's Tale* (New York and London: Routledge, 2003).

²⁴ Wilkie, *Creating Freedom*, p. xv.

²⁵ Wilkie, *Creating Freedom*, pp. xv-xvi.

midwives. Wilkie treads the fine line between rigorous data-driven interpretation and historical fiction. Wilkie punctuates her interpretations with fictitious dialogues (called narrative interludes by Wilkie) in the form of interviews between early twentieth-century women and an invented character, Hazel Neumann. Her aim is to fill some of the spaces between historical sources. She argues that the strength of using narrative in archaeological interpretations is its ability to make dry material accessible to non-professionals. Wilkie considers 'narrative as a means for subverting and rising above the context in which we are enmeshed, as a means of consciously attempting to remove oneself from a particular subject position'.²⁶ Wilkie is not afraid to push the evidence to its limits to produce a piece of research that best reflects the lives she is trying to understand.

Micro-History and the Museum

Using objects to tell an individual person's story and to illustrate the world in which they lived is not restricted to scholarly writing, but is also currently a feature of museum exhibitions. For example, the British Museum's temporary exhibition *Shakespeare: Staging the World* (19 July – 25 November 2012) used objects from the time in which Shakespeare lived to illuminate his world. It worked in collaboration with the Royal Shakespeare Company to create a dialogue between the imaginary worlds of Shakespeare's plays and objects from the real world in which he and his audiences lived.

The research behind this thesis similarly contributed to a permanent exhibition on Machado in Southampton's SeaCity Museum in the *Gateway to the World* gallery. The gallery uses individuals (both real and imagined) that lived in Southampton from prehistory to the present day to illustrate the port and town's continuous and changing role as a gateway to the wider world throughout history. Machado represents the later medieval period, and some of the objects excavated from his Southampton residence, along with interactive media, are displayed in the gallery to illustrate life in Southampton at the time he lived there. The experience I gained from assisting in the creation of the exhibition was instrumental in honing the

²⁶ Wilkie, *The Archaeology of Mothering*, p. xxv.

methodological approach this thesis has taken, especially thinking about what normally mute objects can actually say about a person's life.

Conclusion

This thesis takes into consideration the methodological approaches discussed above by using a micro-historical methodology that draws upon the study of material culture (notably materiality and agency) and also the principles of documentary archaeology. The main aim is to understand Machado's life within the wider context of the time through his engagement with the material world. Roger Machado is well placed to enable me to consider wider questions about the time in which he lived because of the variety of evidence extant for his life and his various spheres of activity. He is of course not a 'typical' man but the fact that his micro-history is interdisciplinary can help address some of the main problems faced by biographers of historic figures, in particular the strategies that can be used to encompass and account for gaps in the evidence. Because the evidence for Machado's life is fragmentary, the thesis tries to draw as much as possible from every source. As a result, it was sometimes necessary to deduce what was happening in Machado's life from limited evidence. If we are to understand Machado and the world in which he lived then this is unavoidable. However, any speculation was rigorously researched and reasoned.

Chapter 2

The Rebel Herald

This chapter will chart Machado's life from when he arrived in England in the early 1470s and his role as a Yorkist herald, to his flight into exile at the end of 1483, and his subsequent return with the triumphant Henry Tudor. Using his extant inventory and mercantile accounts, that both pertain to objects, as sources for this otherwise undocumented period in his life, I will suggest that Machado supported the Buckingham Rebellion against Richard III. The chapter will go on to consider the fundamentals of Machado's heraldic responsibilities by introducing the English Office of Arms and its basic functions at this time in the fifteenth century.

A Portuguese Herald Comes to England

Roger Machado is best known as Henry VII's herald, Richmond King of Arms and perhaps therefore, even in the College of Arms, it was thought that Machado was French and first came to England with Henry in 1485: Thomas Lant, Portcullis Pursuivant (1588-97) said that Machado was a Frenchman;¹ and John Anstis, Garter King of Arms (1718-1744), states that Thomas Wriothesley, Garter King of Arms (1505-1534) believed that Machado was Breton: 'The common Tradition is that he was a native of Bretagne in France and came hither Richmond Herald with Henry Earl of that place.'² These statements were made some time after Machado's death and have masked the fact that prior to becoming Henry VII's herald Machado was Leicester Herald for the Yorkist kings Edward IV, Edward V, and Richard III.

Machado was probably of Portuguese extraction. This is testified by his surname and some of his extant writings: *Machado* is the Portuguese word for axe and the Machado coat of arms are a pun in design of this word being gules, five axes argent, arranged

¹ CA, MS Arundel 40 fol. 8, *The Observations and Collections of Tho: Lant, Portcullis (1588-97) Concerning the Office and Officers of Armes*, as quoted in Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry*, p. 83; Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 137.

² Anstis, *The Register of the Most Noble Order of the Garter*, I, 367; Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry*, p. 83.

two, one, and two.³ And although he writes predominantly in French in his extant memorandum book, there is one account of wines that is written by him in Portuguese.⁴ In fact, it appears that Machado could have lived in Bruges prior to coming to England and becoming a herald. The acclaimed Portuguese historian Prof. A. H. de Oliveira Marques has claimed that a Ruy Machado was living in the Portuguese colony in Bruges in 1455, and it is possible that Roger Machado can be identified with Rodrij Mersado, a member of the crossbowmen Guild of St. George in Bruges in 1445.⁵ The earliest English source I have found for Machado is dated to the very start of Edward IV's second reign when 'Maschado heraldo' was granted 66s 8d on 13 July 1471.⁶ This source, together with the evidence from Bruges, suggests that Machado could have come to England with the returning Edward IV who had spent a short time in exile in Flanders during the Readeption of Henry VI between October 1470 and March 1471.

Between 1471 and 1483, Machado was Leicester Herald in the court of the Yorkist kings Edward IV, Edward V, and Richard III. In 1478, he was one of the heralds present at the tournament celebrating the marriage of Edward IV's second son, Richard of Shrewsbury, Duke of York, to Anne Mowbray.⁷ In 1479 he intervened in a dispute between the merchant William Rodwell and the Sheriffs of London;⁸ and between 1478 and 1480, Machado was sent on various missions to the Low Countries by Edward IV.⁹ In 1483, Machado recorded and performed in the funeral of Edward IV in his capacity as Leicester Herald.¹⁰ By 1484, however, he was in exile with Henry Tudor.

³ Godfrey and Wagner, *The College of Arms*, p. 79; Noble, *A History of the College of Arms*, p. 111.

⁴ See CA, MS Arundel 51, fols 21-2 for the Portuguese account of wines (Appendix B, No. iv).

⁵ Michael Jones, 'Les Ambassades de Roger Machado, le Heraut Richmond en Bretagne (1490)', in *1491: La Bretagne, terre d'Europe*, ed. by Jean Kerhervé and Tanguy Daniel (Brest & Quimper, 1992), pp. 147-160 (p. 149, n. 8); Laura Crombie, 'From War to Peace: Archery and Crossbow Guilds in Flanders c. 1300-1500' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Glasgow, 2010), pp. 59-60.

⁶ NA, E 403/844.

⁷ BL, MS Harley 69, fols 1-2r; *Illustrations of Ancient State and Chivalry from Manuscripts Preserved in the Ashmolean Museum*, ed. by William Henry Black (London: William Nicol, Shakespeare Press, 1840), pp. viii-xi.

⁸ NA, C 1/66 No. 297.

⁹ *ODNB*

¹⁰ CA, MS Arundel 51, fols 14-17.

Machado and the Buckingham Rebellion of 1483

A lack of sources suggests that Machado left England for the Continent in late 1483 as he disappears entirely from English records. A record of a case before Justices in the Exchequer Chamber dated 3 June 1483 states that Machado, along with four others (Robert Taillour, William Danyell, Richard Alyson, Robert Palmer), owed three Genoese merchants (Benedict Spynell, Gabriel de Fournariis, and John Baptist le Gentille) the considerable sum of 500 marks (around £330 then, or in today's money over £166,000).¹¹ On 3 June 1483 Machado and his associates were bound to repay this sum by the 24 June, but they failed to do so. When the case was subsequently brought to the Court of the King's Bench in Easter 1484, only one of the debtors, Robert Taillour, was present. Adrian Ailes suggests that Machado may have fled England on account of this debt sometime between June 1483 and Easter 1484.¹² Although this debt may have been a factor in his disappearance, I do not consider it to be the main reason. 1483 was the year of the three kings: it saw the death of Edward IV, the probable murder of Edward V, and the usurpation of the throne by Richard III. Richard's usurpation and the probable murder of his nephews at his hand sparked a revolt within his own court known as the Buckingham Rebellion. As I show below, there is compelling evidence for Machado's involvement in the rebellion, through his various connections with attainted rebels, and for him joining the rebels in exile on the continent after the rebellion failed.

The main sources for the Buckingham Rebellion are later narratives: The *Croyland Chronicle* (1486), Polydore Vergil's *Anglica Historia* (1512-13), Thomas More's *The History of King Richard III* (c. 1513-18), and Edward Hall's *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustrate Families of Lancastre and Yorke* (1542).¹³ We have no contemporary statement by the rebels of their aims and no reliable information on how a coherent opposition to Richard III was put together. No manifestos or placards survive, and we have no idea of the rebels' plan. We are therefore reliant on these later sources for

¹¹ This sum was converted into present-day GBP sterling using the National Archives currency converter (<http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency/default0.asp>).

¹² *ODNB*

¹³ *Ingulph's Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland: With the Continuations by Peter of Blois and Anonymous Writers*, ed. by Henry T. Riley (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1854); *Anglica historia of Polydore Vergil*, ed. by Denys Hay, Camden Society, 3rd series, LXXIV, (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society); *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, ed. by Richard S. Sylvester, 2 vols (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1963); *Hall's Chronicle*, ed. by Henry Ellis (London, 1809).

information on the plot. According to these sources, the Buckingham Rebellion started as a rising of the substantial gentry in the south of England and Wales in the autumn of 1483. These men, who were mostly former supporters of Edward IV, sought to depose Richard III and replace him with Edward's son and heir, Edward V. However, after rumours began to circulate that Edward V and his brother had been murdered, history states that Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, proposed that Richard III be replaced by the Lancastrian exile Henry Tudor who would marry Elizabeth of York, Edward IV's eldest daughter. It appears that the plan was for the rebels in the south-east to seize London, the south-west counties would join Henry Tudor when he landed on the south coast, and Buckingham was to raise a force in Wales and cross the Severn into England at the same time as the gentry risings broke out. However, the Kentish risings went off prematurely, coinciding with John Howard, Duke of Norfolk's tour of his newly acquired estates in Surrey and Sussex. Howard quickly quashed the uprising before any of the rebels could reach London. Richard III's spy network already had Buckingham under surveillance and provided the king with intelligence of the Welsh uprising before it actually happened, enabling the king to successfully defeat the meagre Welsh force and capture Buckingham. Henry Tudor's fleet was scattered by storms in the Channel, and only one or two ships were able to land on the south coast. By this time, Richard was in the area and the coast was strongly guarded. Therefore, Tudor had to quickly retreat back to the continent, and was joined by many of the other rebels, one of whom, I argue, was Roger Machado.¹⁴

Machado's Notes of Expenses owed from the Marquis of Dorset

It is conceivable that Machado had involvement in the plot to overthrow Richard III through Thomas Grey, the Marquis of Dorset. Dorset was the eldest son of Elizabeth Woodville, queen consort to Edward IV, making him half-brother to the murdered princes. He was one of the main conspirators who fled after the failure of the

¹⁴ For further details and discussion of the Buckingham Rebellion see Charles Ross, *Richard III* (London: Eyre Methuen, 1981), pp. 105-124; Ralph A. Griffiths and Roger S. Thomas, *The Making of the Tudor Dynasty* (Gloucester, Alan Sutton, 1985), pp. 89-105; Louise Gill, *Richard III and Buckingham's Rebellion* (Stroud: Sutton, 1999); and Michael Hicks, *Richard III*, (Stroud: Tempus, 2000), pp. 135-72.

Buckingham Rebellion. At the beginning of 1485, Machado acted as an agent for Dorset, a fact that is evidenced in his memorandum book where he lists five notes of expenses of journeys made to Flanders on behalf of the Marquis:

Year 1485

Item msr the marquis of Dorset owes me for 7 days that I rode for him to the town of Ghent from the town of Bruges to speak to msr de Roumond on his business - £1 3s 4d

Item I have sold for the service of msr le marquis 6 cups of silver of 6 ounces each which amounts to, all six, £9

Item the *facon* 16d the ounce sum £2 8s

Total sum £11 8s 0d

Memorandum that I left the town of Bruges before msr Jacques de Luxembourg and madame de Mans in service of my said lord mse the marquis on 2nd February 1484¹⁵

Item msr the marquis owes me for the silver which I began to pay in the commencement of payment to his pantry for beginning of payment £2 sterling

Item msr the marquis owes me for 10 days when I rode for him and in these messages from the town of Bruges to the city of Laon in Lannoy and to the castle of Poursnay £1 13s 4d.¹⁶

Unfortunately, there is no evidence that definitively points to Machado being directly in the service of Dorset before 1485, but I would suggest that there was a relationship between the two men before that date. As a herald at the royal court, Machado would have crossed paths with Dorset many times. Machado may even have served Dorset's family, the hugely influential Woodvilles, when not performing tasks for the crown. The fact that Machado was used as an agent by Dorset demonstrates that Dorset trusted Machado to perform tasks on his behalf, suggesting the possibility that Machado had run errands for Dorset before.

¹⁵ This is likely to have been an error and should read 1485 as the start of the MS clearly states that these expenses were recorded (and therefore likely made) in 1485. Machado makes a similar mistake when starting to record the royal entry of Edward V into London in May 1483 stating that it was in 1482, which would have been impossible as Edward IV was still king in 1482 (CA, MS Arundel 51, fol. 18).

¹⁶ CA, MS Arundel 51, fol. 28.

Machado and the Four Southampton Rebels

Further indications that Machado may have been involved in the Buckingham Rebellion emerge when we consider the case of four Southampton men who were attainted for their participation in the rebellion.¹⁷ It has never been fully understood why and how these men got themselves embroiled in a plot to overthrow the king, especially as Southampton had no real involvement in the rebellion itself. Although Richard III was an unpopular king, especially after rumours of the murder of his young nephews, this is not grounds enough to explain why Southampton men got involved. However, I argue below that they were involved in the rebellion through their connections with Machado.

The 1483 Exchequer case discussed above describes Machado as 'late of Hampton'.¹⁸ This suggests that Machado was living in the town at the time the Buckingham Rebellion broke out. The medieval walled town of Southampton was not large having a population of only around 2,000 people by 1524, with the majority of the wealthy merchants and civic officials living in the south-west area of the town.¹⁹ The Southampton rebels were all men of import and authority in Southampton and surrounding areas and it would have been Machado's responsibility, as a herald, to know who these men were. Therefore, through his connections with Southampton, it is plausible that Machado could have involved these men in the plot to overthrow Richard III.

The Southampton men attainted were William Overy, Roger Kelsale, Walter William, and John Fesaunt. Overy had been clerk to the town for several years and became

¹⁷ *Rotuli Parliamentorum, ut et Petitiones, et Placita in Parliamento*, ed. by John Stratchey, 6 vols (London: 1832), VI, 246; *The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England: 1484-1487*, ed. by Rosemary Horrox (London: Boydell Press, 2005), XV, 26.

¹⁸ *Select Cases in the Exchequer Chamber Before all the Justices of England*, ed. by M. Hemmant, Publications of the Selden Society, 64 (London: Spottiswode, Ballantyne, 1966), p. 98.

¹⁹ Collin Platt, *Medieval Southampton: The Port and Trading Community, AD 1000-1600* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973), p. 184; Thomas Beaumont James, 'Geographical Origins and Mobility of the Inhabitants of Southampton' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of St Andrews, 1977), pp. 28-9; *Southampton Probate Inventories, 1447-1575*, ed. by Edward Roberts and Karen Parker, Southampton Records Series, 35, 2 vols (Southampton: Southampton University Press, 1992), I, xiii.

sheriff in 1472 and mayor in 1474.²⁰ In 1471 Overy had been 'controller of the great and petty custom, the subsidy of wools, hides, and woolfells', and had been knighted sometime between 1478 and 1483 as he was attainted as 'late of Southampton, Knight'.²¹ Roger Kelsale had been a MP and yeoman to the crown throughout Edward IV's reign. He performed many tasks on behalf of the king including the manufacture and transport of artillery, supervision of work to improve and maintain Southampton's walls and harbour, and the victualing of ships.²² In 1475, 1476, and 1483 he had also been a customs collector in Southampton.²³ Walter William was mayor at the time of the Buckingham Rebellion. He had been Steward of the town in 1473, Senior Bailiff in 1479, and Sheriff in 1481. There is little information in the Southampton civic records regarding John Fesaunt. However his name is noted in the Fine Rolls through his appointments from November 1485 to November 1489 as Searcher of Ships in the port of Poole, a short distance along the coast from Southampton, and in all adjacent ports and places, as Collector of the Petty Custom in Poole, as Collector of Subsidies of tunnage and poundage, and the subsidies on wools, woolfells, and hides in the same port.²⁴

There is further compelling evidence that Walter William had prior knowledge of the plot to overthrow Richard III in 1483. When new mayors were elected in Southampton, they recorded their name in the town's *Book of Remembrance*. What is particularly interesting is that Walter's name has been pen-cancelled in the book after having been written in as mayor in 1483 after his election on 29 September. The next entries after Walter's are written in a different hand, and in the margin is the note that Walter had fled into sanctuary and John Walker was elected as mayor in the same year:

quod fugam fecit ad santuarium Johannes Walker electus pro eodem anno. ²⁵

²⁰ *The Book of Remembrance of Southampton, 1440-1620*, ed. by H. W. Gidden, Publications of the Southampton Record Society, 3 vols (Southampton: Cox & Sharland, 1927-30), I, 72.

²¹ Kenneth Hillier, 'Four Southampton Rebels of 1483', *The Ricardian*, 5 (1979), 14-19; *Rotuli parliamentorum, ut et petitiones, et placita in parlimamento*, VI, 246; *The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*, XV, 26.

²² Hillier, 'Four Southampton Rebels of 1483'.

²³ Hillier, 'Four Southampton Rebels of 1483'.

²⁴ *CFR: Henry VII*, pp. 38, 65, 119-20; Hillier, 'Four Southampton Rebels of 1483'.

²⁵ Hillier, 'Four Southampton Rebels of 1483'; *The Book of Remembrance of Southampton*, I, 72.

It is possible that Walter was aware of the plot through communicating with Roger Machado who would have had first-hand knowledge of events at court, especially if he was in the service of the Marquis of Dorset.

Machado had a professional relationship after 1485 with the Southampton rebels through his position as Searcher of Customs in Southampton awarded to him by Henry VII in September 1485.²⁶ At the same time, William Overy was made Surveyor of Customs in Southampton, Walter William was granted the position of Troner and Weigher (presumably a similar position to do with customs collection), and Fesaunt was awarded Searcher and Collector of Customs in Poole.²⁷ However, Kelsale did not live long enough to benefit from Henry's benevolence as he died in October 1485.²⁸ Overy, Kelsale, William, and Fesaunt all had something to lose by joining the rebellion, but I argue that their support for Henry Tudor paid off as they were rewarded with important civic positions. We can view Machado's appointment as Searcher of Customs in a similar light. It was proffered as a reward for his loyal service, the most important aspect being the moiety that came with it that entitled him to half the confiscated goods entering the port there.

Machado was sent by Richard III to assist William Rosse in the victualing of Calais on 15 December 1483.²⁹ He probably took this opportunity of being on the continent on legitimate crown business to join Henry Tudor and the other Yorkist rebels. If Machado had been caught up in the Buckingham Rebellion, then his involvement had gone undetected up to this point, like many other of its protagonists. A total of one hundred and four men were attainted for their involvement in the Rebellion in Richard III's first parliament in January 1484, but it has been estimated that Henry had up to five hundred supporters with him in exile after 1483, the majority being former supporters of Edward IV.³⁰ It is therefore plausible that Machado's involvement could have gone unrecorded.

While the absence of firm documentary evidence makes it impossible to definitively prove Machado's involvement in the Buckingham Rebellion, I have shown that he had

²⁶ *CFR: Henry VII*, pp. 36, 38.

²⁷ *CPR: Henry VII*, II, pp. 83, 143; *CFR: Henry VII*, pp. 65, 119-20; Hillier, 'Four Southampton Rebels of 1483'.

²⁸ Hillier, 'Four Southampton Rebels of 1483'.

²⁹ Anstis, *The Register of the Most Noble Order of the Garter*, I, 368; *Memorials*, p. xxxix.

³⁰ Sean Cunningham, *Henry VII* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007), p. 24.

close connections with important rebels, such as the Marquis of Dorset, that he was linked to known participants in Southampton, and that he had the opportunity to join the rebels in exile on the continent at the end of 1483. However, this circumstantial evidence is supported, as I show below, by a valuable and as yet unexploited source suggesting an otherwise undocumented period of exile: Machado's memorandum book.

Machado in Exile

Machado's Inventory and Mercantile Accounts

In 1484, Machado wrote down an inventory of his house in his memorandum book.³¹ It is an unusual document being just a simple list of objects without any information as to why their existence is being recorded. The objects listed are all valuable and, most importantly for the inventory's interpretation, portable: linen, clothing for Machado and his wife, pewter vessels, wine and chests (See Appendix B, No. iii). With portability being a significant aspect of Machado's inventory, I will argue below that the inventory was compiled to record the possessions that Machado took with him into exile.

At this time houses were sparsely furnished compared to modern standards and wealth was often invested in textiles. This is reflected in Machado's inventory. There is, however, one significant omission from Machado's inventory that provides an indication of its possible purpose: it does not list furniture. Furniture would, of course, be expected in a full inventory of a dwelling. There are, however, parallels elsewhere for the kind of inventory found in Machado's book. For instance, it was common in the late medieval and early modern periods for a great lord's household to compile inventories as the household would regularly move between the lord's houses. For example, the Hatfield House archives contain a number of inventories kept for this purpose, such as on 5 August 1609 'Lyninge sent to Cranborne'.³² These

³¹ The inventory is entitled by Machado: *Lestoffaigne de mon hostel anno 1484* – Inventory of my house year 1484 (CA, MS Arundel 51, fol. 19).

³² Hatfield House archives, Box B/97 as quoted in David M. Mitchell, "By Your Leave My Masters": British Taste in Table Linen in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', *Textile History*, 20 (1989), 49-77 (p. 57).

houses were permanently furnished, but linen and plate were normally kept with the household as it travelled around.³³ It was therefore necessary to keep track of the objects that moved. However, Machado was not a great lord and would not have had a large household. I therefore suggest that the inventory was compiled by Machado in preparation for travel abroad.

Considering that Machado disappears from English sources between June 1483 and September 1485, his potential involvement in the Buckingham Rebellion, and that in the early months of 1485 he was working as an agent for the exiled Marquis of Dorset, I suggest that the inventory of 1484 was compiled as a list of objects Machado took into exile. The need for objects to be transportable must have been important if Machado was on the move, travelling from place-to-place. It would also have been a time when he was not receiving a salary from the English Crown and therefore much of his wealth would have been invested in these valuable objects. He was not the only exile to invest his wealth in this way. The chroniclers Edward Hall, Richard Grafton, and Raphael Holinshed say that Bishop John Morten acquired cash and treasure at Ely Cathedral before fleeing England after the Buckingham Rebellion; and I have already noted that Machado sold some of Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset's silver whilst in Flanders.³⁴

If Machado was indeed in exile between the years 1484 to 1485, as I have argued, it would have been a time when finances were tight and Machado would have had to find new sources of income. His memorandum book suggests that this was through mercantile ventures. In July 1484, Machado was buying and selling Portuguese wine in a partnership with John Piriz de Bischaia (of Biscay) and John de Meullemester. The account records that the three men bought wine of Azóia from various individuals including Pedro of Coimbra, John Carvalho, and Leonardo Senturion, which they then sold on for a profit:

Book registering a partnership with John Piriz de Bischaia and John de Meullemester on certain wines of Azóia
From Pedro of Coimbra 6 tuns and pipes, sold at £2 per tun and 8s for the

³³ Mitchell, "By Your Leave My Masters": British Taste in Table Linen in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', pp. 56-7.

³⁴ C. S. L. Davies, 'Bishop John Morton, the Holy See, and the Accession of Henry VII', *English Historical Review*, 102 (1987), 2-30 (p. 6); CA, MS Arundel 51, f. 28.

entire sale; for which the total amount on 14 july sits at £13 8s
From John Carvalho, bought 4 and a half tuns of wine at £2 12s a tun ; of which £4 10s have already been paid to Carvalho; for which the total amount is £11 14s

Bought of Leonardo Senturion 2 tuns at 2 l. 6 s a tun, of which Meullemester has paid £4

From Eanes one tun at £2 8s a tun, of which £1 8s is already paid for; but Pires still owes £1 to be paid until Christmas; total amounts to £2 8s

From Eanes on 14 july 6 tuns and pipes at £3 a tun to be paid by João Pires until Christmas; total £19 10s

From Farez 9 tuns and a half at £2 10s a tun, to be paid within the next three months £10, and the remainder until Christmas; worth in total £24 5s

From Rodriques on 14 July 6 tuns and a half at £3

Another 3 pipes, that is 1 tun at £1 6s and another pipe at 14s; total £2

One barrel of Carvalho, of 25 lots

Paid to the servant of Bernarte on 14 July 3d pertaining to the sum of the wines bought from Machado; total £12 19s 6d ³⁵

Machado records that he made £8 from this partnership.³⁶ At the end of the same year, Machado also purchased various types of cloth and luxury textiles from Meullermester (see Appendix B, No. v for full transcription and translation).³⁷ In November and December, Machado paid 22s 6d for two and half ells of damask, and 7s for a cornette and half an ell of black velvet. He also bought from Meullermester seven ells of cloth for 3s 6d, a black lamb skin cloth for 12s, and 6 ells of raw cloth for 3s 8½d.³⁸

John Piriz was a successful Spanish merchant in the later fifteenth century. Variations of his name appear in both the Patent and Close Rolls for the reign of Edward IV. In 1476, a 'John Piers of Cantele in Berneo of the province of Biscay' was granted a moiety of customs and subsidies usually due to the king from all merchandise of subjects of the king of Castile and Leon taken into and out of England via the ports of

³⁵ CA, MS Arundel 51, fols 21-2.

³⁶ CA, MS Arundel 51, fol. 27r.

³⁷ CA, MS Arundel 51, fols 21-7.

³⁸ CA, MS Arundel 51, fol. 26.

Dartmouth, Exeter, Plymouth and Bridgewater totalling 1000 crowns.³⁹ In 1481, John Piriz, amongst other Spanish merchants of Guipúzcoa (a region of Spain on the coast of the Bay of Biscay), was granted 5000 crowns of gold for the preservation of the peace between England and Spain and for the ending of their complaints against subjects of the king for the capture of their ships, goods and merchandise.⁴⁰ In 1480-1, John Perus of Guipúzcoa was exporting cloth from London.⁴¹ John Piriz also appears in the Southampton customs records during Edward IV's reign. For instance, John Piris Baracall (Barakaldo is in the region of Biscay) was importing wine and fruit in 1480: '25 tuns⁴² rumney⁴³ & bastard⁴⁴, 276 pieces figs & raisins; I C.⁴⁵ toppets⁴⁶'.⁴⁷ It is highly likely that this is the same man as John Piriz de Bischaia who was in partnership with Machado in 1484. It is currently unknown who Meullemester and the other wine merchants recorded in Machado's memorandum book were. It is conceivable that Machado had made contact with Meullermester and Piriz whilst living in Southampton and then used these contacts in exile to secure an income. According to the accounts, Machado made a total of £20 18s 3d through his dealings with Meullermester and Piriz.⁴⁸ I suggest that Machado was pursuing such ventures because it was his main source of income at this time as he was no longer in the employ of Richard III.

In addition to indicating that Machado participated in mercantile ventures to provide income, the memorandum book's mercantile accounts suggest possible links in 1484 with other exiled individuals involved in the Buckingham Rebellion. A 'master berquelley' and 'the widow of Hormede' are mentioned in the accounts; the first regarding money owed for a cartload of hay, and the latter as being Machado's hostess in December 1484.⁴⁹ I would argue that the first is a reference to Sir William

³⁹ *CPR: 1467-1477*, pp. 602-3.

⁴⁰ *CPR: 1476-1485*, pp. 248, 279; *CCR: 1476-1485*, pp. 227-8.

⁴¹ *The Overseas Trade of London: Exchequer Customs Accounts 1480-1*, ed. by H. S. Cobb (London: London Record Society, 1990), pp. 81, 125, 141.

⁴² Large cask, approximately 252 gallons.

⁴³ Sweet Greek wine

⁴⁴ Sweet Spanish wine

⁴⁵ Centum, hundred.

⁴⁶ Dry measure of uncertain size.

⁴⁷ *The Port Books or Local Customs Accounts of Southampton for the reign of Edward IV*, ed. by D. B. Quinn, Publications of the Southampton Record Society, 2 vols (Southampton: Cox & Sharland, 1937-8), II, 143.

⁴⁸ CA, MS Arundel 51, fols 26-27.

⁴⁹ CA, MS Arundel 51, fol. 26

Berkeley of Beveston in Gloucestershire, an esquire of the body, and constable of Southampton and Winchester. He was a Lancastrian supporter known to have been involved in the Buckingham Rebellion. Berkeley had been made governor of the Isle of Wight and awarded the captaincy of the castle of Carisbrooke by Richard, Duke of Gloucester as Protector of England on 9 May 1483 and confirmed on 27 July 1483 when Richard was king. However, after the Buckingham Rebellion Berkley escaped into exile and his governorship was given to Sir John Saville.⁵⁰ The second is harder to interpret, but Hormede could be a reference to Great Hormead in Hertfordshire, a manor owned by the Earls of Oxford, the De Veres. The De Veres were staunch Lancastrians. John De Vere, the thirteenth Earl of Oxford, joined Henry Tudor in exile after escaping captivity at Hammes Castle near Calais at the end of 1484.⁵¹ He commanded the archers at Bosworth and held Henry's vanguard in fierce fighting with the Duke of Norfolk and Richard III's vanguard. De Vere became one of the 'great men of Henry VII's regime' and after Bosworth was restored to his titles and estates (including Hormead) and received many appointments and grants, including Lord Admiral, Chief Steward of the Duchy of Lancaster south of the Trent, Constable of the Tower of London, and Hereditary Lord Great Chamberlain of England.⁵² I suggest that the widow of Hormede is referring to a female member of the De Vere family, most likely the widow of one of John De Vere's younger brothers. The most likely candidate is the wife of Thomas De Vere (d. 1478 or 1479).⁵³

Machado's memorandum book has also provided important information on women in exile. When discussing the exiled Yorkists after the failed Buckingham Rebellion, it is always the men that are the focus. This is not surprising considering that sources for women at this time are rare, and all the individuals indicted by Richard III for involvement in the Buckingham Rebellion were men (except for Margaret Beaufort, Henry Tudor's mother). However, Machado's inventory mentions his wife in regard to some of her clothing and also in the following mercantile accounts when Machado records that John de Meullemester lent Machado's wife 20d in silver (See Appendix B,

⁵⁰ Ross, *Richard III*, pp. 76, 108, 112, 121.

⁵¹ James Ross, *John De Vere, Thirteenth Earl of Oxford, 1442-1513: 'The Foremost Man of the Kingdom'* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2011), p. 84.

⁵² *ODNB*

⁵³ Ross, *John De Vere, Thirteenth Earl of Oxford, 1442-1513*, p. 78.

No. v).⁵⁴ In addition, as noted above, the widow of Hormede is recorded by Machado as being his hostess in December 1484.⁵⁵ If Machado was in exile at this time, then his memorandum book suggests that his wife and other women were also living alongside the male rebels in exile, something that has never been considered before. Machado's memorandum book is also the only source extant that refers to Machado's family; his wife and his children through the three fine linen cloths for the purpose of christening children. It is therefore unknown what happened to them after 1484. They may have died in exile, or their lives may have just been lost to us through the decay of time.

To recap, above I have shown that the unusual inventory of 1484 suggests that Machado was on long distance travel at that time, and the subsequent mercantile accounts show that much of his income in that same year came from mercantile ventures engaged in with his existing contacts overseas. However, his connections with the Yorkist rebels, including the Marquis of Dorset, suggest that an otherwise undocumented period of exile is a highly plausible explanation for all these facts. Further support for Machado's exile may also be provided by considering Machado's relationship with the rebel king, Henry Tudor.

Henry Tudor's Exile, 1471-1484

The unpopularity of Richard III's reign and the failed rebellion of 1483 transformed Henry Tudor's bleak situation as an isolated political exile. After the death of Henry VI at the hands of Edward IV, Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond was the premier Lancastrian claimant to the English throne based on his descent from Edward III through the Beauforts and their progenitor John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster. As a result, Tudor had to flee England with his uncle, Jasper Tudor, in June 1471. For thirteen years Tudor lived in exile at the court of Duke Francis II of Brittany, but not much is known as to how he passed his time or who his companions were.⁵⁶ In 1474, rumours that Jasper and Henry Tudor could be kidnapped or murdered by English (or French) agents caused them to be housed in more secure and remote Breton castles.

⁵⁴ CA, MS Arundel 51, fol. 26v.

⁵⁵ CA, MS Arundel 51, fol. 26r.

⁵⁶ S. B. Chrimes, *Henry VII* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), pp. 17-18.

While Duke Francis and his leading councillors treated Henry and Jasper honourably, they were still prisoners.⁵⁷

After the failure of the Buckingham Rebellion, Henry returned to Brittany, via Normandy where he heard intelligence that the Marquis of Dorset and a number of other Yorkist fugitives were at Vannes waiting to join him. Tudor sent for the exiles to meet him at Rennes where on Christmas Day 1483 they met in the cathedral and pledged their allegiance to Henry as rightful King of England.⁵⁸ At the same time Henry was formally betrothed to Elizabeth of York - a union that would unite the warring families of York and Lancaster. It is unlikely that Machado was there as he was only dispatched to Calais on 15 December, and by the time he reached France would not have made it to Rennes in Brittany in time. However, he would have joined them very soon afterward. At some point after joining Tudor, Machado was made Henry's personal herald, Richmond Herald; a title he would keep until the end of his heraldic career. Despite several promotions, Machado retained the title of Richmond, being known as Richmond King of Arms of Norroy from December 1485 to January 1494 and Richmond King of Arms of Clarenceux from January 1494 until his death in 1510.⁵⁹ Machado's attachment to this title is clearly significant because it links him directly with Henry Tudor and Henry's early years as Earl of Richmond in exile. It suggests that the two men formed an attachment during their time in exile that was to last throughout the rest of their lives.⁶⁰

Henry Tudor's Exile, 1484-1485

In the summer of 1484, the Duke of Brittany came to an agreement with Richard III where Richard would grant the duchy a thousand archers in its defence against France in return for Brittany giving up Henry Tudor to him. Whilst residing in Vannes, Henry heard of the alliance and devised a plan of escape to France. Henry arranged for most of the English nobility who were with him to call upon Duke Francis who was residing near Anjou at the time. Henry, accompanied by five

⁵⁷ Cunningham, *Henry VII*, pp. 16-18.

⁵⁸ *Anglica historia of Polydore Vergil*, pp. 201-4.

⁵⁹ Godfrey and Wagner, *College of Arms*, p. 79; *Materials*, pp. 140, 370.

⁶⁰ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 137.

servants, pretended to pay a visit to a friend in a neighbouring manor. No one suspected him of any ulterior motive as there were many English living in Vannes at this time. But after journeying only five miles, Henry withdrew into a wood, changed into servants' clothing and raced to Anjou where he joined his advanced party and crossed the border into France in early October. Machado could have been one of these servants. When the rest of Tudor's following from Brittany joined him (around four to five hundred men in total), Henry sought an interview with Charles VIII, the thirteen year old King of France, at Angers where he now adopted the stance as the rightful claimant to the English throne.

The young Charles VIII of France and his regime vaguely promised support to Henry Tudor, but would not take any rash actions at this stage. The French court moved on from Angers to Montargis and then Paris, taking Tudor and his retinue with them. Whilst they were at Montargis, John De Vere, Earl of Oxford joined Henry after escaping from Hammes Castle. Further recruits joined him at Paris, although the Marquis of Dorset did try to abandon Henry's cause by absconding to Flanders, but was caught and arrested at Compiègne. It is possible that Machado alerted Henry to Dorset's plan to flee and was rewarded accordingly immediately after Bosworth.⁶¹ Henry moved on to Rouen after securing some funds and support from the French, leaving Dorset and John Bourchier behind in Paris as pledges. After mustering ships at the mouth of the Sienne, Henry set sail for England on 1 August 1485 with two to four thousand men and a fleet of ships.⁶²

Machado's Return to England with Henry Tudor

Henry's invading fleet landed in Mill Bay, Pembrokeshire on 7 August, and Henry began his march through Wales. He entered England on 17 August. By 20 August, he was at Stafford where he held a long-awaited meeting with Sir William Stanley, his

⁶¹ Davies, 'Bishop John Morton', pp.10-11.

⁶² For further details of Henry Tudor's exile in Brittany and France see: Cunningham, *Henry VII*, pp. 10-30; Michael Jones, *Psychology of a Battle: Bosworth 1485* (Stroud: Tempus, 2003), pp. 135-155; Michael K. Jones, 'The Myth of 1485: Did France Really Put Henry Tudor on the Throne?' in *English Experience in France, c. 1450-1558: War, Diplomacy, and Cultural Exchange*, ed. by David Grummit (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), pp. 85-105; Chrimes, *Henry VII*, pp. 3-49; C. S. L. Davies, 'Richard III, Brittany, and Henry Tudor 1483-1485', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 37 (1993), 110-126; Griffiths and Thomas, *The Making of the Tudor Dynasty*, pp. 75-131.

step-uncle. The prospect of Stanley troops joining forces with his was the ultimate aim and would make the inevitable battle with Richard III easier. However, Stanley could not openly declare for Henry as Richard III had taken his son, Lord Strange, hostage to deter Stanley from assisting Henry. That same day, William Stanley met with his brother Lord Thomas Stanley (step-father to Henry through his marriage to Margaret Beaufort) at Atherstone, no doubt to discuss how they were going to proceed. In reality, the Stanleys were probably hedging their bets to make sure they ended up on the winning side. Meanwhile, Richard III had left Nottingham for Leicester on 19 August prepared to meet Henry Tudor in battle in the coming days. However, he did lose troops along the way as various knights managed to slip away to join Henry. Henry met with the Stanleys on 21 August after disappearing for several hours the night before. His disappearance must have caused some concern amongst the other commanders in his army. Was Machado aware of where he was, was he with him, or could he have been sent out to find him? Henry's meeting with the Stanleys could not persuade them to place their troops with one of his commanders, John de Vere, the Earl of Oxford, however. They did nonetheless promise to array their troops in three separate formations, each under separate command, and Lord Stanley offered four of his best knights and their troops to strengthen Henry's vanguard.

The Battle of Bosworth Field has always been a subject of much debate amongst historians. This is largely because of the lack of contemporary sources. Archaeological evidence, however, is providing some of the answers to questions, such as the actual location of the battle. Archaeological finds have pin-pointed the site of the battle on fields straddling Fen Lane in Upton, nearly two miles south-west of the traditional battle site.⁶³

In the end, the Stanleys joined with Henry's forces to successfully defeat Richard III on 22 August 1485. History dictates that Henry Tudor was crowned King of England on the battlefield:

[Thomas Stanley, when he] saw the good will and gladnesse of the people, he toke the Crowne of king Richard which was founde amongst the spoyle in the

⁶³ Glenn Foard, 'The Big Dig: Discovering Bosworth', *British Archaeology*, 112 (2010), 26-31.

field, and set it on the Erles heade, as though he had been elected king by the voyce of the people, as in auncient tymes past in divers realms it hath been accustomed.⁶⁴

Machado would have been present at the battle, but only to observe from a safe distance. He would not have been involved in any fighting. As a herald, his job would have been to take down lists of participants and casualties, observe banners and ensigns on the field, and spur Henry on to victory. After the battle he would have announced Henry Tudor's victory, helped bury the dead, and carried prisoners' requests.⁶⁵ The herald's expertise in the recognition of arms must have been invaluable in the identification of fallen knights in battle, when their faces may scarcely have been recognisable.⁶⁶

By October 1485, Machado was known as Richmond King of Arms, a senior herald in the English Office of Arms. Being a herald was a significant and defining part of Machado's life, and therefore the role of the herald is the subject of the next section.

Machado and the English Heralds

The origin of the word herald, and also the role of a herald, is rather confusing. The oldest occurrence of the word is around 1170 in French poems and in descriptions of tournaments that speak of the *hiraut* or *hiraut d'arms*.⁶⁷ Early forms of the word are thought to derive from the German word *hariwalt* roughly translated as a wielder or controller of an army.⁶⁸ However, an early herald was no such thing, but simply a crier or announcer and one who made proclamations at tournaments.⁶⁹ Therefore, there was a long development of the meaning of the word for which much of the

⁶⁴ Richard Grafton, *A Chronicle at Large and Mere History of the Affayres of Englannde and Kinges of the Same*, as quoted in Alice Hunt, *The Drama of Coronation: Medieval Ceremony in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 16.

⁶⁵ *The Heralds' Memoir 1486-1490: Court Ceremony, Royal Progress and Rebellion*, ed. by Emma Cavell (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2009), p. 8; Jones, *Psychology of a Battle*, p. 172; Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1984), p. 134.

⁶⁶ *Heralds' Memoir*, p. 9.

⁶⁷ Wagner, *The Records and Collections of the College of Arms*, p. 7; Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 1.

⁶⁸ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 1.

⁶⁹ Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry*, p. 1; Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 2.

history has been lost.⁷⁰ The Oxford English Dictionary defines a herald as an officer having the special duty of making royal or state proclamations, and of bearing ceremonial messages between princes or sovereign powers; an officer employed in the tourney to make proclamations, convey challenges, and marshal the combatants; an officer having the function of arranging public processions, funerals, and other state ceremonials; of regulating the use of armorial bearings; of settling questions of precedence in processions or at court; and, in process of time, of recording the names and pedigree of those entitled to armorial bearings.

The first appearance of heralds in the English records was during the reign of Edward I in the king's household accounts.⁷¹ For instance, in 1290 little Robert and Nicholas Morell, Kings of Heralds were paid 20 shillings each for their summer and winter robes. These sorts of entries became more and more frequent with each century that passed.⁷² By the fourteenth century, heralds were given more responsibility. They would carry their master's defiance and other messages in war and by the fifteenth century they were largely employed as professional diplomats.⁷³ Today, they are best known for creating and granting coats of arms.

The heralds' role in tournaments equipped them in the identification of coats of arms and by the 1370s they were compiling rolls of arms, written and painted records of armorial bearings and they were also called to give expert evidence when the right to a coat of arms was disputed, and a little later they were setting their hands and seals to certificates and grants of arms. By around 1450 the oath taken by a King of Arms at his creation required him to know and record the arms of noble gentlemen within his province.⁷⁴ Even before the fourteenth century it was usual for heralds, and especially Kings of Arms, to assign or devise arms for a person whose qualification to use arms was unquestioned. There would though be borderline cases regarding rights to arms in which the heralds were consulted on the qualification as well as on the design. The granting of arms by Kings of Arms on behalf of the English crown became

⁷⁰ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 2.

⁷¹ Jackson W. Armstrong, 'Development of the Office of Arms in England, c. 1413-1485', in *The Herald in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. by Katie Stevenson (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2009), p. 9.

⁷² Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 17.

⁷³ Wagner, *Records and Collections*, p. 7; Armstrong, 'Development of the office of arms in England', pp. 9-10.

⁷⁴ Wagner, *Records and Collections*, p.7.

normal practice in the fifteenth century, and grants directly from the crown became rare.⁷⁵

When Richard was still Duke of Gloucester and Constable of England in charge of the heralds, he had issued a set of ordinances to the Office of Arms that stipulated how the heralds should behave and conduct themselves. He ordered that kings of arms should have knowledge of all the nobles and gentlemen in his march that were entitled to bear coats of arms, and these arms be registered by the king of arms; that heralds and pursuivants were not to take on the power and authority of a king of arms in giving arms unless granted a licence to do so by the king of arms in their march; that the officers of arms behave honourably towards one another; that chapter meetings were to be held by the kings of arms in their marches to resolve any issues that heralds and pursuivants may have, and that these meetings be recorded; that the officers should only frequent honest places and company, do not use bad language, to read books of manner and eloquence, chronicles, acts and jousts of honour, feats of arms, and have knowledge of plants and beasts, signs and tokens in arms, and properties of colour, herbs, and stones so that they are able to correctly assign coats of arms.⁷⁶

Machado's Grants of Arms

Although Machado was extensively used as a diplomat by Henry VII, he still had the time to grant arms. Housed at the British Library are remnants of Machado's so-called docket book, which lists and beautifully illustrates grants of arms made by him between 1494 and 1507 (See Appendix C, Fig. 32).⁷⁷ It includes an unprecedented and long unequalled number of seventeen grants of arms made by Machado in 1494. They include the original grant of arms to Spencer of Northamptonshire, an ancestor of Princess Diana, and also many grants of arms to London drapers. It would appear that the docket book started life as the Visitation or Roll of Arms of London Aldermen in 1446-7 probably made by Clarenceux Leigh, which was then passed down through

⁷⁵ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 29.

⁷⁶ For transcripts of these ordinances please see Ramsay, 'Richard III and the Office of Arms', pp. 154-163.

⁷⁷ BL, MS Additional 45133, fols 26, 28b-30.

successive Clarenceuxs to Machado who, on subsequent pages, kept a record of the arms he granted.⁷⁸ Rolls of arms are works of art that appear to have been compiled by heralds at their leisure either for their own use or for patrons interested in chivalrous achievements. None are thought to have been an official document. The work was highly technical and demanded knowledge, skill, time, and resources, such as access to parchment, paints, books on chivalry, and bestiaries.⁷⁹ Machado's docket book appears to have been for personal use as although the coats of arms have been painstakingly illustrated, the annotations added by Machado are very rough-and-ready. This docket book may have been the means that Machado recorded the arms that he granted as Clarenceux King of Arms, as instructed by the ordinances that were originally given to the Office of Arms by Richard Duke of Gloucester (mentioned above). He may have also used the docket book to train young pursuivant heralds in the art of heraldry. Other grants of arms by Machado include the Stockfishmongers in 1494, the Merchant Haberdashers in 1500, and Richard Weynman of Witney and the Coopers, both in 1509 (See Appendix C, Figs 30 and 31).⁸⁰

The Hierarchy of the Office of Arms

By the fourteenth century, the office of arms was clearly sub-divided into three levels of seniority: pursuivants, heralds, and kings of arms all supervised by the Lord High Constable and the Earl Marshal of England. Pursuivants were junior or probationary heralds. Fifteenth-century writers compared a pursuivant to a novice in religion, since he could renounce his position and was not required to take an oath, although many probably did swear an oath of sorts. In contrast, heralds had to take an oath at their creation and could not renounce their position.⁸¹ It is unknown if Machado started his career as a pursuivant whilst living in the Low Countries, but as we have seen by the time he reached England he was already a herald – in 1471 he is described as 'Maschado heraldo'.⁸² A pursuivant usually started his heraldic career

⁷⁸ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 146.

