English Without Boundaries

English Without Boundaries:

Reading English from China to Canada

Edited by

Jane Roberts and Trudi L. Darby

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FOREWORD

While the political future of the United Kingdom may be uncertain, the status of London as the intellectual capital of the world of anglophone scholarship in literature and linguistics is assured. When the International Association of University Professors of English issued the call for papers for its 23rd triennial conference at the Institute of English Studies in the University of London in 2016, the breadth of responses and the depth of contributions made for a stunning display of collegiality across disciplinary specializations. The four hundredth anniversary of the death of William Shakespeare, commemorated at this conference as well as in countless other venues over the course of the year, added further *gravitas* and attraction to the gathering. More than 170 papers were delivered, resulting in the need to make drastic choices for the representative contributions published in the present volume. Gathered in these pages readers will encounter a generous sampling of work not just from across the fields that constitute 'English' but also from the diverse geographies in which 'English' is alive as a discipline.

Besides in this book, other papers will also be published in more narrowly focused venues, such as in *Studia Neophilologica*, in *Anglistik: International Journal of English Studies*, and elsewhere. These collections will be devoted to the diachronic study of the English language, lexical semantics, the reverberations of World War I a century later, and the study of English in Eastern European countries. The IAUPE conferences that generate this scholarship are not in competition with events held by disciplinary sub-specialties; rather, they provide an alternative that brings scholars back to the roots that originally attracted us to the field—most of us undertook to study 'English' and discovered our specialties later—but also provide opportunities for glancing at new developments in neighbouring fields.

IAUPE conferences set out to prove that disciplinary specialization is fully compatible with successful transmission of specialist knowledge to an audience of non-specialists. The papers gathered in this volume furnish ample proof. The plenary events of the conference did so even more eloquently: Helen Cooper's opening plenary address on 'Shakespeare's Medieval Reading' kept the audience members on the edge of their seats with its sparkling insights. Martin Halliwell's plenary address 'Transformed

States: American Literature, Testimony and the 1990s Health Crisis' combined literary, sociopolitical and therapeutic analysis of a pivotal moment in recent American history that served to illustrate the relevance of an emerging sub-specialty of English, Medical Humanities. A third plenary event took the conference to the South Bank of the Thames, more specifically to Lambeth Palace Library, where a Shakespeare session was followed by conviviality in the palace's Great Hall, generously opened to us by the Lambeth Palace Librarian, Giles Mandelbrote. A final plenary highlight was the question-and-answer session with world-renowned novelist Kazuo Ishiguro, moderated by Richard North and Liliana Sikorska.

Senate House and its first-rate catering service, the neighbouring British Museum, an excursion to Windsor and Bath, and countless reunions among friends old and new over the course of the week-long conference gave us copious opportunities for adding social pleasures to the rigorous academic schedule. In this context, IAUPE President Jane Roberts, her University of London colleagues, the dedicated staff of IES and their graduate student helpers deserve a special thanks!

London has a charm of its own, as Samuel Johnson knew and as all of us had the opportunity to experience. The conference was suffused with this charm and visibly reinvigorated many of its participants. We took advantage of libraries and archives, museums and the cityscape. In its triennial forays into different national contexts in which 'English' is studied, IAUPE tries to alternate between anglophone and non-anglophone venues. Situated between the Beijing conference that preceded it and the Poznań conference that will follow, our London gathering has left us with lasting memories.