⁷⁹ N. Denholm-Young, *History and Heraldry, 1254-1310: A Study of the Historical Value of the Rolls of Arms* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965), pp. 3-15.

⁸⁰ For the Stockfishmongers arms see BL, Additional MS 45133, fol. 26; for the Merchant Haberdashers see SAL, MS 476 p. 1674; for Richard Weynman see NA, SP 9/1/1; for the Coopers see GL, MS 05806.

⁸¹ Armstrong, 'Development of the Office of Arms in England', p. 10.

⁸² NA, E 403/844.

around the age of twenty, and was usually from a respectable family, well-educated, proficient in languages such as Latin and French, and of good moral character. Some were also formally trained in the law before becoming officers of arms. Two heralds would have had to recommend him and testify to his discretion, virtue, and honesty suggesting that he or his family had some connection to the office of arms, or that they knew a herald willing to vouch for him.⁸³ The pursuivant at his creation swore an oath:

Item ye shalle dispose you to be lowly, humble, and servisable to all the astates of all gentilnesse universalle that cristene beth, not lyeing in awayte to blame no to hute noon of the said stat in nothing that may touché their honour.

Also ye shal dispose you to be secret and sobre in youre porte, and be nought to bysys in langagyn, redy to commende and loth to blame, and diligent in your service, eschewing from vices, and drawing to virtues, and trew in reports, and so to exercise whiles ye be in office therof, soo that your merites may cause you more perserynge in the office of armes in tyme commynge, for whiles ye be and stande pourcewaunt ye stand as no one of the offices of armes, but as a servaunt to all kynges and heraudes of thoffice of armes, and this ye shalle promise to youre powere, so helpe you God and holydome.

Item in likewise the princes, ladyes, gentilmene, and gentilwomene, and alle people of worshippe are bounden to helpe the said heraudes of their goodes for to susteyne them and helpe them, that they have no cause for lack of goodes and poverté for to be untrewe in theire office and breke there othes, *etc.*⁸⁴

In other words, the pursuivants were expected to be loyal and humble, serve all Christian estates, they were not to intentionally hurt or blame any other officer of arms in anything that might touch their honour; to be discrete and sober and diligent in his service, avoid vices, and draw towards virtues. Machado had a pursuivant working under his supervision in 1484 as he writes in his memorandum book of giving 'Lionart mon pursuivant' 1s 2d (See Appendix B, No. v).⁸⁵ Unfortunately, no

⁸³ Stevenson, ed., *The Herald in Late Medieval Europe*, p. 7.

⁸⁴ *Munimenta Juridical: The Black Book of the Admiralty*, ed. by Travers Twiss, Rolls Series 55 (London: Longman & Co., 1871), p. 299.

⁸⁵ CA, MS Arundel 51 f. 26v.

other record pertaining to Lionheart Pursuivant has survived, but it is conceivable that Machado himself had recommended the young man to the Office of Arms.

After several years of service a pursuivant was eligible for promotion to herald level, once a vacancy arose.⁸⁶ The date of Machado's election to Leicester Herald went unrecorded, but by 1478 he had taken up this title.⁸⁷ Machado would have had to take an oath at his creation ceremony as a herald:

First, ye shall swere to oure sovreyne lord ye kyng that makyd you of the ordre of heraud in his excellent presence, and to be trewe in alle maner point, and yf ye here any maner langage or any other thing that shulde touche treason to his high and excellent persone, or to his noble and distrytt counseille, so helpe you God and holy dome.

Item ye shalbe servisable and secret in all poyntes, except treason, and obedience to all knyghth and gentilnesse, to lorde and ladyes and to gentilmen and gentilwomen, and as a confessour of armes, and cause and counseille hem to all them trouth, worshippe, and virtue in that in you is, so helpe you God and holy dome.

Item ye shalbe trew of all your reports, and diligent to seke worshippe, and desire to be into place ther grete semble of princes and princesses, lords, ladyes and estates of grete worshippe, wher thorowgh ye may have connyng to reporte to your prince or princesse, or other estate, such worshippe as is occupyyed ther, so helpe you God and holy dome.

Item ye shal promise, in case fortune fall ye to meet any gentilman of name and of armes that hath lost his goodes in oure sovereyn lords service, or in any other place of worshippe, yf he required you of your good to his sustenaunce, ye shall yeve or lened hym to your power, so helpe you God and holydome.

⁸⁶ Many of the heraldic positions were a life-long commitment, only being vacated if the herald was promoted, died, or expelled from the office.

⁸⁷ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 22; Leicester Herald is present at the tournament celebrating the marriage of Richard of York to Anne Mowbray in January 1478 (BL, MS Harley 69, fols 1r-2r; Bod. Lib., MS Ashmolean 856, art. 5, pp. 94-104; *Illustrations of Ancient State and Chivalry from Manuscripts Preserved in the Ashmolean Museum*, pp. viii-xi.); Roger Machado is described as Leicester Herald in the Early Chancery Proceedings, Machado versus the sheriffs of London in 1478 (NA, C 1/66 No. 297).

Item, yf cause fall that ye be in any place, that ye here any langaige bytween gentilman and gentilman, that shulde touché any stryfe or debate bytwene hem two, and afterward following that ye be sende for to come before our sovereyne, prynce, lord, or juge, to bere a witness of the forsayd langage, ye shal kepe your mouth close, and bere no witteness withoute leve of both parties, and with their leve nor for drede, but ye shal say the trouth, and lette nother for love nor for drede, but ye shal say the trouth, so helpe you Godd and holydome.

Item ye shalbe servisable and trew to all wydowes, maydenes, of their supports in all worshippe, and counseill them to all vertues, and yf any man wold disworship hem, or force hem other in any maner, or otherwise take from hem their goodes ayenst the lawe of Godde, and of all gentilnesse, yf they require you of your good supportacion, ye shal treuly and diligently certyfie yt to your sovereyn lorde, prynce, lorde, or juge to helpe them, that they may have right, in alle that in you is, as the matere requireth, so helpe you Godd and holydome.

Item ye shal promise to your power to forsake all vices, and take you to all virtues, and to be no commyn goerse to taverns, the which might cause unvirtuousness and uncleane langage, and that ye be not dyse player, nother has-harder, and that ye flee places of debate and unhoneste places, and the compayne of women unhoneste. These articles and other abovesaid ye swere trewly to kepe with all your might and power, so helpe you Godd and holydome.⁸⁸

Machado had to be true to his lord and to report any treason he might hear spoken against him; to be serviceable and obedient to all lords and ladies, gentlemen and gentlewomen, and to keep their secrets except for treason, while seeking and reporting worshipful deeds; if he chanced to meet any gentleman of name and arms, who had lost his goods in the king's service, to give or lend to him; if he heard any strife between gentlemen, not to report it; to be serviceable and true to all widows and maidens and if any man would wrong them, to bear witness on their behalf to his lord; to forsake all vices and take to him all virtues avoiding taverns, dice and playing at hazard, places of debate, and the company of dishonest women.

⁸⁸ *Munimenta Juridical*, pp. 297-299.

A herald was eligible for another promotion when a king of arms vacancy arose (usually when the king of arms died or fell out of favour). Again, the herald would have to swear an oath at his creation as a king of arms. The oldest recorded version of a king of arms' oath is that of Anjou King of Arms from around 1400. It states that the king of arms is bound to preserve and increase to the best of his ability the rights, privileges, and franchises of the office of arms, and to make known to his fellows any deeds of arms, feasts, tournaments, jousts, and other assemblies of arms and honour.⁸⁹ *The Black Book of the Admiralty* also includes a king of arms oath within its treatises:

Ye shal swere by the othe that ye received whan ye were made heraulde, and by the feith that ye owe unto the kynge oure sovereyne lord, whos armes ye bere, yt ye shall trewly kepe suche thinges as be comprised in these articles following:-

First, whan soo ever the kynge shal commaunde you to doo any message to any other kynge, prynce, estate, or any other persone oute of this his realme, or to any personne of what estate, condicion, or degree he be of within the same, that ye shal doo it as honourably and trewly as your will and reason can serve you, and gretely to thadvaantage of oure sovereyne lord and his realme, and trwely reporte bring ayen to his highnesse of your message and nere to the charge to you committed in worrdes and in substance, as youre said reason may attaygne to, alwaye kepyng your selfe secrete for any maner mocion, save to suche personnes as ye be commanded to oulter your charge unto.

Secondly, ye shal doo your trewe devoire to be every day more coming than other in the office of armes, soo as ye may be bettyr founyshed to teche other under you, and execute with morewysedom and eloquens suche charges as your soveryn lord and his realme of his realme any noble man shall lay unto you by virtue of the office, whiche is highness wel erecte to you this tyme, discovering in no wyse that ye have in charge to kepe closer than yt be prejudicall to the kyng oure sovereyne lorde and his realme.

⁸⁹ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 44.

Thirdly, ye shall so your diligence to have knowleche of all the nobles and gentilmen, within your marche, which sholde bere cotes in ye fyld in the service of oure said sovereign lord, his lieutenautes, officers, and commissaries, and them with their issue trewly register, and suche armes to be yevn, and they hold any service by knightes fee, wherby they should doo to the kynge service for defense of his londe.

Fourthly, ye shal not be straunge to teche poursuivant or herault, ne to ease them in suche doubts as they shall moeve to you, and suche as can not be eased by yow, ye shal shewe to the constable, and if any presevaunt aske any doubte of you ye shall aske hym first, where he hath desired any of the heraldes to instructe hym in the same, and, yf he say ye, ye shalle lymite hym oon of hem, and ells ease hym yf ye can. Also ye shall kepe fro moneth to moneth yn your marches your chapters to then-crece of commyng in the office of armes, and the doubts that ther can not be eased, ye shal moeve to the constable.

Fiftely, ye shal observe and kepe to your coming and power all suche othes as ye made whan ye were create heraud, to thonour and worshippe of noblesse and integrity of lyvyng, namely, in eschewing of disclaundrous places and disclaundryd persones and reproved, and always more redy to excuse than to blasme and noble persone, on les than ye be charged to sey the trouth by the kyng, his constable, and mareschal, or in any place judicial. Also ye shall permit trewly to register alle actes of honour in maner and forme as they be done, as forsouth as power and connynge may extend, *etc.*⁹⁰

At his creation as a king of arms, therefore, Machado had to swear to honourably deliver messages to other kings, princes, or noble persons, to report back to his sovereign and swear to keep the details of these messages secret other than to the people he was to utter them to; to teach those under his charge and serve his sovereign with wisdom and eloquence; know all the nobles and gentlemen within his march that were eligible to bear coats of arms; keep chapters every month in his march where issues from pursuivants and heralds could be raised; and finally to keep all oaths sworn.

⁹⁰ *Munimenta Juridical*, pp. 295-297; CA, M. 3 fol. 15r (Ballard's Book).

Machado may have been baptized with wine at both his herald and king of arms creations as described by Anjou King of Arms and Sicily Herald. Anjou King of Arms in 1400 told that a custom had recently arisen when a lord created his herald that after the herald had sworn his oath the lord would baptize him with a little wine of his lordship from a cup of silver gilt with a cover.⁹¹ In 1435 Sicily Herald states that when a lord created a pursuivant he baptised him and gave him his name, pouring wine or water from a gold or silver cup or goblet over his head, which he then gave him. Warrants to the Master of the Jewel House are recorded for the issue of a silver gilt cup for the creation of Louvre Pursuivant in 1430, of a silver gilt cup for the creation of Clarenceux and a silver cup for the creation of Fleur de Lys Herald at Windsor on Saint George's Day in 1436, and of two silver bowls, one of sixteen ounces and the other of eight ounces, for the creations of Lancaster King of Arms and Collar Pursuivant on All Saints Day in 1436.⁹² *The Black Book of the Household of Edward IV* has a memorandum 'that the cup whiche the King doth create any king of armes or herolds withall, it stondeth in the charge of the jewel house, and not upon the saurere of household.'⁹³ This is probably the very cup that Machado was baptised with. The early Tudor *Ces sont les droitz et largesses appurtenant et d'auciennete accoustumez aux roys d'Armes selon l'usance du Angleterre* says that a pursuivant has a silver cup and a herald a silver gilt cup without a cover and a king of arms a silver gilt cup with a cover at his creation.⁹⁴ Machado may have also been decorated with a little shield of metal, engraved or enamelled, put on him at his creation, which he would have worn on his breast or shoulder as a substitute for his coat of arms whilst on journeys or on less formal occasions.⁹⁵ A mark of favour by a lord or prince was to also confer such a shield of his own arms on the herald of another lord who came to him on embassy.⁹⁶

Machado may have also been given kingly regalia at his creation as a king of arms. William Bruges, Garter King of Arms, said in his petition to Henry V that the English kings of arms had worn crowns on solemn days, and the use of crowns by kings of

⁹¹ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 84.

⁹² Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 85.

⁹³ *The Household of Edward IV, The Black Book and the Ordinances of 1478*, ed. by A. R. Myers (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1959), p. 131.

⁹⁴ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 85.

⁹⁵ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 86.

⁹⁶ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 86.

arms on their seals in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries confirms this.⁹⁷ Bruges depicts in his *Garter Book* a crown set with little shields and Chaucer refers to heralds who '...crouned were as kinges, With crounes wrought ful of lozenges'.⁹⁸ However, no other examples of this form of crown are known and other pictures down to the beginning of the seventeenth century show kings of arms' crowns in various shapes with fleurons, trefoils, points, or balls.⁹⁹ Manuscripts in the College of Arms and British Library mention the baptising and crowning of a Richmond King of Arms (not Machado but probably William Brereton then Richmond Herald) in 1471:

when the kyng had weshed & grace were said, the king creat a king of armes baptysed hym and sat a crowne on his hed which was called Rychemond.¹⁰⁰

Bruges also requested in his petition for a long white rod with a little banner or penoncel of arms of Saint George at the end as a token of his sovereignty and governance in the office of arms and asked that other kings of arms were not to have such rods.¹⁰¹ However, there is evidence that suggests that other kings of arms were granted rods. Walter Bellenger, Ireland King of Arms, is depicted in a patent of 1475 holding a long white rod and a brass of Thomas Benolt, Clarenceux King of Arms, is similarly depicted in 1538 holding a rod.¹⁰² The initials of many Tudor patents of arms also show provincial kings of arms holding white rods.¹⁰³ Sir Thomas Wriothesley wrote in his copy of *Droits et largesses* that there are two rods in the Order of the Garter, one white signifying joy and the other black signifying punishment.¹⁰⁴ We do not know whether Bruges was allowed the banner of Saint George, but it was certainly in use by early Tudor times. It is depicted in a painting of officers of the Order interpolated in Sir Thomas Wriothesley's copy of the revised Garter statutes of 1522 in Writhe's *Garter Book*. The rod appears silver in the picture and has a rectangular tablet at the head on which Saint George's Cross impaling the

⁹⁷ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 90.

⁹⁸ Peter, J. Begent and Hubert Chesshyre, *The Most Noble Order of the Garter, 650 years* (London: Spink, 1999), p. 126; Hugh Standford London, ed., *The Life of William Bruges: The First Garter King of Arms*, (London: Harleian Society, 1970) as quoted in Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 90.

⁹⁹ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 91.

¹⁰⁰ CA, MS M. 15, fol. 14v; See also printed texts: *Archaeologia*, 26 (1836), pp. 265-86 (BL Add. 6113); Charles Lethbridge Kingsford, *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth-Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), pp. 379-88 (BL Stowe 1047).

¹⁰¹ Begent and Chesshyre, *The Most Noble Order of the Garter*, p. 90; Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 91.

¹⁰² CA, MS WZ, fol. 201; Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 91.

¹⁰³ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 91.

¹⁰⁴ Anstis, *The Register of the Most Noble Order of the Garter*, I, 465; Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 92.

royal arms is enamelled.¹⁰⁵ The early Tudor *Droits et largesses* states that a herald at his creation is to hold in his hand a white rod, silvered, having at the end a bird called a 'martinet' in gold and blue. The martinet was a popular emblem of the herald, and also appears in the arms of the College, as it symbolises the herald's role as a messenger.¹⁰⁶

King of Arms was the highest rank within the English Office of Arms. It usually comprised of just three positions from the later fifteenth century: Garter Principle King of Arms, Clarenceux King of Arms of the southern provinces, and Norroy King of Arms of the northern provinces. However, the titles of these positions changed from monarch to monarch, dynasty to dynasty to reflect their protagonists. For instance, Lancaster King of Arms was created around 1399 by Richard II, Gloucester King of Arms was created in 1483 by Richard III, and as noted above, Richmond King of Arms was created in 1471 by Edward IV and in 1485 by Henry VII. In 1467, the Yorkist king Edward IV suppressed the office of Lancaster King of Arms and saw that Norroy King of Arms replaced him. Lancaster was kept, but demoted to herald illustrating the rise to supremacy of the York royal house and the demise of the Lancastrians.¹⁰⁷

Between 1415 and 1417, Henry V reinstated the Order of the Garter and subsequently created the office of 'Jartier Roy d'armes des Angloys', that is Garter King of Arms, and appointed William Bruges to that position.¹⁰⁸ The creation of a king of arms for service of an order of chivalry was a complete innovation.¹⁰⁹ It is uncertain as to whether Henry V intended Garter to have superiority over the other heralds.¹¹⁰ However, Bruges soon claimed supremacy over the office of arms in England, which had hitherto been rotated amongst the English kings of arms according to their individual seniority and royal favour. It is likely that Henry V created Garter as a counterpart to 'Montjoye king of arms of Frenchmen', the chief messenger in war and the grand referee at the negotiating table.¹¹¹ He also performed a ceremonial function above that of the other French heralds and was

¹⁰⁵ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 92.

¹⁰⁶ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 92.

¹⁰⁷ George Edward Cockayne, *Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom, Extant, Extinct, or Dormant*, 15 vols (London: St Catherine Press, 1910-59), X, 74.

¹⁰⁸ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 40.

¹⁰⁹ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 61; Armstrong, 'Development of the Office of Arms in England', p. 22.

¹¹⁰ Armstrong, 'Development of the Office of Arms in England', p. 22.

¹¹¹ *Heralds' Memoir*, p. 1.

unmatched in England before the creation of Garter King of Arms.¹¹² Jackson Armstrong suggests that Henry V deliberately kept the full scope of Garter's office ambiguous because he was experimenting with new ways to control chivalry in his realm. Therefore, he wanted the position to remain flexible and adaptable.¹¹³ There is little direct evidence for Garter's duties in relation to the Order of the Garter in the fifteenth century. What is certain is that he had a part to play in the ceremonies of the Order and he must have had a duty to record the arms of the knights in the Order and make some record of their lives and deeds. One of the most profitable and highly valued duties of Garter was taking part in missions to present foreign princes with the Order of the Garter.¹¹⁴

During an embassy to Spain and Portugal in 1489 Machado was involved in the ceremony to confer King João II of Portugal with the Order of the Garter, a duty usually kept for Garter King of Arms.¹¹⁵ At this time, John Writhe was Garter King of Arms, but, as noted earlier, Machado retained the significant title of Richmond King of Arms given to him by Henry VII. John Writhe was Garter King of Arms under Edward IV and Richard III. However, after Henry VII ascended the throne Writhe was not reappointed Garter until February 1486, six months after Bosworth. Writhe's letters patent of 1486 confirmed for life his original appointment as Garter by Edward IV and stated that he had not received a salary since Henry's accession and thus granted him the arrears.¹¹⁶ This perhaps suggests that Writhe was not initially in favour with the new Tudor king. Therefore, it is possible that Writhe and Machado shared equal status amongst the English heralds at this time. In 1498, Henry VII granted both of them a licence to make visitations, and when Writhe died in 1504, Machado was offered the position of Garter, although he declined because of his ill health and poor English.¹¹⁷ However, he was offered a third of Garter's wages, 20 marks out of a total of £40 a year.¹¹⁸ Machado is often referred to in state papers as 'chief herald to the

¹¹² *Heralds' Memoir*, p. 2.

¹¹³ Armstrong, 'Development of the Office of Arms in England', p. 23.

¹¹⁴ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 62.

¹¹⁵ CA, MS Arundel 51, fols 29-68; *Memorials*, pp. 328-368.

¹¹⁶ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 135.

¹¹⁷ *Monumenta Heraldica, 1484-1984*, ed. by G. D. Squibb (London: Harleian Society, 1985), pp. 128-9; Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry*, p. 84; Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 146.

¹¹⁸ *CPR: 1494-1509*, p. 392.

king of arms'.¹¹⁹ Perhaps this is in reference to Machado's very senior position within the Office of Arms. Therefore, it is possible that Machado was chosen for the Spain and Portugal mission because he was as-good-as Garter in rank.

Machado and Other Heralds

In many respects Machado was not a typical English herald. The most obvious difference is that he was not English. I have not been able to find any other English herald who was not born in England. Thomas Benolt (Clarenceux King of Arms 1511-1534) is perhaps the exception being a native of Calais; however, Calais was still considered to be part of the Kingdom of England at this time.¹²⁰ Benolt is thought to have been born in Rouen to the sister of John Meautis, secretary of the French language to Henry VII and Henry VIII.¹²¹ Like Machado, Benolt began his career as a herald (Windsor Herald, 1504-1510) rather than as a pursuivant.¹²² This is unusual as the majority of heralds at this time began their heraldic career as pursuivants and were quite often related to heralds already in office. For example, Thomas Wriothesely, Garter King of Arms (1505-1534) and William Wriothesley, York Herald (1509-1513) were the sons of John Writhe, Garter King of Arms (1478-1504). Neither Machado nor Benolt were related to Officers of Arms. Benolt may have been recommended to the Office by Machado as it is believed the Machado was good friends with John Meautis, Benolt's uncle. Both Machado and Benolt are known to have been extensively used as diplomats probably because they were both skilled linguists.¹²³

Machado's role as a diplomat seems to have been a major part of his heraldic responsibilities. Machado was sent on embassy many times over his heraldic career. He is reported by Garter Anstis as undertaking missions on behalf of Edward IV to the Low Countries from 1478 to 1480.¹²⁴ In 1488-9 he was sent as part of an embassy to Spain and Portugal, and in 1490 was sent to Brittany twice, all of which he records in

¹¹⁹ *Materials*, pp. 140, 370, 404.

¹²⁰ Godfrey and Wagner, *The College of Arms*, p. 81; *ODNB*.

¹²¹ *ODNB*

¹²² Godfrey and Wagner, *The College of Arms*, pp. 80-1; *ODNB*.

¹²³ Adrian Ailes, pers. comm.

¹²⁴ Anstis, *The Register of the Most Noble Order of the Garter*, I, 367; *ODNB*.

his memorandum book (See Appendix for descriptions of theses embassies).¹²⁵ In 1494 he was sent to France to discuss Charles VIII's offer of aid to Henry VII should the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian support Perkin Warbeck's claim to the English throne, and offer Henry's good offices for a settlement of the dispute between Charles and Ferdinand of Spain regarding Naples.¹²⁶ In 1495, he visited Charles VIII of France in Italy, and in 1501 he was dispatched to the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I and also to Denmark.¹²⁷ Machado also entertained foreign ambassadors when they were in England; for example in January 1508 he entertained the French ambassador in London.¹²⁸ Benolt appears to have been Machado's natural successor within the field of heraldic diplomacy. He was constantly employed abroad between 1505 and 1533.¹²⁹

Another striking difference between Machado and other contemporary heralds is Machado's unique status within the Office of Arms and relationship with the king. I have already argued that Machado retained the title of Richmond throughout his heraldic career because it linked him directly to Henry Tudor and their years in exile together where they formed a close bond. After Bosworth, Machado was rapidly promoted through the ranks of the Office of Arms and held equal status with Garter King of Arms. I have not been able to find any other instance when two heralds have held equal status at the top of the Office of Arms. Machado never seems to have coveted the top ranking position of Garter even though it was offered to him when John Writhe died in 1504. Instead, he suggested John Writhe's son to the post, Thomas Wriothesley.¹³⁰ This is unusual. It would have been expected that Machado would take over Writhe's position, especially as he was already the senior herald within the Office of Arms. In addition, Wriothesley at the time was very junior within the Office of Arms having been Wallingford Pursuivant to Prince Arthur of Wales. It was unprecedented for a mere pursuivant to jump straight to the most senior heraldic position.

¹²⁵ CA, MS Arundel 51, fols 29-88.

¹²⁶ Frederic Madden, 'Documents Relating to Perkin Warbeck, with Remarks on his History', *Archaeologia*, 27 (1838), 153-210; *Memorials*, pp. xlvi-xlii; *ODNB*.

¹²⁷ Anstis, *The Register of the Most Noble Order of the Garter*, I, 367; Madden, 'Documents Relating to Perkin Warbeck'; *Memorials*, p. xlvi; *ODNB*; *Letters and Papers: Richard III & Henry VII*, I, 425.

¹²⁸ Anstis, *The Register of the Most Noble Order of the Garter* I, 367; *Memorials*, p. xlvi; *ODNB*.

¹²⁹ Godfrey and Wagner, *The College of Arms*, p. 81.

¹³⁰ Anstis, *The Register of the Noble Order of the Garter*, I, 367; Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry*, p. 84; Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 146; Godfrey and Wagner, *The College of Arms*, p. 43; *ODNB*

In contrast to Machado, Wriothesley was not used in foreign diplomacy very often (except for ceremonial Garter missions). Instead, Wriothesley's strength was within the traditional heraldic field of heraldry and in assisting in the organising of royal ceremonial events; he was involved in the funeral of Henry VII, the coronation of Henry VIII, the Westminster tournament of 1511, the funeral of the young Prince Henry, the creation of the king's illegitimate son Henry Fitzroy as Duke of Richmond in 1525, the creation of Anne Boleyn as Marchioness of Pembroke in 1532, and her coronation in 1533.¹³¹ Although Machado did grant arms, and was, as we shall see, involved in ceremony (See Chapter 3), his main responsibilities appear to have been in diplomacy.

Machado's links to Southampton are also quite unusual. As a royal herald he would have been expected to attend at court frequently, so it is interesting that he had a residence outside of London. Machado probably did have a residence in London; however, any record of it has been lost. His choice of having a second residence in Southampton during Henry VII's reign may be because of his prior connection to the town noted earlier, but also because it aided his diplomatic work. It was a convenient location to take ship to Europe, especially to France, Brittany, Spain, and Portugal; much more convenient than London which would have required sailing down the Thames and around the south-eastern tip of England to reach these destinations. Machado's position of Southampton Searcher of Customs, granted to him by Henry VII, may have also been a reason for why Machado chose to have a residence in Southampton.

Machado was, however, a typical herald in other ways. He served in the Office of Arms for most of his life and only renounced his herald position when he died in 1510. As a result he served under several different kings (Edward IV, Richard III, Henry VII, and Henry VIII). It was normal for a herald to serve in the Office of Arms for most (if not all) of their life, and therefore, heralds often served more than one king throughout their career. It is thought that Machado's contemporary, John Writhe, began his career as Antelope Pursuivant then Rouge Croix Pursuivant under Henry V (although this is uncertain, and if true he must have been just a young boy), then becoming Falcon Herald in c. 1473, Norroy King of Arms in 1477, and Garter

¹³¹ Wagner, *Herlads and Heraldry*, p. 86; *ODNB*

King of Arms in 1478 under Edward IV. He remained loyal to Richard III as Garter King of Arms and then was reinstated as Garter King of Arms, again, after Henry Tudor's victory at Bosworth, potentially under the recommendation of Machado.¹³²

Machado's Wages and Rewards

As a herald Machado was entitled to a salary, which he supplemented with various other entitlements. His foremost concern would have been his claims to fees, largess, and perquisites. This was because such claims were largely of a customary nature, being given at certain occasions, for instance, at the king's coronation, and could be overlooked or forgotten if care was not taken to record and bring it forward at the right time.¹³³ The oldest manuscript pertaining to the fees that were due to heralds is from around 1430 and is a book of fourteen vellum leaves with a note at the end regarding *'Je suis a Clarencieux Roy d'Armes'*. The heralds' claims were also codified in a tract which exists in several versions, which in French is entitled *Ces sont les droiz et largesces appurtenant et d'auncienete accoustumez aux Roys d'Armes selon l'usance du Angleterre* and in Latin *Jura debita et largitates appertinentes de antique consuetudine Armorum Officialibus secundum morem et consuetudinem Angliae*.¹³⁴ These treatises are not concerned with the heralds' wages, annuities, liveries, diets, or other support from their masters, but only with customary fees and perquisites due on particular occasions and for particular services from lords and knights. For example, at the king's coronation the heralds had largess of £100, at the king's marriage they had £50, and the largess on the baptism of a prince or princess was at the pleasure of the Queen and her council. Different fees were due to the office on the first occasion when the king, prince, duke, marquis, earl, baron, or banneret first displayed his banner. Closely associated with these were the fees of honour upon creations of dignitaries, which formed an important part of the heralds' emoluments from the fifteenth century until 1905. A fee of 40 marks was paid on the knighting of the king's son and five silver marks, or ten nobles, when a knight bachelor was made

¹³² Godfrey and Wagner, *The College of Arms*, p. 41; ODNB.

¹³³ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 72.

¹³⁴ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 73.

a banneret.¹³⁵ Some of the customary payments paid on special occasions are noted in a tract of c. 1430 as definite rights, while others were merely notables. Payments were made if the king wore his crown and especially at the feasts of Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, and All Saints. By 1450 a fifth feast was added for the giving of largess to the heralds, Twelfth Day, and Edward IV also added Saint George's Day to the list.¹³⁶ A customary sum of £10 was paid to the office at Christmas and at New Year, 100 shillings was given on Twelfth Night, 100 shillings and sometimes 10 marks were given at Easter, and 10 marks on Saint George's Day. These sums were paid to the office and shared amongst those who attended. A king of arms' share was twice a herald's, and a herald's was twice a pursuivant's. A portion was also set aside for the officers who were not in attendance and also for extraordinary officers who did attend.¹³⁷

In 1467 and 1476 Norroy King of Arms and Clarenceux King of Arms respectively were, for the first time, appointed by letters patent, and in each case the patent granted them a salary of £20.¹³⁸ Appointment of heralds and pursuivants by patent began under Henry VII and became normal practice under Henry VIII.¹³⁹ For instance, Machado was granted £20 for life when promoted to Norroy King of Arms in 1486.¹⁴⁰ Garter had an annual pension of £40, Clarenceux and Norroy both received £20, heralds received £13 6s 8d, and pursuivants received £10. Garter was to receive eight shillings a day when on journeys out of the realm, other kings of arms were to receive seven shillings, a herald four shillings, and a pursuivant two shillings. When they were with the king in war, Garter was to receive two shillings a day, other kings of arms 1s 6d, a herald one shilling, and a pursuivant 9d. When they were with a duke or any other captain in war a king of arms was to receive four shillings a day, a herald two shillings, and a pursuivant one shilling.¹⁴¹ Sicily Herald wrote in 1434 that officers of arms also enjoyed the same freedom as noblemen had and also that English heralds also claimed exemption from taxation.¹⁴² The heralds also received rewards

¹³⁵ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 74.

¹³⁶ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 93.

¹³⁷ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 93-4.

¹³⁸ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 99.

¹³⁹ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 93.

¹⁴⁰ *Materials*, pp. 81, 140, 370, 404.

¹⁴¹ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 100.

¹⁴² Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 100.

and perquisites when adjudicating jousts and tournaments. Machado's salary would have varied from year to year depending on what duties he had performed.

On 20 January 1509 Garter King of Arms, Thomas Wriothesley, and Machado made an indenture between themselves whereby Machado made over to Wriothesley 'the full power and auctorite that the said Roger hath in all the said South partyes of thys reaulme by reason of the said office of Kyng of Armes concerning enterementes confirmacions and gyftes of patentes of armys' promising to confirm all Wriothesley's acts in this respect. In return Wriothesley promised to pay Machado £4 a year.¹⁴³ Machado also had to hand over to Wriothesley his seal of arms, so that he could seal patents with it and Wriothesely also had the right to appoint someone to sign them on Machado's behalf.¹⁴⁴ This was one of the documents that Clarenceux King of Arms Thomas Benolt and Wriothesely argued over during the 1530 controversy concerning their authority in the south of England. Each put a different emphasis on the arrangement. Benolt argued that Machado proposed the indenture on account of his old age and ill health and therefore needed Garter to act on his behalf. Wriothesely argued that Machado had already handed over to him much of the power of the office of Clarenceux four years previously because Machado had seen that Wriothesley had an especial gift for the conceiving and drawing-up of patentes of arms and had asked for this arrangement, presumably so that he could focus his own efforts on his diplomatic duties.¹⁴⁵ Indeed, Benolt himself had made a similar indenture with Wriothesley due to his diplomatic duties taking him abroad so often.¹⁴⁶ Whatever the reason, Machado was shrewd enough to receive financial gain from this agreement even though it reduced his responsibilities.

Machado supplemented all this with income provided from his positions rewarded to him by Henry VII. As noted earlier, Machado was made the King's Searcher of Customs at Southampton:

Appointment of Roger Machado, *alias* 'Richemounde Herod', as the king's searcher in the port of Southampton and in all adjacent ports and places , to

¹⁴³ Anstis, *The Register of the Noble Order of the Garter*, I, 367; Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry*, p. 147.

¹⁴⁴ Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry*, p. 147.

¹⁴⁵ Anstis, *The Register of the Most Noble Order of the Garter*, I, 367-8; Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry*, p. 147.

¹⁴⁶ Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry*, p. 86.

examine in person all ships and boats passing from and to the realm in the said ports and places, and to make search of all such ships and boats suspected of being laden with uncocketed or uncustomed wools, woolfells, hides, cloths or other customizable wares, or with gold or silver in money by tale or mass or plate, or with jewels, or of any persons suspected of having carried into or out of the realm bulls, letters, instruments or processes, or any other things prejudicial to the king or his subjects, contrary to the proclamations and prohibitions made therof in the king's behalf; and to arrest all such goods and instruments as forfeit, together with the ships and person carrying them, and to keep them safely until further order; and to do all other things that pertain to the said office; and to certify the king in the Chancery touching all that is done by him in this behalf; to hold the said office during pleasure, together with a moiety of the said forfeiture, answering and rendering account at the Exchequer for the other moiety of the forfeiture arrested by him. And order to all sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, lords, masters, mariners of ships, and other the king's ministers and lieges, under pain of forfeiture of what they can forfeit, to be intendant to Roger.¹⁴⁷

This would have been a particularly lucrative position considering that Southampton was a major port at this time. An example of how this position financially benefited Machado occurs in 1491:

Item taken by John Brown & William Capper maryners & by all the Maryners of Cristofer Ambros Shippe ij douseyns of clothe for a forfeit to the towne Wherof the takers had the tone half & the tother was parted by twene the town Thomas Overay & Richemond (Machado) for cause that Thomas Overay caused it to be taken the town is part was xs.¹⁴⁸

Machado was also awarded the prebend of Huish Church in Somerset, which no doubt provided him with another source of income.¹⁴⁹ As a result, Machado would have been quite comfortably off, especially after Henry VII ascended to the throne. This is demonstrated by his inventory of 1484 and by the material culture excavated from

¹⁴⁷ CFR: 1485-1509, pp. 36, 38; *Materials*, pp. 28-30.

¹⁴⁸ *The Book of Fines*, p. 17.

¹⁴⁹ *Calendar of the manuscripts of the Dean and Chapter of Wells*, 2 vols (London: H.M.S.O., 1907-14), II, 161.

his Southampton residence. Machado had backed the right man and reaped the rewards.

Conclusion

Machado came to England in 1471, probably in the retinue of the returning exiled king, Edward IV. Machado was a Portuguese man who was recruited into the Office of Arms as Leicester Herald. However, after the death of Edward IV and the usurpation of the throne by Edward's younger brother, Richard III, Machado potentially became embroiled in the failed Buckingham Rebellion. The result was that Machado had to flee to Brittany to join the rebel king, Henry Tudor. This was when he was created Richmond Herald. During this time Machado compiled an inventory of his valuable possessions that he had chosen to take with him into exile. He also pursued mercantile activities with successful foreign merchants as a means of securing some form of income during these tumultuous years. These sources that pertain to objects have helped to identify where Machado was and what he was doing during his missing years from the English records.

Machado returned to England with Tudor's triumphant force at Bosworth. Shortly afterward, Machado was promoted to a King of Arms. Through this position he was responsible for awarding coats of arms, some of which he recorded in his extant docket book. Machado rose high in Henry VII's favour, being promoted several times within the Office of Arms, although always retaining the highly significant title of Richmond that directly linked him with the king and their years in exile together.

Chapter 3

The Herald in Royal Ceremonial

As a herald in the fifteenth-century royal court, Roger Machado was privy to some of the most lavish and spectacular ceremonies of the time: the coronation of monarchs, the marriages establishing hoped-for dynasties, and the funerals of kings and queens. These ceremonies were designed to amaze and astound, but they also conveyed complex messages of monarchy and dynasty. These were vital messages to express at this turbulent time in English history – no monarch was safe during the Wars of the Roses.

Machado witnessed at least two royal funerals and three coronations during his tenure as a herald. He was Leicester Herald for the funeral of Edward IV and at the coronation of Richard III, and then Richmond King of Arms for the coronation of Henry VII, and Clarenceux King of Arms for the funeral of Henry VII and the following coronation of Henry VIII. This chapter will examine Machado's heraldic role and engagement with objects in these ceremonies answering questions like: Did heralds organise any aspect of these events? Why did they record them? What exactly was the heralds' role in royal ceremonial? The chapter will also explore Machado's contribution to a significant source for the early years of Henry VII's reign, *The Heralds' Memoir*.

The Heralds' Organisational Role in Ceremony

Royal ceremonial has been studied by scholars such as Alice Hunt, Sydney Anglo, Roy Strong, and Anne Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs, who have explored the overall themes and reasons behind such events.¹ For example, Sydney Anglo has studied

¹ Hunt, *The Drama of Coronation*; Sydney Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry and Early Tudor Policy* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969); Roy C. Strong, *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals, 1450-1650* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1984); *The Coronation of Richard III: The Extant Documents*, ed. by Anne F. Sutton and P. W. Hammond (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1984); Anne F. Sutton, Livia Visser-Fuchs, and P. W. Hammond, eds., *The Reburial of Richard Duke of York 21-30 July 1476* (London: The Richard III Society, 1996);

Tudor ceremonial and its part in state propaganda, whilst Alice Hunt looked at five Tudor coronations and the impact that monarchical and religious change had on these events, arguing that legitimisation rather than propaganda was the central issue.² Sutton and Visser-Fuchs have studied the records, mostly written by heralds, for the funeral ceremonies of the York royal house to give an overview of this important royal ceremony in the later fifteenth century.³ The contribution of the heralds to royal ceremony, however, has been little studied.

It has long been assumed that the heralds organised and managed ceremonial events such as those discussed in this chapter. To what extent is this true? Information about and scholarly enquiry into the herald's role has come from historians who were themselves heralds, such as Sir Anthony Richard Wagner, who are arguably biased and inclined to romanticise their predecessors.⁴ In other words, they are making out a bigger role for their predecessors than was strictly true. A large number of the descriptions of state ceremonies that have come down to us were made by heralds, which has been taken as proof of their involvement in ceremonial planning, organisation, and supervision. Although it is often the case that the individual who is recording something is largely responsible for what they are recording, I argue that royal ceremonial was too elaborate and consisted of too many different elements for the heralds to be the main overseers and planners. The heralds may have played a part, but the full extent of their organisational contribution is in fact uncertain.

Definitive evidence for the heraldic organisation of royal ceremonial is meagre. A collection of documents known as *The book of certaine Triumphes* was amassed by an unknown herald in the early seventeenth century to aid him in his heraldic duties. It includes material collected from other heraldic manuscripts relating to tournaments, funerals, grants of arms, embassies, creations of the Knights of the Bath, and other ceremonies (including the jousting articles for the marriage celebrations of Richard Duke of York to Anne Mowbray in 1478 discussed below).⁵ Its existence therefore

Anne F. Sutton, Livia Visser-Fuchs, and Ralph Alan Griffiths, eds. *The Royal Funerals of the House of York at Windsor* (London: The Richard III Society, 2005).

² Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry and Early Tudor Policy*; Hunt, *The Drama of Coronation*.

³ Sutton, Visser-Fuchs, and Hammond, eds., *The Reburial of Richard Duke of York*; Sutton, Visser-Fuchs, and Griffiths, eds. *The Royal Funerals of the House of York*

⁴ Wagner has written at length on the heralds, e.g. *Heraldry of England* (1939), *Heralds and Heraldry* (1939), *Heralds of England* (1967).

⁵ *The Receyt*, p. li.

suggests that heralds at least in the seventeenth century had a role in the organisation of royal funerals, coronations, weddings, christenings, and other ceremonial events.⁶

Similarly British Library, MS Lansdowne 285, otherwise known as the *Grete Boke*, is a fifteenth-century manuscript that includes diverse materials on a variety of subjects including ceremonial, pageantry, challenges, jousts and tourneys, and ordinances governing war and judicial combat.⁷ The *Grete Boke* is thought to have first belonged to Sir John Paston before becoming the property of Thomas Wriothesley, Garter King of Arms, probably through his father, John Writhe. It then probably passed to Wriothesley's son, Charles, who was also a herald, who then sold it to Sir William Dethick, Garter King of Arms.⁸ It then passed through the hands of many heralds before ending up in the Lansdowne collection. The *Grete Boke* can be viewed in the same light as *The book of certaine Triumphes* as a reference guide for heraldic duties.

Further evidence for the heralds' part in the organisation and supervision of royal ceremonial is offered by Jennifer Loach who suggests that the heralds policed the procession at Henry VIII's funeral in 1547. Pursuivants controlled the least important group, around the dragon standard, while two heralds managed the procession accompanying the greyhound standard, and four heralds the most important group, following the lion standard.⁹

Heralds did take on more responsibility at the funerals of the aristocracy later in the early modern period, receiving substantial fees for their involvement.¹⁰ They had to be notified 'of the death of all noblemen, knights, esquires and gents and their wives', so that they could attend every aristocratic funeral and issue a certificate giving the

⁶ BL, MS Harley 69.

⁷ Sydney Anglo, 1962, 'Financial and Heraldic Records of the English Tournament', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 2 (1962), 183-95 (p. 191); Geoffrey A. Lester, *Sir John Paston's 'Grete Boke': A Descriptive Catalogue, with an Introduction, of the British Library MS Lansdowne 285* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1984); Geoffrey A. Lester, 'The Fifteenth-Century English Heralds and Their Fees: A Case of Forgery?' *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 7 (1985), 526-9.

⁸ Lester, *Sir John Paston's 'Grete Boke'*, pp. 58-61.

⁹ Jennifer Loach, 'The Function of Ceremonial in the Reign of Henry VIII', *Past and Present*, 142 (1994), 58-9.

¹⁰ For a discussion of the heraldic funeral during the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods see Clare Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 1984), pp. 166-187.

pedigree of the deceased, together with details of their death and burial.¹¹ The heralds, as at royal funerals, also had to supervise the work of the painters, who prepared coats of arms for display at the funeral; they had to make sure that the deceased's relatives did not attempt to use heraldic ensigns to which they were not entitled.¹²

The evidence supporting the heralds' significant contribution to the planning, managing, and supervision of royal ceremony during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries is far from conclusive and is really only tentative at best. Events such as coronations, funerals, weddings, and christenings were made up of many different elements: processions, pageants, disguisings, banquets, tournaments, and church services. A ceremonial event must have needed the contribution of many different individuals who had varying expertise to make the event as successful as possible. Anne Boleyn's coronation procession in 1533, for instance, was organised by a committee consisting of four representatives from the City of London's Court of Aldermen and two court councillors, Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk and Thomas Cromwell the Chancellor of the Exchequer.¹³ The Earl Marshal was probably responsible for the overall planning of such events.¹⁴ It is therefore unlikely that the heralds would have organised the whole, or even a large part of ceremonial events other than perhaps the tournaments. The only part of the events that the heralds would definitely have been expected to organise was the heraldry that was to be displayed. This is demonstrated by the orders given by Sir Nicholas Vaux at Calais to Cardinal Wolsey for the preparations of the Field of Cloth of Gold in 1520:

...gyve your commandment to Gartyr the kinge of heraudes, that he by th'advise
of all other the kings heraudes, do make a boke in picture of all the armes, ...
bestes, fowles, devises, badges and congnisances [of the] kings highness, the

¹¹ Bod. Lib, MS Ashmole 836, fol. 11, as quoted in Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual*, p. 168.

¹² Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual*, p. 172.

¹³ Hunt, *The Drama of Coronation*, p. 64.

¹⁴ The Earl Marshal is still the main overseer of important royal events, such as Elizabeth II's coronation in 1953.

quenes grace, the Frenche king ... the dolphin and the princes dothe bere o maye
...¹⁵

The heralds would have had to liaise with and supervise the painters and banner makers to make sure that the correct heraldry was used throughout royal ceremonial events. The heralds, nonetheless, still had an important duty to perform in the organisation of royal ceremonial, even if they were not the overall organisers: they were expected to record these events.

Heralds as Recorders of Ceremony

The heralds' narrative records of royal ceremonial are a distinct and important genre of writing, but relatively little has been written on them by present-day scholars. There was some interest in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the value of heraldic narratives as descriptions of historical events, but they were largely dismissed as having no intrinsic worth in their own right.¹⁶ Geoffrey Lester, Emma Cavell, and Anne Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs are the only scholars who have touched on the subject of the heraldic narrative genre in their work.¹⁷ Yet the corpus of heraldic accounts from the late fifteenth century represents a valuable resource of material for the study of court life and the heralds at that time, especially for their role in royal ceremonial.¹⁸

The heralds' narrative accounts are the focus of this chapter. These are descriptions of royal ceremonial events written down by heralds who witnessed them and also participated in. Heraldic narratives tend to follow a similar pattern. They are usually written in the vernacular and were bound together by a loose narrative thread written in the past tense. Many appear to have been unpublished, in-house reports not designed for readership outside of the Office of Arms and their associates. They

¹⁵ BL, MS. Cotton Caligula D.vii, p. 202, as quoted in John A. Goodall, 'Some Aspects of Heraldry and the Role of Heralds in Relation to the Ceremonies of the Late Medieval and Early Tudor Court', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 82 (2002), 69-91 (p. 69). The hiatuses are due to fire damage caused to the MS.

¹⁶ *Heralds' Memoir*, p. 12.

¹⁷ Geoffrey A. Lester, 'The Literary Activity of Medieval English Heralds', *English Studies*, 71 (1990), 222-9; Geoffrey A. Lester, 'Fifteenth-Century English Heraldic Narrative', *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 22 (1992), 201-12; Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, *Richard III's Books*, pp. 178-80; *Heralds' Memoir*, pp. 12-19.

¹⁸ *Heralds' Memoir*, p. 13.

were typically made from notes taken at the event they describe, and many examples, including Machado's, have blank spaces for names, dates, and details that needed to be checked; others were supplemented by memory and hearsay. Many are compiled in what Cavell has described as 'unadorned, slightly repetitious language', and we can place Machado's description of Edward IV's funeral and his embassy journals in this category.¹⁹ The accounts are derivative of the eye-witness experience of the writer and his closeness to the events he describes, causing Cavell to describe the heralds as akin to modern-day journalists.²⁰ Although the narratives tend to follow a similar pattern, the heralds often record incidents that were unique to a particular event; for instance, at Elizabeth of York's coronation in 1487 the herald recorder comments that the press of people was so great that some died in the crush:

But the more Pitie ther was so Hoge a People inordynatly presing to cut the Ray Cloth, that the Quenes Grace gede upon, so that in the Presence certeyne Persones wer slayne.²¹

The heralds were well placed to see the events that are described as the standard of accuracy in the names, dates, minutiae of the ceremonial and ritual is high. The surviving accounts are broadly similar in preoccupation, arrangement, and style, and a lot of attention is usually paid throughout to the heralds' role. Questions of procedure and precedent, remarks on omission, error or confusion, and general comment and complaint are typically included, suggesting that these records represent the very context for raising and resolving ceremonial issues.²² They also reflect the herald writer's interests in particular aspects of the event they are describing. For instance, the account of the coronation of Richard III is detailed in the names of those attending and participating, the order of the procession, with notes on the coronation, banquet, and challenge by the king's champion. However, the description of the crowning and anointing is short, confused, and inaccurate in places, suggesting the writer's lack of familiarity with, or disinterest in the religious aspect of the ceremony, probably because they were not involved in this part of the event.²³

¹⁹ *Heralds' Memoir*, p. 13.

²⁰ *Heralds' Memoir*, p. 17.

²¹ BL, MS Egerton 985, fol. 18r; BL, MS Cotton Julius B. XII, fol. 38v; *Leland's Collectanea*, VI, 223; *Heralds' Memoir*, p. 136; Also quoted in Naylor Okerlund, *Elizabeth of York*, p. 79.

²² *Heralds' Memoir*, p. 17.

²³ *Heralds' Memoir*, p. 16.

The heralds may have also had an ulterior motive in recording their participation in ceremonial because they usually received a fee for their attendance.²⁴ They often listed the names of participants within the narrative, which not only enabled the ready compilation of newsletters or dispatches, but also facilitated the registration of reward and fee-payment to the heralds by those named.²⁵

It must, however, be noted that the heralds were also responsible for coronation devices. These documents laid out what was going to happen during the monarch's coronation and can be identified from heraldic narrative descriptions through their introductory sentences; for example, Henry VIII's coronation device begins:

Here foloweth a devyse for the maner and ordre of the Coronacion of the
mooste high excellent and christian prince kyng henry the viith...²⁶

Devices also use language that infers what should be done rather than what was done, suggesting they were compiled before the event to provide guidance in the organisation of the coronation; for example, Henry VII's device stipulates that the king:

shall come into the hall, where shalbe a Siege royll prepared as accordeth for
his estate. Wherin his grace sitting, or standing shall order knightes of the Bathe
after the forme of the auncient custome of King[es] of Englande. And there in
the same place standing great Lordes in such estate, as shalbe thought to his
highness for the honor and weale of him and his Roialm[e].²⁷

Each device was copied from previous devices by heralds, and each was probably intended to be submitted to the king for approval prior to his coronation.²⁸ Devices could have served as scripts for those participating in the ceremony. The device for the coronation of Henry VII is an interesting case; instead of a new device being written, the *Little Device* for Richard III's coronation, the earliest known programme (not a description) for a coronation, was adapted for the occasion.²⁹ Richard's name

²⁴ Lester, 'The Fifteenth-Century English Heralds and Their Fees'.

²⁵ *Heralds' Memoir*, p. 17.

²⁶ BL, MS Cotton Tiberius E viii, fol. 90. Also quoted in Hunt, *The Drama of Coronation*, p. 22.

²⁷ BL, Egerton 985, fol. 1b; *English Coronation Records*, ed. by Leopold G. Wickham Legg (Westminster: A. Constable & Co., 1901), p. 221.

²⁸ Hunt, *The Drama of Coronation*, p. 21.

²⁹ *The Coronation of Richard III*, p. 204.

was crossed-out and replaced with Henry's.³⁰ Hunt argues, however, that the coronation may not have followed precisely the plan laid out in these devices because they were copies, minimally adapted from previous coronation devices; for instance Henry VIII's device, 'The coronacion of kyng henry the viiith', bears a close resemblance to Henry VII's device. We therefore need to piece together what happened from the device, the *Liber Regalis* (the main document used in the planning of coronations), and descriptions in chronicle accounts and heraldic narratives.³¹

There are many reasons why things are written down. If someone is new to their job, then they may feel it is necessary to write it down to remind them of their duties; it is not usually necessary to record something if you know what should happen. Recording may be necessary if something has changed, therefore allowing innovation to become precedent. The reasons behind the heralds' narratives may have been because of this issue of precedent rather than because they did not know what they were doing within these events. The heralds recorded royal ceremonial for posterity and to aid the planning and execution of future events. It was important that ceremonial events be recorded in detail to allow a precedent to be set. If this precedent was not followed, then this called into question the validity of the event. The heralds' role was therefore to ensure that ceremonial was performed in the same way every time. They were then able to report to the overseer of the event that the job had been well done providing proof through their eyewitness accounts. Edward IV's funeral description almost always appears in the funeral collections of sixteenth-century heralds.³² In several of these manuscripts, ordinances for the burial of a king immediately preface the funeral report and the descriptions show that the ordinances were carefully followed. This suggests that the ordinances may first have been codified for Edward IV's funeral, which as a consequence became the single most important precedent for later funerals.³³ This suggests that heraldic ceremonial accounts were compiled partly for guidance, and may have been a better reference

³⁰ English Coronation Records, pp. 193-197; *The Coronation of Richard III*, pp. 213-27; Hunt, *The Drama of Coronation*, p. 21.

³¹ Hunt, *The Drama of Coronation*, pp. 21-2.

³² E.g. CA, MSS I. 3, fols 7v, 8v-10, I. 7, fols 7-10, and I. 14, fol. 186ff; BL, MSS Additional 45131, fol. 23ff, and Stowe, fol. 89ff; Also printed in *Archaeologia*, I (1770), 348-55, and in *Letters and Papers: Richard III & Henry VII*, I, 3-10.

³³ *The Receyt*, p. lix, note 2.

material than general guidance ordinances as the eye-witness account allowed for, and was proof of some flexibility of practice.³⁴

The heralds were ideally situated to make official records, not only because of the fundamental role that they played in the ceremony itself (discussed later in this chapter), but also because of the background from which they came.³⁵ Heralds were usually drawn from the ranks of the well-educated and had to have the literary skill, technical vocabulary, and courtly style to give such events the justice they deserved.³⁶ Machado too demonstrates these attributes in his comprehensive narrative of Edward IV's funeral.³⁷

Heraldic narratives are largely absent before the 1460s, and we have nothing surviving like the corpus we have for the Yorkist court. Emma Cavell agrees with Sydney Anglo when she suggests that the heralds' skills were 'harnessed to the needs of public-image making' by the Yorkist kings.³⁸ In the late 1470s, Richard Duke of Gloucester, Constable of England and active co-supervisor of the heralds since 1469, promulgated a series of ordinances which emphasised the herald's duties in recording noble and knightly deeds.³⁹ It was decreed that:

all manner of solemn occasions, solemn acts and deeds of the nobility, those concerned with the deeds of arms as well as others, be truthfully and indifferently recorded...⁴⁰

The heralds, therefore, were formerly required to record ceremonial events as part of their heraldic duties from the later fifteenth century onwards. The concept, however, was not original as Anjou King of Arms and Dame Prudentia in the fictitious *Débat des Herauts* had both talked of the recording of deeds of arms by heralds in the fourteenth

³⁴ Also argued by Cavell in *Heralds' Memoir*, p. 18.

³⁵ Lester, 'Fifteenth-Century English Heraldic Narrative', p. 201.

³⁶ Katie Stevenson, ed., *The Herald in Late Medieval Europe* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2009), p. 7; Lester, 'Fifteenth-Century English Heraldic Narrative', p. 201.

³⁷ CA, MS Arundel 51, fols 14r-17v, 29r-88r.

³⁸ *Heralds' Memoir*, p. 12; Sydney Anglo, *Images of Tudor Kingship* (London: Seaby, 1992), p. 30.

³⁹ *Heralds' Memoir*, p. 3; These ordinances have traditionally been attributed to the Duke of Clarence, brother of Henry V, e.g. Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry*, pp. 59-63. For doubts on the role of Clarence see Wagner, *Heralds of England*, pp. 67-8. The text of the ordinances is printed in Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry*, Appendix C, pp. 136-8.

⁴⁰ *Heralds' Memoir*, p. 3; Anne F. Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs, *Richard III's Books: Ideals and Reality in the Life and Library of a Medieval Prince* (Stroud: Sutton, 1997), p. 185.

and early fifteenth centuries.⁴¹ Nevertheless, Richard's ordinance was a reminder to the heralds of the next generation of what was expected of them and placed a stronger emphasis on this part of their heraldic duties than had been the case previously. The increase in herald narratives after the 1460s, consequently, was linked to the need to bolster ceremonial memory in the Yorkist court.⁴² The York house had secured the English throne through force and therefore felt the need to further legitimise their rule through the recording of its ceremonial.

We only have Machado's narrative of Edward IV's funeral and three embassy journals extant today. There is, however, good evidence to suggest that he contributed to one document for the early years of Henry VII's reign: British Library, MS Cotton Julius B. XII, fols 8v-66r, known as *The Heralds' Memoir*.

Machado's Ceremonial Narratives

The manuscript known as *The Heralds' Memoir* details the early ceremonial and military events of the first five years of Henry VII's reign – his first provincial progress, the birth of Prince Arthur, the Battle of Stoke, the coronation of Elizabeth of York, the creation of the Prince of Wales, and all the entertainments and celebrations attached to and surrounding these events. Cavell, in her recent edition of the *Memoir* dismisses Machado as a contributor to this heraldic narrative, but I shall argue that Machado is in actual fact the most likely candidate to have provided the notes that formed the first part of the *Memoir*.

The lengthy narrative of the *Memoir* is written in three distinctive scribal hands. The first scribe (known as Scribe A in Cavell's 2009 edition) was responsible for the largest portion of the extant text, but the person behind the hand has not yet been identified. The other two hands have been identified as belonging to John Writhe, Garter King of Arms, and Thomas Wriothesley, Wallingford Pursuivant and later Garter King of Arms.⁴³ Misprints resulting from eye-skip and transposition in Scribe A's work suggests that his section, at least, was created by copying earlier written

⁴¹ *Heralds' Memoir*, p. 4; Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, *Richard III's Books*, p. 185.

⁴² *Heralds' Memoir*, p. 17.

⁴³ *Heralds' Memoir*, pp. 46-50.

materials, probably notes taken by a herald present at the events he describes (the first progress in 1486 up to the feast of St. George in 1488).⁴⁴ A proliferation of minor errors and untidiness of script at certain places in Scribe A's work also supports the idea that the copyist was reproducing large amounts of text at a time, falling prey to word and letter confusion, and confusing plural and singular forms. Most significantly, Scribe A has occasionally confused English and French, writing for instance 'in la countie d'Essex' (fol. 30v) and 'al other lordez et ladies' (fol. 24r), suggesting he was copying from notes written in French.⁴⁵

Cavell has dismissed Machado as a contributor to the *Memoir* because 'during much of Henry VII's reign Machado seems to have been so preoccupied with diplomatic missions that he agreed for Garter Writhe and Wriothesley respectively to conduct his domestic business'.⁴⁶ However, Cavell has gained her information on Machado from the limited and rather questionable biography of him in Godfrey's and Wagner's monograph on the College of Arms.⁴⁷ There is currently no evidence of an agreement with Writhe, and the arrangement with Wriothesley did not occur until 1509, a year before Machado's death.⁴⁸ In addition, there is no evidence that Machado was sent on diplomatic activities by Henry VII before December 1488 when he was despatched on embassy to Spain and Portugal, and therefore he may well have been in attendance at Henry's court until this date. Indeed, I would argue that Machado's distinct title as Richmond King of Arms, which linked him directly to the king, would have meant that he would have been in attendance at all the significant events that Scribe A describes, including the very important public events of the birth and baptism of an heir and the coronation of a consort.

The fact that Machado appears to have written predominantly in French, because it is claimed his English was not good, is significant.⁴⁹ One would expect that the note-taker would have written in the language they were most familiar with and which could be read by others. Therefore, the herald note-taker was probably not English.

⁴⁴ *Heralds' Memoir*, pp. 46-47.

⁴⁵ *Heralds' Memoir*, p. 47.

⁴⁶ *Heralds' Memoir*, p. 58.

⁴⁷ Godfrey and Wagner, *The College of Arms*, p. 79.

⁴⁸ CA, MS Heralds, Vol. III, fol. 1136, copy of the indenture made by William le Neve, Norroy, in 1634, from the original then in the hands of Sir Henry St George, Richmond, as quoted in Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry*, p. 84 and Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 147.

⁴⁹ Noble, *A History of the College of Arms*, p. 111.

Machado is the only known foreign herald working at the English court at this time. Although Machado was of Portuguese descent, he was fluent in French, which was widely understood at the English court. Instead of writing in his native tongue, Machado wrote his known heraldic narratives (including his account of Edward IV's funeral and his embassy journals) as well as his ceremonial notes in French, a language widely understood. I therefore argue that Machado was the author of the notes that Scribe A used to construct his portion of the *Memoir*.

Further support for Machado's contribution to the *Memoir* can be found when we look at the date when Scribe A ceases his transcription and Thomas Wriothesley (Scribe B) continues the *Memoir*. Scribe A is responsible for folios 8v-51, and Wriothesley was responsible for folios 51-60v (starting one quarter of the way down folio 51r).⁵⁰ On the following folio, the writer, Wriothesley, tells us that Machado has been dispatched on the embassy to Spain and Portugal:

And incontinent aftir the king sente his ambassadors in to divers parties, that is to saie Master Christofer Urswike, doian of Yorke, and Sir John Don, knight, in to France, and with them Yorke the heraulde; Doctor Sauvage, Sir Richart Nanfant and Richemond King of Armes in to Portingal, also with the garter for the king of Portingal.⁵¹

Since Wriothesley takes up the *Memoir* as soon as Machado is sent abroad, and since I argue that Machado had been in attendance at the events described in the first part, and that he customarily wrote in French, the best candidate for the person who wrote the notes that lie behind the first part of the memoir is in fact Machado.

In the new year of 1486, Henry Tudor's thirst for national approval was equalled only by the English heralds' own quest for acceptance by the new Tudor regime. The officers of arms had staked their reputation and the development of their craft on the complex and multi-dependent relationship between the royal household of York and the increasingly elaborate world of ceremony and chivalry. They had ridden high in the favour of Edward IV and Richard III, and it is possible that the heralds were

⁵⁰ *Heralds' Memoir*, p. 57.

⁵¹ BL, MS Cotton Julius B. XII, fol. 52, as in *Heralds' Memoir*, p. 164.

viewed as an organ of the Yorkist/Ricardian household.⁵² The *Memoir* was therefore not only a way for Henry to record the new feats and spectacles of his nascent rule and legitimise his sovereignty, but also a means by which the heralds could ingratiate themselves to their new king. Perhaps the reason for placing Machado, a loyal friend of Henry's, into the Office of Arms as one of its senior heralds, and giving him the title Richmond that directly reflected the relationship between him and the king, was a way for Henry and his regime to keep an eye on the heralds who had been loyal to Richard III. As noted previously in Chapter 2, John Writhe was Garter King of Arms under Edward IV and Richard III, but was not reappointed Garter until February 1486, six months after Henry VII's victory at Bosworth.⁵³ This perhaps suggests that Writhe was not initially in favour with the new Tudor king because of his affiliation with Richard III. Thomas Holme, Clarenceux King of Arms, was also probably a loyal supporter of Richard III because he was the only herald who was not given a new tabard to wear at Henry VII's coronation. In addition, Holme's appointment as Clarenceux was not exempted from the Act of Resumption when Writhe as Garter and John More as Norrey were.⁵⁴

Machado's description of Edward IV's funeral on 18 to 20 April 1483 is written in French in the third person and describes a highly ritualistic event with many components requiring considerable forward-planning (See Appendix B, No. i for full transcription and translation).⁵⁵ Although the account is incomplete, other English accounts have survived that can fill in the gaps.⁵⁶ The narrative forms the first part of Machado's memorandum book, which appears to run in chronological order and each page looks as if it was numbered by Machado himself. The next entry in the memorandum book is the unfinished treatise on Edward V's entry into London dated (incorrectly) May 1482 (See Appendix B, No. ii).⁵⁷ This is clearly an error as Edward

⁵² *Heralds' Memoir*, pp. 23-4.

⁵³ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 135.

⁵⁴ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, 134-5. Henry VII passed the Act of Resumption in his first parliament in 1485 and its purpose was to cancel large classes of grants made by Edward IV and Richard III, including the incorporation of the heralds.

⁵⁵ CA, MS Arundel 51, fols 14r-17v.

⁵⁶ CA, MS I 7, ff. 7r-8v; BL, MS Additional 45131, fol. 23 and fols 27v-29; BL, MS Egerton 2642, fols 186v-188v; CA, MS I. 3, fol. 7v and fols 8v-10v; CA, MS I. 11, ff. 84r-86v; Thomas Astle, 'Ceremonial of the Funeral of K. Edward IV. From a MS Of the late Mr. Anstis, now in the possession of Thomas Astle, Esq', in *Archaeologia*, 1 (1769), pp.350-357; *Letters and Papers: Richard III & Henry VII*, I, 3-10.

⁵⁷ CA, MS Arundel 51, f. 18r.

V was king from April to June 1483.⁵⁸ Since Machado starts a new narrative dated around a month after the narrative of Edward IV's funeral, we can reasonably assume that Machado wrote the funeral narrative very soon after the event – sometime between 18 April and early May 1483.

The unfinished account of Edward V's royal entry into London may have been left incomplete because Edward never entered London as a king, but as a hostage of his uncle, then Richard Duke of Gloucester. In fact, he arrived on 4 May, the date originally set for his coronation. At the time, Richard was Constable of England and therefore in charge of the Office of Arms.⁵⁹ Richard took a close interest in the Office of Arms and liked to be kept informed with what the Crown's officers of arms were doing.⁶⁰ In theory, Richard could dictate to the heralds what was to be officially recorded and what was not. Machado's narrative may have been left unfinished because Richard did not want any reference to Edward as king being recorded.

Sutton and Visser-Fuchs have extensively researched some of the royal Yorkist funerals held at Windsor, including that of Edward IV.⁶¹ However, they have largely focussed on the extant English narratives, only sparingly considering Machado's French description. Although Machado's narrative is incomplete, it was an eyewitness account written shortly after the event; something that cannot be said about most of the extant English narratives, which appear to be later copies of an earlier manuscript. There are five surviving English narratives of Edward IV's funeral. They all seem to go back to a single original narrative, probably College of Arms MS I. 7 fol. 7r-8v, which was also probably written soon after the event; the other four are all sixteenth-century, or later, versions.⁶² Machado's account and College of Arms MS I. 7 are significantly different and therefore are unlikely to be copies of each other. College of Arms MS I. 7 is incomplete as it trails off at the end and is missing the grave-side ritual of the throwing away of the household officer's

⁵⁸ The full title reads: 'Le entreye du treshault et tresexcellent et puischant prince le roy Eduard le vme, filz au noble Roy Eduarde le iij, en la citel de Londres en lan de grace 1482 le 2 jour de May.'

Translation: 'The entry of the very high and very excellent prince King Edward V, son of the noble King Edward IV, into the City of London the year of Grace 1482, on the second day of May.'

⁵⁹ BL, MS Cotton Faustina E I. fol. 23, printed in *Monumenta Heraldica*, pp. 14-19.

⁶⁰ Ramsay, 'Richard III and the Office of Arms', p. 147.

⁶¹ Sutton, Visser-Fuchs, and Griffiths, eds. *The Royal Funerals of the House of York*, pp. 7-46.

⁶² For a full description of each surviving manuscript see Sutton, Visser-Fuchs and Griffiths, eds. *The Royal Funerals of the House of York*, p. 32.

batons and the herald's tabards, and the heraldic cries of 'The king lives!' which Machado describes in some detail. Machado's narrative of Edward IV's funeral, therefore, gives us a clearer insight into the role of the herald at royal funerals at this time than the other surviving narratives – legitimisation through the heralds and the objects they used in ceremony.

Legitimisation through the Heralds and their Objects

Kings liked to use the heralds in ceremony to emphasise their dynastic and sovereign power.⁶³ Each royal herald had a title derived from the royal house.⁶⁴ The heralds wore tabards emblazoned with the royal arms during official and ceremonial occasions, so that those watching were aware of who they were and the significance of their heraldic titles. Most spectators of a ceremonial event would only have got a fragmentary view, but the whole majesty of the processions, pageants, and tournaments surrounding the occasion would have been enough to display the 'royal charisma'.⁶⁵ The heralds were a significant part of this as they would have been highly visible participants. This was summarised by the Earl of Newcastle, William Cavendish, in a letter to his royal ward, the Stuart Prince of Wales, Charles:

What protects you kings more than ceremony: the distance people are with you, great officers, heralds, drums, trumpeters, rich coaches...Marshal's men making room...I know these [things] master the people sufficiently. Aye even the wisest...shall shake off his wisdom and shake for fear of it, for this is the mist is cast before us and masters the commonwealth.⁶⁶

⁶³ Armstrong, 'Development of the Office of Arms in England, c. 1413-1485', in *The Herald in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. by Stevenson, pp. 19-20.

⁶⁴ Armstrong, 'Development of the Office of Arms in England, c. 1413-1485', in *The Herald in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. by Stevenson, p. 21.

⁶⁵ R. Malcolm Smuts, 'Public Ceremony and Royal Charisma: The English Royal Entry in London, 1485-1642', in *The First Modern Society: Essays in Honour of Lawrence Stone*, ed. by A. L. Beier and James M. Rosenheim (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 66-7.

⁶⁶ BL, MS Harley 6988, fol. 112, as quoted in Smuts, 'Public Ceremony and Royal Charisma', p. 67.

Therefore, the heralds' appearance in ceremony proclaimed its legitimisation and the authority of its protagonist. The very presence of the royal heralds effectively signified the omnipresence of the English Crown.⁶⁷

Edward IV's Funeral

The heralds performed very important duties at the funerals of monarchs, which Machado describes in detail in his narrative of Edward IV's funeral. This included being part of the procession accompanying Edward IV's body from London to Windsor, the presenting of the king's knightly achievements in the church, the final throwing-away of their tabards, and cries of 'Vive le roy!'. All these events involved the ritual use and display of objects.

Machado describes his part of the funerary procession from London, riding on horseback along-side Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset, John de la Pole, Earl of Lincoln, and many other earls, barons, knights, esquires, and servants. Although there are no illustrations of Edward IV's funeral, there are three manuscripts illustrating the procession at Queen Elizabeth of York's funeral in 1503, two housed in the British Library⁶⁸ and the other in the keeping of the College of Arms.⁶⁹ Although they are rather stylised illustrations drawn after the event, they do give us a flavour of what a typical royal funeral procession may have looked like at this time. They show everyone dressed in black cloaks. Financial records of the Great Wardrobe show that mourners were often granted black cloth and livery in a quality and quantity according to rank to wear at royal funerals. At Elizabeth of York's funeral, the total cost of black cloth was £1,483 15s 10d out a total of £2,832 7s 3d for the entire event.⁷⁰ Everyone attending the funeral was given black cloth, including the heralds and their servants:

Euerie king of Armes to haue v yardes & iiij yardes for rydyng gownes and for
there servuntes ix yards.

⁶⁷ *Heralds' Memoir*, p. 7.

⁶⁸ BL, MS Additional 45131, ff. 41v-47v; BL, MS Stowe 583, fols 27-41.

⁶⁹ CA, MS M. 6, ff. 17-22.

⁷⁰ NA, LC 2/1, fols 28r-v; Ralph Houlbrooke, 'Prince Arthur's Funeral', in *Arthur Tudor, Prince of Wales*, ed. by Steven Gunn and Linda Monsckton (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2009), p. 70.

Item euery heraulde to haue to there gownes & hoode v yardes & for ij servuntes two yardes the pece.

Euery pursyvunnt iiij yardes for hym self & iij yardes for one servunnte.⁷¹

An extensive list of individual mourners is given in an account of Henry VII's funeral along with the amount of black cloth granted to them. Machado as 'Richemont King at Arms' was granted five yards of black cloth, the same as the other officers of arms except for Garter who received nine yards. Machado also had two servants in attendance who were provided with six yards (three yards each).⁷² The illustration of Elizabeth of York's funeral procession shows the heralds wearing their coats of arms over their black mourning robes.

The heralds' coats of arms took the form of loose fitting tabards, split at the sides and decorated front and back and on the open sleeves with the arms of England. New tabards were often issued by the Great Wardrobe to the heralds for royal ceremonial events. They were often swiftly produced and were not always of the highest quality. Tabards in the fifteenth century were often made of tartarin (a silk textile produced in Italy) and lined with buckram, but they were also occasionally made from finer sарcenet as at the coronations of Richard III and Henry VII. They would have been 'stamped' or 'beaten' with the royal arms, which achieved an effect similar to cloth of gold, but achieved more cheaply. Indeed, tabards were sometimes painted with the royal arms, which could achieve brilliant colours at a fraction of the cost of embroidering. For instance, the king's painter for Henry VII's coronation received 30s per tabard for the painting of twelve 'cotes of armes for herauldes, beten and wrought in oyle colers with fine gold'.⁷³ From the sixteenth century onwards it became the custom for the different ranks of the heralds to have tabards made from different materials. For example, at Henry VII's funeral Garter King of Arms was given a tabard of velvet; at the coronation of Anne Boleyn, all the kings of arms were given tabards made from velvet, the heralds received tabards made from damask, and the pursuivants' tabards were made from sарcenet. Generally, tabards cost between

⁷¹ CA, MS I. 3, fols 25r.

⁷² NA, LC 2/1 fol. 121; *Letters and Papers: Henry VIII*, I, 13.

⁷³ *Materials*, p. 14; Ailes, "You Know Me by My Habit", p. 9.

£1 and £2 to make, but Garter's embroidered velvet tabard cost £20.⁷⁴ The ranks of the heralds were also distinguished by how the heralds wore their tabards: a pursuivant wore his tabard transversely, that is with the sleeves at the back and front and the longer parts as sleeves. This is in contrast to the herald who would wear the tabard as designed with the longer parts worn at the front and back and their arms through the sleeves. This fashion lasted until Elizabeth I's reign when in 1576 Rouge Dragon Pursuivant was fined for presuming to wear his coat as a herald.⁷⁵ The heralds in their bright and colourful coats of arms over their black mourning cloaks would have stood out amongst the sea of black-cloaked mourners, making their presence even more noticeable in the procession and funeral ceremony. The only other colourful elements of the funeral were the banners accompanying the hearse and the king's effigy dressed in royal robes.

Once Edward IV's funeral procession reached the doors of Eton College, Machado and the others on horseback dismounted and escorted the king's body on foot to St. George's Chapel inside Windsor Castle (where he was to be buried) where archbishops, bishops, and their prelates and canons chanted the dirges. The heralds played a key part in the ceremony, carrying and presenting the king's regalia.

...Garter King of Arms, bearing a rich coat of arms of the king between his hands and presented it to my lord the marques of Dorset and my lord the earl of Huntingdon. And together they bore it to be offered to the said archbishop. [And] the said archbishop [returned it to the heralds and they held it] thus on the left side of the altar until mass was finished. And then came Clarenceux King of Arms and Norroy King of Arms and carried the shield and presented it to my lord Baron Maltravers, eldest son of the earl of Arundel. And about this there was a controversy between the lords, concerning which of the two lords should walk on the right because one was a viscount and the other only a baron. It was decided, however, by the lords that the baron would go on the right hand side because he was the eldest son of an earl. Then came Ireland King of Arms and March King of Arms and carried the sword with the point forward and so presented it to the two Lords Bourchier, relatives of the king.

⁷⁴ See Ailes, "You Know Me by My Habit" for further information on the use and development of the heralds' tabard.

⁷⁵ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 79.

And so they went to offer it; and when they had offered it the said archbishop turned it point downwards and so gave it back to the said kings of arms. And then came Chester Herald and Leicester Herald and bore the crowned helmet and presented it to [my lord Stanley and] my lord Hastings. And they went to offer it in the same way. And there all the said heralds were ready to receive each piece from the said archbishop and so in order the said heralds stood close to the altar as described above. And then came Gloucester Heralds and Buckingham Herald and led in Sir William Par, knight of the Garter and controller of the king's household, who came mounted to the doors of the church, all armed in a fair white harness and a rich helmet on his head, mounted on a fair warhorse covered in a fair trapping of black velvet with four scutcheons of the king's arms on the sides, and carrying an axe in his hand the point downwards, and so he dismounted and was led by the two above mentioned heralds. And there he offered the axe and the archbishop turned the point upward and gave it back to the said heralds. And the said heralds took it and gave it back to the said knight into his hand with the point upward and led the said knight to the sacristy and there the said knight disarmed himself. Next came the pursuivants, that is Rouge Croix, Blanche Rose, Guines, Calais, Berwick and Harington, who presented the horse that the knight had ridden to the deacon of the church, who received it at the door of the church as his fee which belonged to him by right. And after mass had been celebrated all these heralds went in proper order, that is first the coat of arms, then the shield, then the sword and then the helmet, and they bore them to the sacristy and delivered them to the custodian [to keep] until the tomb would be ready, to place them where they should be placed.⁷⁶

The offering of the coat of arms, sword, helm, and shield had become an important and solemn moment of the funerary ceremony by the later fifteenth century. The offering of these objects and the appearance of the king's champion symbolically represented the deceased monarch's knightly achievements. Sutton and Visser-Fuchs argue that their burial along with the deceased king may have come from the ancient custom of burying the deceased's possessions along with his body, similar to Anglo-

⁷⁶ CA, MS Arundel 51, fols 15v-16v, as quoted in Sutton, Visser-Fuchs, and Griffiths, eds., *The Royal Funerals of the House of York*, pp. 44-5.

Saxon burials like Sutton Hoo. This pagan custom had been appropriated by the Christian church as a form of burial fees as the objects could be sold or melted down and recycled. But, by the fourteenth century this financial purpose had been forgotten and this grand and sombre ceremonial moment had become an offering up to God of the arms of a knightly champion of the Church, no longer able to perform his martial duties.⁷⁷

The king's champion, Sir William Parr, represented the dead King Edward IV himself, riding the king's charger trapped with the king's arms.⁷⁸ The knightly achievements were displayed for many years, even centuries, after the death of the monarch.⁷⁹ Edward's magnificent jewelled sword, cap of maintenance, gilt harness with crimson velvet coat armour, embroidered with the arms of England and jewelled, and his personal banner of arms hung over his tomb until 23 October 1642, when parliamentary soldiers removed them.⁸⁰ Henry V's knightly achievements still survive today and were put on display in the British Museum exhibition *Shakespeare: Staging the World* (they are usually on display at Westminster Abbey museum).⁸¹ The offering of the knightly achievements was a symbolic act linked to the knightly function of the late king as the protector of the Realm and of Christianity. The deceased king no longer required the armour which he had obtained in this world, and therefore this ceremony was divesting him of these material accoutrements of war and symbolically releasing him from his martial duties.⁸² This moment may have also held particular poignancy in the Chapel of St. George, seat of the most revered order of knighthood in Europe, the Order of the Garter.⁸³ Edward wanted to be buried there and had planned to make the Chapel into the royal mausoleum, lavishing much attention and money on its renovation.⁸⁴ The same ceremonial offering of knightly achievements and the appearance of a mounted knight also appeared at the

⁷⁷ Sutton, Visser-Fuchs, and Griffiths, eds. *The Royal Funerals of the House of York*, p. 27.

⁷⁸ Sutton, Visser-Fuchs, and Griffiths, eds. *The Royal Funerals of the House of York*, p. 29.

⁷⁹ Neil MacGregor, *Shakespeare's Restless World – Triumphs of the Past* (BBC Radio 4, 2012), <http://www.bbc.co.uk/radio4/features/shakespeares-restless-world/>

⁸⁰ Sutton, Visser-Fuchs, and Griffiths, eds., *The Royal Funerals of the House of York*, p. 30.

⁸¹ Neil MacGregor, *Shakespeare's Restless World – Triumphs of the Past* (BBC Radio 4, 2012) <http://www.bbc.co.uk/radio4/features/shakespeares-restless-world/>

⁸² Given-Wilson, Chris, 'The Exequies of Edward III and the Royal Funeral Ceremony in Late Medieval England', *English Historical Review*, 124 (2009), pp. 257-82 (p. 275); Sutton, Visser-Fuchs, and Griffiths, eds., *The Royal Funerals of the House of York*, pp. 24-5.

⁸³ Sutton, Visser-Fuchs, and Griffiths, eds., *The Royal Funerals of the House of York*, p. 27.

⁸⁴ Sutton, Visser-Fuchs, and Griffiths, eds., *The Royal Funerals of the House of York*, pp. 1-2.

reburial of Richard Duke of York, Edward IV's father, in 1476.⁸⁵ It is believed that Edward's funeral was largely based around the model of his father's reburial ceremony, which was also recorded by a herald.⁸⁶ Edward gave his father a funeral fit for a king, and used it as a means to further legitimise his claim to the English throne by suggesting through ceremony that Richard of York was a rightful king of England, even though he had never been crowned, and his son, Edward, had rightful claim to the crown as Richard's successor.

It had long been a custom for the aristocracy to display and offer their chivalrous achievements to the church as mortuaries at their funerals. For example, Sir William de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick directed in his will of 1268 that his body be buried in the church of the Franciscans at Worcester, 'with a horse covered in armour before my body, as is fitting, with trappings of war'.⁸⁷ The description of Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury's funeral on 15 January 1461 describes a similar offering of knightly achievements showing that this custom was not just confined to kings, but was an ancient chivalric custom:

...kings of arms heralds brought out of the reuestry honorably euery of theme, *etc.*; then Garter [King of Arms] of the cote of armes, Clarens [King of Arms] the shield, Windesore [Herald] the swerde, Chestere [Herald] the helme & tymbre, and couerid, to the body of the said erle's herse, holdynge the cote of armes and the swerd on the right side, the shield on the lefte side, the helme & tymbre at the heed in the mydds without the pale and the p'close vnto the offeringe; *etc.*

Item, aftur the Gospelle of the messe, ij kings of armes went ffurthe to the weste dore of the chirche, where there was a man armyd on horsbak, trappid with an ax in his right hande, the point towarde the said kings, ressauyed hym and conveid hym vnto

the quere dore of the chirche, where he did alight, holdinge the said horse trappid in his hand, in the armes of the said erle.

⁸⁵ Sutton, Visser-Fuchs, and Hammond, eds., *The Reburial of Richard Duke of York*, pp. 19, 27.

⁸⁶ Sutton, Visser-Fuchs, and Griffiths, eds., *The Royal Funerals of the House of York*.

⁸⁷ Given-Wilson, 'The Exequies of Edward III and the Royal Funeral Ceremony in Late Medieval England', p. 278.

...the kynges of armes procedinge furthe to the offeringe with the cote of armes befor the erle of Worcestre, the erle offeringe that cote, and aftur the bischope delyuerid the said cote to the erle of Warwike as heyre in tokenyng that the said cot belonginge in right vnto hym: aftur whiche deliuerans, the said erle of Warwike delyuerid the said cote to the said kinge of armys, as it appatened vnto his office to do; the said kinge of armes standinge asid on the right hand withe the said cote of armes; *etc.*

Item, the scheld borne by a king of armes befor the lord Montague in reuerent wise delyuerid as befor the same lord offerede the said shield, and was delyverid as before to the said heyre, and relyuerid to the kinge of armes to do as it appertenyd, as is before said.

Item, the swerd borne by the heralds befor the lord Hastings in like wise deliuerid, offerid, & reliuerid to the same harold, as is before said.

Item, the helm and the tymbre borne by an harald before the lord Fitzhughe in like wise offerid and reliuerid to the sam harald as byfore the kinge of armes, an harold on the right sid, anoyther on the lefte sid to the end of the offringe; *etc.*

Item, the remynt of the haroldys and pursiuants comyng before the man of armys and horse trappid, the said man off armys conveid betwene ij barons, and by them presentide, and offered his harnes and horse to the chirche, and aftur conveid throughe the chirche to the reuestry, and the man vnarmyd; *etc...*

...the said kinges of armes and haraldes in honorable and reuerent wise bere furthe the said cotte of armes, sheld, swerde, helme, and tymbre, vnto the sepulcur, where the said corse shuld be beriede with due reuerens, settinng vp ouer the tombe in the myds of the cote of armes, at the hed aboue the helme and tymbre, the scheld vndirneth, the swerd hanginge by the baner on the rright sid at the hede, the standarde on the sam side at the fot: and this obseruance done, did of there cotes.

Item, in tokenyng, that the cote was deliuerid and reliueris by the heyre, the said erle his harald in the said cote reuestid, stod before the herse before the

persens of his said lorde duringe the remynent of the messe vnto the beryinge of the said corse.⁸⁸

Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century engravings of the tomb of Edward the Black Prince in Canterbury Cathedral show his surcoat, gauntlets, sword, dagger, and helm still hanging from a beam above his effigy hundreds of years after his burial, and they can still be found there today.⁸⁹ This visible display of the knightly achievements at the funeral, and for long periods after the protagonist's burial, may also be interpreted as another means by which he could remain prominent in the people's minds and prayers, to hasten his time spent in purgatory.⁹⁰ The offering of knightly achievements at funerals other than the monarch's also suggests that its initial use at the king's funeral was a continuance of a chivalrous tradition, which was then developed further to symbolise the king's role and demise as The Christian Protector of his kingdom.

The first official record of the offering of the king's knightly achievements at his funeral is at Edward III's funeral in 1377. Although no description of his funeral has survived, the ordo *De Exequiis Regalibus cum ipsis ex hoc seculo migrare contigerit*, which was probably used as the basis for his funeral, does contain the following passage in its extended version in *Liber Regie Capelle*:

And during the oblation at the requiem mass a knight enters arrayed in the royal tunic and arms, riding one of the king's horses also decked out and covered down to the ground in the said arms; and there at the steps of the altar, this knight humbly offers the arms and the said horse together with certain royal standards, particularly those which the king was accustomed to use in battle. At the end of the mass, moreover, once the body of the king has been buried and interred, another knight or baron enters on another royal horse most richly caparisoned with trappings of the royal arms, carrying a shield of the said royal arms with the point of the shield and the arms raised up high and the arms crosswise, as if to say "it is finished". And he places this

⁸⁸ BL, MS Additional 4712, fol. 18v; *The Antiquarian Repertory*, I, 314-7; P. W. Hammond, 'The Funeral of Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury', *The Ricardian*, 6 (1984), 410-16 (p. 412).

⁸⁹ Given-Wilson, 'The Exequies of Edward III and the Royal Funeral Ceremony in Late Medieval England', p. 278.

⁹⁰ Given-Wilson, 'The Exequies of Edward III and the Royal Funeral Ceremony in Late Medieval England', pp. 278-9.

shield, crosswise as it is, there at the foot of the royal tomb, whereupon another lord or knight of the royal blood straightway picks up this shield and, holding it up, turns it around so that the point is facing downwards, as if to say "the king lives", that is to say the heir and successor of the king who has just predeceased him. Then let there be alms and solemn conviviality, and when these are over may everyone go in peace.⁹¹

This description explains more of the symbolism behind the offering of the knightly achievements, specifically the turning of the points of the sword and axe upwards and downwards. This act was symbolically heralding-in the reign of the new king and his role as protector of the realm and of Christianity, as well as marking the end of the deceased king's reign and martial duties.

The next significant event that the heralds (including Machado) were involved in was the throwing away of the household officers' batons and the heralds' tabards. Machado writes that after Edward IV was interred, the king's Grand Seneschal, Chamberlain, Treasurer, and Comptroller threw their batons in the tomb of the king. The heralds also threw in their coats of arms which belonged to the king, and were immediately given other coats of arms of England. They put them on and cried together: 'The king lives! The king lives! The king lives!' and prayed to God saying 'Pater Noster and Ave Maria for the dead'.⁹² The discarding of staves and coats of arms was symbolic of the final breaking of the contract between the deceased king and his household.⁹³ Up until this point the heralds and the household officers were committed to serve the dead king. It was only when the cries of 'The king lives!' were called that they could now dedicate their service to the new monarch.

This point in the ceremony also had another important function. It provided a convenient intermediary point, between the death of the old monarch and the coronation of the new, where sovereign power could be symbolically transferred. This has been argued at length by Ralph Giesey, in his analysis of the French

⁹¹ The *De Exequiis Regalibus* survives in two Westminster Abbey manuscripts dating from 1383-4 and c. 1390: the *Litlyngton Missal* (WAM 37) and the *Liber Regalis* (WAM 38). The second English royal funeral ordo also incorporated and extended *De Exequiis Regalibus* and was written no later than the mid-fifteenth century for it was included in the *Liber Regie Capelle*; Given-Wilson, 'The Exequies of Edward III and the Royal Funeral Ceremony in Late Medieval England', p. 259.

⁹² CA, MS Arundel 51, fol. 14r.

⁹³ Sutton, Visser-Fuchs, and Griffiths, eds. *The Royal Funerals of the House of York*, p. 31.

Renaissance funerary ceremony.⁹⁴ He suggests that the royal funeral provided a ritualistic compromise between two conflicting traditions of kingship. Firstly, the old medieval tradition according to which the new king was not fully empowered until his coronation, and secondly, the theory that the new king exercised full sovereign power from the moment of his predecessor's death. Gieseys suggests that the moment of transference of sovereignty happened at the moment of burial.⁹⁵ Therefore, the dead king was still the sovereign until his body could be buried, and up to this point he still required the same loyalty and devotion as when he was alive. Consequently, the existence of the new monarch was not publicly recognised until his predecessor's body was in his tomb - the new monarch could not attend his predecessor's funeral, and his name could not be mentioned until the point of burial.⁹⁶

Gieseys has also suggested that the heralds' cries of 'Vive le roi' (May the king live!) were an almost magical and mysterious moment in the funeral ceremony as it vocalised, but befogged, the passing of power from one individual to another.⁹⁷ The names of the deceased and living kings were first dropped from the grave-side cries in France at Charles VIII's funeral in 1498.⁹⁸ According to Machado's narrative of Edward IV's funeral, the names of Edward IV and Edward V were left out at this moment on this occasion. Consequently, at the moment when the heralds shouted 'The king lives' and discarded their old coats of arms for new, the next king, in this case Edward V, was created. The heralds were announcing the start of Edward V's reign and their allegiance to him. Gieseys does later clarify, however, that the omission of names from the grave-side cries in Renaissance France signalled that kingship was perpetual.⁹⁹ The heir's sovereign status was still tenuous before his coronation. This is poignantly the case with Edward V, the young king who never reached his coronation.

⁹⁴ The English and French models for a monarch's funeral in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were very similar. For example, the monarch's effigy played a prominent role in both ceremonies, along with the symbolic offering of the king's knightly achievements, the discarding of the batons and coats of arms at the interment, and the herald's grave-side exalt.

⁹⁵ Ralph E. Gieseys, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France* (Geneva: Librarie E. Droz, 1960).

⁹⁶ Gieseys, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France*, p. 41; Richard A. Jackson, *Vive le Roi! A History of the French Coronation from Charles V to Charles X* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1984), p. 8; Ralph E. Gieseys, 'Inaugural Aspects of French Royal Ceremonials', in *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchical Ritual*, ed. by Janos M. Bak (Berkeley, LA, and Oxford: University of California Press, 1990), p. 40.

⁹⁷ Gieseys, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France*, p. 140.

⁹⁸ Gieseys, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France*, p. 140.

⁹⁹ Gieseys, 'Inaugural Aspects of French Royal Ceremonials', in *Coronations*, ed. by Bak, p. 40.

The heralds' grave-side cries are closely linked to the theory of the King's Two Bodies. As Giese put it, they 'dramatized the concept'.¹⁰⁰ Frederic Maitland was the first to introduce the theory to modern readers at the beginning of the twentieth century, but it was not until Ernst Kantorowicz's re-evaluation of *Plowden's Reports* (1571) that the King's Two Bodies was recognised amongst academics as a respected medieval political theology. The premise is that the king can never legally die because he has a Body Natural and a Body Politic. The Body Natural is his mortal body prone to sickness, injury, and death, whilst his Body Politic is invincible and cannot die, and where sovereign power is invested.¹⁰¹ Instead of dying, the Body Politic migrates from one monarch to the next at the monarch's demise, that is, when he either died or lost power.¹⁰² It was this metaphor that was acted out at the end of the king's funeral when the heralds' cried 'The king lives!. Up until this point the deceased king, although his Body Natural was dead, was still legally alive. This enactment of the transference of power was also seen at Henry VII's funeral in 1509 at which Machado is known to have been present because he was granted black cloth for his mourning robes by the Great Wardrobe.¹⁰³ The stewards broke their staves when the vault was closed,

and incontinent all the herauds did [take] of theire cotearmours and did hange them upon the Rayles of the herse : cryinge lamentably in French "The Noble kynge Henry the Seaventh is deade." And as soone as they had so done, everie heraud putt on his cotearmour againe and cryed with a loude voyce: "Vive Le noble Roy Henry le VIII", which is to say in englyshe tonge "God send the noble Kynge Henry the eight longe life."¹⁰⁴

If we are to believe that Machado's relationship to Henry VII was a close one, then we can imagine that the king's burial would have been an emotionally trying and sad day for Machado, who would have joined in with the lamentable cries. It was also the

¹⁰⁰ Giese, 'Inaugural Aspects of French Royal Ceremonials', in *Coronations*, ed. by Bak, p. 40.

¹⁰¹ Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997); *Documents Illustrating the Theory of the King's Two Bodies in the Age of Shakespeare*, ed. by Albert Rolls (Lampeter: Edwin Meller Press, 2006), p. 1.

¹⁰² Albert Rolls, *The Theory of the King's Two Bodies in the Age of Shakespeare* (Lampeter, Edwin Mellen Press, 2000), p. 58.

¹⁰³ NA, LC 2/1 fol. 121; *Letters and Papers: Henry VIII*, I, 13.

¹⁰⁴ BL, MS Harley 3504, fol. 259r-v; Also quoted in Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, p. 420.

beginning of a new order and nobody knew what their lives would be like under the new regime.

The breaking of the households' batons of office, like with the offering of knightly achievements, were seen at other funerals other than the monarch's, from the rank of earl upwards. Knightly achievements were offered at the funeral of Prince Arthur in 1502, as was the tradition, even though Arthur was only fifteen years old when he died and had never had the opportunity to distinguish himself in battle. The herald's account describes the mourning of the participants, showing that the event was particularly sorrowful for Arthur's household officers and personal herald, Wallingford Pursuivant:

His Officer of Armes, sore weping, toke of his cote of armes and cast it alonges over the chest, right lamentably. Then to have sen Sir William Owdale, Comptroller of his Household, sore weping and criyng, toke the staff of his office by bothe endes and over his own hed brake it and cast it into the grave, and in likewise did Sir Richard Crofte, Stuard of his Howsold, and cast his staff broken into the grave, and in likewise did the gentilmen husskers their roddes. It was a pitious sight, who had sene it.¹⁰⁵

There was no place for ostentatious demonstrations of grief in the late medieval funeral, and participants' grief is usually only briefly remarked upon in heraldic narratives.¹⁰⁶ However, in this case, the herald recorder decided to include the poignant moment when Arthur's officer of arms, Wallingford Pursuivant, and the household officers cried and wept, and reminds us of the human pain and loss that the funeral ceremony represented. The herald recorder has been identified as Garter King of Arms, John Writhe; Wallingford Pursuivant was his son, Thomas Writhe (aka Thomas Wriothesley).¹⁰⁷ Writhe may have been particularly moved by his son's grief to break with normal protocol and record it. To what extent this was real grief is uncertain, however. Yet I would argue that it was genuine considering the young age of Arthur, the fact that he was heir to throne, and had only recently married.