Thomas Austenfeld

INTRODUCTION

JANE ROBERTS AND TRUDI L. DARBY

The essays collected here have a unique spread: they range over the whole of English literature, from Old English to the present day, in all its aspects, and are the work of both native-speakers and those for whom English is an acquired language and culture. Together they present a snapshot not only of the state of the subject in 2017, but also of how English is perceived globally. They originated as nineteen of some 170 papers given at the 2016 triennial conference of the International Association of University Professors of English (IAUPE) held in the University of London (a record of the programme forms the Appendix to this volume). IAUPE conferences are about reporting on work in progress, exchanging ideas, discovering new approaches. Members come from all over the world to listen and to talk, and there is no obligation to publish any paper given. The custom has grown up, however, of gathering together a small number of outstanding papers, selected by chairs of the conference sections, to illustrate the width of interests represented at the conference. No other body deals with the full range of English studies undertaken at university level, or makes it possible for its members to sample such a range. The unique character of IAUPE fosters interdisciplinarity, and the understanding of new approaches. Or as one member commented in an email received after the conference: 'I've always been a bit suspicious of the "digital humanities", feeling that they receive far too much funding at the expense of mainstream scholarship; but the two sessions I attended impressed me greatly. It's healthy to confront one's prejudices!'

Overall, the papers attest to the role of interdisciplinarity in English, with boundaries crossed between subjects and cultures, demonstrating the variety of approaches to English literature currently in use around the world, and their success. It is, a generation later, a riposte to Bergonzi's *Exploding English: Criticism, Theory, Culture*,[1] whose book-jacket flap asks 'What is going on in English studies?' and refers in particular to 'the

[1] Bernard Bergonzi, *Exploding English: Criticism, Theory, Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).

advent of theory and the accompanying bitter controversies' and 'the study of English in higher education as a synthesis that has been potentially insecure ever since it emerged at the end of the nineteenth century'. Bergonzi's opening Preface begins: 'I am not sure how best to describe this book, since it crosses boundaries […] it is an account, from within, of a changing culture and form of life: the academic study of English Literature'. Bergonzi's thesis was that English was now so diverse that undergraduate degrees should be restricted to the study of poetry. This IAUPE collection is, we believe, a clear demonstration that Bergonzi was too pessimistic: English scholars around the world are studying the written word in a huge variety of forms, using and developing techniques, including Big Data and quantum physics, that have only recently become available.

The opening section, 'Poets and Playwrights', begins with two essays that use historical evidence to disrupt familiar interpretations of their subjects. Our view today of the Wars of the Roses is coloured by Shakespeare's history plays, but Helen Fulton (University of Bristol, UK) turns to Welsh praise poets to give a different view. In 'William Herbert and Richard Neville: Poetry and Nationalism in the Wars of the Roses' she shows how the career of Richard Neville, earl of Warwick—the Kingmaker—ran in parallel with that of William Herbert, earl of Pembroke, an important figure whose death was greatly mourned on the Welsh March. Despite being an ancestor of the Herbert brothers, who were dedicatees of the First Folio, Herbert has been largely ignored in anglophone sources, and Fulton's essay reinstates him in the historical narrative. Under the title '"When Constabulary Duty's to be Done": Constables and William Lambarde's *The Duties of Constables* (1582)', Trudi L. Darby (King's College London, UK) turns to the Tudor antiquarian Lambarde to reassess Shakespeare's depictions of constables, arguing that they should be taken more seriously rather than treated as fall-about comic parts. Characters such as Dogberry are shown not to be as foolish as is often assumed. Darby turns to the civic records of Stratford-upon-Avon, uncovering evidence which reveals that the playwright had family reasons for his interest in the role. Aiko Saito (Setsunan University, Osaka, Japan) starts her examination 'Not Madness, but Reason and Emotion' with the 'nunnery scene' in *Hamlet*, and finds guidance in a book by Kazuko Matsuoka, a translator of Shakespeare who also works closely with actors in stage productions. From actors' experiences of performing the scene, Saito is able to analyze closely the progress of Hamlet's reactions to Ophelia's speeches and to explain why the audience finds them plausible. Next, Yoshiko Kawachi (Kyorin University, Japan),

in '*Enter* the First Shakespearean Actress on the Japanese Stage: Her Contribution to the Theatre World, Cultural Exchange and Feminism', introduces us to the first Japanese actress to play Shakespeare and places her in the context of the Kabuki tradition of the *onnagata*—a male actor specialising in female roles.