¹⁰⁵ CA, MS 1st M. 13, fol. 74v; *The Receyt of the Ladie Kateryne*, pp. 92-93.

¹⁰⁶ Henry VII's sorrow was also mentioned in the narratives of the funeral of Elizabeth of York, for example; Houlbrooke, 'Prince Arthur's Funeral', in *Arthur Tudor, Prince of Wales*, ed. by Gunn and Monsckton, p. 73.

¹⁰⁷ By Gordon Kipling in *The Receyt of the Ladie Kateryne*.

Royal Christenings

The throwing away of the heralds' coats of arms and their acceptance of new ones is a significant event that is also observed at other ceremonial events, most notably at the christenings of princes and princesses. Machado may have been one of the heralds at the christening of the Lady Bridget, daughter of Edward IV and younger sister to Elizabeth of York. She was born on 10 November 1480 at Eltham in Kent, where she was also christened. The only reference to the heralds is brief, but concerns the important and symbolic use of the heralds' coats of arms:

And in the Tyme of the christening The officers of Armes caste on their cotes.¹⁰⁸

Slightly more detail is given in the narrative describing Prince Arthur's christening, which Machado probably attended. Arthur's birth was met with the ringing of bells and street bonfires across the country. He was born in Winchester on 20 September 1486, but not christened until a week later because his godfather, the Earl of Oxford, was late arriving. Henry had deliberately moved his court to Winchester for the birth of his first child because he had set his genealogists the task of tracing his ancestral heritage back to the Welsh king Cadwaladr and other ancient British kings. His historians proclaimed that Henry was a direct descendant of King Arthur, and identified Winchester as his ancient seat, Camelot. Henry insisted that his wife would give birth to a son there who would bring a golden age back to England as the second King Arthur.¹⁰⁹

The christening was a sumptuous affair with Winchester Cathedral being hung with expensive Arras tapestries. An elaborate stage was built to hold the silver gilt font from Canterbury, which was decked with fine christening linen, and a great gilt canopy was erected over it. The stage was elevated by steps to allow people to see

¹⁰⁸ BL, MS Additional 6113, fols 74r-v; Pauline E. Routh, 'Princess Bridget', *The Ricardian*, 3 (1975), 12-14 (p. 13).

¹⁰⁹ A. Naylor Okerlund, *Elizabeth of York* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 55.

the baptism without 'pressing too nigh' and timber barriers were also erected to protect the celebrants from the press of people.¹¹⁰

The heralds were part of the procession into the Cathedral:

Kings of Arms and Heralds and Pursuyvants having their coats of Armes on their armes and the Serjants of Armes as they be accustomed.¹¹¹

An illustration of the christening shows the heralds carrying over their arms the tabards bearing coats of arms.¹¹²

John Alcock, Bishop of Worcester baptised the baby, first placing a pinch of salt inside his mouth to represent the preservation of both the body and soul. He then wetted the baby's ears and nostrils with the salted saliva to prevent destructive forces from entering those orifices. Oil was then rubbed on the baby's breast and back before he was immersed in the font three times (on the right side, left side, and then face downward), and the child was then named Arthur.¹¹³

When the baby prince was placed in the font for his baptism:

the Officers of Armes put on their coats and all the torches¹¹⁴ were lighted...¹¹⁵

The other Tudor prince for whose christening we have a detailed extant account is surprisingly not Henry Duke of York¹¹⁶, but Henry VII's third son Edmund Tudor, Duke of Somerset who died during infancy.¹¹⁷ Edmund was born at Greenwich on 21 February 1499, and due to the ordinances set out for royal christenings, the Grey Friars Church was decorated in a similar fashion to that of Winchester Cathedral. Once again, the heralds were part of the procession into the church, and the same act of putting their coats of arms on at the baptism was also enacted:

¹¹⁰ BL, MS Cotton Julius B. XII, fols 21v-24r; *The Antiquarian Repertory*, I, 353-357; *Leland's Collectanea*, IV, 204-207; *Heralds' Memoir*, pp. 99-106.

¹¹¹ BL, MS Cotton Julius B. XII, fol. 22v; *The Antiquarian Repertory*, I, p. 353; *Heralds' Memoir*, p. 103.

¹¹² *The Antiquarian Repertory*, I, 353.

¹¹³ Naylor Okerlund, *Elizabeth of York*, p. 59.

¹¹⁴ There were a total of 120 torches.

¹¹⁵ BL, MS Cotton Julius B. XII, fol. 23r; *The Antiquarian Repertory*, I, 355; *Heralds' Memoir*, p. 104.

¹¹⁶ Henry VIII

¹¹⁷ CA, MSS, L. 17, fols 220-221, WB., fol. 163, Leake vol. 1 fol. 177.

and whan he was put in the fonnt at ego baptiso te in nomine patris et filij et speritus garter and his company ded on ther cots of armes and published his name.¹¹⁸

The act of putting on coats of arms by the heralds represented the start of the heralds' contract of service to the heirs of the throne.

Coronations

Heralds did not have the central role at coronations that they played at funerals and christenings, although they would have been highly visible spectators. This is because although all three are sacramental the central *performative* events at a coronation are the religious acts of crowning and anointing. However, the heralds were active at other more secular events that accompanied the coronation ceremony, notably the processions, coronation banquet, and tournament. These events were just as important to the monarch in terms of legitimisation as the coronation ceremony itself, especially as these had a wider audience. For instance, the heralds were part of Henry VII's coronation procession through the City of London:

And next before them rode garter king of Armes and the maior of London on his left hande. The kinges Almoner and his esquiers for the bodie, presenting Guyen and Normandy, whose names be Willyam Newton and Davy Philipp, bearing in bawdrick wise two Mantells of Ermyns with two Lapkinges vnder the left side, and two hatts of clothe of golde the beke forward, turned also vp behinde furred with Ermyns, and before them other officers of Armes, and Sergeantes of Armes, and other estates as Dukes and Erles, and trumpettes according to a booke made of thorder by the kinges connsell.¹¹⁹

The coronation ceremony was followed by the coronation banquet in Westminster Hall. Once again the heralds would have been visible participants being seated on a separate stage to everyone else, to the right of the king's table and in sight of everyone dining. Hunt argues that the coronation banquet echoed the religious

¹¹⁸ CA, MS L. 17, fols 221r.

¹¹⁹ BL, MS Egerton 985, fol. 43v.

coronation service through the repetition of recognising the monarch as the legitimate heir and offering the potential for the monarch's legitimacy to be challenged. This was achieved through the theatre of the challenge from the King's champion.¹²⁰ During the second course of Richard III's coronation banquet, the king's champion rode into the hall. A herald stood up and proclaimed that the king's champion had come to ask if any person present would say that King Richard was not the true heir and inheritor of the crown of England and offered to maintain with his body the contrary view. After a pause, everyone shouted 'King Richard' and the champion threw down his gauntlet three times, once before the king, once in the middle of the hall and once before the door. After this all the heralds descended from their stage and Garter King of Arms proclaimed the king as King of England and France and Lord of Ireland. The remaining heralds then cried largess two or three times.¹²¹ This scene was repeated at Henry VII's coronation banquet, which is described by a herald:

As sone as the hall was seruid of the first curse having officers of Armes before him, the said champion presented him before the king, where garter principall king of Armes made an Oyis' after which he said with an high voice. If tere be any man that will, or dare saye, that this day our Soueraigne Lorde king Henrie the vijth here present is not rightfully crowned king of England, here is his champion Sir Robart Dymmock redie to make it good, and therunto casteth his Gawntelt, and then he cast his gawntelet. And when it had layne a certaine space, garter king of Armes toke it vp agayne, and deliuerid it to the kinges champion, In like wise this did in twoo other placis of the hall And when he had so done, he rode vp before the king againe, and on his horse back did his obeisance. Then the king toke a cupp, and drank therof, and set the couer vpon the cupp againe, the horse about, which was trapped with a riche trapper of Cadewaladras Armes, which horse was garnisshed and harnessed with Swearde and all other abilementes which cuppe of golde couerid he had for his fee. And the said Sir Robert agreed with Garter for his fee for the Crye, and so departed the hall... Thoffice of Armes made their obeisance three tymes, and

¹²⁰ Hunt, *The Drama of Coronation*, p. 36. The King's Champion was a hereditary office belonging to the Manor of Scrivelsby and the Dymoke family.

¹²¹ *English Coronation Records*, p. 197; *The Coronation of Richard III*, p. 45.

at the thirde tyme Garter king of Armes in the name of all thother of the office, gave vnto the kinges Majestie thankes for the largesse that his highnes gaue them that daye, which was an hundreth powndes sterling, wherof thei had xxte poundes in hande, and a warrnner for lxxx poundes to the Treasurer of England, which was the arrchbusshop of yorke Rotheram. The which after well and trewly contented and payde them, wherfore in sundrie places of the hall the king was cryed by officers of Armes as enseweth larges iij tymes. Ou treshault, trespuissant, tresexcellent Prince le tresvictorieux Roy dangletterre et de france et S' Dirland, et Du treshault, trespuissant tresexcellent Prince le treschristian Roy de france et dangleterre, S' Dirland Larges pertroys foys. And after that thoffice of Armes went vpto their Stage again.¹²²

The position of the champion's challenge after the coronation ceremony made its significance redundant and more theatrical, but as Hunt puts it, 'brings the sacred service into the secular space', and 'establishes the coronation as an on-going process or recognition, consent, and legitimisation'.¹²³ The banquet would have been a much more visible event for both participants and spectators than the religious ceremony in Westminster Abbey, and therefore, provided the perfect opportunity for the king to underpin his sovereignty.

It was not only through his own coronation that a sovereign's legitimacy could be reinforced through ceremony. Henry VII gave his consort, Elizabeth of York, a lavish coronation complete with water pageantry including a barge carrying a large replica red dragon that spouted fire.¹²⁴ Once again, the heralds played a legitimising role; they were prominent participants in the processions through London and at the coronation banquet where they had a separate table and cried largess. It is perhaps not surprising that Henry gave his Yorkist queen such an extravagant coronation. He must have wanted to reinforce the union of York and Lancaster brought about by his marriage through the processions, pageants, and ceremony, which ultimately

¹²² BL, MS Egerton 985, fol. 45v.

¹²³ Hunt, *The Drama of Coronation*, p. 36.

¹²⁴ BL, MS Egerton 985, fols 11v-26v; BL, MS Cotton Julius B. XII, fols 28-43; BL, MS. Harley 5111, fols 80-84; Bod. Lib, MS Ashmole 863, pp. 165-82; Can also be found in *Leland's Collectania*, IV, 216-233 (British Library MS. Cotton Julius B. XII, ff. 28-43) and J. Ives, *Select Papers Chiefly Relating to English Antiquities etc.etc.* (London: 1773), pp. 120-56; P. W. Hammond, 'The Coronation of Elizabeth of York', *The Ricardian*, 6(1983), pp. 270-272; A modern description of Elizabeth's coronation can be found in Naylor Okerlund, *Elizabeth of York*, Chapter 8, pp. 75-87.

strengthened his sovereign power. The coronation was also held in the wake of Henry's success at the Battle of Stoke Field, where he had defeated Yorkist supporters of the pretender Lambert Simnel, and also coincided with the holding of his second parliament. This made sure that the most number of clergy, nobles, and commoners were in London to witness the event and bask in Tudor magnificence.¹²⁵

Elizabeth's coronation is only one of two fifteenth-century coronations for which we have good documentation, the other being Richard III's in 1483.¹²⁶ We must bear in mind that Elizabeth's coronation may not have been anything out of the ordinary, and Edward IV's and Henry VII's coronations may have been equally as lavish. Indeed, the record of Catherine de Valois's coronation in 1421 in *The Great Chronicle of London* hints at a lavish affair with 'dyvers pagiantes made & all citie Richely haungid with clothe off gold & arres the citizens standyng yn order yn the stretes & the condittes Rynnyng wyne'.¹²⁷ Nevertheless, it is clear that Elizabeth's coronation was important; otherwise why go to such lengths for a consort? It is, however, interesting that the two fifteenth-century coronations that we have good records for are for a king who usurped the throne, Richard III, and a consort, Elizabeth of York, whose marriage to the king, Henry VII, helped to validate and strengthen his claim to the throne. Were the heralds asked to record these events to further legitimise them and their meaning?

The last major royal event that Machado participated in in his lifetime was probably the coronation of Henry VIII in June 1509; he was certainly given new livery from the Great Wardrobe for the occasion.¹²⁸ As discussed previously, Machado would have been in the procession to the Abbey and at the coronation banquet that followed the religious service. Edward Hall later described the banquet in 1542:

The seconde course being serued: in at the haule doore entered a knight, armed at all poyntes, his bases rich tissue embroidered, a great plume & a sumptuous of Oistriche fethers on his helmet, sittynge on a great courser, trapped in tissue, and embroidered with tharmes of England, and of France,

¹²⁵ Naylor Okerlund, *Elizabeth of York*, p. 75.

¹²⁶ Hammond, 'The Coronation of Elizabeth of York'.

¹²⁷ *The Great Chronicle of London*, ed. by A. H. Thomas and I. D. Thornley (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1983), p. 115.

¹²⁸ NA, LC 2/1 f. 148; *Letters and Papers: Henry VIII*, I, 42.

and an herald of armes before hym. And passyng through the halle, presented himself with humble reuerence, before the kynges maiestie, to who, Garter kynge of herauldes, cried and said with a loude voyce, sir knight from whence come you, and what is your pretence: This knightes name was sir Robert Dimmocke, Champion to the kyng, by tenure of his enheritance, who answered thesaied kyng of Armes, in effecte after this maner: Sir, the place that I come from, is not material, nor the cause of my repaire hether, is not concerning any matter, of any place or country, but onely this. And there with all, commanded his Heralde to make an Oyes: then saied the knight, to the kyng of armes, now shal ye here, the cause of my commyng and pretence. Then he commanded his awne Heralde, by Proclamacion to saie: if there be any persene, of what estate or degree souer he be, that wil saie or proue that king Henry the eight, is not the rightfull enheritor, and kyng of this realme, I sir Robert Dimmocke here his Champion, offer my gloue, to fight in his querell, with any persone to thutteraunce, whiche Proclamacion was made in sundery places of the halle: And at euery tyme, his gauntlette caste doun, in the maintenance therof. After whiche seuerall proclamacions doen, and offers made, thesaied knight or champion eftsones repaired to the kynges presence, demanding drinke, to whom the kynges grace sent a cup of gold, with wine, wherof after this knight had dronke, he demaunded the couer of thesaied cuppe, whiche, to hym was also deliuered: that doen, he departed out of the halle, with thesaied cup & couer as his awne...

...After the departure of thesaied Champion, the Kyng of Armes, with all the Heraldes and other officers of Armes, made Proclamacions in seuerall places of the halle, crying largesse.¹²⁹

By this point, Machado would have been an old man. Machado had turned down the position of Garter King of Arms in 1504 and in 1509 had given over most of his heraldic powers to Thomas Wriothesely, Garter King of Arms, because of his great age

¹²⁹ Hall's *Chronicle*, pp. 509-10.

and diminishing health.¹³⁰ He nevertheless had an important legitimising part to play in royal ceremonial as one of the king's senior and most experienced heralds.

Although the coronation ceremony itself was only witnessed by a privileged few and conducted entirely in Latin, the events surrounding the ceremony were witnessed by hundreds, maybe even thousands, of people of every rank. Therefore, the processions, pageants, and tournaments were just as important, if not more so, for legitimising the king's sovereignty because they had a wider audience, and the heralds were a noteworthy part of this. The heralds played little part in the pageants that accompanied royal ceremonial. These pageants have been discussed at length by scholars such as Sydney Anglo, Alice Hunt, Gordon Kipling, and Roy Strong.¹³¹ However, the heralds did contribute significantly to the chivalric tournament that often accompanied great ceremonial events.

The Heralds and the Tournament

Heralds really come into their own in the organisation and staging of tournaments that were an important part of almost every royal celebration at this period. Nevertheless, I have only been able to find one reference to Machado concerning royal jousts – as Leicester Herald at the wedding festivities of Richard Duke of York to Anne Mowbray in January 1478:

Herre ffolloweth articles of the Exercise which shalbe sett vp in Three places. ffirſt at the gate of the Kinges Pallace and therupon shall Clarenceux King of Armes with Windsor herald give attendance. The ſecond vpon the ſtandard in Cheape and therupon shall Norrey King of Armes with Leyceſter herald giue attendance. The third vpon London Bridge and therupon shall March King

¹³⁰ *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, I, 109, No. 14; Anstis, *The Register of the Most Noble Order of the Garter*, I, 367; Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry*, p. 147.

¹³¹ Examples of studies on Tudor ceremonial include Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry and Early Tudor Policy*, Gordon Kipling, *The Triumph of Honour: Burgundian Origins of the Elizabethan Renaissance* (The Hague, Leiden University Press, 1977), Hunt, *The Drama of Coronation*; Roy C. Strong, *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals, 1450-1650* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1984).

at Armes with Chester herald giue attendance. And these Officers of Armes for to obserue all the chardges to them belonging concerning the said Articles.¹³²

Machado's job was to supervise the publishing at Cheapside of the articles for the joust celebrating the wedding. The articles gave instructions for the challengers in the Joust 'with helme and shield in maner accustomed', the 'Osting harneis along a Tilt', and the striking 'with swordes and guise of Touneye'.¹³³ Details (and illustrations) of the prizes are also given:

Item he that best Justeth of the Coursers shall haue for a prise an A. of gould with a diamond and he that runeth best in hosting harneis shall haue an E. of gould with a Rubye and he that striketh best with the sword shall haue an M. of gould with an Emeraud.¹³⁴

The heralds' expertise in the identification of ensigns and arms made them the ideal choice to supervise these martial festivities.¹³⁵ When a tournament was to be held, heralds were sent out to proclaim it. They would precede or accompany knights to the joust and at the entry of each competitor onto the field they would cry his name and his famous deeds. They announced and acclaimed the victor and kept score of the joust and therefore they had to be experts in the rules. They would have known the knights' reputations and histories, and would answer questions from those watching, including the court ladies; their opinion could make or break a knight's reputation.¹³⁶ By the time Henry VII came to the throne the tasks of the heralds at tournaments also included the responsibility of enforcing the rules to ensure that the spectacle was ordered and in keeping with the chivalric virtues that it celebrated, as well as protecting the participants from unnecessary danger.¹³⁷ It was not until the reign of James I that the heralds ceased to have a role in the tournament, largely because of the decline in jousting as a noble sport at that time.¹³⁸

¹³² BL, MS Harley 69, fol. 1v; *Illustrations of Ancient State and Chivalry*, p. ix.

¹³³ BL, MS Harley 69, fol. 1v; *Illustrations of Ancient State and Chivalry*, p. ix.

¹³⁴ BL, MS Harley 69, fol. 2r; *Illustrations of Ancient State and Chivalry*, pp. x-xi.

¹³⁵ Keen, *Chivalry*.

¹³⁶ Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry*, p. 26; Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 2.

¹³⁷ Alan Young, *Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments* (London: George Philip, 1987), p. 43.

¹³⁸ Wagner, *The Records and Collections of the College of Arms*, p. 15.

Machado may have helped organise and oversee the jousts and prizes awarded at the tournament celebrating the marriage of Arthur Tudor and Katherine of Aragon. The marriage between Arthur and Katherine was long in coming about, happening thirteen years after marriage negotiations first began. But when the two young people were finally married on 14 November 1501, it was a spectacular affair inspired by magnificent Burgundian festivals.¹³⁹ That it was recorded in so much detail suggests that it was considered an especially important event at the time.¹⁴⁰ The narrative is known as *The Receyt of the Ladie Kateryne* and details Katherine of Aragon's arrival in England, her entry into London, her marriage ceremony to Prince Arthur, the disguisings and tournaments held in their honour, and finally the funeral of Arthur just five months later. Kipling says of the narrative that 'no other contemporary source preserves such a full and vivid account of the social history, visual arts, and drama in England at the opening of the sixteenth century.'¹⁴¹

The Receyt, as it survives today in College of Arms, MS 1st M. 13, was transcribed by at least four different scribes, suggesting it is not the original report that was written, but 'a fair copy of the author's rough draft, intended as a formal, literary memorial of the festival it describes.'¹⁴² The text was also not compiled until several months after the funeral of Prince Arthur, but before the death of Elizabeth of York, so between late August 1502 and early February 1503.¹⁴³ The author has been identified by Gordon Kipling as Stephen Hawes, a poet and Groom of the Chamber to Henry VII.¹⁴⁴ *The Receyt* is the most detailed account of any ceremonial event, including descriptions of the pageants, plays, dances, and disguisings, for the early Tudor period. However, the heralds are not referred to very often in the text, even in the section describing the wedding jousts. Nevertheless, other manuscripts recording the particular challenges and the scores have survived, which would have been drawn up by the heralds themselves. They include the Buckingham Challenge, the Stafford Challenge, and the Score Cheque, thought to be the oldest English jousting cheque extant.¹⁴⁵ The

¹³⁹ Kipling, *Triumph of Honour*, p. 72.

¹⁴⁰ *The Receyt*, p. xiii.

¹⁴¹ *The Receyt*, p. xiii.

¹⁴² *The Receyt*, p. xl.

¹⁴³ *The Receyt*, p. xlivi.

¹⁴⁴ For an in-depth discussion of who the author of *The Receyt* may be see *The Receyt*, pp. xlivi-l.

¹⁴⁵ Buckingham Challenge: CA, MS M. 3, ff. 24v-26v; Staffordshire County Record Office, MS D.1721/1/1, fols 425-7; BL, MS. Additional 46455, ff. 6r-8v; Suffolk Challenge: Archives of Simancas,

challenges were invitations for competitors to joust against the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Stafford, and their retinues, amongst others, which were announced at Henry VII's meeting with Archduke Philip of Burgundy at Calais in May 1500. The challenges give instructions to competitors as to how to enlist for the tournament; by hanging their shields on Trees of Chivalry. The Suffolk challenge describes that a single tree would be erected at Westminster near the tilting field. At the very top would be fixed the arms of Arthur and Katherine in honour of their marriage, and the arms of challengers would hang underneath. A ceremony would take place where the answerers to the challenge would deliver a shield of his own arms to a herald who would then hang it on the tree beneath the challengers' shields. For the Duke of Buckingham's challenge, three Trees of Chivalry were proposed for the setting of the lists: a cherry tree one side painted red and the other white. A fortnight before the wedding, the challengers would hang their shields upon the tree – on the white side if they wished to fight on the first day, or on the red if they wished to fight on the last day. A white pineapple tree would stand to the white side of the cherry tree while a red pear tree would stand on the other, the red side. A red and white fence would surround the entire area, broken by a single gate where a great horn would hang. To accept the challenge, the competitor had to blow the horn and then hang his shield on one of the smaller trees depending on which day he wished to compete. Garter King of Arms, John Writhe is thought to have been the architect of these chivalric stage settings as it was he who accompanied Henry to his Calais meeting with Philip of Burgundy, and also because he was the chief herald and would have naturally taken the lead in its execution. However, Machado (along with other heralds) is recorded as also being in attendance at this meeting, and therefore, it is possible that he also had a hand in its organisation, especially as I have argued that he held equal status to Garter at this time.¹⁴⁶ The Suffolk Challenge also charges Garter with the responsibility of circulating the articles of the tournament. A copy of the Buckingham Challenge appears in Ballard's Book (London, College of Arms, MS M. 3, fols 424v-26v), a

MS P.R. 54-14, fols 5-8; BL, MS. Additional 46455, fols 4r-6r; All the above are discussed by Kipling in *The Receyt*, pp. 95-112.

¹⁴⁶ *Letters and Papers: Richard III & Henry VII*, II, 90.

manuscript that Writhe is known to have acquired from the widow of William Ballard, March King of Arms, in around 1490.¹⁴⁷

In the end, the stage settings for the tournaments were modified, especially as the Earl of Suffolk had subsequently defected from the Tudor court to Flanders, and the Marquis of Dorset had to replace him. Only a single tree was erected for the enlisting, painted with leaves, flowers, and fruits, and the counterbalance of the shield hung from opposite sides and the horn-blowing ceremony were removed. Instead, all the shields were hung grouped together from the rails of the surrounding fence. Kipling suggests this change of staging was, in part, to express unity rather than conflict, as the groupings were undifferentiated, thus eliminating the symbolic display of opposition and combat. The main purpose was to show 'chivalric solidarity' to the Spanish contingent after the embarrassing desertion of one of the English court's most powerful nobles.¹⁴⁸ As with the whole of the festival, Burgundian-influenced allegory and pageantry were a major part of the tournament and added to the spectacle of the event.¹⁴⁹ The main purpose of a tournament by this time was to express in festival form the role the monarch played as a liege lord of his knights and as a fount of honour and virtue. It had started out as a means to train knights for battle, but had evolved during the fifteenth century to combine the arts of war and peace by the introduction of allegory, poetry, ceremonial, and music.¹⁵⁰ As Alan Young put it, Henry VII used the tournament 'as part of a broad strategy aimed at achieving national unity and an unshakable royal dynasty.'¹⁵¹

The heralds had a monetary incentive for organising and marshalling tournaments as they received a fee in the form of objects and money for their trouble. A manuscript housed in the College of Arms gives details of the fees the heralds received at the tournament organised by the Earl of Worcester in 1466/7:

First yf anye of the sayd challengers or defendantes fall to the grownde horse
and all, the said horse ought to be the officers of armes.

¹⁴⁷ *The Receyt*, pp. xxvi-xxix.

¹⁴⁸ *The Receyt*, p. xxviii.

¹⁴⁹ For a detailed discussion of the influence of Burgundy on the festivals of the Tudor period see Kipling, *Triumph of Honour*.

¹⁵⁰ Strong, *Art and Power*, pp. 11-13.

¹⁵¹ Young, *Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments*, pp. 23-4.

Item at all Justes with speares or axes that is made in close feeld the covertures of the horses behinde, the saddeks, the Cotes of Armes of the Challengers or defendantes, with all the speares axes and swordes brosed andbroken, the states wheron the said officers of armes sit belongeth vnto them.

And furthermore the kinge of armes or herehault that Xamines the said Justes shall have vj elles of skarlett and duringe the said Justes their wages, and also all the bannars standards and cotes of armes that be worne in that feelde that daye belongeth to the said officers.

Also what noble man so ever he be that entretes into the saide feelde or Justes, the furste tyme, he ought to give the officers of armes v crownes of golde for the marshallinge of his armes, that tyme and no more.¹⁵²

This is further supported by Sicily Herald who wrote in 1435 that when jousts or tournaments were proclaimed, the furniture and covering belong to the officer of arms who makes the proclamation, the spoil of arms, the preparations, the abandoned arms, banners, and pennons, *etc.* belong to officers of arms present, and also whatever is between the two lists, canvas, clothing, axes, cards and other equipment, chains and champion's tents, the lance rest on the saddle, and what can be found on the vanquished's body.¹⁵³ The first time a knight or esquire participated in a tournament he owed the office a gratuity called his *bienvenue* for his helm. If he were to take part in a joust without having participated in a tournament he would have to pay his *bienvenue* for that also.¹⁵⁴ Those who won at jousts or tournaments owed the office the wine called the prize of arms, which was given as a matter of honour.¹⁵⁵ For each blazon or achievement of arms fixed and nailed up, the owner owed the office eight *solz parisis* of ten *livre tournois* and every owner of a banner or pennon owed a gift or benevolence to the individual herald or king of arms that bore it at the tournament.¹⁵⁶ The *Droits et largesses* assigns to a king of arms the champion's tents, all the harnesses of the vanquished and any harness left on the ground at an outrance. However, if the joust was not a fight to the death, but a friendly match, the kings of

¹⁵² CA, MS M. 6, fol. 61r.

¹⁵³ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 103.

¹⁵⁴ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 103.

¹⁵⁵ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 104.

¹⁵⁶ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 104.

arms and heralds present were to only have the horse trappers and the broken lances. The king of arms or herald of the march in which the tournament was held, and who carried the arms of the host of the tournament, was entitled to 'six ells of scarlet' and his expenses were to be paid for up to the end of the tournament. Each knight owed the kings of arms and heralds a fee called *clouage* for nailing up his arms and also had to give them their masters' banners and their coats of arms and armorial horse trappers.¹⁵⁷ On 28 May 1474 a joust was held to celebrate the birth of Edward IV's son, Richard, and his creation as Duke of York. An earl was to pay the office of arms 10 marks on his entry to the joust, a baron £4, a knight 40s, an esquire 26s 8d. These were actually reductions from the original fees, which were ordered to be reduced after there were complaints that they were too excessive.¹⁵⁸ There was, however, no objection to individuals' generosity exceeding these sums.¹⁵⁹ Droits were also given to the heralds at judicial combats before the Constable and Marshal.¹⁶⁰ These fees in the form of objects are an example of how medieval lives were validated by things. Instead of just receiving monetary fees, the heralds' role in the organising and marshalling of tournaments was rewarded through the giving of objects. The objects had meaning depending on how they were used and lost during the competition; they held more significance than just a fee.

Conclusion

This chapter has focussed on the role of the herald in the ceremonies performed during the reigns of late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century monarchs. It has refuted the long held belief that the heralds organised entire royal ceremonial events, arguing instead that they were just one group out of many that were responsible for certain aspects of ceremonial. The heralds had more of an administrative rather than organisational role in royal ceremonial, having the important responsibility of recording royal ceremony for posterity and to aid the planning and execution of future ceremonial. Writing down royal ceremonial further legitimised the event and its protagonists, the monarch and his heirs. Machado was one of the heralds who was

¹⁵⁷ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 104.

¹⁵⁸ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, pp. 104-5.

¹⁵⁹ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, pp. 104-5.

¹⁶⁰ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, pp. 104-5.

trained in this vital task; he described the burial of Edward IV and was probably the unidentified herald who contributed the notes for the first part of *The Heralds' Memoir*, describing significant events and ceremonial in the early years of Henry VII's reign. Machado may have been created a herald in order to supervise the transition of the Office of Arms from a predominantly Yorkist institution loyal to Richard III into an organisation that would aid Henry Tudor in the strengthening of his burgeoning rule – by documenting the great ceremonial milestones of his reign.

By considering the heralds' engagement with objects within royal ceremony, as described in their narrative accounts, it has been argued that Machado and the heralds had a legitimising role during ceremonial events, being visible participants wearing the arms of England on their tabards, and having titles derived from the royal house; heralds were part of the trappings of kingship. Machado and the other heralds had a performative role through their interaction with objects during royal ceremonial. For example, the heralds played the important part of presenting the king's knightly achievements during his funeral, and also casting aside their old coats of arms for new, crying "The king lives!". These performative acts symbolically and ritually represented the end of the deceased monarch's rule and the beginning of the next. Objects used in ceremony had a symbolic quality that could be understood by the audience and those participating, especially important during the religious aspects of these events that would have been conducted in Latin. The heralds were also responsible for organising and marshalling the tournaments that were a feature of most royal celebrations. Once again, the heralds interacted with objects, receiving fees in the form of banners, coats of arms, tents, horse trappings, etc. that had been used and lost by competitors and because of this held more significance than just a monetary fee. Objects, therefore, were a meaningful part of the medieval ceremonial world.

Chapter 4

A Herald's Home in Tudor Southampton

The excavation of Machado's Southampton residence in the 1970s has provided us with the physical evidence for his life, which is only now being fully explored in this thesis. This chapter will recreate Machado's house and the objects used and displayed in this setting using both material and textual sources for Machado and for other Southampton residents. It is hoped that by using an interdisciplinary approach that draws upon archaeology and historiography, we will gain a greater understanding of the man who was Roger Machado and his lived experience of Southampton. As Catherine Richardson and Tara Hamling put it: 'Knowing about people's possessions is crucial to understanding their experience of daily life, the way they saw themselves in relation to their peers and their responses to and interactions with the social, cultural, and economic structures and processes which made up the societies in which they lived.'¹

Machado and the Town of Southampton

Perhaps one of the most revealing documents associated with Machado's life in Southampton is the 1488 description of the town's wards:

...and so to Mr John Dawtrey and in to the little lane to the posternegate and up again a long by Shropshire and so on that side until the Pilgrims gate and (to the little gate of the Castle over both sides un to) the said Pilgrims Gate and so upward on the other side along by Alyward Place what Richemond inhabits...²

For someone who probably did not spend a great deal of his time in Southampton, because of his heraldic commitments at court and his diplomatic obligations abroad,

¹ Hamling and Richardson, *Everyday Objects*, p. 1.

² Description of the fourth ward in *The Southampton Terrier of 1454*, ed. by Lawrence Arthur Burgess (London: H.M.S.O, 1976), p. 152.

the above description of the town wards clearly shows that Machado was well enough known for his house to become a landmark. Perhaps we could go as far as to say he was a local celebrity. Southampton was a good strategic location for Machado to choose as it provided good links to the Continent, which aided his diplomatic work and also his trading ventures. Machado would have spoken with a foreign accent, and may have had exotic dark looks, but he would not have stood out in cosmopolitan Southampton. This may be one of the reasons he chose Southampton as a base because he could come and go, and even take ship abroad, without arousing much attention; something especially important when on secret business for the king.

Southampton was a busy port town in the later Middle Ages, which had a long history of settlement spanning back into the Roman period when *Clausentum* was founded on the east side of the River Itchen soon after the invasion of AD 43. Later in the seventh and eighth centuries, Saxon Hamwic became a port of entry for the kingdom of the West Saxons, focussed around the Church of St. Mary on the west bank of the Itchen. However, Hamwic gradually declined and was finally abandoned in the tenth century in favour of settlement further west on the peninsula on the junction of the rivers Test and Itchen where it remained. Today we can still see the remains of the medieval town walls and stone undercrofts of long-gone medieval houses. English Street (now the High Street) was the central axis of the new town, and the town ran north-south with a water frontage to the west and south. It exhibits a 'ladder' pattern typical of many medieval towns, with streets running parallel to English Street, which were built-up by the time of the Norman Conquest.³ French Street was one of the main streets that ran off from English Street and was named after the French settlers that came to live in Southampton after 1066 (For a map of medieval Southampton, see Appendix D, Fig. 33).

Medieval Southampton was roughly divided into four settlement quarters. The north-west corner was occupied by the castle, whilst the south-eastern quarter was occupied by the Franciscan Friary. To the south of the castle was where the wealthiest townsfolk lived due to its good access to the town quays that lay along the western shorelines and were essential for their mercantile activities. This is where Machado lived along with many other affluent and influential merchants and civic

³ Platt, *Medieval Southampton*, p. 6.

officers. The north-eastern quarter, east of English Street, was the poorest area of the town. Here were the homes of the artisans, carters, porters, and other workers who serviced the town and worked on the quays.⁴ Southampton was divided into five parishes: St. Michael's with St. John's (the most affluent where Machado resided), St. Lawrence's, Holy Rood, All Saints, and St. Mary's. The first four lay entirely within the medieval walls. All Saints lay partly within the town, partly outside to the north, and St. Mary's lay entirely outside the eastern wall of the town in what was previously the Anglo-Saxon settlement of Hamwic.

A charter of Henry VI dated to 1447 records that Southampton 'abounds in merchants, sailors and mariners who flock from distant parts to that town with an immense quantity of cargoes, galleys and ships plying with merchandise to the port there'.⁵ This is confirmed by the extant port and brokerage books kept by the town. These are invaluable sources of information for trade in fifteenth-century Southampton. Their main purpose was to record monies due from customs and fees for the use and upkeep of amenities provided by the town. The port books dealt with all goods entering and leaving the town via the sea, and recorded customs due on goods unloaded from ships, and fees payable for anchorage, wharfage, and cranage.⁶ The brokerage books dealt with all goods passing through the Bargate (the main exit by road to the north) in or out of the town, and they also recorded customs due, and also pontage and brokerage.⁷ They reveal a hive of commercial activity in the town that was in fact largely in the hands of foreigners, especially the Italian merchants.⁸ Nonetheless, it is uncommon to find anyone who lived in Southampton at this time not partaking in some form of mercantile activity whatever their nationality.

Colin Platt estimated that the population of Southampton in 1524 was between 1,750 and 1,950 inhabitants, but another estimate proposes a population of over 2,000

⁴ Duncan H. Brown, 'The Social Significance of Imported Medieval Pottery', in *Not So Much a Pot, More a Way of Life*, ed. by C. G. Cumberpatch and P. W. Blinkhorn (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1997), p. 97.

⁵ *The Charters of the Borough of Southampton*, ed. by H. W. Gidden, 2 vols (Southampton: Southampton Record Society, 1909-10), I, 70-1; Also quoted in Platt, *Medieval Southampton*, p. 153.

⁶ Anchorage was the fee for anchoring in the harbour. Wharfage was the fee for tying up at the wharf. Cranage was the fee for the use of the town crane when unloading.

⁷ Pontage was a standard penny per vehicle entering or leaving the town through the Bargate and was used for the maintenance of the bridge and the ditch it crossed. Brokage was a toll unique to Southampton, originally a fee for the arranging the hauling of goods, and varied according to the distance of the destination.

⁸ Platt, *Medieval Southampton*, p. 152.

people at this time, rising to 4,200 in 1596.⁹ A substantial community of Italians was drawn there for the trade in English cloth and wool, but also traded in spices, eastern drugs and medicinal plants, perfumes, jewels, silk, carpets, and cotton. From Italy came oak galls, black furs, lamb skins, sulphur, and brimstone amongst a multitude of other goods.¹⁰ The Italians came to dominate the trade of the port to the virtual exclusion of other aliens by the mid-fifteenth century.¹¹ Italian merchants and burgesses who traded to Italy were also the wealthiest inhabitants of fifteenth-century Southampton.¹² Some rose to hold prominent positions within the town government. For example, Christopher Ambrose, a Florentine by birth, was a prominent merchant in Southampton in the late fifteenth century dealing in wine, cloth, leather, alum, and woad. He rose to become bailiff in 1481-2, sheriff in 1483-4, and alderman in 1488, and was mayor twice in 1486-7 and in 1497-8.¹³ Some Italian firms established permanent branches of their business in the town, especially the Florentines, Lucchese, and Genoese. For example, Bartolomoeo Marmora, a Florentine, established himself in the town during the reign of Henry V and married an English woman, Agnes, who later went on to marry William Overy Senior, noted above.¹⁴ The Spynell family ran a prominent Genoese firm in Southampton with whom Machado had some dealings.¹⁵

The Italians lived in the neighbouring parishes of St. Michael's and St John's, principally along the busy thoroughfares of Bugle Street and West Street which linked the Wool House with the West Gate and the Galley Quay, in substantial homes like West Hall on Bugle Street, Bolehall on the corner of Bugle Street and West Street, and Polymond Hall on French Street.¹⁶ They were willing to pay higher rents than English tenants could afford for the best accommodation in the town. As a result they rented some of the finest houses in Southampton. For instance, West Hall was let out

⁹ Platt, *Medieval Southampton*, p. 184; Thomas Beaumont James, 'The Geographical Origins and Mobility of the Inhabitants of Southampton, 1400-1600', pp. 28-9; *Southampton Probate Inventories*, p. xiii.

¹⁰ Alwyn A. Ruddock, *Italian Merchants and Shipping in Southampton, 1270-1600* (Southampton: University College, Southampton, 1951), p. 72; Platt, *Medieval Southampton*, p. 152.

¹¹ Ruddock, *Italian Merchants*, p. 3.

¹² Collin Platt, Richard Coleman-Smith, and A. S. Burn, *Excavations in Medieval Southampton, 1953-1969*, 2 vols (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1975), I, 36.

¹³ Platt, *Medieval Southampton*, p. 229.

¹⁴ Ruddock, *Italian Merchants*, p. 121.

¹⁵ *Select Cases in the Exchequer Chamber*, p. 98.

¹⁶ Ruddock, *Italian Merchants*, p. 130-1.

to a string of Italian tenants, including Angelo de Aldobrandi, who set up his establishment there with Christopher Ambrose as his clerk, for the princely sum of £13 13s 4d a year (See map in Appendix D, Fig 33 for its location).¹⁷ Machado paid 13s 6d annually for his residence on Simnel Street. This seems a low sum in comparison, but he probably had a second residence in London. It is also difficult to compare property rental prices for medieval Southampton because it is not always clear if individuals were renting out all or part of the tenement, or whether they used it for domestic or business purposes. It is also unknown how rent was calculated making comparison very difficult.

Southampton had a vibrant and dynamic local government. In 1445, Southampton became fully incorporated: 'the town shall be forever incorporate of one mayor, two bailiffs, and the burgesses'. These and their successors 'shall be one perpetual community, incorporate in word and deed by the name of the mayor, bailiffs and burgesses of that town, and shall have perpetual succession'.¹⁸ The burgesses were elected freemen who on election had to swear an oath of allegiance:

You shall be faithful and loyal to our lord the king and his heirs; you shall maintain the franchise of the town and the points of the gild; you shall keep secret their counsel; you shall, upon reasonable summons, come to the courts and assemblies; you shall enter into no partnership with any stranger by which the customs of the said town would be lessened; you shall not hold, or suffer to be held, except by common consent of the said town, any meetings or assemblies by which any man of the said town may be damaged or defrauded; and if any such confederacies or evil combinations shall come to your knowledge, by your oath you shall cause to be warned the mayor and the good people [of the town] to hinder such iniquitous practice; with your best skill, and with your body, goods and chattels, you shall maintain the above points. So help you God and the Saints.¹⁹

¹⁷ Ruddock, *Italian Merchants*, p. 131.

¹⁸ Platt, *Medieval Southampton*, p. 166.

¹⁹ Platt, *Medieval Southampton*, p. 56; *The Oak Book of Southampton of c. AD 1300*, ed. by P. Studer, 2 vols (Southampton: Southampton Record Society, 1910-11), I (1910), 22-3

Under the terms of Southampton's incorporation, the burgesses were entitled to hold lands and elect officers; the mayor would be protected against the intervention of powerful royal officials; a new staple formalised the already ancient exclusion of foreigners from retail trade; the proceeds of outlawries were to be absorbed by the town funds; and there was now protection for the town against arbitrary requisitions of food stuffs by the provisors of the crown. In 1447, further powers were granted to the burgesses when Southampton became independent from the 'county of Southampton' (Hampshire), becoming the 'county of the town of Southampton'. This was quite an honour and privilege as relatively few places were granted this, Bristol being another example. Southampton was now entitled to a sheriff, who was elected by the burgesses from amongst themselves. In 1451, further definition of Southampton's independence was sought by further developing the mayor's powers to include the office of Steward, the Marshal, and the Admiral. Therefore, by the mid-fifteenth century, local government was effectively in the hands of the burgesses. In 1461, another charter was enacted to re-affirm their judicial rights. It confirmed the scope of the borough court in civil law actions and recognised regular practice of weekly meetings in the Guildhall, above the Bargate. A recorder to the panel of justices of the peace was added to the list of civic officials, and power was also given to a quorum of justices to investigate felonies committed within the borough limits. Court fines were assigned to pay the fee farm, but from August 1480 it became lawful for the mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses (and their successors) to annex all such fines to their own use and profit.²⁰ Machado was one of these burgesses, having been made a free burgess in 1491.²¹

Southampton became a popular place for aspiring men in the later fifteenth century. After 1485, there were many who had some connection with Henry VII, including a number of Welsh men who suddenly appear in the town's civic records.²² Thomas Thomas was an MP in 1495 and controller of customs in Southampton from 1486 to 1509. He was also constable in the latter part of the reign of Henry VII.²³ John Walsh was made a free burgess in 1491 (the same year that Machado achieved this honour

²⁰ Platt, *Medieval Southampton*, pp. 166-7.

²¹ *The Book of Fines*, p. 15

²² Cheryl Butler, pers. comm.

²³ Platt, *Medieval Southampton*, p. 259; *The Southampton Steward's Book of 1492-93 and the Terrier of 1495*, ed. by Anne Elizabeth Thick (Southampton: Southampton Records Society, 1995), p. 114.

and responsibility), bailiff in 1491, sheriff in 1493, and mayor from 1494 to 1496. He was a major trader in tin and leased the town's tin house.²⁴ The man responsible for granting a number of free burgesses in 1491 was Thomas Overy, the son of William Overy Junior who was attainted for involvement in the Buckingham Rebellion.

As well as granting free burgess-ships to Machado and Walshe, Thomas Overy also granted them to John Dawtrey (from Petworth, Sussex), Maurice Whitehead, William Uvedale, and Thomas Troys.²⁵ John Dawtrey owned the property that is now known as Tudor House. He was a Parliamentary Burgess in 1485 and a controller of customs in 1515.²⁶ Sir William Uvedale was one of the commissioners of array for Hampshire in the 1460s and is probably the William Ovedale that was granted the captaincy of Porchester Castle in Hampshire by Richard Duke of Gloucester as Protector of England.²⁷ He was also instructed along with Roger Kelsale and William Berkely, to victual the ships that were to pursue Sir Edward Woodville in 1483. Thomas Troys was a peyser of the town in 1485, clerk at the works at the manor of Clarendon in Wiltshire, and escheator of Wiltshire and Hampshire.²⁸ Nothing is currently known of Maurice Whitehead. Southampton men usually had to pay a fee to become a burgess, and thus it was unusual for Southampton mayors to grant a burgess-ship for free. Perhaps Overy was awarding these men this honour because of their relationship to the Tudor crown. Henry VII drew on this relationship when in 1497 he called on the support of Southampton men when Perkin Warbeck was captured at Beaulieu Abbey just a few miles across Southampton Water. The town was rewarded for their involvement with the mayor, John Ward, receiving £40 from the king on behalf of Southampton.²⁹

Machado was, therefore, living in a vibrant cosmopolitan town that had a well-established local government, which Machado joined as a burgess. It was a popular place to be for the aspiring men of the new Tudor regime. Machado chose to live in

²⁴ *The Southampton Steward's Book of 1492-93 and the Terrier of 1495*, p. 114-5.

²⁵ *The Book of Fines*, p.15.

²⁶ Platt, *Medieval Southampton*, p. 238; *The Southampton Steward's Book of 1492-93 and the Terrier of 1495*, p. 105.

²⁷ *The Black Book of Southampton*, ed. by A. B. Wallis Chapman, 3 vols (Southampton: Cox & Sharland, 1912-15) I (1912), 127; Charles Ross, *Richard III* (London: Eyre Methuen, 1981), p. 76.

²⁸ *The Black Book of Southampton*, I, 156.

²⁹ NA, E 36/126 fol. 37v; NA, EXT 6/140; SCRO, SC 5/3/1 fol. 20v; SCRO SC 5/1/24a fol. 2r;

the wealthy merchant quarter of the town and became a well-known face amongst the town's inhabitants.

Machado's Material Life and Southampton High Society

From May 1976 to February 1977, Southampton Archaeological Research Committee excavated medieval tenements 423 and 424 on the corner of Upper Bugle Street and Simnel Street in the west quarter of the old walled town in Southampton. It was typical of many tenement excavations in the town, revealing the stone undercrofts of the medieval buildings that once occupied the site (See Appendix D, Fig. 33 for a map of its location). According to the God's House Rentals, from 1384 tenements 423 and 424 were combined to create one tenement.³⁰ This was confirmed by the archaeological evidence, which showed that during the fourteenth century there was a major re-planning of the site.³¹ This created a large tenement, which was extended further so that it began to encroach on the castle ditch behind it. It is difficult to say what the house that once stood above the undercrofts looked like, but the surviving narrow walls suggest that they were dwarf supporting walls for a timber-framed structure. During the excavation a wardrobe at the back of tenement 423 and a tunnel-like feature in tenement 424 were found containing significant quantities of high-quality artefacts. High-status imported pottery, including vibrantly decorated Italian maiolica, and luxury Venetian glass vessels were amongst the artefacts excavated, suggesting that someone of especially high-standing in the town had once lived there. The ceramics are dated to c.1490-1510 and the glass is similarly dated to the end of the fifteenth century.³²

Fragments of the same glass vessels were found in different stratigraphic layers within the tunnel and wardrobe suggesting that these features were filled-in in one event, or over a very short period of time, in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. Once reconstructed, many of the vessels were found to be near complete

³⁰ *The Cartulary of God's House, Southampton*, II, 289-291.

³¹ M. Shaw, 'Upper Bugle Street III Report', (unpublished excavation report, Southampton Archaeological Research Committee).

³² Duncan H. Brown, *Pottery in Medieval Southampton c. 1066-1510* (York: Council for British Archaeology, 2002); R. J. Charleston, 'Glass Report UBS III', (unpublished finds report, Southampton Archaeological Research Committee).

suggesting that they may have been thrown away whole rather than broken. This also suggests that the artefact assemblage was potentially in use at the same time before its disposal. Evidence from contemporary sites suggests the possibility that the imported ceramics and Venetian glass were bought and used for a specific occasion(s). For instance, excavations at Acton Court, a moated manor house in South Gloucestershire, unearthed large assemblages of exotic pottery (including maiolica, Martincamp flasks, and Beauvais wares) and Venetian glass vessels dumped in the primary fill of the moat. They were probably bought exclusively for Henry VIII's visit during his 1535 progress, and then disposed of soon after the event.³³

Southampton's comprehensive collection of civic records dating back well into the medieval period has meant that, in some cases, individual properties and tenements can be identified with known individuals. Inspection of the textual sources for tenements 423 and 424 revealed that a man known as 'Rychmont' lived there from 1486 to 1497, around the time that the deposits of artefacts were made. It is without doubt that this man was Roger Machado. It was not uncommon for heralds to be known by their heraldic title in the medieval period. Roger Machado has long been identified as Richmond in the Southampton civic records: in the Book of Remembrance for 1486 Machado is referred to as 'Richemond kyng of herawds' and 'Richmond herald of arms'; he is 'Richmond' in the Steward's Book of 1492-3; and 'Richemond' in the Book of Fines in 1491.³⁴ He is only referred to once by his personal name, when he was created a free burgess in 1491.³⁵ The use of Richmond in Southampton's civic records clearly shows that Machado's heraldic role and relationship to Henry VII was well-known, and was probably encouraged by Machado himself to bolster his own social standing within the town.

It is probable that the deposits of artefacts from tenements 423 and 424 were from a midden or middens, which were dumped into the garderobe and tunnel. This would

³³ Robert Bell and K. A. Rodwell, *Acton Court: The Evolution of an Early Tudor Courtier's House* (London: English Heritage, 2004), p. 333; Alan G. Vince and Robert Bell, 'Sixteenth-century Pottery from Acton Court, Avon', in *Everyday and Exotic Pottery from Europe, c. 650-1900: Studies in Honour of John G. Hurst*, ed. by David Gaimster and Mark Redknapp (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1992), pp. 101-12; Matthew Johnson, *An Archaeology of Capitalism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), p. 182.

³⁴ *The Cartulary of God's House, Southampton*, II, 289-291; *The Book of Remembrance of Southampton*, ed. by H. W. Gidden, 3 vols (Southampton: Southampton Record Society, 1927-30), III (1930), 40, 109; *The Southampton Steward's Book of 1492-93 and the Terrier of 1495*, p. 8; *The Book of Fines*, p. 17.

³⁵ *The Book of Fines*, p. 15.

explain the occurrence of shards of the same vessel in different stratigraphic layers. The laws of fifteenth-century Southampton forbade littering of the streets with kitchen or butchers' waste and also required that dung hills should not be left more than two days.³⁶ This stringent approach to the disposal of waste may have been because contemporary medical opinion believed that disease was spread by bad odours carried by the breeze. The result was a decline in the digging of cess pits that would be left open to the elements, and an increase in the use of closed structural features to dispose of waste.³⁷ The garderobe and tunnel, therefore, provided convenient locations to dispose of rubbish. Animal bone and shell fish, building debris and scrap iron were littered amongst the more deluxe objects, which may also support this theory. Other garderobes, wells, and rubbish pits have been excavated in medieval Southampton that were also used to dispose of unwanted materials suggesting that the disposal of rubbish in this way was not uncommon. Space in the town would have been limited and there were no such things as the large land-fill sites we have today. People therefore had to be resourceful when disposing of their rubbish. Alternatively, the tenant (either Machado or, more likely, the following tenant) may have wished to re-plan the interior of the property, which involved closing-off the now unwanted garderobe and tunnel. Therefore, a midden, accumulated during Machado's occupancy, was then deposited into the garderobe and tunnel, which had previously been maintained.

Although it is impossible to state definitively that the objects excavated from Southampton tenements 423 and 424 were Machado's, it is probable that he owned near identical things as Continental ceramics and Venetian glass occur from other similar excavations in Southampton. To further understand Machado's material life, we can supplement and compare the archaeology of Machado's life in Southampton with his inventory of 1484.³⁸ We can also compare Machado's possessions with other medieval and early modern Southampton citizens through other excavations in Southampton and extant probate inventories. With this in mind, we can start to form a picture of his life there: the type of house he lived in, how he furnished it, the objects he owned and how they were used.

³⁶ Platt, *Medieval Southampton*, p. 171.

³⁷ Platt, Coleman-Smith, and Burn, *Excavations in Medieval Southampton*, I, 34.

³⁸ CA, MS Arundel 51, fol. 19.

Machado's House

Although little of Machado's house remains, we can still gain a picture of what it was like from other standing buildings in Southampton. The Medieval Merchants House is a restored fourteenth-century timber-framed structure with a stone-built undercroft and is a good example of what a typical house in Southampton may have looked like when Machado was living there. Inventories can also help reconstruct the late medieval home by providing an idea of the types of rooms and how they were fitted and furnished.³⁹ By the thirteenth century a consensus had largely been reached about the organisation of domestic space. Medieval houses typically had three basic parts: a hall, chamber(s), and services. Only the smallest urban houses, or the poorest, were unable to accommodate all three.⁴⁰

Houses from fifteenth-century Southampton were typically built of timber with stone cellars or undercrofts. Judging by the excavation records of Machado's residence, his house would have been similarly constructed. Timber offered flexibility, which other materials (such as stone) did not. Houses could be built and re-built to suit the changing needs of the owner and to reflect their wealth and status. However, the hall, chamber, and services were always arranged in a recognisable manner so that a visitor would be able to quickly understand the organisation of space.⁴¹ Goldberg and Kowaleski describe this as ' "domestic" geography that fostered hospitality, privacy, orderliness and the routine management of time within the stability and security of the home.'⁴²

³⁹ For example, Felicity Riddy, 'Burgeis' Domesticity in Late-Medieval England', in *Medieval Domesticity: Home, Housing and Household in Medieval England*, ed. by P. J. P. Goldberg and Maryanne Kowaleski (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 14-36; *Southampton Probate Inventories*; Karen Parker, 'A Comparison of Winchester and Southampton House Interiors and Furnishings from Probate Inventories, 1447-1575' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Winchester, 2009).

⁴⁰ Mark Gardiner, 'Buttery and Pantry and their Antecedents: Idea and Architecture in the English Medieval House', in *Medieval Domesticity: Home, Housing and Household in Medieval England*, ed. by P. J. P. Goldberg and Maryanne Kowaleski (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 37.

⁴¹ Gardiner, 'Buttery and Pantry and their Antecedents', in *Medieval Domesticity*, ed. by Goldberg and Kowaleski, p. 37.

⁴² P. J. P. Goldberg and Maryanne Kowaleski, eds., *Medieval Domesticity: Home, Housing and Household in Medieval England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 4.

Southampton houses were usually set gable-end to the street frontage taking up most, if not all, of the tenement width and sprawling back from the street along the tenement boundary. A Southampton house was likely to be fronted by a shop or a room for storage with a hall and chambers to the rear, with cellars below. The cellars mentioned in the extant probate inventories for Southampton citizens refer to the undercrofts that have been found and excavated in the town. They were used as shops, combining selling-places, showrooms, stockrooms, and workshops, and were possibly built on a speculative basis for letting-out to retail traders. This is supported by extant probate inventories as they were often used to store commodities such as wine, cloth, iron, lead, salt, and soap.⁴³ They could be let out separately from the main dwelling as they usually had access from the street and only rarely had access from the building above.⁴⁴ They generally had wide doorways, dog-legged stairs or steep steps wide enough for a barrel to fit, benches, fireplaces, and hand rails to staircases suggesting that they were in habitual use and that at least the front part could have been used as a shop.⁴⁵ Typically, a tenement of two storeys would have another chamber or solar over the shop, whilst the hall could be extended to the full height of the building. These rooms would have been decorated with painted wall hangings made from cloth and paper, with the wealthiest being able to afford imported tapestries from Flanders and Burgundy.⁴⁶ The hall would have been the most sumptuously decorated room as it was the most public space in the house. Less attention was lavished on the more private rooms, which only a few members of the household would have used.⁴⁷ The kitchen, latrines, and other out-buildings would have been located in the back yard.⁴⁸

⁴³ *Southampton Probate Inventories*, p. xvi.

⁴⁴ Platt, *Medieval Southampton*, p. 80.

⁴⁵ Platt, *Medieval Southampton*, p. 81.

⁴⁶ Parker, 'A Comparison of Winchester and Southampton House Interiors and Furnishings from Probate Inventories', pp. 51-64.

⁴⁷ Parker, 'A Comparison of Winchester and Southampton House Interiors and Furnishings from Probate Inventories', p. 74.

⁴⁸ Platt, Coleman-Smith, and Burn, *Excavations in Medieval Southampton*, I, 26.

Interior Furnishings

As noted previously, Machado's inventory of 1484 lists transportable objects, rather than more substantial items such as furniture and interior fittings (See Appendix B, No. iii). However, the surviving inventories for medieval and early modern citizens in Southampton provide a glimpse of how they furnished their homes, and we can reasonably assume that Machado furnished his Southampton residence similarly. The majority of inventories extant for medieval and early modern Southampton are from probate records and cover the years 1447 to 1575.⁴⁹ However, the majority fall within the years 1551 and 1575, with only 14 out of a total of 125 dating to before 1551. There is only one inventory that dates to the time of Machado's residency in Southampton. They show the high-level of material well-being of the men and women of the high and middling classes living in Southampton at this time.⁵⁰

Probate inventories list all moveable goods and chattels. In the Southampton inventories, items are usually listed by room and their monetary value is also noted. Unsurprisingly, merchants, along with drapers and grocers, are the wealthiest and most numerous occupational groups represented.⁵¹ The probate inventories provide evidence for the furnishings and objects that do not survive in the archaeological record. However, certain things must be borne in mind when using them to reconstruct the internal furnishings of a house. Probate inventories are made for a specific reason - to list all the moveable contents of the house after the owner's death. Therefore, appraisers saw no need to record any fixed items, such as fireplace surrounds. It is also not certain that objects were necessarily in the same rooms that in which they were used when the owner lived there. They could have been moved into other rooms for ease of storage or to make them easier to record.⁵²

Matthew Salmon was mayor of Southampton in 1494 and may have been an acquaintance of Machado's. His probate inventory dated 1495 lists hangings, spruce tables and cushions amongst items in the Hall totalling £3 4s 8d; in the Parlour were a

⁴⁹ *Southampton Probate Inventories*.

⁵⁰ Platt, *Medieval Southampton*, p. 183.

⁵¹ *Southampton Probate Inventories*, p. xiv.

⁵² Parker, 'A Comparison of Winchester and Southampton House Interiors and Furnishings from Probate Inventories', pp. 1-2.

painted cloth, a feather bed and bolster, along with other things totalling £10 8s 4d.⁵³ Matthew's inventory clearly illustrates his high status amongst the town's inhabitants. Beds were the most expensive items of furniture in the home at this time, and therefore often bequeathed in wills. The word bed in the inventories usually refers to the lowest mattress that would have been placed onto a bedstead.⁵⁴ There were different types of bedstead, the most common being the standing bed. It would dominate the room, being raised up from the floor on legs, and had posts for supporting the overhead tester (which could be made of wood or textile). Colourful hangings could be displayed to great effect from these beds. Beds were desirable things to show off at this time because they were expensive items that could be decked out in costly textiles.⁵⁵ This may explain why a feather bed was listed in Matthew Salmon's parlour. Machado lists a green coverlet in his inventory of 1484, which could have been used to cover a bed. However, it may have had another use as the inventory does specify that it was for use on Sundays. Perhaps it was an item of clothing worn as his Sunday best.

Long tables and round tables were used in the centre of a room, and the dining table (which was long and narrow) was usually found in the hall. Smaller tables for general use were also common, occasionally having shelves and drawers.⁵⁶ Seating was provided by settles, benches, chairs, and stools.⁵⁷ Cupboards could either refer to a cup-board, which was like a sideboard where drinking vessels and plate were displayed, or an enclosed piece of furniture with doors for storing food.⁵⁸ There are frequent references to chests, coffers, trunks, and fossers in the Southampton inventories. These were necessary items for storage at this time when objects were frequently moved around. The majority of chests would have been made from wood (oak, walnut, chestnut, and beech) which was joined or boarded. Chests made from 'sypers' or wood of the cypress or cedar tree were also popular for their protection against moths and therefore suitable for storing clothing and linen. The majority

⁵³ For the full transcription of Matthew Salmon's probate inventory see *Southampton Probate Inventories*, pp. 10-11.

⁵⁴ Parker, 'A Comparison of Winchester and Southampton House Interiors and Furnishings from Probate Inventories', pp. 193-5; *Southampton Probate Inventories*, p. xix.

⁵⁵ *Southampton Probate Inventories*, p. xix

⁵⁶ *Southampton Probate Inventories*, p. xx.

⁵⁷ *Southampton Probate Inventories*, p. xxi.

⁵⁸ *Southampton Probate Inventories*, p. xxii.

would have been imported from Italy, particularly from Venice, with some also being imported from Flanders and Rouen. Some were decorated with carvings, or inset with bone, and others were described as 'black' or covered in leather. Many of the chests were bound with strips of iron or plated iron and were accompanied by locks and keys. Occasionally there are references to chests which were placed at the end of the bed, the safest place in the home for storage over-night.⁵⁹ There are chests listed in Machado's inventory, one for storing books and letters (perhaps Machado kept his memorandum book in there), a coffer of spruce, and another of leather decorated/bound with iron.

Southampton citizens liked to cover their walls with wall hangings that could be painted or stained, made of fabric or tapestry, leather or paper. Walls could also be panelled with wood or decorated with painted plaster. The main purpose was to provide warmth, colour, and comfort to rooms, but they could also display the owner's wealth and status.⁶⁰ Painted or stained hangings were the poor man's tapestries as they were cheaper to produce than the more expensive imported tapestries. Tapestries were owned exclusively by the wealthiest people in early modern Southampton, and during Machado's life-time would only have been obtainable from Flanders and Burgundy, the most sumptuous being produced in Arras. As a consequence, references to tapestries in Southampton are rare because they were such luxury items.⁶¹

Floors could be made of various materials including paving stones, tiles, marble, or hard plaster, with wood being the most common because it was light and was ideal for upper floors.⁶² Floor coverings are rarely listed in the inventories, maybe because they were rare in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Several wealthy Southampton citizens did, however, have rush mats.⁶³

⁵⁹ *Southampton Probate Inventories*, p. xxiii.

⁶⁰ Parker, 'A Comparison of Winchester and Southampton House Interiors and Furnishings from Probate Inventories', p. 51.

⁶¹ Parker, 'A Comparison of Winchester and Southampton House Interiors and Furnishings from Probate Inventories', pp. 51-64.

⁶² Flooring was not treated as moveable, but sometimes used to describe a room; Parker, 'A Comparison of Winchester and Southampton House Interiors and Furnishings from Probate Inventories', p. 96.

⁶³ Parker, 'A Comparison of Winchester and Southampton House Interiors and Furnishings from Probate Inventories', p. 97.

During Machado's residency, the majority of Southampton homes would have only been partly glazed. Excavations in medieval Southampton have yielded some examples of window glass. For instance, the excavations along the High Street (formerly English Street) and Cuckoo Lane between 1966 and 1969 produced fragments of window glass from rubbish pits.⁶⁴ However, window glass is of poor quality and degrades faster than fine vessel glass, which perhaps explains why we do not find more window glass in the archaeological record. Lattice was therefore often used in windows in place of glass, especially for lower status rooms. Lattice was made of thin strips or rods of wood or wicker which were attached into a wooden frame in a criss-cross pattern to form diamond-shaped openings. An animal membrane or a waxed, greased, or oiled cloth was stretched and attached to a separate frame and pushed into the window opening to prevent draughts, but still let in the light through the lattice.⁶⁵ Window shutters could also be added and attached by hinges to the inner side of windows. They could have a single or double door and were usually divided horizontally so that different sections could be covered or uncovered as required. They would have been used to provide privacy as well as to give extra warmth when necessary.⁶⁶ Window curtains were rare in the sixteenth century (and probably even rarer in the fifteenth century), but surprisingly 69 references are made to window curtains in 21 of the Southampton probate inventories. They were either red and green, or just green and would have been hung by rings from iron rods. This is confirmed by the recording of 50 rods in Southampton inventories (14 of iron). There would usually have been only one curtain to a window, which could have been drawn to one side or draped to the side and held by a cord, for instance, the 1573 inventory of Robert Sende.⁶⁷ Curtains are listed in the chambers, parlours, halls, and studies of Southampton citizens, all considered high-status rooms.⁶⁸

⁶⁴ Platt, Coleman-Smith, and Burn, *Excavations in Medieval Southampton*, I, 265, 267, 311, 316.

⁶⁵ Parker, 'A Comparison of Winchester and Southampton House Interiors and Furnishings from Probate Inventories', p. 75.

⁶⁶ Parker, 'A Comparison of Winchester and Southampton House Interiors and Furnishings from Probate Inventories', p. 77.

⁶⁷ Parker, 'A Comparison of Winchester and Southampton House Interiors and Furnishings from Probate Inventories', p. 91-2.

⁶⁸ Parker, 'A Comparison of Winchester and Southampton House Interiors and Furnishings from Probate Inventories', p. 93.

The only means of lighting interiors at this time was by candlelight, rush lights, or oil lamps. Lanterns were used outdoors and for entries to buildings and possibly for carrying along corridors, and oil lamps were only used by the poorest and therefore occur very infrequently in the surviving inventories. Candles are the most common form of lighting in the Southampton inventories and would have provided a very different atmosphere to what we experience today. Light would have been limited to certain areas and would have flickered and guttered, emitting a strong-smelling smoke and dripping fat (white beeswax candles were only available to the very wealthy). Candlesticks were one of the most cherished items a person could own in the Tudor period and as a result they were often bequeathed in wills. They could be made from antler, brass, iron, latten, pewter, silver, silver-gilt, tin, ceramic, and wood, the most popular being brass and latten. Examples of candlesticks have been excavated from medieval Southampton. A bronze candlestick was excavated from the Cuckoo Lane site and a fragment of a ceramic candlestick was found in a rubbish pit on the 1960s High Street site. Both, however, are dated to the seventeenth century.⁶⁹ More recently, a copper-alloy candlestick dating to the mid-sixteenth century was excavated from a pit in tenement 237 (otherwise known as Polymond's Hall) in the French Quarter of the town (See Appendix D, Fig. 33).⁷⁰ Candlesticks would have been placed lower than lighting fittings are today, for ease of access when lighting and for trimming. However, few inventories give any indication of where candlesticks would have been placed in the room.⁷¹

Continental Ceramics

Pottery is ubiquitous from excavations in medieval Southampton as it is one of the most durable types of material in the archaeological record. Imported continental wares feature heavily, especially from the wealthy merchant quarter of the town where Machado lived. However, ceramic vessels are rarely recorded in contemporary

⁶⁹ Platt, Coleman-Smith, and Burn, *Excavations in Medieval Southampton*, II, 165, 268.

⁷⁰ Richard Brown and Alan Hardy, eds., *Trade and Prosperity, War and Poverty: An Archaeological and Historical Investigation into Southampton's French Quarter* (Oxford: Oxford Archaeology), pp. 100, 175, No. 58.

⁷¹ Parker, 'A Comparison of Winchester and Southampton House Interiors and Furnishings from Probate Inventories', pp. 110-134.

inventories because of their low monetary value compared to metal vessels, so the archaeological record is paramount in understanding the other types of artefact that were used day-to-day in fifteenth-century Southampton. The social and cultural value of ceramics at this time should, however, not be under-estimated just because they were not deemed expensive enough to record.

Fifteenth-century high-status inhabitants of Southampton owned an assortment of high-quality imported ceramics. Duncan Brown has extensively studied the medieval pottery from Southampton, and consequently there is no need for me to go into any great length here about the different pottery types and forms that have been excavated.⁷² Nevertheless, I have chosen a handful of excavated assemblages that illustrate some of the types of ceramics that the town's elite owned and used for the purposes of comparing them to Machado's ceramics, and to illustrate the material life of the town.

As noted previously, a wide selection of pottery was excavated from the tunnel and garderobe under Machado's house, including local wares and a substantial quantity of imported continental ceramics. Several near-complete examples of local Late Medieval Well-fired Sandy ware were excavated, including a large pantheon and a cooking pot (Appendix A, Figs 1 and 2).⁷³ A wide variety of French ware was found, although it did not represent a high percentage of the overall collection. There are fragments of a Beauvais yellow-glazed mug decorated with the armorial escutcheon of Henry VII⁷⁴ (Appendix A, Fig. 5) and fragments of Martincamp flasks, Normandy and Beauvais Stoneware, and a few sherds of late Saintonge pitchers. A Slipped Redware bowl and a white-slipped, green-glazed albarello⁷⁵ (Appendix A, Fig. 4) represent some of the Netherlandish imports. There are four near-complete Raeren-type vessels, three mugs, and a jug (Appendix A, Figs 7 and 8).⁷⁶ Spanish wares are also present, although they are not numerous, including a Micaceous Redware bowl⁷⁷ (Appendix A, Fig. 3) and flask, a Valencian Lustreware bowl, a Seville Blue bowl and a

⁷² For a more comprehensive assessment of the ceramics excavated from medieval Southampton please refer to Brown, *Pottery in Medieval Southampton*.

⁷³ Brown, *Pottery in Medieval Southampton*, p. 79, Nos. 156 & 144.

⁷⁴ Brown, *Pottery in Medieval Southampton*, p. 82, No. 237.

⁷⁵ Brown, *Pottery in Medieval Southampton*, p. 84, No. 293.

⁷⁶ Brown, *Pottery in Medieval Southampton*, p. 85, Nos. 305, 308, 312, 313.

⁷⁷ Brown, *Pottery in Medieval Southampton*, p. 85, No. 331.

Seville Plain White Maiolica dish. However, it is the impressive collection of Italian pottery that makes this assemblage stand out. It is of excellent quality and some near-complete vessels are represented (Appendix A, Figs 9-14). They include a Florentine/Montelupo Santa Fina style maiolica jug decorated with a blue and yellow heraldic medallion, blue, yellow, and purple body, and a turquoise handle⁷⁸ (Appendix A, Fig. 13), a Florentine/Montelupo maiolica bowl decorated with a green and brown floral design⁷⁹ (Appendix A, Fig. 14), and a small maiolica bowl from Montelupo decorated with a blue and yellow circular pattern (Appendix A, Fig. 12).⁸⁰ There are also three unusual ring-handled vases, two painted with a blue floral motif, the other with an 'YHS' motif (Appendix A, Fig. 11).⁸¹ Their provenance is uncertain, but the YHS vase may be Venetian, and the other two from Northern Italy. There were also four Faenza-style jugs and fragments of a blue-painted Albarello (See Appendix A, Fig. 10 for one example).⁸² Ben Jervis has argued that maiolica pots may have been purchased only when available (when Italian ships landed at Southampton) and were perhaps only used on special occasions. He also suggests that they may have been treasured and curated because of their rarity in the town.⁸³ However, there is no evidence to suggest that Machado's maiolica was treated in this way.

A large ceramic assemblage was excavated from the medieval undercroft, Quilter's Vault, located on the west side of the High Street, close to its south end and the Town Quay (See Appendix D, Fig. 33 for its location). Quilter's Vault was probably built in the late thirteenth century and consisted of a double-ended barrel vault formerly divided into two chambers. It has an entrance from the High Street with a dog-legged flight of steps to a wide doorway to the north of the centre line of the building.⁸⁴ The features of interest here are an adjoining stone-built cellar and its associated garderobe. The cellar is located at the rear of the main vault thought to have been constructed around 1300 and the garderobe is attached to its west wall. Both were

⁷⁸ Brown, *Pottery in Medieval Southampton*, p. 86, No. 361.

⁷⁹ Brown, *Pottery in Medieval Southampton*, p. 86, No. 363.

⁸⁰ Brown, *Pottery in Medieval Southampton*, p. 86, No. 357.

⁸¹ Brown, *Pottery in Medieval Southampton*, p. 87, Nos. 368, 369 & 370.

⁸² For further information on the pottery assemblage please see Brown, *Pottery in Medieval Southampton*, pp. 104-106.

⁸³ Ben Jervis, 'For Richer, For Poorer: A Study of Pottery Distribution in Medieval Southampton within its Socio-Economic Context', *Medieval Ceramics*, 30 (2006-8), 73-94 (p. 85).

⁸⁴ Platt, Coleman-Smith, and Burn, *Excavations in Medieval Southampton*, p. 98.

filled in with material in the late fifteenth century. The ceramics included Beauvais Earthenware yellow and green bowls and mugs.⁸⁵ Beauvais Earthenware from France has a smooth, fine white fabric with some fine quartz inclusions. Vessels had a rich lustrous glaze, which could be either yellow or green depending on the type of glaze used; lead for yellow and copper for a vibrant green. Vessels can be decorated with applied medallions, for instance there are two examples that have the royal escutcheon of Henry VII, one from Quilter's Vault and the other, noted earlier, from the Machado assemblage.⁸⁶ The assemblage also included a Late Saintonge Whiteware figurine of a woman with a yellow skirt, holding a basin or dish that could have been a decorative salt for the table. However, its flat back suggests that it could have been fixed to a wall, indicating that it might have been used as a holy water stoup.⁸⁷ Italian tin-glazed and lead-glazed products and significant quantities of Iberian pottery were also excavated.⁸⁸

High-quality continental ceramics dating to the fifteenth century were excavated from the site of St Michael's House on Bugle Street close to where Machado lived (See Appendix D, Fig. 33 for its location). St. Michael's covered part of at least four medieval tenements and a length of the town wall. Unfortunately, interpretation of the excavation is hindered by an incomplete excavation archive. The earliest activity on the site dated to the early thirteenth century, and by c. 1250 stone buildings were constructed. Further houses were built in the fourteenth century and the area around them contained cess pits and rubbish pits containing Saintonge polychrome jugs.⁸⁹ The size and construction of the stone buildings is evidence of the wealth of the inhabitants, which is also emphasised by the ceramic assemblage.⁹⁰ A Saintonge chafing dish, a Spanish Oil jar, a North Italian Sgraffito bowl, and a Florentine Tin-glazed jug were excavated from a garderobe attached to one of the houses.⁹¹ The chafing dish from St. Michael's House had applied faces with yellow and green glazes

⁸⁵ Brown, *Pottery in Medieval Southampton*, p. 70; Southampton City Council, SOU 128, unpublished excavation records.

⁸⁶ Brown, *Pottery in Medieval Southampton*, p. 30.

⁸⁷ Brown, *Pottery in Medieval Southampton*, p. 31.

⁸⁸ Brown, *Pottery in Medieval Southampton*, p. 149.

⁸⁹ Brown, *Pottery in Medieval Southampton*, pp. 145-6; Southampton City Council, SOU 122, unpublished excavation records.

⁹⁰ Brown, *Pottery in Medieval Southampton*, p. 146.

⁹¹ Brown, *Pottery in Medieval Southampton*, p. 146.

used alternately over each face to create a striped effect.⁹² Chafing dishes are large ceramic bowls, often on a pedestal base that would have contained glowing charcoal, used to support dishes of food to keep them hot. Another two examples were excavated from Quilter's Vault.⁹³ North Italian Sgraffito is relatively rare in Southampton. It is made from soft, fine, red earthenware, and the interior of the bowl is covered with a white slip, which was scratched through to reveal the red body, before then being covered with a lead glaze.⁹⁴ The St. Michael's bowl is decorated with a floral motif.⁹⁵

Raeren stoneware mugs from the Rhineland area and some maiolica were excavated from a stone-lined garderobe belonging to the capital tenement of 66 High Street, otherwise known as Poupart's Warehouse, in the south-east quarter of the medieval walled town. Documentary sources for the site show that it was occupied from at least the thirteenth century and was possibly redeveloped in 1381. By the late medieval period it was divided into four properties: two cottages, one tenement and one capital tenement known as Iron Door (See Appendix D, Fig. 33 for its location). The whole area was under single ownership for much of the fifteenth century and into the sixteenth, but individual properties were rented out to different people.⁹⁶ Surprisingly, stoneware jugs and mugs are listed in extant Southampton inventories. This is likely to be because they were sometimes embellished with silver and silver-gilt lids. For instance, 'halfe a dozen of silver stones & ij stoned juggs covered' listed in the 1573 inventory of Richard Coode's, a baker, and stoneware cups as in 'ij stone cupps covered with silver one parcell gilt' listed in the 1570 inventory of Thomas Edmondes, a cloth merchant.⁹⁷ Stoneware was made of a mottled or flecked brown stoneware pottery made firstly in Germany and later copied in England. There are several examples from the Machado assemblage, although none that were embellished with silver-gilt.

A site known as the Woollen Hall was excavated in 1989 and revealed the remains of a twelfth-century family house, with a thirteenth-century cellar below, as well as a

⁹² Brown, *Pottery in Medieval Southampton*, p. 83, No. 257.

⁹³ Brown, *Pottery in Medieval Southampton*, p. 149.

⁹⁴ Brown, *Pottery in Medieval Southampton*, p. 42.

⁹⁵ Brown, *Pottery in Medieval Southampton*, p. 87, No. 376.

⁹⁶ Southampton City Council, SOU 1039, unpublished excavation records.

⁹⁷ *Southampton Probate Inventories*, p. xxxiii.

complicated series of pits and cellars, and foundations of buildings that spanned in date from the tenth to twentieth centuries (See Appendix D, Fig. 33 for its location).⁹⁸ Agnes Overy lived there in the mid-fifteenth century and in 1454 was one of the wealthiest land holders in Southampton.⁹⁹ The excavation unearthed a rich ceramic assemblage dating to the Overy family's occupancy. It included imported pottery from the Low Countries, Spain, Germany, France, and Italy. Examples include Raeren stoneware mugs, Low Countries redware and late medieval Saintonge Whiteware jugs and pitchers.¹⁰⁰ Agnes was probably born in the early 1400s, she married twice and had four children.¹⁰¹ In 1435, her second husband, William Overy, died leaving her the owner of eleven properties. However, by the time of her death in 1462, she was having financial difficulties. Nevertheless, her son, William Overy Junior, inherited and brought prosperity back to the family. The family continued to take a prominent part in the town's affairs until the sixteenth century.¹⁰² As noted previously, William Overy Junior was indicted for involvement in the Buckingham Rebellion along with three other Southampton men (see Chapter 2), and Agnes's grandson, Thomas Overy, was mayor of Southampton between 1488 and 1491.

A small assemblage of continental imports was excavated from a cess-pit at the site of a medieval undercroft located on the High Street (formerly English Street) in 1999. This property was owned by John Walker and was occupied by the Spynell family from 1467 to 1484. As noted previously, Machado owed money to Benedict Spynell in 1483 (see Chapter 2).¹⁰³ Some late medieval pottery was also excavated, but the assemblage was not as large as would normally be expected from such a feature because of later cellars which were dug into it. Continental imports were amongst the

⁹⁸ Southampton City Council, SOU 393, unpublished excavation records; It must be noted that Agnes's home was misidentified in the nineteenth century as the town's Woollen Hall by Henry Englefield and therefore, Agnes's Woollen Hall should not be confused with the actual Woollen Hall located on St. Michael's Square above the Fish Market.

⁹⁹ Southampton City Council, SOU 393, unpublished excavation records.

¹⁰⁰ Southampton City Council, SOU 393, unpublished excavation records.

¹⁰¹ Sian Jones, 'Keeping Her in the Family: Women and Gender in Southampton, c. 1400-c. 1600' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Southampton, 1997), p. 2.

¹⁰² Jones 'Keeping Her in the Family', pp. 2-3; Southampton City Council, SOU 393, unpublished excavation records.

¹⁰³ *Select Cases in the Exchequer Chamber*, pp. 96-101.

small sample, including Raeren stoneware and Seville tin-glazed ware, suggesting a high-status dwelling.¹⁰⁴

Duncan Brown argues that pottery was clearly important to the people of Southampton and that the quantities of Continental wares present correspond to the significance of the port there at that time.¹⁰⁵ Brown has also commented on the increasing variety of ceramic forms and range of sources represented in late medieval pottery in Southampton. He argues that this is reflecting the increase in sophistication of mealtime ceremony and etiquette at that time.¹⁰⁶ Ben Jervis has commented on the distribution of highly decorated ceramic tablewares and drinking vessels within the west half of Southampton. He argues that their presence along with high-status glassware suggests that mealtimes were much more extravagant and colourful in that part of the town, than in the east. This was of course where all the wealthy merchants and burgesses lived, who had ready access to such objects. Nevertheless, imported tablewares were used across the town with the majority of households using less colourful and decorative ceramics such as Raeren stoneware and Beauvais monochrome drinking vessels, alongside Tudor Greenware and moderately decorated Beauvais sgraffito dishes. However, only the wealthier of the town's citizens could afford the more exotic and decorative maiolica and luxury glass.¹⁰⁷

Machado and other members of the town's merchant class owned a wide variety of imported ceramics including Italian maiolica, Raeren stoneware, Saintonge Whiteware, Seville tin-glazed ware, and many other pottery types from across Europe. These were much more desirable than locally-produced wares because of their superior quality and the distances they had travelled.

¹⁰⁴ Southampton City Council, SOU 1012, unpublished excavation records.

¹⁰⁵ Duncan H. Brown, 'Pots from Houses', *Medieval Ceramics*, 21 (1997), 83-94 (p. 112); Brown, *Pottery in Medieval Southampton*.

¹⁰⁶ Duncan H. Brown, 'Pottery and Manners', in *Consuming Passions: Dining from Antiquity to the Eighteenth century*, ed. by Maureen Carroll, D. M. Hadley and Hugh Willmott (Stroud: Tempus, 2005), pp. 87-99 (p. 96).

¹⁰⁷ Jervis, 'For Richer, For Poorer', p. 92.

Venetian Glass

Approximately 200 fragments of glass representing around 90 vessels were found littered amongst the pottery from the garderobe and tunnel under Machado's house. Luxury imported glass was relatively common in England amongst the higher classes towards the end of the fifteenth century, and its popularity increased as the sixteenth century progressed. The majority came from Italy where Venice had established itself as the single most important centre for glass manufacturing in Europe.¹⁰⁸ Henry VIII is known to have particularly favoured Venetian glass as evidenced by his 1547 inventory, which lists over 600 pieces, some 'paynted and guilte'.¹⁰⁹ A large assemblage was also excavated from Nonsuch Palace.¹¹⁰

A large selection of cristallo glass was excavated from Machado's house including gilded and enamelled beakers, a pedestal cup or bowl with blue decoration and handle, an enamelled cristallo bowl, and also a substantial number of long-necked flasks (See Appendix A, Figs 15-26).¹¹¹ Cristallo was a near-colourless glass that was a speciality of Venice that increased dramatically in popularity after 1450.¹¹² Clear glass was achieved by the addition of barilla, a type of soda ash made from the burning of sea kelp, and natron, a naturally occurring form of sodium carbonate found in saline lake beds; both readily available in the Venetian Lagoon. The barilla and natron interact with the silica network of the glass resulting in the fusion of the glass at a lower, and more achievable, temperature. However, the glass still has a slight grey/brown colouration and glass-makers in the Middle Ages would often add manganese oxide to try and remove the impurities that cause this discolouration. However, it is almost impossible to completely remove colour from glass, even

¹⁰⁸ R. J. Charleston, *English Glass and the Glass Used in England, c. 400-1940* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1984), p. 43.

¹⁰⁹ David Starkey, *The Inventory of King Henry VIII, Society of Antiquaries MS 129 & British Library MS Harley 1419: The Transcript* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1998); R. J. Charleston, 'Fine Vessel Glass', in *Nonsuch Palace: The Material Culture of a Noble Restoration Household*, ed. by Martin Biddle (Oxford: Oxbow Books), p. 201.

¹¹⁰ Charleston, 'Fine Vessel Glass' in *Nonsuch Palace*, ed. by Biddle.

¹¹¹ Long-necked flasks are seen ubiquitously in Italian paintings dating to the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and are often accompanied by beakers (Charleston SOU124 glass report).

¹¹² Charleston, *English Glass*, p. 43

today.¹¹³ Colourless, clear glass was the height of fashion at this time, and its rarity, caused by the difficult manufacture techniques involved, made it even more desirable.

Fragments of a cristallo beaker, similar to three of the beakers excavated from Machado's house, were excavated from the French Quarter excavation in Southampton.¹¹⁴ Willmott has stated that this example is the most complete example of this beaker type known archaeologically to date.¹¹⁵ However, Willmott must be unaware of the more complete Machado examples, undoubtedly because the excavation of Machado's house is not published (See Appendix A, Fig. 15 for an image of Machado's cristallo beakers). The Machado beakers also bear some resemblance to examples excavated from Gateway House in London and also from Christchurch in Dorset.¹¹⁶ However, very few complete cristallo beakers survive archaeologically because they were the most used type of glassware at the dinner table, and therefore broken and discarded frequently.

Amongst the cristallo glass was also an unusual purple-glass flask with a vertical ribbing pattern running down the neck and across the body, known as wrythen pattern, and perhaps the most impressive vessel, a large purple-blue pedestal bowl extensively gilded with a repeating scallop design (Appendix A, Figs 21 and 17 respectively). Coloured glass was achieved by adding metal oxides, such as copper to make red glass, and manganese to make blue-purple glass. A very similar bowl to Machado's purple-blue pedestal bowl can be found in the *Musée National de la Renaissance* located at the Château d'Écouen in France.¹¹⁷ Perhaps the glass bowls excavated from Machado's home were used to present the dessert at meal times, as during the Tudor period glass came to play an important role during this part of the

¹¹³ Hugh Willmott, 'Tudor Dining: Object and Image at the Table', in *Consuming Passions: Dining from Antiquity to the Eighteenth century*, ed. by Maureen Carroll, D. M. Hadley and Hugh Willmott (Stroud: Tempus, 2005), pp. 8-9.

¹¹⁴ Hugh Willmott, 'Glass' in *Trade and Prosperity, War and Poverty: An Archaeological and Historical Investigation into Southampton's French Quarter* (Oxford: Oxford Archaeology, 2011), pp. 192, 194, No. 43.

¹¹⁵ Willmott, 'Glass' in *Trade and Prosperity, War and Poverty*, pp.192, 194, No. 43.

¹¹⁶ Rachel Tyson, *Medieval Glass Vessels Found in England c. AD 1200-1500* (York: Council for British Archaeology, 2000), p. 98, g177; R. J. Charleston, 'The Glass', in *Excavations in Christchurch 1969-1980*, ed. by Keith S. Jarvis (Poole: Dorset Natural History & Archaeology Society, 1983), p. 72, No. 2.

¹¹⁷ *Programme du Musée National de la Renaissance 2011-2012: Actualités, Accruechages, Expositions, Visites, Programmation Musicale*, (Écouen: Musée National de la Renaissance, 2011), p. 5.

meal.¹¹⁸ For instance, exotic fruit or delicacies such as succado, imported through Southampton's port, could have been attractively served in the gilded pedestal bowl.

Venetian glass vessels have been excavated from other medieval sites in Southampton. The former site of the Post Office was excavated in 2000, which covered a number of medieval tenements along the High Street (See Appendix D, Fig. 33 for its location). The archaeological investigation revealed a sequence of timber-framed and stone-built structures dating from the thirteenth to eighteenth centuries, including a surviving medieval stone vault. There was also evidence for industrial activity. A rubbish pit near the High Street frontage produced an assemblage of high-quality Venetian glass dating to the fifteenth century as well as a large ceramic assemblage dating to that time. One fragment of Italian maiolica was found in another rubbish pit from the site.¹¹⁹ A possible late medieval well was excavated at 4-5 St. Michael Street in 2005 (See Appendix D, Fig. 33 for its location). Before the nineteenth century, the area of the excavation trench would have lain across medieval properties on the High Street and French Street. The well was filled in with rubbish and building debris at the end of the fifteenth century or early sixteenth century. Late medieval ceramics, including German and Dutch imports, were amongst the artefacts excavated from the well's fills, along with fragments of a Venetian glass beaker.¹²⁰ A fine Venetian glass assemblage was also excavated from Quilter's Vault including two small blue bowl bases and a cristallo beaker with bossed decoration, and fragments of Venetian cristallo glass goblets and a jug were excavated from St. Michael's House.¹²¹ The stone-lined wardrobe belonging to the capital tenement Iron Door (66 High Street – Poupart's Warehouse) produced a rich finds assemblage that included 32 shards of Venetian cristallo glass dating to the sixteenth century.¹²² A small quantity of Venetian glass was also found at the Woollen Hall, which included cristallo vessels.¹²³

The presence of high quality glass is also suggested in some of the extant Southampton probate inventories, by items that were used to store and display high-

¹¹⁸ Charleston, 'Fine Vessel Glass' in *Nonsuch Palace*, ed. by Biddle, p. 211.

¹¹⁹ Southampton City Council, SOU 1039, unpublished excavation records.

¹²⁰ Southampton City Council, SOU 1346, unpublished excavation records.

¹²¹ Southampton City Council, SOU 128 & SOU 122, unpublished excavation records.

¹²² Southampton City Council, SOU 997, unpublished excavation records.

¹²³ Southampton City Council, SOU 393, unpublished excavation records.

quality glassware. For example, the inventory of Jane Riggis, widow, dated 1559 does list a 'glas casse' in the hall.¹²⁴ Drinking glasses required their own special storage to prevent breakages and where they could be displayed for guests to see. In the sixteenth century, this was provided by a glass case or dresser, which would have been a lightly built wooden case of shelves.¹²⁵ The glass vessels themselves are however not listed in this inventory.

Venetian glass is not as ubiquitous in Southampton as imported ceramics are. This is because Venetian glass is not as durable as ceramics and thus does not always survive in the archaeological record. However, the main factor is that much high-quality glass was recycled in England at this time. Broken glass was sometimes added as a way of achieving a more effective melt during the manufacturing process of other glass.¹²⁶ Therefore, it is highly likely that many more Southampton citizens owned high-quality imported glass ware than the archaeological and documentary records suggest.

Hugh Willmott argues that:

At the end of the medieval period in Britain little glass was in use. During the fifteenth century the rich might have possessed the odd drinking glass, the physician a urinal and the apothecary a few flasks or phials for their trinctures. However, to the ordinary person vessel glass would have been an unusual sight.¹²⁷

Machado's assemblage of luxury glass vessels is one of the largest excavated from medieval Southampton. This then either suggests that Willmott's statement above is incorrect and glass tableware was not so unusual, at least not amongst the higher classes, or that Machado was unusually rich and influential compared with merchants in the town. Machado was a member of Southampton's urban high society, who had access to a multitude of exotic goods brought there through the port. Although glass is not as ubiquitous as the continental ceramics that would have accompanied it at the

¹²⁴ *Southampton Probate Inventories*, p. 156.

¹²⁵ *Southampton Probate Inventories*, p. xxiii.

¹²⁶ Hugh Willmott, *The History of English Glassmaking, AD 43-1800* (Stroud: Tempus, 2005), p. 10.

¹²⁷ Hugh Willmott, 'Glass in Tudor and Stuart England', *Current Archaeology*, 186 (2003), 256-7 (p. 256).

dinner table, it was not perhaps quite as uncommon in the later fifteenth century as previously thought (at least not in Southampton). Some of the surviving fifteenth-century port books mention 'crystal' which is a likely reference to cristallo from Venice.¹²⁸ They also refer to 'painted pots', which could be a reference to maiolica.¹²⁹ As noted earlier, a lot of high-quality glass was recycled at this time meaning that it is under represented in the archaeological record. Machado's examples are nonetheless some of the best from excavations in Southampton.

Rachel Tyson agrees with Willmott that 'the discovery of medieval glass vessels in England always indicates a wealthy site.'¹³⁰ This is because the use of glass vessels was almost exclusively confined to the higher classes in this period, but this has little to do with the cost or availability of such items but a result of how vessels were used by the higher classes compared with the lower.¹³¹ In comparison with vessels made from silver and gold, Venetian glass was significantly cheaper, but also an aspirational medium for tableware in the late medieval and renaissance periods. William Harrison commented in 1577 that:

our gentility, as loathing those metals [of gold and silver because of their plenty] do now generally choose rather the Venice glasses, both for our wine and beer, than any of those metals or stone wherein beforetime we have been accustomed to drink... the poorest also will have glass if they may, but sith the Venetian is somewhat too dear for them, they content themselves with such as are made at home of fern and burned stone.¹³²

The high demand for Venetian glass at this time was partly due to the failure of the English glass industry to supply similar vessels; even the best glass manufacturers in

¹²⁸ Charleston, *English Glass*, p. 43.

¹²⁹ Duncan H. Brown, 'The Imported Pottery of Late Medieval Southampton', *Medieval Ceramics*, 17 (1993), 77-82 (p. 77); Brown, *Pottery in Medieval Southampton*, pp. 131-3.

¹³⁰ Rachel Tyson, 'Medieval Glass Vessels: Public and Private Wealth', *Current Archaeology*, 186 (2003), 254-5 (p. 254).

¹³¹ Tyson, *Medieval Glass*, p. 24.

¹³² William Harrison, *A Description of England*, 3 vols, ed. by Furnival, (London: New Shakespeare Society, 1877-81) I (1877), 147, as quoted in Hugh Willmott, 'English Sixteenth- and Early Seventeenth-century Vessel Glass in the Context of Dining, in *Material Culture in Medieval Europe: Papers of the 'Medieval Europe Brugge 1997' Conference*, ed. by Guy de Boe and Frans Verhaeghe (Zelik: Instituut voor het Archeologisch Patrimonium, 1997), pp. 186-7.

England could not compete with the finest glass from Venice.¹³³ Documentary and archaeological evidence show that there were glassmaking industries in the Surrey-Sussex Weald, Shropshire, and Staffordshire from the fourteenth century, all located in heavily wooded areas that provided fuel for the production process. However, they produced low-quality potash glass. It was not until the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, with the immigration of Protestant Flemish and Huguenot glassmakers, that fine vessel glass able to rival Venetian began to be produced in England.¹³⁴ Therefore, all fine vessel glass in England in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was imported.