Two writers from North America present views of Milton from opposite ends of the telescope. John Leonard (University of Western Ontario, Canada) considers what, precisely, Milton had in mind when he wrote the four words 'To give a kingdom' in *Paradise Regained*. Who was it who gave a kingdom, and in what circumstances? After considering the usual suspects, Leonard turns to the classical world and a close reading of Plutarch for his answer. In 'Milton and Modern Physics' Susanne Woods (Wheaton College, USA), by contrast, looks at a bigger picture: nothing less than Milton's view of the universe in *Paradise Lost*. She looks at the debate in twentieth-century physics between Einstein's view of the universe as organized and deterministic, and Bohr's quantum physics which portrays it as indeterminate. Woods sees a parallel with the problem with which Milton wrestles in his poem: if the universe is preset to glorify God, then how does the poet account for humankind's having free will?

We take another viewpoint on religious debate in 'Keats and the Politics of Gothic Beauty' by Michael Tomko (Villanova University, USA). Starting with Keats's letters of 1819 about Winchester Cathedral, Tomko considers how his poetry was affected by the religious politics of the period. Bishop John Milner, a proponent of Catholic Emancipation, advanced his cause in part by compiling a history of Winchester Cathedral. Tomko argues that while Keats would not have agreed with Milner's views on religion, he would have sympathized with his opposition to the Anglican establishment and was attracted by his aesthetic of Gothic beauty, as seen in 'The Eve of St Agnes' and other works.

Roger D. Sell (Åbo Akademi University, Finland) looks at another of the Romantics and his place in society, in 'The Example of Coleridge: A Utopian Element in Literary Communication'. Sell deliberately puns on 'example'. He takes it to mean a sample of a particular category, and also as something that is exemplary because it is good. Coleridge, Sell argues, placed great store on the writer's role in society, as reflected in his plan to establish a Utopian community in North America and his emphasis on companionship and community. He is therefore an example of a writer behaving well. In 'Knowing Your Place: Auden on Location' Tony Sharpe (University of Lancaster, UK) examines the place in society of the English poet, W.H. Auden, who chose to spend the last years of his life in an Austrian village. In 1965 Auden wrote a poem about one of his

neighbours, 'Josef Weinheber', described as an 'Occasional Poem', and Sharpe considers what this signifies. What does it mean for Auden to have chosen to be in one particular place and not somewhere else? How much of a location's history can, or should, a poet note or ignore? And is the poem's deliberate understatement appropriate to its subject?

In the second section, with a group of essays on North American issues, we leave the old world. Writing from China, Li Jin (Beijing Foreign Studies University, China) looks at a life-writing narrative by an early British settler that describes her encounter with Native Americans. In a thoughtful study of a work that previous generations might not have treated as high literature, but from which much may be gleaned about both the past and about our own cross-cultural society, Li Jin's examination of 'Mary Rowlandson's Indian Captivity Narrative and Her Cultural Border-Crossing in the New England Colony' demonstrates how Rowlandson's publication was transgressive in a number of ways, most notably by breaking into a male-dominated world and by challenging the myth of the new world as a paradise. Rowlandson writes of the Native Americans as alien and savage, but she also shares the knowledge of them that she has acquired during her captivity. Rowlandson's captivity narrative established a new genre of writing and provides an eye-witness account of early American history and culture. For Li Jin, as a Chinese scholar, both the Native Americans and the settlers are 'other' and she writes with detachment and lack of bias. This essay encapsulates the strengths of bringing a global perspective to English studies.

From seventeenth-century North America, Isabel Ermida (University of Minho, Portugal), under the intriguing title '"Astronomically true"', takes us on a journey to the moon in a hot-air balloon, as told by Edgar Allan Poe. His short story 'Hans Phaall—A Tale', published in 1835, was an early example of 'fake news': a newspaper hoax, which he followed with another balloon hoax in 1844. Ermida deploys a multi-modal perspective to analyze Poe's contribution to the genre of spoof news, examining the linguistic, structural, discursive and ideological construction of Poe's texts.

We come back down to earth with a paper on the correspondence between the writer Susanna Strickland Moodie in Canada and her London publisher, Richard Bentley. Mary Jane Edwards (Carleton University, Canada) discusses Bentley as the publisher of *Roughing It In The Bush; Or, Life in Canada* in 1852, showing how the letters between author and publisher give a fascinating insight into the process of bringing a manuscript from a Canadian wilderness to the bookshops of London, including the influence of Susanna's husband on the text, the delays in

getting corrections to Bentley and Bentley's own influence on the book as published.

The American section ends with '*Everyman* and *Nemesis* in Newark: Philip Roth, Hebrew, and American Writing', Hana Wirth-Nesher's essay on two of Philip Roth's late works, published in 2006 and 2010 respectively. These novels, set in North American Jewish neighbourhoods, through their titles signal Roth's ambition—the stories they tell are universal. Wirth-Nesher, writing from Tel-Aviv University (Israel), considers how Roth uses traces of Hebrew in everyday North-American contexts to represent Jewish ancestry and the human condition; and she demonstrates the persistence of language markers long after immigrants have lost the languages they brought to the new world.

The essays in Section III, 'From Syntax to Big Data', are centred on the study of the English language. We begin at the beginning with an analysis of 'Resumptive Pronouns in Old English Relative Clauses' by Michiko Ogura (Tokyo Woman's Christian University, Japan). The sentence construction using resumptive pronouns, common in Old English, is found also in the later medieval period and beyond. Some scholars have argued that, as in more recent usage, resumptive pronouns would have been used dialectically and regarded as vulgar in early times. However, illustrating her argument with examples taken from across Old and Middle English, Ogura establishes that this was not the case, but that the use of resumptive pronouns was then accepted. Minoji Akimoto (Aoyama Gakuin, Japan) does not confine his study to any one period, but in his essay 'On the Development of Idiomatic Prepositional Phrases in Collocation with *bring, put* and *set*' he ranges from Old English to contemporary usage. In modern English, he notes, these three verbs are almost always used with prepositions and rarely stand alone. This practice grew up as English lost its system of inflected nouns, instead using prepositions and modal auxiliaries to imply meaning, and thus changed the way in which verbs are used. Akimoto draws on electronic corpora to show this development in the language.

In 'Word combinations in *The Royal Phraseological English-French, French-English Dictionary* (Tarver, 1845–1849)', Stefania Nuccorini (Roma Tre, Italy) highlights a significant development in lexicography, the introduction of phrases into the bilingual dictionary. Nuccorini asks us to look at words in dictionaries, and in particular at the ways in which lexicographers present definitions of words in collocations. Her detailed examination of the main features of Tarver's dictionary, including close analysis of the entries for *hand* (English) and *main* (French), reveals the influence of Tarver's mid-nineteenth century dictionary on subsequent

dictionary makers. Cynthia Wall (University of Virginia, USA), in 'Allegorical Preposition, Or, The Topography of the Page' then looks at even larger groups of words: the text on the page. Her essay deals with the way in which writers use punctuation, not merely for grammatical purposes but also as an aspect of the physical presentation of the text's meaning, and she draws her examples from a wide range of sources. The diktats of grammarians and lexicographers are brought to bear on selected passages from publications as diverse as Richardson's *Clarissa*, Ann Radcliffe's *The Mysteries of Udolpho* and Thomas Whately's *Observations on Modern Gardening*.