Imported glass tableware was intended to be seen in the public sphere and had a social importance that went beyond its practical purpose. Their consciously styled form and decoration embodied the symbolic codes and values of high status European culture.¹³⁵ For instance, glass goblets were often intentionally styled to emulate the Christian chalice and therefore borrowed some of the value and significance. How the goblet was used also drew on the symbolism of the Christian Eucharist. Wine was drunk from the goblet and shared between a group of drinkers, just like the communion chalice was shared. As a result, the goblet may have only been used by a select group of guests who may have sat at the high table on the raised dais in the hall. This recalls the layout of a church with the altar located in the chancel, which was occupied by ecclesiastical officials.¹³⁶

The fragility of glass also made investment in it a demonstration of conspicuous consumption and wealth. Those who owned it could afford to keep replacing it when it broke or when a different style became fashionable.¹³⁷ There is evidence to suggest that glassware was deliberately smashed as part of dining ritual in the early modern period. For instance, the Venetian ambassadors in 1617 were disgusted by the wilful

¹³³ Hugh Willmott, *Early Post-Medieval Vessel Glass in England, c. 1500-1670*, (York: Council for British Archaeology, 2002), p. 18.

¹³⁴ For a full discussion of the development of the English glassmaking industry see Chapters 3 and 4 in Willmott, *History of English Glassmaking*.

¹³⁵ Tyson *Medieval Glass*, p. 24.

¹³⁶ Tyson *Medieval Glass*, p. 25.

¹³⁷ Willmott, 'Early Sixteenth- and Early Seventeenth-century Vessel Glass', p. 188.

and uncivilised smashing of glass at King James's court.¹³⁸ William Harrison also commented in the sixteenth century that:

In time, [glasses] go one way, that is to shards at the last, so that our great expenses in glasses...are worst of all bestowed in mine opinion, because their pieces do turn unto no profit.¹³⁹

Therefore, the fragility of fine glass was one of its main attractions. However, it also made it difficult to transport. I suggest that when Machado vacated his Southampton residence he decided to leave his Venetian glass and continental ceramics (throwing them away onto a midden) because it would have been difficult to transport them without breakages occurring. He could afford to replace them because they were relatively inexpensive (when compared to plate). Therefore, investment in metal vessels could have actually been cheaper in the long term because they were more durable and less likely to break.¹⁴⁰

Pewter and Plate

Unlike vessels made of ceramic and glass, pewter vessels appear frequently in some of the Southampton probate inventories. They are often recorded as being in butteries and kitchens, but are also sometimes listed separately. Flat-wares, drinking, and storage vessels are the most common types. By the sixteenth century, pewter could be found in about half of the houses in England at all social levels. The merchant class especially invested heavily in it, whilst those further down the social ladder owned only a few pieces.¹⁴¹ Machado owned at least three sets of pewter vessels as he lists them in his inventory.¹⁴²

Metal vessels, in general, are rarely found in excavations because they were melted down and the metal reused, they could be mended more easily than ceramic and glass

¹³⁸ Johnson, *An Archaeology of Capitalism*, p. 182.

¹³⁹ Harrison, *A Description of England*, I, 147, as quoted in Willmott, 'Early Sixteenth- and Early Seventeenth-century Vessel Glass', p. 187; and Willmott *Early Post-Medieval Glass Vessels*, pp. 27-8.

¹⁴⁰ Paul Courtney, 'Ceramics and the History of Consumption: Pitfalls and Prospects', *Medieval Ceramics*, 21 (1997), 95-108 (p. 99).

¹⁴¹ *Southampton Probate Inventories*, p. xxxiv.

¹⁴² Item iij garnisses de vasselle destain (CA, MS. Arundel 51, fol. 19r).

vessels, and were also more robust and broke less frequently. However, metal vessels are recorded in inventories which indicate that some Southampton citizens owned plate, such as silver spoons and salt-cellars. At a time when there were no forks, spoons played a more important role at meal times than today. Silver spoons are frequently listed in the Southampton probate inventories as they were popular items to bequeath in wills. Spoons are not mentioned in Machado's inventory of 1484, but the remains of two bronze spoons are amongst the Machado artefact assemblage excavated from his house (See Appendix A, Figs 27 and 28).¹⁴³ Machado also lists a salt cellar in his inventory (although it is not known what material it was made from). Also referred to as 'salts' in the Southampton probate inventories, they were usually the most important and expensive single object of domestic plate. They could be made of silver, parcel gilt, gilt, or double gilt, and could have a cover. The status of the owner was shown symbolically in the type of salt he possessed. The wealthier he was, the bigger and more ornate the salt. Consequently, they are only found in the inventories of the wealthiest citizens. For example, the widow Alice Aberie owned one with a cover of double gilt weighing 66½ ounces valued at £19 17s 6d.¹⁴⁴

Linen and Clothing

Machado's inventory of 1484 has provided evidence for other items that Machado owned which do not survive in the archaeological record. The inventory starts with a list of linen, most of which was for use during dining: five doublets of diaper (probably referring to double towels that were twice the length of a tablecloth and laid doubled on the table), seven long towels of diaper, twenty-seven serviettes of diaper, fifteen ells of diaper towels, three fine linen cloths for christening children, fourteen pieces of linen cloth, both finely and coarsely woven, four towels for washing hands, three white table cloths, three grey and blue tablecloths, seven rods of coarse raw cloth, and a piece of canvas (probably plain linen). Diaper is a high-quality, fine linen fabric woven with a small repeating pattern formed by the different directions of the thread. The pattern was usually geometric or floral in the fifteenth and

¹⁴³ Southampton City Council, SOU 124, unpublished excavation records.

¹⁴⁴ *Southampton Probate Inventories*, p. xxxiii.

sixteenth centuries, but was not restricted to these designs, and each country had its own pattern.¹⁴⁵ If Machado acquired this linen whilst living in England, then it would have been imported from France or the Low Countries. Modern scholars generally consider that items of diaper were owned and used chiefly by the wealthy, so, again, their appearance on Machado's inventory shows that he was a man of some means.¹⁴⁶ Table napkins appear in large numbers in the Southampton inventories usually as multiples of twelve. For example, the 1566 inventory of Thomas Mill, a gentleman, lists a diaper table cloth and 12 napkins of 'checker'.¹⁴⁷ At this time napkins were used more frequently than today for wiping fingers and mouth and drying the hands after washing, and therefore would have been invaluable at the dining table.

Machado and his wife's clothing are also listed in the inventory: three violet dresses for his wife, a doublet of cloth, sleeves, and a collar of velvet for his wife, a robe of crimson, and a doublet of sarcenet (a fine soft silk material) for him. Dyeing cloth was not cheap and consequently dyed cloth was more expensive than plain. Certain colours were more aspirational than others because they were imbued with connotations of power, authority, and status, while others were indicative of cheaper cloth. Violet was a paler, more muted shade than pure purple and therefore its use was not restricted by sumptuary legislation. There were several ways of achieving purple and its associated shades, including violet: tyrian purple from mureocidae molluscs, orchil from lichen, and kermes and madder could be over-dyed with indigo, but none were cheap.¹⁴⁸ Kathleen Ashley has argued that violet was a 'fashion' colour, used for the 'fanciest clothing'.¹⁴⁹ It was a popular colour choice for gowns and kirtles, doublets and hose in the Early Tudor period.¹⁵⁰ Scarlet and crimson were the most highly prized of the red shades, and the cost and brightness of producing red

¹⁴⁵ Mitchell, "By Your Leave My Masters": British Taste in Table Linen in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', pp. 49-77; *Southampton Probate Inventories*, p. xxxi.

¹⁴⁶ Mitchell, "By Your Leave My Masters": British Taste in Table Linen in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', pp. 49-77; Kristen M. Burkholder, 'Threads Bared: Dress and Textiles in Late Medieval English Wills, in *Medieval Clothing and Textiles*, ed. by Robin Netherton and Gale R. Crocker (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005), p. 141.

¹⁴⁷ *Southampton Probate Inventories*, p. xxxi.

¹⁴⁸ Maria Hayward, *Rich Apparel: Clothing and Law in Henry VIII's England*, (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), p. 96.

¹⁴⁹ Kathleen Ashley, 'Material and Symbolic Gift-Giving, in *Medieval Fabrications: Dress, Textiles, Clothwork, and Other Cultural Imaginings* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), p. 141.

¹⁵⁰ Hayward, *Rich Apparel*, p. 96.

shades meant that the wearing of red-dyed cloth was often legislated.¹⁵¹ Velvet was an expensive textile and by the end of the fifteenth century was embellished with large patterns. Its use for only the sleeves and collar of a doublet was not unusual at this time because when worn with a gown only the sleeves and collar would have been visible.¹⁵² Furs are also listed in Machado's inventory including one of mink and one of miniver. Furs were predominantly imported into England from Russia, Scandinavia, and the Baltic. Heralds were often exempt from sumptuary legislation, which may explain why Machado owned luxury textiles and fur garments, which were largely restricted to the elite.¹⁵³

This whistle-stop tour of some of the excavations and inventories of medieval Southampton shows that those who could afford it purchased continental ceramics and Venetian glassware for the dining table, and dressed their tables with imported linens topped off with pewter vessels, spoons, and a salt-cellar. They decorated their homes with colourful wall hangings and lit their rooms by candlelight and with the natural light seeping through lattice windows. These people would have been members of Southampton's urban elite: burgesses, aldermen, and merchants keen to display their status and influence through their homes and material possessions. By also looking at what other Southampton citizens possessed, we get an idea of the other things that Machado would have owned and how his home may have been furnished. Nevertheless, the sheer quantity of imported ceramics, and especially Venetian glass, marks Machado's excavated assemblage out from others in the town. This may just be a lucky case of survival, especially concerning the glass as much was recycled. We can assume that this is what happened to the majority of the fine vessel glass owned by Southampton high society. However, this then begs the question as to why Machado's was thrown away quite unceremoniously and not afforded the usual treatment.

¹⁵¹ Hayward, *Rich Apparel*, p. 97.

¹⁵² Hayward, *Rich Apparel*, p. 115.

¹⁵³ Hayward, *Rich Apparel*, 38.

Conclusion

As a result of living in a busy port town, Machado and other Southampton citizens had easy access to a wide variety of exotic goods, which have survived both in the archaeological and documentary records. Southampton was the place to be for ambitious men of the early Tudor period. Henry VII placed his loyal supporters in high-ranking positions in the town: Machado, John Walshe, Thomas Thomas, William Uvedale, John Dawtrey, Maurice Whitehead, and Thomas Troys. Southampton was a good place for Machado to have a base: it was a highly cosmopolitan port, drawing in many merchants from overseas with whom he would have blended in well there, whilst also providing good links to the Continent which would have aided his diplomatic duties as a herald.

The archaeological evidence for Machado has provided the unique opportunity to consider his day-to-day life, something that would not have been possible otherwise. Comparison of the material culture with his extant inventory has also provided a clear justification for interdisciplinary research: the objects excavated from Machado's Southampton residence are not listed in his inventory, and objects listed in the inventory have not survived archaeologically. This is also the case for other Southampton residents. Each type of evidence brings something different to the table, and helps to build a more accurate picture of Machado's material possessions, which in turn give us an insight into his daily life in Southampton.

Chapter 5

Dining in the Home of a Herald

The majority of Machado's objects excavated from his Southampton residence and recorded in his extant inventory are related to dining. Dining was an important part of everyday life at this time as it was an arena where social hierarchy could be confirmed and where the host could demonstrate his wealth, taste, and influence through display and conspicuous consumption. It is therefore not surprising that Machado's objects offer an insight into the dining practices that he would have observed at his table. The end of the fifteenth century saw the beginnings of a change in the material culture of the dining table, and how it was used and viewed, which can be observed at Machado's table. Much attention has been given to the great feasts of the medieval nobility and the food that they consumed. However, the dining practices of those lower down the social ladder have been little studied. Machado's objects offer the opportunity to discuss how the material culture of the dining table was used by the up-and-coming at the end of the fifteenth century.

The Late Medieval Feast

Dining was one of the most important social acts in late medieval and early renaissance cultural life, and this was reflected in the formalisation and complexity of the affair.¹ One sixteenth-century Venetian observed that the English thought 'no greater honour can be conferred or received than to invite others to eat with them or be invited themselves'.² Bridget Henisch summarises the late medieval feast well:

A ceremonial dinner was a visual demonstration of the ties of power, dependence and mutual obligation which bound the host and guests. It was politic for the host to appear generous, because the lavishness of his table gave a clue to his resources; it was wise to be both hospitable to dependents and

¹ Willmott, 'Tudor Dining', in *Consuming Passions*, ed. by Caroll, Hadley and Willmott, p. 121.

² Quote from Willmott, 'Tudor Dining', in *Consuming Passions*, ed. by Caroll, Hadley and Willmott, p. 121.

discriminating in the choice of guests of honour, therefore the number and calibre of diners in the hall revealed his importance and his power.³

The dining table was where contacts were made and business discussed. As a herald, Machado witnessed some of the most spectacular feasts of the time. *The Black Book of the Household of Edward IV* tells us a little of the seating arrangements of the kings of arms, heralds, and pursuivants at the five feast days of the year (Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, All Saints, and Twelfth Day) and the perquisites due to them. It says that the kings of arms, heralds, and pursuivants come:

into this royal court to the worship of these five feasts in the year, sitting at meat and supper in the hall; and to begin at one end of the table together, up on dais of the estate, by the Marshall's assignation, at one meal; and if the King keep estate in the hall. Then these walk before the Steward, Treasurer and Controller, coming with the King's service from the surveying board at every course; and after the last course they cry the King's largess, shaking their great cup.⁴

Machado also had the chance to witness how other courts in Europe did things at the dinner table through the diplomatic embassies he was sent on. For instance, in July 1490, whilst on an embassy to the Duchy of Brittany, Machado refers to a dinner that he attended with the Marshal of Brittany and Robert Clifford where the business of the embassy was discussed.⁵ Whilst on the Spain and Portugal embassy in 1489, Machado used contacts he made through entertaining in Southampton:

And by the help of some wealthy people whom he (Machado) found, he was taken to the house of a wealthy merchant, where by chance the said merchant who had formerly been in England as an agent in the town of Southampton, and there the said Richmond had entertained him, of which he informed his

³ Bridget Ann Henisch, *Fast and Feast: Food in Medieval Society* (London: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976), pp. 56-7.

⁴ *The Household of Edward IV, The Black Book and the Ordinances of 1478*, ed. by A. R. Myers (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1959), p. 130.

⁵ *Memorials*, pp. 374-75.

then master, of which his said master was very glad and received the said ambassadors into the house with the best [hospitality] he could offer.⁶

The same ritualistic meanings of hospitality and hierarchy enacted out at great feasts were also present at more ordinary meals. They were a time where more informal loyalties could be made. The material culture used at the table of the middling sort was, however, slightly different: less plate and more inexpensive vessels made from pewter, pottery, glass, and wood. It was how these vessels were used, rather than what material they were made from that was important.⁷

Much previous discussion of late medieval and early modern dining has focussed on the great feasts held by the nobility and royalty and the food rather than the material culture used.⁸ However, the survival of some of Machado's objects offers the chance to discuss the dining practices and rituals of the middling sort.

Dinner at Machado's

As discussed in Chapter 4, Machado's objects include high quality imported ceramic vessels and Venetian glass vessels excavated from his Southampton residence, and also high quality diaper linen tablecloths, towels, and serviettes, a salt cellar, pewter vessels, and barrels of wine described in his extant inventory. All these objects would have been employed to great effect at his dining table. The vessels could have been especially purchased for a dinner held at Machado's Southampton residence for the

⁶ *Memorials*, p. 333.

⁷ Willmott, 'Tudor Dining', in *Consuming Passions*, ed. by Caroll, Hadley and Willmott, p. 126.

⁸ For example, Stephen Mennell, *All Manners of Food: Eating and Taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the Present* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985); P. W. Hammond, *Food and Feast in Medieval England* (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1995); Ken Albala, *Eating Right in the Renaissance* (Berkeley, London: University of California Press, 2002); Roy C. Strong, *Feast: A History of Grand Eating* (London: J. Cape, 2002); Melitta Weiss Adamson, *Food in Medieval Times* (London & Westport: Greenwood Press, 2004); Joan Thirsk, *Food in Early Modern England: Phases, Fads, Fashions 1500-1760* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2007); Christopher Woolgar, 'Fast and Feast: Conspicuous Consumption and the Diet of the Nobility in the Fifteenth Century', in *Revolution and Consumption in Late Medieval England*, ed. by M. A. Hicks (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2001), pp. 7-25; Christopher Woolgar, 'Food and the Middle Ages', *Journal of Medieval History*, 36 (2010), 1-19; C. M. Woolgar, Dale Serjeantson, and Tony Waldon, eds., *Food in Medieval England: Diet and Nutrition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

embarking embassy to Spain and Portugal that Machado recorded in his memorandum book.

In January 1489, Machado along with Thomas Savage, doctor in law, and Richard Nanfan, knight of the king's body, three ambassadors in an embassy of the King of Castile and a Scottish herald, set out on an embassy to Spain and Portugal from Southampton. Machado's account shows that his fellow ambassadors were lodged in his own house and in the houses of other Southampton notables prior to embarkation:

the doctor of Castile at the house of John Gildon, then bailiff of the said town; and the knight of Castile at the hotel of a merchant citizen, called Vincent Tyt; and the chaplain of the Queen of Castile was lodged in the house of another citizen, called Laurence Nyenbolt. And there was lodged in the house with this chaplain and in his company a herald of the King of Scotland named Snowdon, who was sent into Castile by his sovereign lord the King of Scotland. The ambassadors of the King of England, my sovereign lord, were lodged thus: the doctor Master Thomas Savage was lodged with a citizen called Thomas Wilson. And Mr. Richard Nanfan, knight for the king's body, was lodged with Richmond King of Arms of Norroy, who was staying at the time in the said town.⁹

Machado must have known and trusted these Southampton men to let them lodge such esteemed guests. Vincent Tyt (Tehy) for instance was a prominent citizen of Southampton. He was mayor twice between 1484 and 1485 and 1498 to 1499, and an alderman in 1488.¹⁰ He rented several properties in Southampton including tenement 171 on English Street in the parish of Holy Rood where he lived between 1476 and 1499.¹¹ John Gildon was Junior Bailiff in 1486, Senior Bailiff in 1488, and sheriff in 1491.¹² The exact location of his dwelling is unknown, but the 1488 description of the wards of Southampton place his tenement in the third ward somewhere near God's House.¹³ Little is known of Laurence Nyenbolt (Newbolt) except that in August 1483 Geoffrey Atwood complained against him in the Common

⁹ *Memorials*, p. 330.

¹⁰ *Book of Remembrance*, I, 74, 76; *The Southampton Terrier of 1454*, p. 152.

¹¹ *The Cartulary of God's House*, II, 360.

¹² *Book of Remembrance*, I, 74-5.

¹³ *The Southampton Terrier of 1454*, p. 151.

Court regarding a plea of trespass, and Laurence complained against George Akard concerning a plea of debt in January 1476.¹⁴ Thomas Wilson was the town's broker from 1502 to 1509, and lived at tenements 128-9 on English Street in the parish of Holy Rood in 1487. He also rented tenements 160-1 on French Street, not far from where Machado lived, between 1483 and 1484 and 1486 to 1487.¹⁵

There were a few basic set-rules that Machado and his guests would have followed. We can glean some of these from the conduct and etiquette books that had become increasingly common to instruct the rising middle classes how to conduct themselves properly in social situations. Most of these social traditions, however, would still have been handed-down through oral tradition. Manners were the most important indicators of status and education in medieval England, and therefore they were carefully formulated, taught, and observed across most levels of society.¹⁶ These conduct books even specified how to use different vessels and other dining equipment. For instance, it was considered bad manners in the fifteenth century to dip food into the salt-cellar, and it was recommended that you did not scratch yourself at the table, either with your hands or the tablecloth.¹⁷ A courtesy book written by Erasmus of Rotterdam, *De civilitate morum puerilium libellus*, from 1530 specifies that:

If a serviette is given, lay it on your left shoulder or arm... Some people put their hands in the dishes the moment they sat down. Wolves do that. Do not be the first to touch the dish that has been brought in, not only because this shows you greedy, but also because it is dangerous. For someone who puts something hot into his mouth unawares must either spit it out or, if he swallows it, burn his throat. In either case he is as ridiculous as he is pitiable... You should take what you want with your knife and fork... To lick greasy fingers or to wipe them on your coat is impolite. It is better to use the tablecloth or the serviette.¹⁸

¹⁴ *The Common and Piepowder Courts of Southampton, 1426-1483*, ed. by Tom Olding (Southampton: Southampton Records Series, 2011), pp. 56, 274, 279.

¹⁵ *Book of Remembrance*, I, xix, 77, 79

¹⁶ Peter Brears, *Cooking and Dining in Medieval England* (Totnes: Prospect Books, 2008), p. 423.

¹⁷ Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), p. 76.

¹⁸ As quoted in Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, pp. 76-7.

For Erasmus, the whole process of dining was a complex system of regulation, from the way that the individual conducted themselves through to the items at the table giving out important messages. This work was written with the view to teaching children how to conduct themselves, and it was a work not exclusive to the nobility or the clergy. As Willmott argues, 'it encapsulates a common code establishing a social identity through manners and objects'. ¹⁹ Machado and his guests would have been educated in how to dine properly from a young age using similar written guides. Indeed, heralds were supposed to be well read in the area of good manners as ordered by Richard Duke of Gloucester in his ordinances to the Office of Arms (noted earlier in Chapter 2).²⁰

Before the meal started Machado's hall would have been set-up with trestle tables and benches, and the tables were laid.²¹ The hall was not merely a room, but a hierarchical space with places for the owners of the house, for their guests, and for their servants according to their status. It was a stage for one of the most central events of the day – where the formal rituals of serving and consuming food could take place.²² Once all diners were seated, trenchers of bread would have been cut, the saltcellar laid on the table in front of the person of highest rank and salt spooned onto each trencher.²³ It may normally have been placed in-front of Machado, but if Machado had all members of the embassy to dine then it could have been placed in front of Thomas Savage, who was leading the embassy. Servants would have brought bowls of scented water to each diner to wash their hands, which were then dried using linen napkins, and grace was said. After grace the meat was carved at a side table and carried to the guests. Diners would have been grouped in 'messes' who shared from the same dishes. There were customs governing the number of diners of each rank that comprised a mess and similar rules applied to how many dishes were served to each group. It was commanded by Edward IV that a mess would comprise

¹⁹ Willmott, 'English Sixteenth- and Early Seventeenth-century Vessel Glass, in *Material Culture in Medieval Europe*, ed. by de Boe and Verhaeghe, p. 186.

²⁰ Ramsay, 'Richard III and the Office of Arms', pp. pp. 154-163.

²¹ D. M. Hadley, 'Dining in Disharmony in the Later Middle Ages', in *Consuming Passions: Dining from Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century*, ed. by Maureen Carroll, D. M. Hadley and Hugh Willmott (Stroud: Tempus, 2005), p. 102.

²² Gardiner, 'Buttery and Pantry and their Antecedents', in *Medieval Domesticity*, ed. by Goldberg and Kowaleski, p. 38.

²³ Hammond, *Food and Feast in Medieval England*, pp. 109-111; Brown, 'Pottery and Manners', in *Consuming Passions*, ed. by Carroll, Hadley and Willmott, p. 95.

of two men sharing one loaf, four men sharing a gallon of ale, and three men would share one dish of meat or fish.²⁴ Servants would have then brought food to the table, ensured trenchers were clean or replaced if wet, kept the table tidy and free from waste, and refilled cups with ale or wine as soon as they were empty.²⁵ The presentation of ale and wine to diners was also accompanied by much ceremony, and guests were not allowed to serve themselves.²⁶

The provision of water for washing and the serving of ale would have been provided by large ceramic pitchers and jugs, whilst wine may have been served from fine imported earthenware and Venetian glass flasks. The variety of vessel types reflected a wide range of dining customs: jugs were used for serving liquids; cups, mugs, beakers, and goblets were used for drinking; dishes and bowls were used for serving food, or as finger bowls for washing hands; chafing dishes were used to keep food warm.²⁷ There were conventions that governed the sorts of materials suitable for different social ranks. For instance, servants would not have been offered food or drink served in precious metal vessels; ceramics would have been much more suitable for the lower ranks that may have also been in attendance.²⁸ Tablecloths may have also been layered, each layer being revealed after each course, and napkins would have been starched and stiffened and could have been deployed in sculpture to make pleasing shapes. For instance, at a banquet held in Rome in 1513 napkins were folded so as to enclose a live bird which flew out when the napkin was opened.²⁹ The material culture of dining was part of the performance that encompassed this important part of medieval and early modern life.

Dining acted as a place where display and communication through consumption could be expressed. It also acted as a vehicle by which meaning within society could pass on to the individual.³⁰ For instance, Machado used his dining table to exhibit his relationship with Henry VII. Amongst the objects excavated were the remains of a ceramic mug decorated with the heraldic device of Henry Tudor (Appendix A, Fig. 5).

²⁴ Brown, 'Pottery and Manners', in *Consuming Passions*, ed. by Caroll, Hadley and Willmott, p. 95.

²⁵ Brown, 'Pottery and Manners', in *Consuming Passions*, ed. by Caroll, Hadley and Willmott, p. 95.

²⁶ Hammond, *Food and Feast in Medieval England*, p. 112.

²⁷ Brown, 'Pottery and Manners', in *Consuming Passions*, ed. by Caroll, Hadley and Willmott, p. 96.

²⁸ Brown, 'Pottery and Manners', in *Consuming Passions*, ed. by Caroll, Hadley and Willmott, p. 96.

²⁹ Strong, *Feast*, pp. 172-3.

³⁰ Willmott, 'English Sixteenth- and Early Seventeenth-century Vessel Glass, in *Material Culture in Medieval Europe*, ed. by de Boe and Verhaeghe, p. 187.

Heraldry was a common theme in decorative art in the medieval world and was used to enhance the status of objects as symbols of power.³¹ Heraldic devices visually showed identity and allegiance, and were perhaps more effective than the written word as a mark of distinction.³² Machado may have drunk beer from this very mug during the meal with the ambassadors and Southampton men, reminding them that he was one of the king's most senior and trusted heralds. The material culture of the dining room, therefore, had messages to convey as well as being functional.³³

The Display of Material Culture during Dining

The dining table was a place where display was important and Machado would have exhibited his fashionable Venetian glass and imported ceramics at his table for his guests to see. As a herald, Machado witnessed some great feasts at court that he may have tried to emulate at his more modest table. For example, the lavish and spectacular festivities that accompanied Prince Arthur and Katherine of Aragon's marriage ceremony. On 19 November 1501, Westminster Hall was hung with rich Arras tapestries and a large cupboard of seven shelves was erected and filled with 'as goodly and riche treasure of plate as ever cowde lightly be seen, moch therof golde and all the remante being gilt' (i.e. no silver).³⁴ There were 'great and massy pottes, flagons, standyng cuppis, goodly bollys (bowls) and peces'. In the void (the parting meal) cuppes were brought in, and those on the cupboard were left unused; they were purely for display purposes.³⁵ This use of cupboards or dressers to display plate developed from the *dressoirs de parement*. These were buffets purely designed for the display of plate and were an established feature in high-status French homes by the second quarter of the fourteenth century. They started life as simple cupboards serving as a place where beverages could be kept in large pitchers, where

³¹ Tyson, *Medieval Glass*, p. 25.

³² Woolgar C. M. Woolgar, *The Senses in Late Medieval England* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2006), pp. 181-3

³³ Hadley, 'Dining in Disharmony', in *Consuming Passions*, ed. by Caroll, Hadley and Willmott, p. 113.

³⁴ *The Receyt of the Ladie Kateryne*, ed. by Gordan Kipling (Oxford: Early English Text Society, 1990), p. 55.

³⁵ Described and quoted in Hammond, *Food and Feast in Medieval England*, pp. 149-150.

food could be deposited before it went on the table, or where utensils could be usefully stacked.³⁶

Luxury ceramics could be displayed on the dresser. Ceramic production in Europe took off in the thirteenth century when *de luxe* vessels worthy for exhibition on the buffet emerged for the first time. Plain earthenware declined in popularity as brilliantly colourful maiolica took over after c. 1450 and was the ceramic to have at one's dinner table.³⁷ Ceramic vessels were used by all levels of society, but it was the exotic forms and colourful decoration of high-status imported wares that elevated their social value and not the material they were made from. They could also embody renaissance artistic fashions, especially evident in maiolica.³⁸

William Harrison in his *Description of England* of 1577 talks of the display of vessels at a cupboard:

As for drink, it is usually filled in pots, goblets, jugs, bowls of silver in noblemen's houses; also in fine Venice glasses of all forms: all which notwithstanding are seldom set on the table, but each one as necessity urgeth, calleth for a cup of such drink as him listeth to have, so that, when he has tasted of it, he delivereth the cup again to someone of the standers by, who, making it clean by pouring out the drink that remaineth, restoreth it to the cupboard from whence he fetched the same.³⁹

Wine was decanted into glass flasks and displayed on the dresser. The technique of corking glass bottles was still unknown in the Middle Ages, therefore wine was stored in barrels and only drawn when needed. Wine could be drunk watered down or pure. Spiced or mulled wine was consumed at luxurious meals, either at the beginning to 'open' the stomach, or at the end to aid digestion.⁴⁰ As noted earlier, Machado owned many Venetian glass flasks, most of which were cristallo and he also appears to have been a great lover of wine evidenced by the two barrels of wine recorded in his inventory and by the accounts documenting his buying and selling of wine. Ten years

³⁶ Strong, *Feast*, p. 96.

³⁷ Strong, *Feast*, p. 100.

³⁸ For a discussion of this see Philip Holdsworth, *Luxury Goods from a Medieval Household* (Southampton: Southampton Archaeological Research Committee, 1986).

³⁹ As quoted in Charleston, *English Glass*, p. 52.

⁴⁰ Adamson, *Food in Medieval Times*, p. 50.

later in 1494, Machado was granted a licence by Henry VII to import Gascon wines to any part of France, Spain, or England.⁴¹ Drinking vessels, such as Machado's cristallo glass beakers, would also have been kept on the dresser rather than on the table. They would have been filled from there and brought to the table when required, then brought back to the dresser to be cleaned ready for the next user. This was a development away from the medieval idea of a communal cup; but diners at this time still did not have their own individual drinking vessel.⁴² The display of drinking vessels on the dresser and the absence of drinking vessels at the table can be observed in sixteenth-century paintings. For instance, the narrative portrait of Sir Henry Unton shows a dining scene with a dresser laden with plate and drinking vessels to the side of the main dinner table; there are no drinking vessels on the dining table where the diners are seated.⁴³ Similarly, a sixteenth-century Flemish painting of a Protestant family during dinner shows the table laid, but without individual drinking vessels.⁴⁴

Changing Ideas in Dining Practices

A Venetian observed in c. 1496 that the English were:

very sparing of wine when they drink it at their own expense . And this, it is said, they do in order to induce their other English guests to drink wine in moderation also; not considering it any inconvenience for three or four persons to drink out of the same cup.⁴⁵

⁴¹ CA, MS Arundel 51, f. 19v & fols 21-22; Noble, *A History of the College of Arms*, p. 111; The import of wine into England was complicated in various ways by laws and regulations. When a cargo of wine arrived in port it was first visited by the king's butler or his representative in that port who took two casks (or the equivalent value) due to the king as prisage. A duty of two shillings per cask of wine, known as butlerage, had to be paid if the wine was imported by a foreigner. A further tax, known as tunnage, also had to be paid by both native and foreign wine importers, which was a sum per tun of wine and was granted to the monarch by Parliament for variable periods, or sometimes for life. No wine was allowed to be sold from the ship and forestalling was strictly forbidden. Wine could not be legally sold until every barrel had been gauged, and it could only be sold through wine brokers who were members of the Vintner's Guild (Hammond, *Food and Feast in Medieval England*, p. 15).

⁴² Willmott, 'Tudor Dining', in *Consuming Passions*, ed. by Carroll, Hadley and Willmott, p. 125.

⁴³ London, National Portrait Gallery, c. 1596.

⁴⁴ Bruges, Groeningemuseum, 1583.

⁴⁵ *A relation, or rather a true account, of the island of England; with sundry particluars of the customs of the royal revenues under King Henry the Seventh, about the year 1500*, ed and transl. by C. A. Sneyd,

Rachel Tyson argues that this statement suggests that the practice of sharing the cup may have been unusual in Italy and suggests that Venice was by now accustomed to providing individual diners with their own drinking vessels. The Italian Renaissance brought with it new attitudes toward the individual and an increasing concern with hygiene resulting in the disappearance of sharing vessels during dining. This is supported by many north Italian paintings which show equal number of glass beakers and diners by the fifteenth century.⁴⁶ The exact date when this significant shift towards the individual in the material culture of dining occurred in England is still uncertain.⁴⁷ However, the discovery of the fragments of no less than twelve beakers from Machado's Southampton home may suggest that it was happening (at least in English port towns where there was frequent contact with Europe and alien residents in the town) at the end of the fifteenth century.

This new concern with the importance of the individual can also be observed in the ceramics at the dinner table. The Italian production of ceramics changed the appearance of the late medieval table, replacing the wooden trencher with the ceramic plate as the diner's receptacle for food. During the fifteenth century, the craft of faience ware was imported from Spain and the Italians were quick to learn how to produce it, and by the 1480s they had developed their own unique style.⁴⁸ The increasing availability of maiolica meant that the practice of sharing vessels at the table gradually ceased and during the sixteenth century there was an increase in the number of artefacts at the table and a general trend towards individual place settings and tableware for each diner.⁴⁹ Hugh Willmott has argued that by the late sixteenth century, functional vessels were becoming elaborate decorative table centrepieces, for example, expensive silver gilt saltcellars, colourful maiolica, and decorative glasses.⁵⁰ However, I would argue that this was already being established at the turn of that century. Machado's tableware surely illustrates this – his lavishly gilded blue glass pedestal bowl would have made a spectacular display piece (Fig. 17). Machado,

Camden Society 37 (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1847), p. 21; As quoted in Tyson, *Medieval Glass*, p. 30, and Willmott, *Early Post-Medieval Vessel Glass*, p. 127.

⁴⁶ Tyson, *Medieval Glass*, p. 31.

⁴⁷ Tyson, 'Medieval Glass Vessels: Public and Private Wealth', p. 255.

⁴⁸ Strong, *Feast*, p. 166.

⁴⁹ Willmott, 'Tudor Dining', in *Consuming Passions*, ed. by Caroll, Hadley and Willmott, p. 128.

⁵⁰ Willmott, 'Tudor Dining', in *Consuming Passions*, ed. by Caroll, Hadley and Willmott, p. 128.

being a well-travelled man of the world, would have impressed his ambassadorial guests through fashionable dining that used the latest vessels for food and drink.

Goblets and beakers were the most visible form of glassware to be used at the table and therefore if only a limited investment was to be made in glass then it was made in this form.⁵¹ Machado may have bought his glass beakers and goblets on an individual basis as demonstrated by the variety of beaker-types represented. Transparency may have been a key factor in the desirability of glass at the dinner table as it was the only medium at that time that could achieve this visual effect. Montaigne in his 1588 essay *On Experience* wrote:

Earthenware and silver displease me compared with glass...I dislike all metals compared with clear transparent materials. Let my eyes too taste it to the full.⁵²

Being able to see the contents of the glass was evidently important. Glass beakers often accompanied glass flasks and both were associated with the drinking of wine. This is evident in Southampton where the commonest types of Venetian glass excavated from late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century contexts are flasks and beakers.⁵³ The fragments of at least eighteen flasks were excavated from Machado's home. These flasks had long necks, a cylindrical body, and a pedestal foot (See Appendix A, Figs 21-22, 24-26). They were known by the Venetians as *inghistere*, whilst the beakers were known as *moioli*. They are both frequently seen together in fifteenth-century Italian paintings, often with the beaker inverted over the mouth of the flask.⁵⁴

The use of glass at the dinner table also had the potential of expressing refinement and achieved position within society; something that Machado would have wanted to convey at his table. Willmott has suggested that the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw an unparalleled expansion of changing fashions and styles of objects,

⁵¹ Willmott, *Early Post-Medieval Glass Vessels*, p. 24.

⁵² Michel de Montaigne, *The Complete Essays Translated and Edited with an Introduction and Notes by M. A. Screech* (London: Penguin, 1991), p. 1230, as quoted in Willmott, *Early Post-Medieval Glass Vessels*, p. 27.

⁵³ Charleston, 'The Glass' in Platt, Coleman-Smith, and Burn, *Excavations in Medieval Southampton*, II, 206.

⁵⁴ Charleston, 'The Glass' in Platt, Coleman-Smith, and Burn, *Excavations in Medieval Southampton*, II, 206; Charleston, *English Glass*, p. 43.

and that glass was an ideal medium to express the owner's awareness of these new vogues. The very fluid nature of glass, which lends itself to complicated manipulation such as mould blowing, made it a perfect medium to adapt and exhibit new styles and forms. In addition, the variety of decorative techniques available in glass as opposed to metals gave it the edge in the diversity of appearances it could adopt.⁵⁵ The glassware excavated from Machado's Southampton residence dating to the later fifteenth century can be interpreted as the very start of the desirability of glassware at the dinner table that developed further as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries progressed.

Colour, Shine, and Sparkle at the Dinner Table

Robert Charleston has suggested that coloured glass was an oblique reference to precious and semi-precious gems.⁵⁶ Machado owned some very colourful and extravagantly gilded examples of Venetian glass that would have shone and glittered when light hit them. Medieval belief was that lustrous objects were themselves sources of light and because of the divine quality of light made them objects of virtue. Therefore, precious metals and jewels, and therefore objects that imitated them, were highly desirable.⁵⁷

According to Bartholomew the Englishman writing in the thirteenth century, light was an important part of a successful meal and was to be provided by candles, prickets, and torches 'for it is a shame to soupe in derknes and perilous also for flies and other filthe'.⁵⁸ Light was needed to be able to appreciate colourful and gilded vessels. These vessels could therefore only be appreciated in a home that had the resources to provide light through windows, candles, and firelight. Colour was also important. Medieval scientific, philosophical, and theological debate was divided over whether colour was part of light or was a material substance in its own right.

⁵⁵ Willmott, 'English Sixteenth- and Early Seventeenth-century Vessel Glass, in *Material Culture in Medieval Europe*, ed. by de Boe and Verhaeghe, p. 188.

⁵⁶ Charleston, *English Glass*, p. 25.

⁵⁷ Woolgar, *Senses*, pp. 150-1.

⁵⁸ M. C. Seymour, ed., *On the Properties of Things: John Trevisa's Translation of Bartholomaeus Anglicus De proprietatibus Rerum*, 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1975), I, pp. 330-1, as quoted in Woolgar, *Senses*, p. 154.

Scientific opinion was that colour had the same properties as light and therefore participated in the divine as light did. Its presence in jewels, illuminated manuscripts, stained glass windows, and religious vestments contributed to the worship and understanding of God. However, if it was a material substance, and therefore just a physical covering, then it was not divine, without the ultimate significance that light had, and was in fact immoral as it obscured and hindered light.⁵⁹ Medieval belief was that individual colours were made up of a balance of different elements and humours and their interaction with light. For example, cold created white and pale colours, heat created black and red, and green was made by heating moist material such as leaves, fruit, and grass. Colour could provide information on the nature of the object. For instance, green was used to indicate fear and jealousy in the early fourteenth century.

Medieval people placed the importance of lustre and shine above hue.⁶⁰ Machado's maiolica and Venetian glass were not only at the height of fashion at the end of the fifteenth century, they were also brightly coloured and would have glistened and shone when firelight and the light from candles and torches hit them. Creating and mixing colour was akin to alchemy at this time because it changed the nature of things, transforming plain and utilitarian objects into attractive and desirable ones.⁶¹ Colourful ceramics were more appealing than plain earthenware because they were decorated with substances that created bright and lustrous effects. Before 1400 pottery was generally considered low in status and was relatively plain, but during the fifteenth century, pottery changed becoming more varied and colourful causing many wares to move up-market to compete with vessels made from pewter and brass.⁶² The gloss of a colourful glaze on a ceramic vessel was now considered no less showy than the gleam of pewter.⁶³ The result was the appearance of maiolica and Rhenish stoneware with metal lids on the tables of the middling sort. The years 1450-1550 saw what has been described by archaeologists as the Post-Medieval Ceramic Revolution when many new imports and increasing diversity of local wares

⁵⁹ Woolgar, *Senses*, p. 155.

⁶⁰ Woolgar, *Senses*, p. 157.

⁶¹ Woolgar, *Senses*, p. 160.

⁶² Johnson, *An Archaeology of Capitalism*, pp. 199-200.

⁶³ David A. Hinton, *Gold and Gilt, Pots and Pins: Possessions and People in Medieval Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 236.

were produced to meet the demands of a growing urban mercantile elite.⁶⁴ This is clearly evidenced in the archaeology of Southampton and by Machado's objects.

Machado's Food

This love of colour and shine was also observed in the food served. How the food looked seems to have been more important than how it tasted. Spices were used to richly colour food as well as give it flavour. For example, saffron was extensively used in cooking, predominantly for its effect on the colour of dishes. Some dishes were even known for their colour rather than for their taste, and chosen purely to add colour to the table. For instance, 'Lete lards' were a custard of milk and eggs with lard and served cold. Saffron was added to make the custard a vibrant yellow, or wheat starch (amydon) was used to make it white. Southampton was an important port for the import of fish.⁶⁵ Fish dishes were frequently coloured green, brown, or blue, perhaps reflecting their watery origins. A popular dish of eels was coloured red, one of the most favoured colourings for food in the fifteenth century. Many dishes were glazed with egg to give them lustre, or for the grandest feasts, gold foil was used to decorate food.⁶⁶ Machado had access to a multitude of exotic food stuffs imported through Southampton's port that could have been used to create colourful and lustrous dishes to serve in his equally bright and glistening vessels. The Italian merchants, for instance, traded in spices from India, Arabia, and the East Indies, and also brought saffron, olive oil, liquorice, prunes, raisins, sugar, sugar loaves, sugar candy, and comfits, and barrels of succado and citronade (fruits preserved in syrup and candied orange peel) from Italy.⁶⁷

Hierarchy determined the allocation of food at the dinner table. For example, game birds such as pheasants, herons, swans, and peacocks would have been strictly reserved for the high table.⁶⁸ The animal assemblage excavated alongside Machado's

⁶⁴ Hinton, *Gold and Gilt, Pots and Pins*, p. 200.

⁶⁵ Hammond, *Food and Feast in Medieval England*, p. 21.

⁶⁶ Christopher Woolgar, 'Fast and Feast: Conspicuous Consumption and the Diet of the Nobility in the Fifteenth Century', in *Revolution and Consumption in Late Medieval England*, ed. by M. A. Hicks (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2001), pp. 19-23.

⁶⁷ Ruddock, *Italian Merchants and Shipping in Southampton*, p. 72.

⁶⁸ Strong, *Feast*, p. 104.

objects show a high degree of meat and fish were consumed, which is a characteristic of the higher classes.⁶⁹ Unfortunately, the records are incomplete and further work needs to be carried out by an animal bone specialist to provide further information on the exact quantities and cuts of meat being consumed. All meats were valuable and to serve meat in abundance was a way of demonstrating wealth and status.⁷⁰ Deer, lobster, and conger eel were found amongst the animal bone assemblage, and their occurrence suggests that Machado was consuming luxury dishes.⁷¹ Venison, for instance, had a special status because it was not accessible to everyone as it had to be hunted. It was eaten only occasionally, and in smaller quantities than other meats.⁷² Hierarchy even controlled the bread that was served at the dinner table. Machado and his most esteemed guests would have received finer, fresh bread whilst those seated further down the hall might have received three day old bread.⁷³

Conclusion

The majority of Machado's objects that have survived in the archaeological record and described in his extant inventory pertain to dining, and therefore offer the opportunity to study the dining practices of the up-and-coming, middling strata of society in the later fifteenth century. It has been argued in this chapter that at this time changes were being observed at the tables of individuals with socially mobile positions in towns influenced by outside forces, such as Machado in the port town of Southampton – a man who had risen high in the favour of the new king, living in a merchant shipping town that had daily contacts to the outside world through foreign merchants and the objects they brought with them from distant lands. In his capacity as a herald, Machado also had the opportunity to witness great royal feasts at the

⁶⁹ See Southampton City Council, SOU 124, unpublished excavation records for the preliminary notes on the animal bone assemblage excavated from Machado's Southampton residence; Mennell, *All Manners of Food*, p. 40.

⁷⁰ J. Birrell, 'Procuring, Preparing, and Serving Venison in Late Medieval England', in *Food in Medieval England: Diet and Nutrition*, ed. by C. M. Woolgar, Date Serjeantson and Tony Waldon (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 188.

⁷¹ Southampton City Council, SOU 124, unpublished excavation records.

⁷² Birrell, 'Procuring, Preparing, and Serving Venison in Late Medieval England', in *Food in Medieval England*, ed. by Woolgar, Serjeantson and Waldon, p. 176.

⁷³ Strong, *Feast*, p. 106.

English and foreign courts, which would have influenced how he chose to dine and what objects he chose to use and exhibit at his table.

Feasting and social dining was an important part of late medieval and early modern life, which is reflected in the types and variety of objects used and displayed in this setting. Machado's table would have glittered and shone with the vessels he chose to use in this setting, conveying messages of luxury and good taste. He used and displayed his colourful maiolica and Venetian glass at his dining table as a way of showing-off his wealth and status through conspicuous consumption, regularly replacing these relatively inexpensive and fragile, although no-less socially valuable, objects when required. Machado also wanted to impress his guests by exhibiting his relationship to Henry VII at his dinner table. Machado would have served the best dishes he could afford, which included venison, eel, and lobster. Dining was a performance that would have involved the layering of the table with expensive linen tablecloths and towels, hierarchical seating arrangements, the ritualistic washing and drying of hands, the placing of the salt-cellar, the sharing of dishes, and the elaborate serving of drink. The analysis of the material culture of dining has enabled this chapter to discuss how Machado would have used objects in this arena as a way of reaffirming his social standing in hierarchical medieval society and negotiate his place within it.

Epilogue

This thesis has used objects alongside documentary sources to tell the story of Roger Machado. A micro-historical approach was implemented so that the world that Machado inhabited could also be unveiled. As a result, the thesis has considered the political situation that resulted from Richard III's usurpation of the throne and the disappearance and probable murder of the famous Princes in the Tower; the practicalities of exile; the material life of early Tudor Southampton and its high society; late medieval and early renaissance dining; and the role of the herald in royal ceremonial. Machado and his objects were the focal point that enabled these themes to be explored together in one coherent piece of research.

Although it was impossible to write a definitive biography of Machado, this thesis has progressed a step closer to understanding who Machado was and where he came from. Throughout his life, Machado made some very risky and brave life choices that affected not only him, but his family. In 1471, Machado made the decision to leave his life in Bruges to start a new life as a herald at the English royal court. He was known as 'Maschado Heraldo', but was promoted after several years of service to a royal herald in ordinary, Leicester Herald. His decision to leave Bruges paid off, but he was forced to make an even more drastic decision when Richard III usurped the throne and Edward IV's young sons disappeared from the Tower of London. It is still unknown what happened to these boys, aged twelve and nine years old, but it is widely believed that they were murdered under the orders of Richard III. As a herald with connections to the boys' elder half-brother, Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset, Machado may have believed, or even known for certainty, that the princes had been killed. This event probably sparked his decision to swap sides. At the end of 1483, Machado left England, under the pretence of crown business to Calais, and joined the exiled Henry Tudor. He may even have had some involvement in the failed coup, the Buckingham Rebellion, involving some of his Southampton contacts.