The two concluding papers take us firmly into the digital world. Bob Owens (The Open University, UK) introduces the Reading Experience Database (RED), an electronic research tool. This database, hosted by the Open University and publicly available, contains some thirty thousand pieces of evidence relating to the history of reading 1450–1945. Using RED, researchers can find out what readers were reading at a particular time; but more than that, they can see the context for reading. How did readers obtain reading matter? How did they read, and where, and when? For what purpose were they reading? RED invites all these questions. Finally, 'Digital Humanities and Big Data', by William A. Kretzschmar (University of Georgia, USA, and University of Glasgow, UK), maps out ways in which the humanities can make use of massive databases, or 'Big Data'. Although Big Data projects are found most often in the sciences, many Big Data collections are essentially linguistic corpora, containing millions, sometimes billions, of words, and they offer exciting resources for the study of the complex system that is language. The digital tools that are becoming available enable scholars to study language across time and in varying situations, allowing subtle analyses to be made of patterns of usage. Kretzschmar sketches out an exciting new Big Data project, aimed at providing a firm foundation for the documentation and description of emergent patterns in English since 1500 and opening up new lines of research.

Bringing together so diverse a body of essays has been exhilarating, as was the conference at which they were originally delivered. It remains to us to thank all the section chairs and co-chairs for selecting and sending these papers to us. Our special thanks go to some fellow members of IAUPE, to Thomas Austenfeld, Krystyna Kujawinska Courtney, Jeremy Smith, and to Professor Akiko Kusunoki (Tokyo Woman's Christian University) for advice and help.

PART I:

POETS AND PLAYWRIGHTS

CHAPTER ONE

WILLIAM HERBERT AND RICHARD NEVILLE: POETRY AND NATIONALISM IN THE WARS OF THE ROSES

HELEN FULTON

In the decade between 1459 and 1469, William Herbert, earl of Pembroke, and Richard Neville, earl of Warwick, competed for the favour of Edward IV. Both of them helped Edward on to the throne in 1461, and both of them worked closely with the king during the decade of the 1460s. The power struggle between Herbert and Warwick ended with Herbert's death at the hands of Warwick after the battle of Banbury in 1469. Warwick's own death occurred two years later, after his failed attempt to return Henry VI securely to the throne in 1471.

While much has been written about Richard Neville, also known as Warwick the Kingmaker, very little has been written about William Herbert, despite his close friendship with Edward IV and the key role he played in securing Wales for the Yorkist regime.[1] The historical record says almost nothing about Herbert, but to the praise poets in Wales he was a national hero. By comparing some of this Welsh poetry to Herbert with the political poetry in Middle English which mentions Warwick, it

[1] There are at least four books with the title *Warwick the Kingmaker*, a term which seems to have been invented by Charles W. Oman in his book of that name published in 1891. The most recent is A.J. Pollard, *Warwick the Kingmaker: Politics, Power and Fame* (London and New York: Hambledon Continuum, 2007). In contrast, there is no monograph dedicated to the life of Sir William Herbert of Raglan. An excellent outline of his life is provided by Ralph A. Griffiths, 'Herbert, William, First Earl of Pembroke (c. 1423–1469)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), vol. 26, pp. 729–31. An account of his service to Edward IV is included in the biography of the king by Charles Ross, *Edward IV* (London: Methuen, 1974), and his role in the Wars of the Roses is considered by H.T. Evans, *Wales and the Wars of the Roses* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1915).

becomes clear that the regionalism of the Welsh March was as much a factor in the rivalry of the two men as the apparent nationalism implied by the poetry.

The significance of the March of Wales

One important thing that Herbert and Warwick had in common was that they were both lords of the March, the multilingual and multicultural space forming the border lands between Wales and England. The political border between Wales and England was not formally established until the Act of Union passed by Henry VIII in 1536. Before then, what lay between England and Wales after 1066 was not a single political border but rather a wide swathe of land running from Chester in the north to Pembroke in the south-west. This was the March, the lands that marched together, made up of huge estates left over from the Norman conquest and divided into myriad smaller land grants, many of them held by Welsh families who had survived the traumas of Norman invasion and now lived under English control.