The decision to flee into exile had consequences not only for Machado, but also for his wife who went with him. His children may also have been with them. Machado was like so many others who had been loyal to Edward IV and were shocked by Richard

III's actions. The fact that so many of varying ranks risked their lives, their homes, their families, and their financial security proves the strength of feeling against Richard III. Henry Tudor was a lost cause until he gained the support of many Yorkist nobles and followers. Through Richard III's action, Henry gained a court in exile, a promise in marriage to a Yorkist princess, and all the accoutrements of kingship, which included a herald, Machado. Machado's decision to join Henry Tudor changed the course of his life.

It is unknown what happened to Machado's wife and children. I have not found any other references to his wife after 1484, when she is mentioned in Machado's memorandum book. She could have died in exile, or her life may have just been unrecorded like so many other women of the time. She may have been an English woman that Machado met when he first came to England, or perhaps she came with him from Bruges.

Machado returned to Southampton after Henry Tudor's success at Bosworth. The town suited his needs as a herald as well as having a cosmopolitan populace that may have also appealed to a foreigner living in England. The port brought in exotic goods from the continent and beyond. The inhabitants of Southampton made full use of their easy access to these goods by purchasing the most luxurious items they could afford. This is evident from the objects excavated from medieval tenements and from the extensive records still extant. Southampton was the place to be for ambitious men of the early Tudor period. Henry VII placed his loyal supporters in high-ranking positions in the town, Machado included. He could count on their support in times of need. Indeed, he called on the support of Southampton when Perkin Warbeck was captured at Beaulieu Abbey in 1497. Perhaps Southampton's close proximity to Beaulieu, a popular refuge for rebels and dissidents, influenced his choice of settling a number of his loyal supporters there.

Machado was living in a time of change. This is suggested by the objects excavated from Machado's Southampton home. Venetian glass and maiolica brought with them new dining practices and a new aesthetic. Machado was a well-travelled foreigner who also witnessed and participated in great royal banquets as a herald. He was familiar with the latest fashions in dining from the continent. Nevertheless,

Southampton was a port town with a cosmopolitan populace. The merchants were just as well-travelled as Machado, probably more so. Therefore, Machado's dinner table was not the only place where changes brought about by the emerging Renaissance could be seen.

Being a foreigner in the English court helped rather than hindered Machado's career as a royal herald. His ability to speak several languages meant that he was dispatched on embassy and as a messenger to courts abroad. Being multi-lingual might have been a prerequisite for a career within the Office of Arms. However, it was not the only one. Heralds had to be skilful in the art of diplomacy, they had to be discrete, intelligent, and resourceful. As a result of having all these skills, Machado was sent to some of the most important and powerful kingdoms in Europe and witnessed, and was part of, some pivotal events: he was at an initial agreement between England and Spain for their alliance cemented by the marriage of Prince Arthur and Katherine of Aragon; he witnessed the eventual fall of the Duchy of Brittany to France in 1492, just two years after the embassy to Brittany that he attended; and he witnessed Henry VII's struggles with Perkin Warbeck. He was described by the Milanese ambassador in 1497 as 'a wise man', 'a man of wit and discretion' and a 'herald, who is worth two doctors'.¹ Machado also had an important role in royal ceremonial. Heralds were part of the trappings of kingship, and having them prominently displayed at important events proclaimed the monarch's legitimisation and sovereignty. The heralds also recorded these events to further compound the legitimacy of kings and queens, and their reigns.

The main aim of this thesis was to showcase interdisciplinary research through the analysis of material culture and documentary evidence. This was most poignantly demonstrated in the literary reconstruction of Machado's Southampton home that used the objects excavated from his house and from other excavations in the town alongside his extant inventory and the inventories surviving from Tudor Southampton probate records. The objects, such as imported ceramics and Venetian glass, which had survived in the archaeological record, had not been recorded in the documentary record, and the objects recorded in the inventories, such as table linen and metal vessels, had not survived in the archaeological record. This thesis has

¹ *CSP: Milan*, pp. 323, 329-31; *CSP: Venetian*, I, 260.

demonstrated that it is possible to fill in some of the gaps experienced by researchers exploring the past by using an interdisciplinary approach.

By paying attention to objects, their symbolic significance, and the way they were used, we are able to construct aspects of human behaviour and meaning. The objects considered include, the knightly achievements carried by the heralds during the king's funeral that signified his role as Christian Protector; the tabards emblazoned with the coats of arms of England that the heralds wore that physically demonstrated the heralds legitimising role during ceremony; the performative act of dining that used the dining table, linen, vessels, and food to enact ties of allegiance and impose a socially created hierarchy; the objects written down in an inventory that have hinted at what Machado was doing during his missing years from the English sources. There are many gaps in the records pertaining to Machado, but the study of material culture alongside documentary sources, coupled with a micro-historical approach that places the evidence in its wider cultural, social, and historical contexts, has helped to fill in some of these gaps and to aid greater understanding of the world in which Machado lived.

Machado died sometime in 1510. The actual date has been lost to us, although the College of Arms monograph pin-points it to 6 May 1510.² It is unknown where this date was obtained from, but a date around that time is likely as another Clarenceux King of Arms was appointed in November the same year.³ Unfortunately, there is no will extant for Machado, which would provide further information for this enigmatic man. Although Machado was not what we could call a 'great man', he nevertheless has a significant story to tell. This story may have been lost if it was not for the discovery of the objects from his Southampton residence, which have brought Machado to the attention of a modern audience.

² Godfrey and Wagner, *The College of Arms*, p. 79.

³ Godfrey and Wagner, *The College of Arms*, p. 80.

Appendix

A: Machado's Objects



Fig. 1: Late Medieval Well-fired Sandy ware, Pancheon (No. 156, Brown 2002)



Fig. 2: Late Medieval Well-fired Sandy ware, Cooking pot (No. 144, Brown 2002)



Fig 3: Iberian Micaceous Redware, Bowl (No. 331, Brown 2002)



Fig. 4: Low Countries Slipped Redware, Albarello (No. 293, Brown 2002)



Fig. 5: Beauvais Monochrome Yellow, Mug with English royal heraldic device of Henry VII (No. 237, Brown 2002)



Fig. 6: Frechen White Stoneware, Large Mug or Jug (No. 319, Brown 2002)



Fig. 7: Raeren Stoneware, Mug (No. 305, Brown 2002)



Fig. 8: Raeren Stoneware, Large Mug, Small Mug, and Jug (Nos. 312, 308, 313)



Fig. 9: Florentine Maiolica, Bowl or Dish (No. 363, Brown 2002)



Fig. 10: Faenza Maiolica, Jug (No. 366, Brown 2002)



Fig. 11: North Italian and Venetian Maiolica, Ring-handled Vases (Nos. 369, 368, 370, Brown 2002)



Fig. 12: Montelupo Maiolica, Bowl (No. 357, Brown 2002)



Fig. 13: Florentine and Faenza Maiolica, Jugs (Nos. 361, 365, Brown 2002)

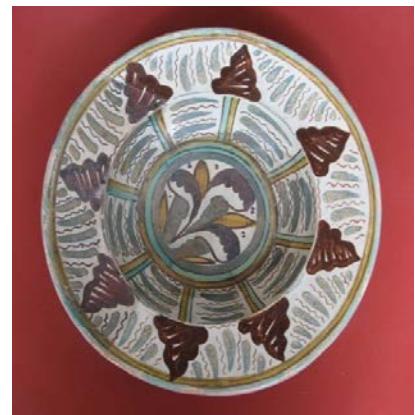


Fig 14: Florentine Maiolica, Bowl or Dish (No. 363, Brown 2002)
Photograph courtesy of Gill Woolrich.



Fig. 15: Cristallo Beakers, Venetian, gilded and enamelled (G18, G19, G17, Charleston unpub. Glass Report SOU 124)



Fig. 16: Small Pale Green Glass Beaker, Venetian (G28, Charleston unpublished Glass Report SOU 124)



Fig. 17: Large Blue Glass Pedestal Bowl, Venetian, covered in scale-gilt and white enamel gemming (G 158, Charleston unpublished Glass Report SOU 124)



Fig. 18: Cristallo Pedestal Cup, Venetian, with applied blue glass foot and body rings, and blue glass handle (G161, Charleston unpublished Glass Report SOU 124)



Fig. 19: Cristallo Glass Bowl, Venetian, with applied gilding and white enamel gemming (G159, Charleston unpublished Glass Report SOU 124)



Fig. 20: Cristallo Glass Bowl, Venetian, with applied glass circuit, gilded and enamelled with blue and red gemming (G160, Charleston unpublished Glass Report SOU 124)



Fig. 21: Manganese Purple Glass Flask, Venetian, mould-blown vertical ribbing twisted into a 'wrythen' pattern (G92, G169, Charleston unpublished Glass Report SOU 124)



Fig. 22: Cristallo Glass Flask Base, Venetian (G46, Charleston unpublished Glass Report SOU 124)



Fig. 23: Cristallo Glass Beaker Fragments, Venetian, probably the remains of two beakers (G24, Charleston unpublished Glass Report SOU 124)



Fig. 24: Cristallo Glass Flask Neck, Venetian (G60, Charleston unpublished Glass Report SOU 124)



Fig. 25: Cristallo Glass Flask Neck, Venetian, with plain gold leaf band under the rim (G75, Charleston unpublished Glass Report SOU 124)



Fig. 26: Cristallo Glass Flask Neck, Venetian, covered in fine mould-blown 'wrythen' ribbing (G81, Charleston unpublished Glass Report SOU 124)



Fig. 27: Bronze Spoon



Fig. 28: Bronze Spoon Bowl

B: Machado's Memorandum Book: College of Arms, MS Arundel 51, fols 14-28

IMAGE UNAVAILABLE

Fig 29: Page from Machado's Memorandum Book. CA, MS Arundel 51, fol. 14r.

©College of Arms.

i) *Description of the Funeral of Edward IV (fols 14-17)*

f.14r

les Seigneurs chacun selon son degre. Et la messe anisy dicte monsieur le chamberlen et monsieur William apar, controleur de lostel du dict Roy, Et monsieur thomas helderton, tresorier du dict hostel, entrerent en la tresorerie de la Relgion Et firent vng don de par le Roy aux moynes de lostel de deux bassins dargent dorre Et x lb en argent contant affin que ilz priassent pour la arme du dict souuerain Seigneurs Et Roy. Et se sy aynsy fait le noble coprs fut Remuey et aynsy mis de dans le devant dict chayr et accompaginet tout aynsy comme Il est Isy deuant espcrit . Et paraillement fut convoiet Iuques a Windesere et encontre par le chemin de beucop de procescions que Isy deuant sont declares. Et en ariuant a Winsore le noble coprs fut Rencontre an coleige de Eton dunne belle prosession de dict couleyge, que du colige de saint Jorge de chateau de Winsore. En la quelle proscescion estoit tous les evesques sy deuant espcrits a Riches mitres sur leur testes Et vestis de Riches cappes de drap dor.

f.14v

Et paraillement tous les nobles Seigneurs comme monsieur le marquis de dorset et monsieur le conte de lincol et beucop daultres contes, barons, chevaliers' escuiers herauls et aultres officiers & seruiteur de lostel qui estoit a cheual dessenderent a piet devant ledict colleyge de Eton et ainsy alerent a piet Iuques au dict chatel, en conduisant le noble Roy Iuques a dedens leglisse dedens le ceur. et la ainsy mys Encontinent commenserent les archeuesques, Evesques et aultres prelas et chanoynes dudit colleyge a chanter les durge bien solennelement. Et les durges ainsy faites le geytt fut hordonne, paraillement comme Isy est espcrit pardeuant de beucop de nobles Seigneurs chevaliers Et esquieres herauls Et aultres officiers Et seruiteurs Et gentiilz hommes de la maison.

f.15r

Et ainsy landemain qui estoit le xixme Iour davril, le noble Roy heut trois hautes messes chantes bien solennelement devant lui assauoir la messe de notre damme laquelle fut dicte par monsieur levesque de duram la seconde et la haulte messe du Iour. Et atoutes deux les Seigneurs qui estoit dedens le deul alerent offrir leur dimez adieu pour larme du dict noble Roy, Et vng des dictes allant tous Iours offrir le premier dimez comme liijtenant du Roy, commesy est deuant espcrit tout aplain. Et la tierse messe fut la messe de Requiem Et fut chanteye par monsieur larchevesque de Iorke, chancelier dangleterre. Et fut diaquele le abey de habington ausy mytre desa mytre, et le subdiaquele fut vng aultre docteur du dict colleyge. Et quant levangill fut dict alors Estoint les herauls prestez pour a porter les Offerandes du noble Roy ales presenter aulx Seigneurs qui les devoint offrir

f.15v

Et premierement ala monsieur le comte de lincol, neveu du noble Roy et offrit le dimez pour le Roy. Apres sela fait vient garetiere Roy darmes portant une riche cote darmes du Roy entre ces mains Et la presenta a monsieur le marquis de dorset Et a monsieur le comte de honttyngton. Et entre eulx deux laporterent ainsy a offrir au dict aRchenesque Et la le dict Iarretier la Rechut de Rechief du dict aRcheuesque. Et la fient ainsy au coste de la main gauche de lauter Iuques a ce que la messe fut dicte. Et apres vient clarenceulx Roy darmes Et norey Roy darmes et porterent la targe Et la presenterent a monsieur le baron de mavtraues filz ayney du comte du aRondelle ; pour le que Il hy heut vng estrif entres les Seigneurs le quell de ces deux Seigneurs Iroyt a la droyte main, pource que ung estoit vng vieu conte et lauter nestoit que vng baron. portant

f.16r

fut acorde par les Seigneurs que le baron alast a la droite meyn pource que Ill estoyt ayney filz de comte. Apres vient Irlande Roy darmes et marche Roy darmes Et porteren lespeye atout la pointe au deuant et aynsy la presenterent aulx deus

Seigneurs de bourschers parens du Roy. Et Ilz ainsy la alerent offrir. Et quaint Ilz ainsy lauoint offert a la pomte deuant, le dict archeuesque la tourna a la pointe en sus Et ainsy la Rendict auls dict Roys darmes. Et apres vindrent chestre herault et leycestre herault et porterent le bacinnet coronne et lofrirent a monsieur de standele et a monsieur de hastinges. Et Ilz paraillement le allerent offrir. Et la de Rechief nous tous herauls estions prests de Recheuoir chacuns leur pieche de le dict aRcequesque et ainsy en hordre les dicts herauls se tenoint ampres de laulter comme sy est deuant espcrit. Et apres

f.16v

vindrent glosestre herault et bakingem heraulx Emenerent monsieur Wilhem apare, cheuallier de la garetiere Et controleur de lostel du Roy, le quel vient monte Iuques aulx portes de leglise tout arme en vng beau arnais blanc et vne Riche salade sur sa teste, monte sur vng beau coursier couvert dunne belle huchure de velour noir et quatre eschuchons des armes du Roy mys sur les costes, en portant vne ache en la main ala pointe ambas, et ainsy dessendit et fut mene alant par les deux deuant dicts heraulz. et la offrict la hache Et le dict aRcheuesque la tourna de la pointe en sus et la Rendit auls dicts heraulz. Et les dicts heraulz la prindrent et le Rendirent au dict chevalier a la main de la pointe en hault Et conduiserent le dict chevalier a la saint xpristie et la le dict chevalier se desarma. apres vindrent les poursuiuans assauoir Rouge crois, blanche Rose, guines, cales, Barewic et haringon, les quelz presenterent

f.17r

la chenal que le chevalier awit cheuauchiet au doyen de leglise ; le quel ainsy le Rechut a la porte de leglise pour son ffieu car par droit lui appartinoit a. Et apres que la messe a este dicte tous ces heraulx sen son ales en ordre assauoir premierement la cote darmes, apres la targe, apres lespeye, Et apres le bassinet, Et lont porteye Iuques ala saint xpristie Et la sont deluire au custode Iuques ace que la sepulture sera parfaite pour les mettre la hou Ilz doyuent estre mysses. adonc sen sont venus les dictes heraulx dehors et sont ales la hou le noble corps estoit, et aveques les nobles

chevaliers et escuiers de son coprs lont aydier a mettre en la sainte terre. Et les eveques lui faisant tout le seruice comme appertient a vng tel prince Et homme mort, tant on le met an la terre

f.17v

pour le quelle nous tous sommes tenus a dieu de prier que son arme puische avoir la sainte glore de paradis. amen. Apres que ledit noble Roy estoit aynsy mys en la tre les grans offissiers de sa noble maison assauoir le gran schenechal, le chamberlain, le tresorier de sa noble ostel, le controlor letterent tous leures bastons en la sepulture du Roy En synne de gans sans mestre et hors de leurs offisses. Et en cas paraill tous les heraulx lettettrent leurs cotes darmes qui estoit apartenant au Roy en la dicte sepulture. Et sy prissemis aulx dicts heraulx leurs estoit Rendus aultres cottes darmes des armes dangletre, les quelles Ilz vestirent. Et apres que aynsy lui furent baillies les dictes cottes darmes Ilz tous amsamble crierent : le Roy est viff! le Roy est viff! le Roy est viff! En priant adieu et dissant pater noster et ave maria pour les defunc.

Translation:

the lords each according to his degree. And the mass thus said, my lord the chamberlain and Sir William a Par, controller of the household of the said king, and Sir Thomas Helderton, treasurer of the said household entered into the treasury of the house and made a gift on behalf of the king to the monks of the house of two basins of silver gilt and ten pounds in silver so that they might pray for the soul of the said sovereign lord and king. And that thus done, the noble corpse was removed and thus placed in the said chair and accompanied in every way as is written above. And similarly he was conveyed to Windsor and met on the route with many processions that were declared previously. And arriving at Windsor the noble corpse was met at the college of Eton with a fine procession of the said college and of the college of Saint George of the castle of Windsor. In which procession were all the bishops mentioned previously with very rich mitres on their heads and dressed in rich capes of cloth of gold. And similarly all the noble lords with my lord the marquis of Dorset and my

lord the earl of Lincoln and many other earls, barons, knights, esquires, heralds and other officers and servants of the household who were on horseback dismounted before the said college of Eton and thus went on foot to the said castle escorting the noble king right into the church within the courtyard and there to the choir. And when it had been placed there immediately began the archbishops, bishops and their prelates and canons of the said college to chant the dirges in great solemnity. And the dirges thus performed the a watch was ordered similarly as it was written earlier with many nobles, dukes, knights and esquires, heralds and other officers and sergeants and gentlemen of the household. And thus on the morrow, which was 19th day of April, the noble king had three high masses sung very solemnly before him, that is to say, the mass of Our Lady the which was said by my lord the bishop of Durham, the second the high mass of the day. And at both, the dukes who were before the hearse went to offer their mass pennies to god for the soul of the said noble king. And one of the dukes coming always to offer the first penny as representative of the king as is earlier written more fully. And the third mass was the mass of Requiem and it was sung by my lord the archbishop of York, chancellor of England. And the deacon was the abbot of Abingdon thus mitred with his mitre and the sub-deacon was another doctor of the said college. And when the gospel was said then were the heralds ready to carry the offerings of the noble king to present them to the lords who were to make the offerings. And firstly to my lord the earl of Lincoln, nephew of the noble king, and offered the mass penny for the king. After that was done, Garter King of Arms came carrying a rich coat of arms of the king between his hands and presented it to my lord the marquis of Dorset, and to my lord the earl of Nottingham. And between them these two carried it thus to offer it to the said archbishop, and he held it on the side of the left hand of the altar until the mass was said. And afterwards Clarenceux King of Arms and Norroy King of Arms carried the shield and presented it to my lord the baron of Mautravers, eldest son of the earl of Arundel because of which there was a dispute between the lords the which of these two lords went to the right hand because one was an old earl and the other was only a baron, however it was agreed by the lords that the baron should go on the right hand because he was the eldest son of an earl. Afterwards came Ireland King of Arms and March King of Arms and they carried the sword with its point in front and thus presented it to two lords of Boursers relatives of the king; and they went to offer it

thus. And when they had thus offered it with the point in front the said archbishop turned it so that its point was below and thus rendered it to the said kings of arms. Afterwards came Chester herald, and Leicester herald and carried the crowned bascinet and offered it to my lord Stanley and to my lord Hastings. And similarly they went to offer it. And there immediately all of the heralds were ready to receive each other their piece from the said archbishop and thus in order the said heralds arranged themselves before the altar as is written earlier. And afterwards came Gloucester herald and Buckingham herald. They led my lord William of Par, knight of the Garter and controller of the household of the king who came mounted up to the doors of the church fully armed in a fine white armour and a rich helmet on his head, mounted on a fine courser covered with a beautiful trapping of black velvet and four escutcheons of the arms of the king placed on the sides, carrying an axe in his hand with the point downwards, and so he dismounted and was led to the altar by the two aforementioned heralds and there offered the axe. And the said archbishop turned it with its point downwards and gave it back to the said heralds. And the said heralds took it and returned it to the said knight's hand with the point upwards. And they conducted the said knight to the sacristy and there the said knight laid down his arms. Afterwards the pursuivants came, that is to say Rouge Crois, Blanche Rose, Guines, Cailais, Barewic, and Harington who presented the horse which the knight had ridden to the dean of the church, who thus received it at the door of the church as his fee since by right it belonged to him. And after the mass had been said, all these heralds went off in order, that is to say firstly the coat of arms, then the shield, then the sword, and then the bascinet, and they were carried to the door of the sacristy and there they were delivered to the keeper until the tomb would be completed so that they could be put there where the noble corpse was. And with the help of the noble knights and esquires of his body they helped to put it in the holy earth. And the bishops paid him all the service as was appropriate to such a prince and dead man when he was put in the earth for which we were all obliged to God to pray that his soul might have holy glory of Paradise. Amen. After the noble king had been thus placed in the earth the said great officers of his noble house, that is to say the grand seneschal, the chamberlain, the treasurer of his noble household, the controller threw all their batons in the tomb of the king as a sign of men without a master and out of their offices. And in a similar fashion all the heralds threw their coats of arms which

belonged to the king in the said tomb. And so immediately to the said heralds were given other coats of arms of England which they put on. And after they had been given these said coats of arms they all together cried: The king lives! The king lives! The king lives! and prayed to God saying Pater Noster and Ave Maria for the dead.

ii) Title to the intended narrative of Edward V's entry into London (fol. 18)

La entreye du treshault et tresexcelent e puishant prince le Roy Eduard le Vn filz au noble Roy Eduarde le iiiij en la cite de Londres en Ian de grace 1482 le 2 Jor de May.

Et en primis

Translation:

The entry of the very high and very excellent prince King Edward V, son of the noble King Edward IV, into the City of London the year of Grace 1482, on the second day of May.

And firstly

iii) Inventory (fol. 19)

f. 19r

Ihns

Lestoffaigne de mon hostel anno 1484
Et in primis v doublers de diaper
Item viij touailles longus de diaper
Item xxvij serviettes de diaper
Item xv aulles de diaper touailles
Item iij linceules fins de xpristienier enfans
Item xiiij peres de linceules fins et gros
Item iiiij touailles de lauer mains plaines
Item iij garnisses de vasselle destain

Item vng cilier et les repas et iij courtines de telle blanche
Item vne pieche de canevas panit tout neuf
Item iij courtines de toile partie de gris et bleu
Item vne sarge de bleu
Item vne verges de telle grosse crue
Item vng cuverlit de verdure de vertdimanges
Item iij robes de ma famme de viollet dassanoir
Vne fourrerie de minkes vne de menevier une de gris Regnes
Item ancore une aultre roube de ma femme
de moster de violles fourrureye de dagneulx
Item ancoure roube de ma femme
doubleye de toelle et les manches et coullier de veloures
Item vne roube mienne de crimorssin doubleye de sarcenet
Item ancore vne aultre noire courte fourrureye dagneulx
Item vne aultre longue de noir single vne de vert single
Item vng coffre long plain de livres et de letters
Item ij barriles de vin vng de blanc et vng de claret

f. 19v

Item ij petis coffres vng de spruche et laultre de estrech beurt viell
Item vng petij coffre de qujer garny de fer blank

Translation:

Ihns
Inventory of my house year 1484
And in the first 5 doublets of diaper
Item 7 long towels of diaper
Item 27 serviettes of diaper
Item 15 ells of diaper towels
Item 3 fine linen cloths for christening children
Item 14 linen cloth fine and coarse

Item 4 towels for washing hands
Item 3 sets of pewter vessels
Item a salt cellar and 3 white table cloths
Item 1 piece of canvas cloth all new
Item 3 table cloths divided into grey and blue
Item a serge of blue
Item 7 rods of coarse raw cloth
Item 1 coverlet of green for Sunday
Item 3 dresses for my wife of violet *dassanoir*
1 fur of mink, 1 of miniver, 1 of grey animal
Item another dress for my wife, doublet of cloth and sleeves and collar of velvet
Item a robe of mine of crimson, doublet of sарcenet
Item another black lamb skin cloth
Item another long singlet of green
Item one long plain chest full of books and letters
Item 2 barrels of wine, one of white and one of red
Item 2 small chests of spruce and *estrech beurt viell*
Item one small chest of leather decorated/bound with white iron

iv) *Account of wines (fols 21-22)*

f.21r

Ihus anno 1484 aor de Julho Liuro de praceiria et compaignie de certos vinhos
dazoia que compramos Joham piriz de bischaia Johan de meule mestre h' en Ruy
machado en a villa do adom como vem assaber en primis
Item de pero de quimbra vj tonnes et pipas a ij libras por tonel et viij s sobre toda ha
venda assaber dos pagamentos en dinheiro contado v lb et areste apagar a nadal // as
quaes v lb en Ruy machado tenho pagas et Johan pires de biscaia deue de pagar a
Reste aho seu termo a quall Reste se monta viij lb viij s
somme monte todo este vinho = xij lb viij s a xiiij de Joulho

Item comprado de Johan karvalho iiiij tonnes et meo de vinho a <xijj> ij lb xij s por tonnel assaber dos pagamentos em dinheiro contado en Ruy machado tenho pago a ho dicto carvalho iiiij lb x s he ho dicto Johan pirez deue de fazer pagamentos por ell a Resta do seu dinheiro a ho termo de natal a quall Reste he vij lb viij s que assi monta todo ho vinho somme = xi lb xijj s

f.21v

Item comprado de leonardo senturion ij tonnes a ij lb vj s ho tonell em dinheiro contado ho quall Johan de meullemester tem pago somme = iiiij lb

Item de Rodrigueanez huum tonnel a ij ib' viij s ho tonel a ssaber en dinheiro contado en Ruy machado lhe tenho pago j lb viij s et ha j lb Johan piriz de biscaia deue de pagar por ell aho termo de natal asy semonta este tonnel somme = ij lb viij s

Item de Johan Rodrigueanez a xijj de Julho vj tonnes et pipa a iij lb por tonnel apaga<r> per Johan de bisaia aho termo de natal somme = xix lb x s

Item de pero farez ix tonnes & meo a ij lb x s ho tonel apagar a termo de tres messes x lb ea Reste a natal ho quall vinho se monta todo somma = xxijj lb v s

<Item Johan Rodriguez a xijj de Joulho vj tonnes et meo a iij lb>

Item autroz iij pipas assaber huum tonel por j lb vj s et hua houtra pipa por xijj s somma todo = ij lb

as quaes en Ruy machado tenho pagas em darro contado

Item hun' barill de Johan caruaalho de xxv lotes causa xv que os quaeles en Ruy machado tenho pagos

f.22r

Item pago aho criado de bernarte par stekgelt a xijj de Joulho iij d somme he que en Ruy machado tenho pago sobre estes vinhos semonta = xij lb xix s vj d

Translation:

Book registering a partnership with John Piriz de Bischaia and John de Meullemester
on certain wines of Azóia

From Pedro of Coimbra 6 tuns and pipes, sold at £2 per tun and 8s for the entire sale
[£5 have been already settled with Rui Machado, but Pires is still owing £8 8s] for
which the total amount on 14 july sits at £13 8s

From John Carvalho, bought 4 and a half tuns of wine at £2 12s a tun ; of which £4 10s
have already been paid to Carvalho [it would seem Pires is still owing a sum of
money, due by Christmas]; for which the total amount is £11 14s

Bought of Leonardo Senturion 2 tuns at 2 l. 6 s a tun, of which Meullemester has paid
£4

From Eanes one tun at £2 8s a tun, of which £1 8s is already paid for; but Pires still
owes £1 to be paid until Christmas; total amounts to £2 8s

From Eanes on 14 july 6 tuns and pipes at £3 a tun to be paid by João Pires until
Christmas; total £19 10s

From Farez 9 tuns and a half at £2 10s a tun, to be paid within the next three months
£10, and the remainder until Christmas; worth in total £24 5s

From Rodriques on 14 July 6 tuns and a half at £3

Another 3 pipes, that is 1 tun at £1 6s and another pipe at 14s; total £2

One barrel of Carvalho, of 25 lots

Paid to the servant of Bernarte on 14 July 3d pertaining to the sum of the wines
bought from Machado; total £12 19s 6d

v) *Account of cloths and textiles (fols 26-27)*

f.26r

Item en de vo a Johan de meullemester pour iiij courdes de pano de gris = ix s iij d

Item je dois ancores a Johan de meullemester pour vij aulnes de telle de vd laulne
somme = iij s xj d

Item ancore je dois a Johan de meulmester pour vne fourure dangneulx noirs = xij s

Item ancores pour vne charetee defagos menues somme lecent = ix d

Item je dois ancore a Johan de meulmester le xvij jor de nouembre anno 1484 pour ij aulnes et d de iiij de deorum de damas a ix s laulne = xxij s vj

Item ancores le messines jor pour iiij aulnes et de iiij de saiette naire a xij d laulne somme = iiij s xdd

Item pour vne cornette de velours = viij s

Item pour de iiij aulne de velours noir vij s

<somme teut = vj lb j s v d>

Item en deuo a Johan meulmester a xx de nouembro = xx s

Item a xxij de nouembre = ij lb

Item pour hua mea vague = xix s und <somme vjlb xvij s j d ob>

Item en deuo a Johan de meulmester pour mon hostesse la vesue de hornnede le xxij pour de decembre = vij s iiij d

<somme tout vij lb iiij s viij d ob>

f.26v

<Item ancores pour vij aulnes de telle a vjd laulne somme = iiij s vj d

Item ancores pour viij aulnes de telle a v d vj mis laulne somme = iiij s vij d ob

Item ancores je a preste ama feme en argent contant = xx d

Item a lionart mon pursuivante s iiij te = j s x d

Item ancores pour vne charetee de fam pour mest' berquelley = = ij s xj d

somme tout comte nette fette a veques Johan de meulmester le xvij jor de jpmber je dois an dict Johan = x lb iiij s xj d

suz la quell le dut Johan de meullmester ma doit en argent & je lui ay de loure pour la chaat de ces dict vins = xij lb xvijij s

Item me doit ancores le dict Johan de meulmester pour ma part de mon gayn de ces dict vins = viij lb

somme toute je me doit xx ib xvijij s iiij d

Item Rebatu ces deuant esempt x lb iiij s x d

le dict Johan de meullemester me Reftea doner aps toute comte fecte ce prasent >

<xvij jor de janvier jlme doit la somme de = x lb xiiij s iiiij d>
 adj & dela compaigne des vnis & fut entre Johan pirriz de biscaye Johan de
 meulmester et moy Ruy machado jay comte a venes le dut Johan de meulmester de
 toutes manieres de chosele xxvij jor de janvier anno 1484 le dict Johan de
 meulmester ma pait de la part & je mys de hors de largent des dict vins la somme de
 viij lb xvij s iij d

Item je est vray & le dict Johan ma pait pour ma part du gain des dict vins la somme
 de viij lb & du &ll

Johan je me fiens vien pait et content de tout ce & je deis anoir pour ma part et pour
 ce & anisy est je lay sy mys par espirit ce present deual escript jor

Translation:

Item I owe to John de Meullermestre for 4 courdes of grey cloth = 9s 3d

Item I owe also to John de Meullemestre for 7 ellls of cloth at 5d per ell, sum = 3s 6d

Item I also owe to John de Meullemestre for a black lamb skin cloth = 12s

Item I also owe for a cartload of small fagots sum for the hundred = 9d

Item I also owe to John de Meullemestre 16 November 1484 for 2 ½ ells of damask
 cloth at 9s per ell = 22s 6d

Item also the same day for 4 ½ ells of black satin at 13d per ell, sum = 4s 10d

Item for a cornette of black velvet

Item for a half ell of black velvet

<total sum £6 1s 5d >

Item owed to John de Meullemestre to 20 November = 20s

Item to 23 November = £2

Item for *hua mea vague* = 19s 4d

sum £6 17s 1 ½d

Item due to John de Meullemestre for my hostess, the widow of Horomede 22
 November = 7s 4d

total sum £6 3s 8 ½d. Item also for 6 ells of raw cloth at 6d per ell sum = 3s 6d

Item also for 6 ells of raw cloth at 5d 6 mis per ell sum = 3s 8 ½d

Item also he has lent to my wife in silver costing = 20d

Item to Lionart my pursuivant 1s 10d

Item also for a cartload of hay for master Berquelley = 2s 6d

sum total account net made to John de meulmestre 17 January I owe to the said John

= £10 3s 10d on which the said John de Meulmestre owes me in silver what I

delivered to him for the purchase of the said wines £12 18s 3d

Item John de Meulmestre owes me for my share for my gain in the case of the said wines = £8

total sum he owes me £20 18s 3d

Item rebated for the reason before written £10 3s 10d the said John de Meulmestre remains to me after all account made this present 17 day of January he owes me the sum of = £20 14s 4d

Memorandum that the company of wines which

Was between John Pierres de Biscaye John De Meulmestre and me

The said John de Meulmestre of all manners of things the 27 day of January year 1484 the said John de Meulmestre paid me of the share that I placed outside the money of the said wines the sum of £12 17s 3d

Item it is true that the said John has paid me for my share at the gain of these said wines the sum of £8 of which John I find myself well paid and content of all that I ought to have for my share and thus I have by writing this present before written day etc.

vi) Expenses owed for missions undertaken on behalf of the Marquis of Dorset (fol. 28)

f. 28r

Anno 1485

Item monsieur le marquis de dorset me doit pour vn jornees & je chenaulchay pour luy ala ville de gant de la ville de bruges pour parler a monsieur de Roumond pour ces afferres = j lb' iij s iij d

Item Jayvendu pour le seruice de monsieur le marquis vj tasces dargent de vj hounses la piece qui mentent toutes vj ix lb

Item la facon xvj d la hounces somme ij lb viij s

Somme totalis xi lb' viij s 00 d

asd que Jesins party de la ville de bruges deuers monsieur Jaques de lucauborgh et
madame de mans en seruice de mon dict ser monsieur le marquis le ijme Jor
defenerier anno 1484

Item monsieur le marquis me doit pour le argent & Jay commence de paier en
commencement de paiement ason pantry pour commencement de paiement = ij ib

f. 28v

Item monsieur le marquis me doit pour x Jornees & Je chenaulchay pour lui et en ces
mesaiges de la ville de bruges Iuques ala cite de lan en lanoy et au chasteau de
poursuay = j lb' xiii s iiiij d

Translation:

Year 1485

Item msr the marquis of Dorset owes me for 7 days that I rode for him to the town of
Ghent from the town of Bruges to speak to msr de Roumond on his business - £1 3s 4d

Item I have sold for the service of msr le marquis 6 cups of silver of 6 ounces
Each which amounts to, all six, £9 sterling

Item the *facon* 16d the ounce sum £2 8s

Total sum £11 8s 0d

Memorandum that I left the town of Bruges before msr Jacques de Luxembourg and
madame de Mans in service of my said lord mse the marquis on 2nd February 1484

Item msr the marquis owes me for the silver which I began to pay in the
commencement of payment to his pantry for beginning of payment £2 sterling

Item msr the marquis owes me for 10 days when I rode for him and in these messages
from the town of Bruges to the city of Laon in Lannoy and to the castle of Poursnay £1
13s 4d

vii) Machado's Embassy Journals – A Commentary

Perhaps one of the most important roles that the heralds performed at this time was as international messengers and diplomats. Heralds had internationally recognised immunity (symbolised by their white rod of office noted earlier in Chapter 2) which made them ideal for such responsibilities. Machado was used extensively as a heraldic ambassador. Courier service and the accompaniment of ambassadors were, however, the heralds' most common diplomatic duties during the fifteenth century, and it is as yet unclear to what extent the heralds were involved in fundamental diplomatic negotiations. The most common heraldic responsibility, especially for Garter King of Arms, in fifteenth-century diplomacy was to convey the Order of the Garter on foreign kings as the chivalric Order of the Garter was integral to the foreign policy of the English kings.¹

Little academic attention has been given to Machado's extant embassy journals since edited and translated versions were published in 1858 by James Gairdner.² Michael K. Jones's 1992 French paper on Machado's journals of the Brittany embassies, however, has brought them to a modern audience, and historians of Henry VII's reign are familiar with them.³ Nevertheless, this lack of interest is surprising because not only are Machado's extant journals valuable resources for the study of Henry VII's foreign policy, but they also offer considerable insight into how embassies were organised, the logistics of travel, places they went, people they met, the events they witnessed, and also information on what the actual role of a herald was in international diplomacy.

Embassy to Spain and Portugal

On 21 December 1488, Henry VII dispatched an embassy to Spain and Portugal to secure an Anglo-Spanish alliance and to confer the Order of the Garter on King João II of Portugal. Machado was the herald that would accompany the ambassadors who were Dr. Thomas Savage and Sir Richard Nanfan. A Spanish embassy on their way

¹ *Heralds' Memoir*, pp. 9-10.

² *Memorials*, pp. 328-389.

³ Jones, 'Les Ambassades de Roger Machado'; Examples of scholars familiar with Machado's journals are Chrimes, *Henry VII*; Cunningham, *Henry VII*; Griffiths and Thomas, *The Making of the Tudor Dynasty*.

back to Spain also accompanied them on their journey. It has become clear that Machado was in charge of the logistics of the journey, and we can trace the precise route that the embassy took from start to finish through reading Machado's journal (See Appendix D, Fig. 34 for a map of the places Machado visited).

Before embarking for Spain, the ambassadors stayed in Southampton. Machado details in his embassy journal where all the ambassadors were lodged:

the doctor of Castile at the house of John Gildon, then bailiff of the said town; and the knight of Castile at the hotel of a merchant citizen, called Vincent Tyt; and the chaplain of the Queen of Castile was lodged in the house of another citizen, called Laurence Nyenbolt. And there was lodged in the house with this chaplain and in his company a herald of the King of Scotland named Snowdon, who was sent into Castile by his sovereign lord the King of Scotland. The ambassadors of the King of England, my sovereign lord, were lodged thus: the doctor Master Thomas Savage was lodged with a citizen called Thomas Wilson. And Mr. Richard Nanfan, knight for the king's body, was lodged with Richmond King of Arms of Norroy, who was staying at the time in the said town.⁴

Machado must have known and trusted these Southampton men to let them lodge such esteemed guests. Vincent Tyt (Tehy) for instance was a prominent citizen of Southampton. He was mayor twice between 1484 and 1485, and 1498 to 1499, and an alderman in 1488.⁵ He rented several properties in Southampton including tenement 171 on English Street in the parish of Holy Rood where he lived between 1476 and 1499 (See Appendix D, Fig. 33).⁶ John Gildon was Junior Bailiff in 1486, Senior Bailiff in 1488, and sheriff in 1491.⁷ The exact location of his dwelling is unknown, but the 1488 description of the wards of Southampton place his tenement in the third ward somewhere near God's House.⁸ Little is known of Laurence Nyenbolt (Newbolt) except that in August 1483 Geoffrey Atwood complained against him in the Common Court regarding a plea of trespass, and Laurence complained

⁴ *Memorials*, p. 330.

⁵ *Book of Remembrance*, I, 74, 76; *The Southampton Terrier of 1454*, p. 152.

⁶ *The Cartulary of God's House*, p. 360.

⁷ *Book of Remembrance*, I, 74-5.

⁸ *The Southampton Terrier of 1454*, p. 151.

against George Akard concerning a plea of debt in January 1476.⁹ Thomas Wilson was the town's broker from 1502 to 1509, and lived at tenements 128-9 on English Street in the parish of Holy Rood in 1487. He also rented tenements 160-1 on French Street, not far from where Machado lived, between 1483 and 1484 and 1486 to 1487 (See Appendix D, Fig. 33).¹⁰

The embassy set-off from Southampton on two Spanish ships at noon on 19 January 1489 after staying in the town. However, early the next morning, they were forced to dock at Plymouth and remain there for several days because of fierce storms. They set-out again on 3 February, but were once again forced to land, this time at Falmouth, because of bad weather. It was not until 12 February that they were able to continue their journey despite further storms. Finally, on 14 February the wind calmed and they were able to shape their desired course to Bilboa in Biscay. Their good luck was to be short lived, however, because they were hit by more storms the next day and their ship nearly sank:

[At] about sunset the wind began to blow very strongly and changed to north-east, and all that night there was a great tempest, so much so, that on the 15th day, about three o'clock before daylight, there came such a gust of wind that the said ship took in owing to that gust, so much water that she was quite under water and all on one side for a while, and the great sail almost entirely steeped in the sea, and remained so a long time, about a quarter of an hour. And all the ambassadors cried to God, and to all the Saints of Paradise; and not only they but all who were on board the ship. But by God's grace, and by the prayers and pilgrimages promised to the good Saints, they were comforted and saved.¹¹

On 16 February the ambassadors landed in Spain at a place called Laredo on the coast of Biscay. Machado had the task of finding alternative accommodation for the ambassadors because the merchants they were supposed to stay with could no longer lodge them. Luckily, Machado had contacts in Laredo, a man who had lived in Southampton and had been entertained by Machado.

⁹ *The Common and Piepowder Courts of Southampton, 1426-1483*, ed. by Tom Olding (Southampton: Southampton Records Series, 2011), pp. 56, 274, 279.

¹⁰ *Book of Remembrance*, I, xix, 77, 79

¹¹ *Memorials*, p. 332.

Snow storms meant that the embassy was delayed in Loredo for seven days until 23 February. They travelled for several days, staying at villages along the way, until they reached the city of Burgos on 26 February. There they were entertained with feasts and gifted with roe-bucks, capons, coney, partridges, spices, confectionary, and wine whilst they waited to hear from the Spanish king and queen, Ferdinand II of Aragon and Queen Isabella I of Castile, as to how and when they should meet with them. Finally, on 5 March a knight called Sir Rodrigo de Mercado, bailiff-general of the kingdom of Murcia in Granada, arrived who had been sent from the king and queen, and welcomed the ambassadors on behalf of the monarchs. The embassy left Burgos on 7 March heading towards Medina del Campo where Ferdinand and Isabella were currently residing. The embassy spent that night at a village called Reville Vaillegeire where they were very badly lodged:

And the first salutation that the ambassadors had from their hostess with whom they were lodged was that she asked them who had made them so bold as to come into her house without her leave and told them to go out of her house by all the great devils, bawdy villains that they were!¹²

On 9 March they were lodged with an accused and formerly imprisoned heretic, Ruy Gonçalviz de Portilho, whose property had been seized and therefore the ambassadors were poorly accommodated. The embassy reached Medina del Campo on 12 March, and as they approached the town they were met on the road three times by great men of the realm: Firstly by the bishop of Malaga, the doctor of Tallavera, the secretary Ferdinand Alvarez, Alonzo of Kyntanilha, and several other knights, esquires and gentlemen; secondly by the Bishop of Palencia, the Grand Commander of Leon, the Bishop of Segovia, Rodrigo Dolhoa, the Grand Master of the Cortes of Castile; thirdly by the Duke of Alboquerque, the Count of Benavente, the Admiral of Castile, Don Bernarduo de Blasquo, Don Sancho de Blasquo, the Bishop of Ciudad Rodrigo, the Count of Ribadavia, and several other nobles and great persons, knights, esquires, and wealthy people. They were lodged in great style at Medina del Campo in rooms well-furnished and decorated with rich tapestries.

¹² *Memorials*, p. 338.

On 14 March, Ferdinand and Isabella sent for the ambassadors to present their letters at seven o'clock in the evening. The bishops of Oviedo and Malaga escorted Richard Nanfan, one on either side of him, and Dr Savage was escorted by the Count of Monterrey and the Grand Comendador of Calatrava. Machado was escorted by Sir Rodrigo de Mercado and Monsieur Jehan de Sepoulveda and rode before the ambassadors wearing a coat of arms richly embroidered with the arms of England. They were accompanied by torchlight by many other lords and great men. Nanfan presented the first letter to the king, and Dr Savage presented a letter to the queen after making a short speech. The ambassadors were invited to sit and Machado was instructed to stand behind them. Savage then made an oration in Latin before the Spanish monarchs held a council to discuss the ambassadors' letters. Bishop Ciudad Rodrigo then answered the ambassadors regarding Savage's oration, but he was very old and had lost all his teeth making him very difficult to understand. The embassy then took their leave and were escorted to their lodgings by the same men as before. The following day the ambassadors were sent for again to discuss the reasons for their embassy with the king and queen. They were with Ferdinand and Isabella for an hour and the young Prince John and Infanta Isabella, the two eldest children of the monarchs, were presented to them.

On 19 March the ambassadors were escorted to the king's chapel. After the complines were said, King Ferdinand took the ambassadors with him, one either side of him. Machado walked before them and Queen Isabella followed behind. They entered a room where there was dancing and the Infanta Isabella danced with her favourite, a Portuguese lady of the queen's household. Further entertainment was provided on the 22 March when a jousting tournament was held in the embassy's honour. The ambassadors, Nanfan and Savage, watched the tournament on the king and queens' scaffold. They observed Ferdinand and Isabella come in state. The king was led by all the nobles of his court on horseback, followed by the sergeants of arms and four heralds, including Machado. After them came the prince, then the queen and infanta. The tournament was followed by dancing and feasting in the king and queens' palace.

It was not until 24 March that the ambassadors were able to see the Princess Katherine who was proposed in marriage to Henry VII's son, Arthur. A bull fight

provided the entertainment for the next day, followed by a mock-fight on horseback with dogs that re-enacted the fight with the Saracens. Queen Isabella held up the young Katherine on the viewing-scaffold so that she could see:

And it was beautiful to see how the queen held up her youngest daughter, who was the Infanta donna Katherine, princess of Wales; and at that time she was three years of age.¹³

Business continued on 26 March, but the ambassadors could not agree with Ferdinand's and Isabella's commissioners so had to return the next day for further discussions. Finally an agreement was reached:

And there the Kings were sworn upon a book to keep firm and good all that had been concluded there between them and my sovereign lord King Henry of England, the Seventh of his name.¹⁴

The Treaty of Medina del Campo was a triumph for Henry VII. It secured an alliance between the Tudors of England and the great Spanish monarchs of Castile and Aragon through the marriage of their, then infant, children, Prince Arthur of Wales and the Infanta Katherine of Aragon. After considerable haggling, the precise terms of the bride's dowry were agreed and a date for Katherine's arrival in England settled. The monarchs agreed not to aid either of the others' rebels, and complex arrangements for recovering territory in the event of war with France were approved.¹⁵ Henry could now boast of a powerful ally in Europe, which proved that his rule in England was accepted on the international stage.

Ferdinand and Isabella then 'departed the town of Medina very pompously' escorted by the ambassadors. On 28 March, the treasurer to Ferdinand and Isabella brought the ambassadors and Machado gifts from the monarchs: a war horse, a Moorish jennet, two mules, ten yards of silk stuffs and sixty marks of silver each for Savage and Nanfan; Machado received 25 yards of silk stuffs and a mule.

¹³ *Memorials*, p. 351.

¹⁴ *Memorials*, p. 352.

¹⁵ *CSP: Spanish*, I, No. 34; ed., *Foedera*, ed. by Thomas Rymer, 20 vols (London: J. Tonson, 1704-35), XII, 411-29; Chrimes, *Henry VII*, p.281; Cunningham, *Henry VII*, p. 60.

The embassy left Medina del Campo on 31 March on their way to Portugal. Once again we can trace precisely the route they took. At the city of Placentia they were met by the duke of Placentia at Beigar de Castamghaur and a knight called Don Francisco de Sconniga. On 6 April, Machado rode ahead of his party to proclaim the arrival of the ambassadors at the first town in the kingdom of Portugal, which was to be Elvas. It took Machado a day to reach Portugal. He had to cross the River Tagus and found lodging in a small hamlet called La Vente in a wood. Machado went to speak to the governors of Elvas the next day to announce the coming of the ambassadors and order their lodging. He also sent a messenger with a letter from him to the king of Portugal, João II, to inform him that the ambassadors had entered his kingdom. The following day Savage and Nanfan arrived in Elvas and waited instruction from João II. Ruy Dabreu, captain of the castle of Elvas, sent them a present of a load of wine, three loads of barley for the horses, a large dish of sweet meats, and another of fried fish. Another gentleman, Leones Pesteuna, captain of the town, sent a present of wine and fruits, sweet meats, and other luxuries. The town also sent them a present of basket full of fish, wine, bread and fruits, and several other things in great abundance.

On 13 April, the ambassadors left Elvas in the company of gentlemen of the king's household who João II had sent to conduct them to him. When they reached a town called Villa Vicossa, a knight sent from the king told them to remain there because it was Easter week and the king was going to retire to church on Thursday and not come out until vespers on Sunday. But the ambassadors decided it was better to be within a day's journey of the king, so they departed immediately. When they reached Redondo the ambassadors were received by three noble men, the sons of Ayres de Mirando, accompanied by forty men on horses. After they had entered the town, the mother of the gentlemen sent the ambassadors a present of two or three sorts of wine and preserves. The embassy left Redondo on 15 April for the town of Portel, and on 21 April a great festival was held in honour of the ambassadors with dances, bull fights and wrestling. The high chancellor of Portugal came with a hundred other noblemen, knights, doctors, attorneys, barristers, esquires, and other great men. There the chancellor made a great address to the ambassadors on behalf of the king and Dr. Savage answered him. That day they left Portel and rode to Beja where João II

was. They were met by the Seneschal of Portugal, the Captain of Portugal, and a baron called Senhor Ruy de Soussa, who received them on behalf of the king. They rode on and were met by the Marquis of Ville Real, Count de Marialva, Count of Abraynches, and several other great lords. They were later met on the road by the Bishop of Lamego, Bishop of Ceuta and Prior of Ceuta, and several other knights, heralds, and trumpeters. As the embassy entered the town, gunners fired a salute of several canons and they were conducted to their lodgings by 700 or 800 people.

The next day, 22 April, the ambassadors were sent for by the Bishop of Evora, the Bishop of Ceuta, and several other nobles to go before the king. Richard Nanfan delivered the letters to the king and Dr. Savage made the speech. The king conversed with Nanfan and Savage and then they kissed the hand of Prince Afonso of Portugal (heir to the throne who died only two years later in a riding accident) and saluted the Duke of Visseu (later to become King Manuel I of Portugal). They then went to hear the vespers of St. George with the king.

The following days were filled with festivals, feasting, and entertainment. On 26 April, bull fights were held in honour of the ambassadors and they dined with the Bishop of Evora. The embassy dined with the Captain of Tangier called Don John de Menesses and were entertained with music on 28 April. And on 29 April, they went hunting and hawking with the Bishop of Lamego. It was not until the beginning of May that João II received the Order of the Garter:

The King received the Order of the Garter on the 2d day of May, most honourably, in presence of several nobles of his kingdom. And he held the feast of St. George as it is usually held in England, that is, he began to keep it on Saturday at dinner, and in the same dress he sat down to dinner, and rode after dinner to vespers on a fine courser; and from vespers again to supper. And the same next day, which was a fine sight. And after the second vespers were said the king made his vow and the ambassadors in company with him. And after the vow was made, the King retired to his chamber to take off the habiliments of the said Garter, and put on others...On the day that the said king received the said Garter he was dressed in a long jacket of fine violet napped cloth, and it was richly lined with fine-drawn gold thread. And over this he

had a cloak of fine scarlet cloth in the fashion of the country; which dresses he gave to Richmond King of Arms for his fee, because the Garter was presented by him to the hands of Mr. Richard Nanfan, who put them on the body of the said king. Doctor Savage then made an address to him on the part of king Henry, our sovereign lord, how he was elected for one of the companions of the said order, on account of the great virtue and prowess that he possessed; and also on account of the great friendship and the relationship which was in him the said order had been sent to him.¹⁶

The embassy remained at the court of João II for several weeks until they were dismissed on 23 May. The king paid all their expenses and gave them gifts. Richard Nanfan received a gilt cup worth 40 marks containing 200 justos (worth about 220 marks); Savage received another cup of the same size, weight and shape, also gilt, with 300 espadins inside worth over £60; and Machado received a glove containing 50 spadins worth £10. The ambassadors departed Beja on 25 May in the company of the Bishop of Ceuta, Senhor Ruy de Sousso, the Chancellor of Portugal, and several other great men. Nanfan was sent a Moorish horse called Le Teliz richly saddled and harnessed in the Moorish fashion by the Duke of Visseu, which was presented to him at village called Le Tourrom where they stayed that night.

On their journey home, the embassy met with Sir Edward Brampton in Lisbon on 30 May, who accompanied and entertained them whilst they were in the city.¹⁷ The ambassadors met with English merchants living in the city - Thomas Smith, Thomas Tirry, William Cabol, Thomas Baker, and other merchants of London and Bristol. Both Nanfan and Savage loaded ships with merchandise whilst in the city. On 24 June, the Frenchman Seigneur de St. Germain came to anchor at Cascalles and took three English ships by force. This delayed the ambassadors who made Machado write a letter to St. Germain to make him deliver up the said ships, goods, and prisoners. St. Germain replied that he would like to meet the ambassadors at sea and 'show them

¹⁶ *Memorials*, pp. 362-3.

¹⁷ Brampton was a Portuguese Jew who converted to Christianity whilst living in England. His sponsor was Edward IV and for some time rode high in royal favour. He took English nationality and married a wealthy widow and became an important landowner, was knighted, and made Governor of Guernsey. During Richard III's reign, he was used in negotiations between England and Portugal. From 1485 to 1487, Brampton lived in Bruges and continued in the King of Portugal's service. Brampton returned to Portugal in Easter 1487. For more information on the life of Edward Brampton see Barrie Williams, 'Sir Edward Brampton: The Portuguese Years', *The Ricardian*, 6 (1984), 294-8.

whether there was war between the two kings or not.' St. Germain departed five or six days later without meeting with the ambassadors.

Finally, on 3 July, the embassy departed Lisbon and made their final journey back to England. Machado and Nanfan landed at Padstow on 22 July, but Savage chose to continue on to Bristol. Machado took his leave of Nanfan to go to his own home in Southampton, which he reached on 25 July and stayed there a couple of days. On 28 July, Machado journeyed to Windsor where he gave Henry VII news of the embassy.

It is apparent that Machado had a subsidiary role within the embassy to Spain and Portugal, evidenced by the tasks assigned to him and the gifts he received. Savage and Nanfan were the ones who were involved in negotiations and Machado was there to act as messenger, organise accommodation, ships, and horses. He also had a symbolic role to play in representing Henry VII as he is noted as wearing his tabard emblazoned with the arms of England. Those that saw him would recognise his position as part of the embassy from England. It is also possible that Machado was chosen to accompany this embassy as a linguistic interpreter. As discussed earlier, Machado was Portuguese and was probably fluent in several other languages including Spanish. Machado also had the important duty of recording the embassy in detail so that he could report back to Henry and his court in England. His detailed descriptions of the embassy from start to finish include every aspect of the journey, the people they met, where they stayed, and the entertainment provided for them. He even writes in great length of the dress of the royal family on the occasions he saw them. For instance, when the ambassadors first met with the king and queen of Spain:

And the king was dressed in a rich robe of cloth of gold, woven entirely of gold, and furred with a rich trimming of tine sable; and the queen was seated beside him, dressed in a rich robe of the same woven cloth of gold which the king wore, and made in the fashion of the country, such as the ladies of the kingdom usually wear. And over the said robe a riding hood of black velvet, all slashed in large holes, so as to show under the said velvet the cloth of gold in which she was dressed. And on the said hood a line [of trimming], not extended, but a sort of [broken] line, composed of oblong parts about a finger's length, and

half a finger in width, all of solid gold; and each oblong part decorated with fine and valuable jewels, so rich that no one has ever seen the like. The said queen wore round her waist a girdle of white leather made in the style that men usually wear; [of] which girdle the pouch was decorated with a large balsas ruby the size of a tennis ball, between five rich diamonds and other precious stones. She wore on her neck a rich gold necklace composed entirely of white and red roses, each rose being adorned with a large jewel. Besides this she had two ribbons suspended on each side of her breast, adorned with large diamonds, balsas and other rubies, pearls, and various other jewels of great value to the number of a hundred or more. Over all this she wore a short cloak of fine crimson satin furred with ermine, very handsome in appearance and very brilliant. It was thrown on [negligently] crosswise over her left side. Her head was uncovered, excepting only a little *coiffe de plaisirance* at the back of her head without anything else. Truly as I believe, and also as I heard it said at the time, I estimate the dress that she then wore at the value of two hundred crowns of gold.¹⁸

The only things that Machado omits in his journal are the details of the diplomatic negotiations. Machado's involvement in the two embassies to Brittany a year later in 1490, however, is very different.

Embassies to the Duchy of Brittany

In 1488, Duke Francis II of Brittany had died leaving his twelve year old daughter, Anne, as heiress. Charles VIII of France quickly claimed the wardship of the young duchess, his final aim to secure Brittany as an annex of France. Henry VII had reason to be grateful to Brittany for sheltering him and his uncle, Jasper Tudor, for many years while they were in exile. Although France had ultimately helped secure Henry his throne, Henry did not want to lose Brittany as an ally to England's ancient nemesis, France. Therefore, when Brittany asked for English help against France, Henry reluctantly signed the Treaty of Redon in 1489 that promised six thousand men to the Duchess Anne in aid of the defence of Brittany. Henry was also persuaded

¹⁸ *Memorials*, pp. 340-41.

to set about securing allies in Europe that would support him (and Brittany) against the French. The alliance with Spain secured through the Treaty of Medina del Campo was one such, and Henry also signed the Treaty of Dordrecht in February 1489 with the King of the Romans, Maximilian I.

Henry dispatched the six thousand men in April 1489. However, the prospect of foreign intervention in Brittany spurred the French to strike, and in December 1488, French armies advanced from Fourèges and St-Aubin-du-Cormier towards Rennes and up the Loire towards Nantes, which was being defended by Jean de Rieux, the Marshal of Brittany and Alain, sire d'Albret, a nobleman promised in marriage to Anne of Brittany. The French navy was also deployed to attack and secure Breton ports. As the war in Brittany settled into stalemate, the English troops stationed there found their life increasingly uncomfortable. Their quarters at Lamballe were appalling, with little food or shelter. Although, under the agreement of the Treaty of Redon, Anne was responsible for paying the English troops, she did not have enough cash to pay them and Henry was forced to send money to Brittany and hope to be reimbursed later. However, it was the factious politics of the duchy that undermined the war against France rather than poor pay and conditions suffered by the English.

The Bretons were divided by a bitter power struggle between Marshal Rieux, Alain d'Albret and Madame de Laval, d'Albret's sister, on one side and the duchess, Philippe Montauban, the chancellor of Brittany, François, Comte de Dunois, and Jean de Chalon, Prince of Orange on the other. The point of conflict was Rieux's plan to marry Anne to d'Albret and his authority over her, which Anne fiercely rejected. Rieux sort to expel the duchess's supporters from government. He established a rival government at Nantes, while the duchess tried to assert her authority from Rennes. England consequently found itself caught in the middle.

Henry VII appeared as the duchess's protector and ally by providing her with English military aid. However, he also lent sympathy and support to Rieux as he was mistrustful of some of Anne's supporters, in particular, the Prince of Orange and the Comte de Dunois, whom he suspected of making a secret deal with the French to surrender Anne to them. This made Anne distrustful of Henry and the English army in Brittany. It was not until August 1490, during the embassy Machado attended

(described below), that Rieux and the duchess were reconciled and Rieux resigned as Marshal of Brittany. However, by then the Breton and English armies had lost their best opportunity for driving the French from the duchy.

In the summer of 1490, Henry seems to have been convinced that the French were going to attack Nantes. Although Anne did not entirely trust Henry, she needed further English military support if she was going to be able to successfully defend Nantes against the French. On 12 June 1490, Henry made separate treaties with Anne and Rieux for taking Nantes under his protection, agreeing upon his honour and by the word of a king, and even swearing on the sacred Gospels touched by his own hand, that he would withdraw his troops within six days when requested to do so by either the duchess or Rieux. The second English army was ready to embark at the beginning of July, but Henry held them while he waited approval from Rieux and Anne for putting English troops in Nantes.¹⁹ This approval was sort by the embassy that was dispatched to Brittany on 14 June 1490.

Machado set out with Robert Clifford to Southampton on this embassy to Brittany (See Appendix D, Fig. 35 for the places Machado visited in Brittany). Machado arrived in Southampton two days before Clifford to organise their passage. However, when Clifford arrived and saw the boat that Machado had hired, he refused to go aboard because it was too small being only 16 tons burden. Clifford sent a pursuivant called Brook to Portsmouth to ask John Commersal to order another ship. Clifford and Machado arrived in Portsmouth on 22 June to take their ship, 'The Magdalen of Portsmouth'. They were forced to stay there for twelve days because of unsuitable winds, and it was not until 4 July at nine o'clock in the morning that they left Portsmouth. However, they were forced to cast anchor at Swanage soon after departing Portsmouth because of bad weather, and remained there most of the day. They set sail again at eleven o'clock at night and reached Weymouth by five o'clock in the morning. They spent the day in Weymouth and set sail at ten o'clock on 6 July

¹⁹ For further information on the Breton wars see John M. Currin, "The King's Army into the Partes of Bretaigne': Henry VII and the Breton Wars', *War in History*, 7 (2000), 379-412; John M. Currin, 'England's International Relations 1485-1509: Continuities Amidst Change' in *Tudor England and its Neighbours*, ed. by Susan Doran and Glenn Richardson (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 15-43; R. B. Wernham, *Before the Armada: The Growth of English Foreign Policy 1485-1588* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1966), pp. 32-6; Patrick Galliou and Michael Jones, *The Bretons* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), pp. 247-252; Chrimes, *Henry VII*, pp. 280-2; Cunningham, *Henry VII*, p. 60.

under Clifford's orders despite unfavourable weather. Light winds meant that they had to go via Guernsey where they were attacked by French war ships:

They attacked us very fiercely; but we defended ourselves from them, God be thanked, so well that if Master Clifford had allowed it, we might have taken both of them. But Master Clifford would not have our people to fight until we should be landed, because he would not run the risk for the sake of the great charge we had in our embassy.²⁰

They landed at Cornet Castle on Guernsey and were received by soldiers and the lieutenant of the castle called John Apris. Clifford requested some soldiers so that they could pursue the French ships that had attacked them, and Apris lent him fourteen men. However, as they were weighing anchor and lowering the sail, the wind calmed preventing them from sailing and consequently the French ships escaped.

Machado and Clifford remained on Guernsey for several days at St. Paul's Port. On 11 July, they set sail at sunset and landed at Lantregier in Brittany on 12 July at six o'clock in the morning where they heard news that Marshal Rieux was at Vannes. Clifford ordered the town to organise horses for them so that they could journey to the Marshal that day. Machado and Clifford travelled several days until they reached Vannes on 15 July. As they were approaching Vannes, they were met on the road by John Norbury, Richard Woodville, Monsieur de la Marche, and other English noblemen accompanied by archers and soldiers. When they reached Vannes, they discovered that the Marshal had not yet arrived at Vannes, but was still at Maléroit. Therefore, they sent Pursuivant Brook to him to find out where he wanted them to meet him.

On 16 July, the Marshal sent the Governor of Auxerre and his Controller to tell them that they would conduct them to him in the village of Musillac the next day. However, in the end the Marshal came to Vannes on 18 July. Rieux had a short conversation with Clifford in his lodgings then retired to a room with Machado and the Governor of Auxerre. Machado made the overtures touching their commission to the Marshal. Rieux said he would speak with the Breton council and return after supper. After

²⁰ *Memorials*, p. 371.

supper the Marshal came in quest of Clifford and brought with him the Prince of Orange and Madame de Laval, and Clifford and Machado made their respects to them. Machado entered into the commission again and Rieux declared himself well pleased and glad of the coming of Clifford and said he would speak to his council the next day. Rieux then invited Clifford and Machado to dine with him the next day and speak to them more at length about their commission.

On 20 July, Rieux sent for Clifford and Machado to dine with him. Afterwards he took them into a room with the Governor of Auxerre and the Controller of Brittany, William de Bongeur, to discuss business. They concluded that the Marshal was to take English troops to Nantes and that Machado would go to England to make Henry VII hasten a large and powerful army to help defend Nantes against a French siege. Machado was dismissed to go to England on 23 July at five o'clock in the morning, and given 40 *mailhes postules* by the Controller of Brittany to cover his expenses. However, it was not until the next day that Machado could set out on his journey because he could not find horses to hire. Whilst he was waiting, news from France and England reached the Marshal of Brittany:

Item, from France, that the Lord de Guimine had gone on the part of the duchess [of Brittany] into France to see if there was going to be a truce on a certain day, as I have to show more fully by the letters which the said Lord de Guimine had sent to the duchess about that he had been occupied with in France, on one hand; on the other was the news brought by a courier from the duchess, which was that the King our Sovereign Lord was sending the Earl of Shrewsbury into Britanny with a great military force to the number of 8,000 soldiers to assist the duchess in the defence of the said duchy against King Charles VIII of France.²¹

Machado departed Vannes on 24 July with a secretary of the Duchess of Brittany called Monsieur Jon Gibon who was going on embassy to England. They travelled to Morlaix where they took ship for England, landing at Dartmouth on 31 July. Machado rode for several days, stopping at his home in Southampton along the way. Machado

²¹ *Memorials*, pp. 375-6.

reached Henry VII at Farnham in Surrey on 6 August and delivered his letters from the Marshal of Brittany. He was then immediately dispatched to Brittany with a reply.

Once again, Machado stopped at Southampton on his route back to Brittany. He stayed there three days from 13 to 16 August. He hired a ship called 'The Mary of Saint Pol' at Portsmouth, which cost him eight pounds. A secretary of the Duchess of Brittany called Michael le Gac accompanied Machado on his journey. They landed in Brittany at St. Pol de Leon on 19 August. Whilst Machado was at Hennebon, he heard that Richard Woodville had been killed at Nantes on 21 August, 'for which I was very sorrowful'. Alain d'Albret and his men had not welcomed the presence of English soldiers in Nantes, and Woodville's death was a result of attacks by them. Machado reached Vannes the next day:

And there I had the news that the marshal had gone into France for a treaty of peace, at which I was much angered and displeased.²²

Machado decided to continue his journey and arrived at Nantes on 24 August and found Clifford. They then went to find Monsieur d'Albret and Madame de Laval to present their letters. Monsieur d'Albret and Madame de Laval then immediately sent one of the Duchess of Brittany's secretaries to Rieux in France, so that the Marshal could provide Machado and Clifford safe conduct for them to meet him in France. However, the Marshal returned on 1 September before Clifford and Machado could set out for France, bringing with him the Prince of Orange, Monsieur de Guimine, the Grand Master of Brittany, and the Attorney General, and a large retinue of two hundred men on horseback. The next day:

I (Machado) presented my letters to the said lord the marshal, and entered upon [the subject of] the credence that I had towards him on the part of the King my said Sovereign Lord, in presence of Mr. Robert Clifford. With which he was very pleased, and answered that I was very welcome, and that after dinner he would speak to me, and would inform me in presence of the said Sir [Robert] Clifford of all that he had transacted in France with the French King.²³

²² *Memorials*, p. 380.

²³ *Memorials*, p. 381.

However, Rieux did not send for them until the next day when he dispatched the Grand Master of Brittany and the Attorney General. The Attorney General made a declaration on behalf of Rieux telling Machado, Clifford, and Señor Margarit (who was on embassy from Spain) of what had transpired in France. Machado and Clifford were then invited to accompany Rieux to the Duchess of Brittany in Rennes and help with the answer the Duchess was to make to the ambassadors of France.

On 10 September, Machado arrived at Vannes with Clifford and Rieux. There they waited for the arrival of Lord Robert Willoughby de Broke, steward of Henry VII's household and Chief Captain of the King's Army in Brittany, with a company of 1000 archers. Machado and Clifford remained in Vannes for four days, whilst Willoughby went with Rieux to Rennes.

On 15 September, Rieux sent for Clifford to meet him at Auray. Clifford conducted John Norbery to Rieux at Rennes and Machado remained in Vannes until the next day when he set off to meet Clifford and Rieux at Hennebon. Machado arrived at Hennebon on 17 September and dined with Rieux and Clifford. Afterwards, the Marshal conducted them to the town walls where they had a 'great communication' on the business of the embassy.

On 18 September, Clifford and Machado rode to the village of Carhaix to speak with Willoughby. On 19 September, they rose early to converse with Willoughby and then Machado departed to go and meet Rieux, who he met at the village of Fauvet the next day. On 21 September, Machado and Clifford left with Rieux after mass for Maléroit to meet with the Prince of Orange and Madame de Laval. There Rieux discussed with Orange and Madame de Laval for two days the despatch that had been made to the ambassadors of France and the despatch of the Prince of Orange who was returning to France on behalf of the Duchess of Brittany. On 24 September, Clifford and Machado departed Maléroit with Rieux. The next day, Machado left Rieux and Clifford to meet with Willoughby who was going to Rennes to see the Duchess, who he met at Josselin on 26 September. Machado and the Grand Master set off from Josselin for Rennes the next day and arrived at Rennes that night at eight o'clock. They were met outside the gate by Lord de la Roche and around forty other lords of the town.

I have to note here that the following dates given by Machado in his journal are incorrect as they have already occurred in his account. He next writes that on 21 September (? 28 September) Willoughby and Machado were brought before the Duchess of Brittany by the Chancellor of Brittany after they had had dinner. Machado was in Rennes for several days whilst Willoughby conducted his business with the Duchess and her council. On 24 September (? 1 October) Willoughby departed towards Carhaix to pay his troop's wages, but promising to return to the Duchess. Machado took his leave of Willoughby and the Chancellor of Brittany to go to Nantes 'for some important matters which I had to transact with the seigneur d'Albret and others on the part of the King my master.' The Chancellor of Brittany asked Machado to return to the Duchess so she could write to Henry VII via him. Machado arrived in Nantes the next day and remained there for several days before returning to the Duchess at Rennes.

According to Machado's journal, he left Rennes on 5 October to go meet the Grand Master and Clifford at Lancarneau on 14 October. On 16 October, Machado took his leave of Rieux and Willoughby, and went to Morlaix with Clifford to take passage to England. Machado was given gifts before he departed: 20 francs from the Duchess of Brittany, 20s from Madame de Laval, a robe and doublet of black satin lined with black damask and reaching down to the middle of the leg worth 4 crowns an ell from Señor Margarit, a robe of black velvet trimmed with black fur and reaching to the ground from Rieux, ten gold crowns, and a gilt war sword from Clifford. Machado and Clifford travelled back to England with John le Prestre and Seigneur Duval on embassy to England. The journal then abruptly stops with:

And in the said town of Morlaix I waited for the space of...²⁴

It is clear from reading Machado's journals of the 1490 embassies to Brittany that he played a much more vital role in these embassies than he had played in the embassy to Spain and Portugal. However, he was still a junior member who was expected to organise lodgings and travel. His main responsibility appears to have been as messenger between Duchess Anne and Henry VII. Machado would have again performed as linguistic interpreter being fluent in French. Knowledge and familiarity

²⁴ *Memorials*, p. 389.

with the Breton landscape may have also been a reason for why he was chosen for this mission, since I have argued previously that he spent a year in exile in the duchy with Henry Tudor in 1484. The tone of the Brittany journals reflects the sense of urgency of the embassy's mission. Less attention is given to their lodgings, entertainment, and the dress of the Duchess and Marshal for example, which is in marked contrast to the Spanish journal.

It is evident that Machado is writing these journals as reports. When describing the meeting of the English ambassadors with Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, and in particular the Latin oration that Dr. Savage gave, he stipulates explicitly that the oration will be produced more fully in writing to the reader at a later date:

This oration you will afterwards have more fully in writing.²⁵

Throughout, Machado writes in the third person, only occasionally referring to himself in the first. When describing the dress of the Spanish royal family at a bull fight held in the embassy's honour, Machado says:

I could not put it in writing for you, for I could not write it in a year, the disguises and the richness of the changes in dress that they had every time while these festivals lasted. And if I should say ever so much there would still be much more [to say].²⁶

Machado is clearly writing these accounts for another reader and not for his own information and use.

The herald's role as reporter was, therefore, a significant part of his responsibilities in diplomatic embassies. The king and his council would want to have been privy to everything that occurred on an embassy, so that they were well informed of the political and diplomatic climate and also so that they could reciprocate appropriately when receiving embassies from foreign realms. Henry would not want to be out-done when receiving embassies from Portugal, for instance. Although it is evident through reading Machado's journals that he was a junior member of the embassies he

²⁵ *Memorials*, p. 342.

²⁶ *Memorials*, p. 352.

describes, he still had a no less significant role as messenger, organiser, and most importantly, reporter.

C: Machado's Grants of Arms

IMAGE UNAVAILABLE

Fig. 30: Grant of Arms to the London Coopers, 27 September 1509, jointly granted by Machado as Clarenceux King of Arms and Thomas Wriothesley, Garter King of Arms. London, Guildhall Library, MS 05806.

©The Worshipful Company of Coopers.

IMAGE UNAVAILABLE

Fig. 31: Grant of Arms to Richard Weynman of Witney, Oxfordshire, 20 September 1509, jointly granted by Machado as Clarenceux King of Arms and Thomas Wriothesley, Garter King of Arms. London, National Archives, SP 9/1/1.

©National Archives.

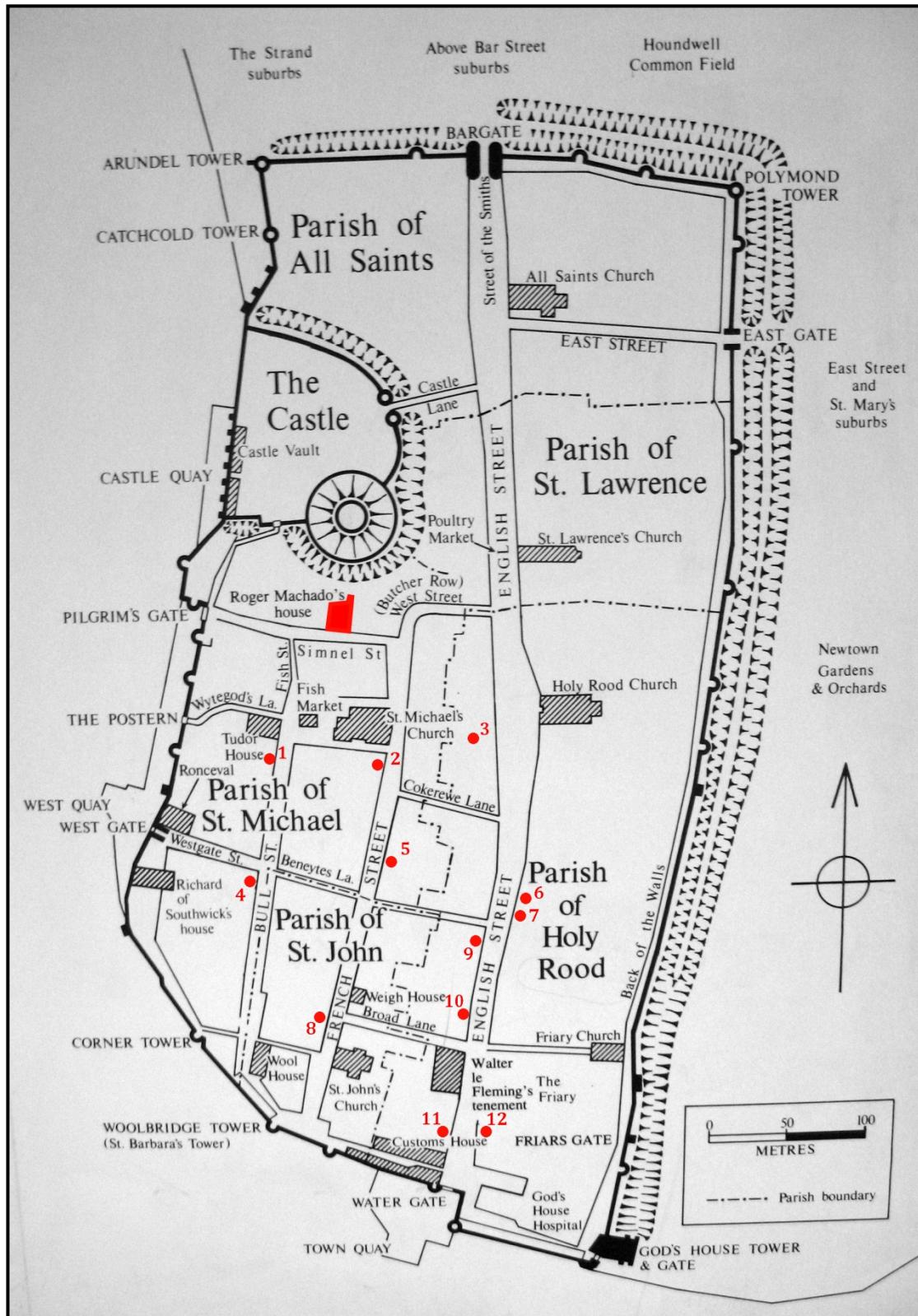
IMAGE UNAVAILABLE

Fig. 32: Page from Machado's Docket Book. London, British Library, MS Additional 45133, fol. 29b.

©British Library.

D: Maps

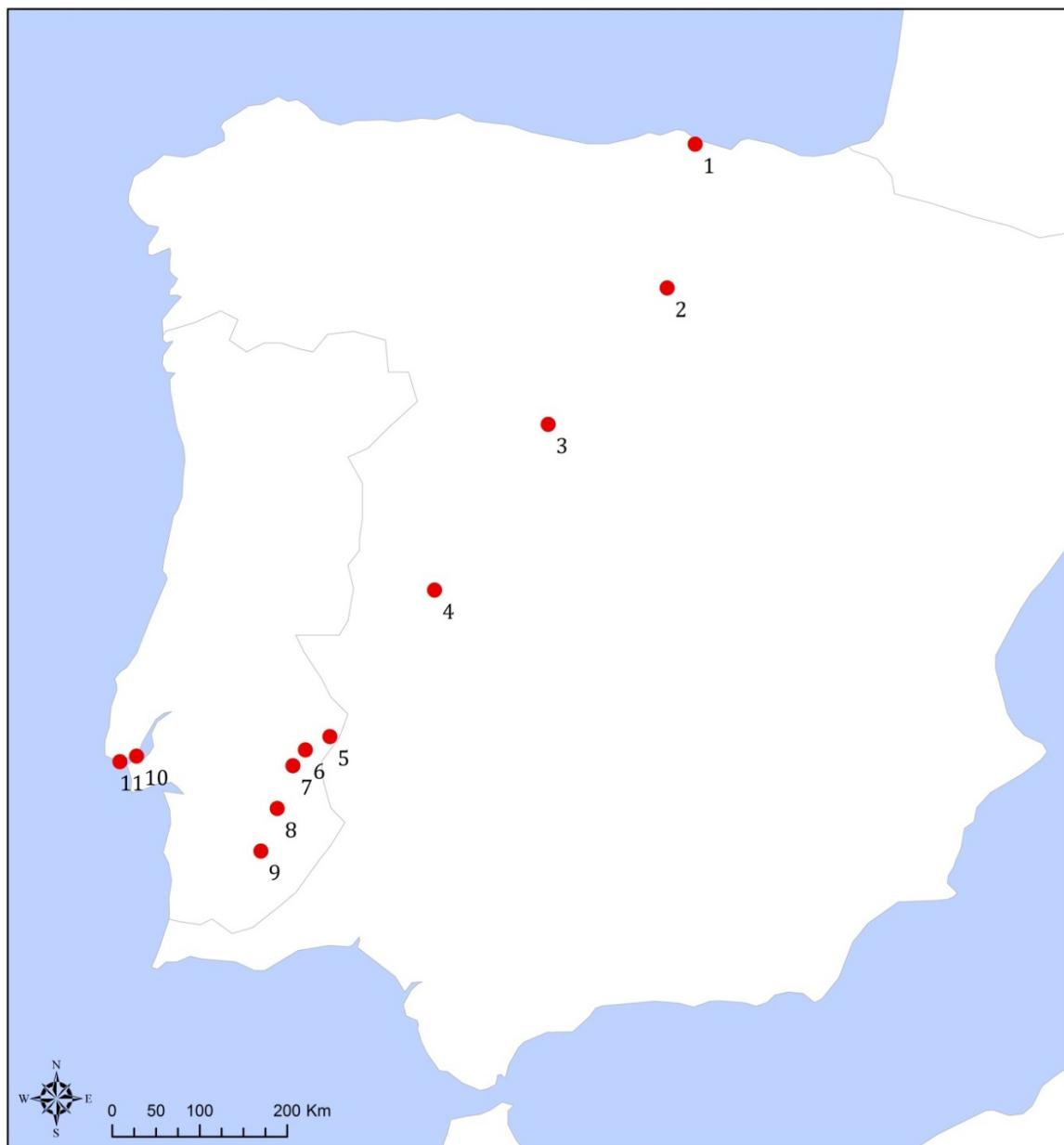
Fig. 33: Medieval Southampton (See page 215 for key)



Key

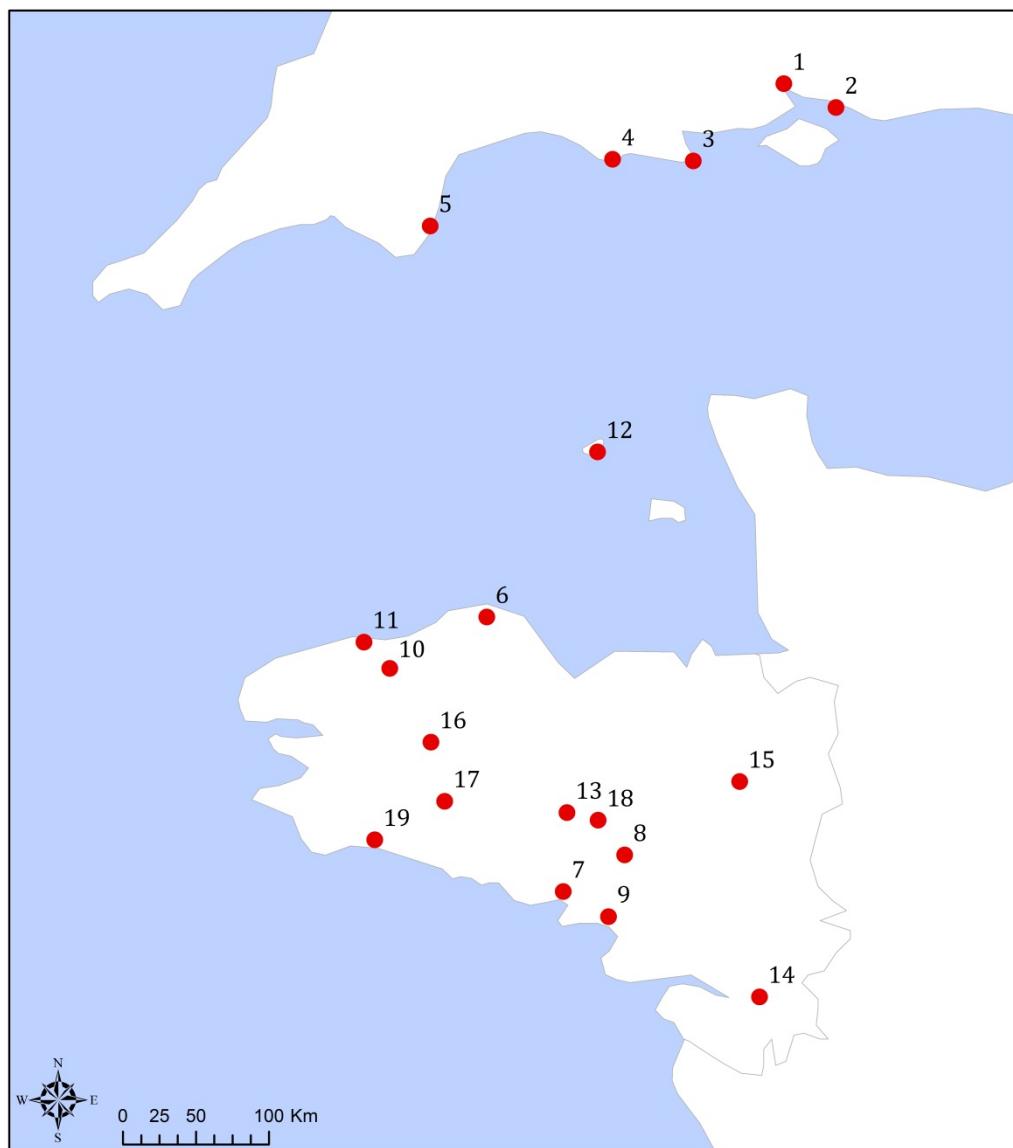
- 1 St. Michael's House
- 2 Woollen Hall
- 3 4-5 St. Michael's Street site
- 4 Bole Hall
- 5 Polymond Hall
- 6 Post Office site
- 7 Iron Door
- 8 West Hall
- 9 Tenement 171
- 10 Tenements 160-1
- 11 Quilter's Vault
- 12 Tenements 128-9

Fig. 34: Embassy to Spain and Portugal, 1488-9



- 1 Laredo
- 2 Burgos
- 3 Medina del Campo
- 4 Placentia
- 5 Elvas
- 6 Vila Viçosa
- 7 Redondo
- 8 Portel
- 9 Beja
- 10 Lisbon
- 11 Cascalles

Fig. 35: Embassies to the Duchy of Brittany, 1490



E: Timeline

Date	Event	Location	Reference
1471	Receives payment of 66s 8d.		NA, E 403/844
1478	Leicester Herald at the marriage of Richard, Duke of York, to Anne Mowbray.	London	BL, MS Harley 69, fols 1-2r; <i>Illustrations of State and Chivalry</i> , pp. viii-xi.
	Mission to Low Countries.		Anstis, <i>The Register of the Most Noble Order of the Garter</i> , I, 367; ODNB
1479	Leicester Herald v. Sheriffs of London		NA, C1/66 No. 297
	Mission to Low Countries.		Anstis, <i>The Register of the Most Noble Order of the Garter</i> , I, 367; ODNB
1480	Mission to Low Countries		Anstis, <i>The Register of the Most Noble Order of the Garter</i> , I, 367; ODNB
1483	Records the funeral of Edward IV.	London and Windsor	CA, MS Arundel 51, fols 14-17
	Starts to write account about Edward V's entry into London.	London	CA, MS Arundel 51, fol. 18
	Owes money and is described late of Southampton and formerly of London in case of Three Lombards v. Robert Taillour.	London	<i>Select Cases in the Exchequer Chamber Before all the Justices of England</i> , p. 98.
	Dispatched to assist William Rosse in the victualing of Calais.	Calais	<i>Memorials</i> , p. xxxix.

1484	Compiles inventory.	Brittany?	CA, MS Arundel 51, fol. 19.
	Account of wines imported in an adventure with John Piriz de Bischaia and Johan de Meulemestre.	Brittany?	CA, MS Arundel 51, fols 21-2.
	Accounts of money due to Johan de Meullmester.	Brittany?	CA, MS Arundel 51, fols 26-27.
	Memorandum of having received £8 from Johan de Meullmester and Johan Piriz for his share of the profit for the wine imports.	Brittany?	CA, MS Arundel 51, fol. 27.
1485	5 notes of expenses of journeys made to Ghent and Bruges for the Marquis of Dorset.	Flanders	CA, MS Arundel 51, fol. 28.
	Made Southampton Searcher of Customs.	London	<i>CFR: 1485-1509</i> , pp. 36, 38.
	Promoted to Norroy King of Arms.		Godfrey and Wagner, <i>College of Arms</i> , p. 79; <i>Materials</i> , pp. 140, 370.
1486	Rents tenements 423 and 424 in Southampton.	Southampton	<i>The Cartulary of God's House, Southampton</i> , II, 289-291.
	Instructs the Corporation of Southampton, on behalf of the king, to provide money for the cost of men and horses accompanying the ambassadors from Brittany.	Southampton	<i>The Book of Remembrance of Southampton</i> , III, 40.
	Sworn to the assize of the King.	Southampton	<i>The Book of Remembrance of Southampton</i> , III, 109.
1488	Machado's home is used as a landmark in Southampton's Description of the Town Wards.	Southampton	<i>The Southampton Terrier of 1454</i> , p. 152.

	Dispatched on embassy to Spain and Portugal.	Westminster	CA, MS Arundel 51, fols 29; BL, MS Cotton Julius B. XII, fol. 52, <i>Heralds' Memoir</i> , p. 164.
1489	Embassy to Spain and Portugal.	Spain and Portugal	CA, MS Arundel 51, fols 29-68.
1490	Embassies to Brittany	Brittany	CA, MS Arundel 51, fols 69-88.
1491	Machado sent to France from Sheen.	Sheen	NA E 404/81
	Made Free Burgess of Southampton.	Cutthorn, Hampshire	<i>The Book of Fines</i> , p.15.
1492	Owes money to Thomas Stokes of the Receipt.		NA, SP 46/123, fol. 120.
1494	Appointed Clarenceux King of Arms.		Godfrey and Wagner, <i>College of Arms</i> , p. 79; <i>Materials</i> , pp. 140, 370.
	Owes money to Thomas Stokes, teller of the Exchequer.		NA, SP 46/123, fol. 121.
	Granted arms to Robert Cromer of Yarmouth.		CA, M4 f. 34v.
	Granted arms to Piers Pekham of London.		<i>Birmingham Heraldic Exhibition, Nov-Dec 1936 Catalogue</i> , p. 97, No. 700.
	Dispatched to Charles VIII of France to discuss Charles's offer of aid to Henry should the Emperor Maximilian support Perkin Warbeck's claim to the English throne.	France	BL, MS Cotton Caligula D. VI, fol. 18; Madden, 'Documents Relating to Perkin Warbeck', pp. 165-6; <i>Letters and Papers: Richard III & Henry VII</i> , II, 292-7.

	Granted arms to Stockfishmongers.		BL, Additional MS 45133, fol. 26.
	Given secret instructions for trip to France.	France	BL Cotton Caligula D. VI, f. 20r; Madden, 'Documents Relating to Perkin Warbeck', p. 167.
1495	Visited Charles in Italy.	Rome	BL, MS Additional 7099; Madden, 'Documents Relating to Perkin Warbeck', p. 167, n. g; <i>CSP: Venetian</i> , I, 260
1496	Mission to France concerning Perkin Warbeck and Henry VII's request of aid against Scotland.		BL, MS Cotton Caligula D. VI, fol. 22; Madden, 'Documents Relating to Perkin Warbeck', pp. 179-80.
1497	Machado reported Perkin Warbeck's full confession of his impersonation of Prince Richard to the Milanese ambassador.		<i>CSP Milan</i> , pp. 329-31.
	Sent to France and Italy with Perkin Warbeck's confession.		<i>CSP Milan</i> , p. 323.
	Vacates tenements 423 and 424 in Southampton.	Southampton	<i>The Cartulary of God's House, Southampton</i> , II, 289-91.
1498	Machado and John Writhe, Garter King of Arms, were granted a joint licence to make visitations.		<i>Munimenta Heraldica</i> , pp. 128-9.
	Machado in France.	France	<i>CSP: Venetian</i> , I, 275-6.
1500	Prebend of Huwyssh annexed thereto, in the person of Rodrigo Machado, commonly called Richmonte.		<i>Calendar of the MSS of the Dean and Chapter of Wells</i> , II, 161.

	Attended Henry VII at his meeting with the Archduke Philip of Burgundy	Calais	<i>Letters and Papers: Richard III & Henry VII</i> , II, 90.
1501	Sent to Maximilian and Denmark.	Flanders and Denmark	Anstis, <i>The Register of the Most Noble Order of the Garter</i> , I, 367; Madden, 'Documents Relating to Perkin Warbeck'; <i>Memorials</i> , p. xlv; <i>ODNB</i> ; <i>Letters and Papers: Richard III & Henry VII</i> , I, 425.;
	Attended Katherine of Aragon during arrival into England		<i>Letters and Papers: Richard III & Henry VII</i> , I, 406.
1503	Granted arms to Merchant Haberdashers.		SAL, MS 476 p. 1674.
1504	Granted arms to John and Thomas Spencer.		<i>Birmingham Heraldic Exhibition, Nov-Dec 1936 Catalogue</i> , p. 97, No. 701.
1505	Declined the king's offer of the office of Garter King of Arms.		Wagner, <i>Heralds and Heraldry</i> , p. 84; Wagner, <i>Heralds of England</i> , p. 146.
	Granted arms to the Leathersellers.		Bromley, <i>The Armorial Bearings of the Guilds of London</i> , pp. vii, 157.
1508	Entertained the French ambassador in London		Anstis, <i>The Register of the Most Noble Order of the Garter</i> , I, 367; <i>Memorials</i> , p. xlv; <i>ODNB</i> .

1509	Made indenture with Thomas Wriothesley formalizing the handing over of many of Clarenceux's duties to Garter King of Arms, and granting Machado a pension out of Garter's wages.		<i>Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, I, 109, No. 14; Anstis, The Register of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, I, 367; Wagner, Heralds and Heraldry, p. 147.</i>
	Granted livery for the coronation of HVIII.	London	NA, LC 2/1 f. 148; <i>Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, I, p. 42.</i>
	Granted an annuity of 20 marks, during pleasure, out of the petty customs of London.		<i>Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, I, 78, No. 44.</i>
	Grant arms to Richard Weynman of Witney, Oxon by Machado and Wriothesley.		NA, SP 9/1/1
	Thomas Thomas and Robert Johns to pay £10 yearly, during the life of Roger Machado, Richmond herald.		(Letters and Papers: Henry VIII, II, 1484)
	Grant of arms to London Coopers by Machado and Wriothesley.		GL, MS 05806
1510	6 May died		Godfrey and Wagner, <i>College of Arms</i> , p. 79.
1976-7	Excavation of tenements 423 and 424 in Southampton.	Southampton	Southampton City Council, SOU 124, unpublished excavation records.

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