From 1282, when Edward I conquered the last independent princedom of north Wales, until the Act of Union in 1536, Wales was divided into Crown lordships and Marcher lordships, the latter ruled mainly by the English descendants of Norman barons. While the Crown lordships were governed according to English systems of administration, the Marcher lordships were accountable only to themselves. Almost all the knights of the March owed their service, not to the king, but to their Marcher lords who effectively ran their own private armies.[2]

During the fourteenth century, the number of Marcher lords decreased, from about twenty-five at the beginning of the century to fifteen at the end, many of them absentee lords with duties that took them to Ireland, England or the continent.[3] Power was therefore concentrated into fewer hands. By the fifteenth century, the March and much of Wales beyond it was policed by a small group comprising some of the most powerful families in England, particularly the earl of Warwick and the Nevilles, alongside the Mortimers, the family of the dukes of York: a Norman family who could also claim a Welsh descent from Llywelyn ap Iorwerth,

[2] Max Lieberman, *The March of Wales 1067–1300: A Borderland of Medieval Britain* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2008), p. 5. For a full account of the March of Wales in the later Middle Ages, see R.R. Davies, *Lordship and Society in the March of Wales 1282–1400* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978).

[3] A.C. Reeves, *The Marcher Lords* (Llandybie: Christopher Davies, 1983), p. 43.

prince of Gwynedd, who died in 1240.[4] These were men who could, and did, raise substantial armies to support the king from their lands in Wales, in the north of England, and elsewhere. From the point of view of the Crown, their support was crucial in maintaining hegemony. It is not at all surprising, then, to find the Marcher lords playing key roles in the civil wars of the fifteenth century.

The reign of Henry VI (1422–1461) was marred by political unrest and the king's ill health which allowed powerful men to take control. During the 1450s, Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, first cousin and heir presumptive to Henry VI, began to gather allies among the barons of England and the March.[5] Among them were Richard Neville, the earl of Warwick, and Sir William Herbert of Raglan. Unlike most of the other Marcher lords, William came from a Welsh family who, through strategic positioning, had gained entry to the gateways of English political power. His father was Sir William ap Thomas of Raglan castle, bearing a Welsh patronymic that was changed by his ambitious son to the English surname of Herbert, a name of discreetly Germanic origin which appeared in Britain at the time of the Norman conquest. William's mother was Welsh: Gwladus, daughter of Sir Dafydd Gam, a staunch loyalist to the English crown who fought for Henry V at Agincourt in 1415. Their son, William Herbert, rose to be the most powerful Welshman of his day, receiving a peerage in 1461 and an earldom (Pembroke) in 1468, making him the first Welsh Marcher lord outside the royal family.[6]

From the middle of the fifteenth century, the Welsh Marches became a key zone of the growing factionalism between the house of York and the

[4] The connection between the Mortimer family and the old line of Welsh princes was sufficient reason for Welsh poets in the fifteenth century to support the Yorkist claims to the monarchy. See Charles Hopkinson and Martin Speight, *The Mortimers: Lords of the March* (Almeley, Herefordshire: Logaston Press, 2002), pp. 49–50.

[5] Richard of York's ambitions led him to make as many enemies as allies in his quest for power. For a useful summary of this period, see Michael Hicks, *The Wars of the Roses* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2012), pp. 82–88.

[6] Jasper Tudor and his brother Edmund, half-brothers of Henry VI, were the first Welshmen to be elevated to the peerage, as the earls of Pembroke and Richmond respectively. As such they received a number of estates and lordships, many of them, in Jasper's case, in the Welsh Marches, including Pembroke and Kidwelly (*Calendar of Patent Rolls, Henry VI, 1452–1461*, pp. 79–112). Jasper's earldom of Pembroke was removed from him by Edward IV in 1461 and later bestowed on William Herbert following Herbert's triumphant capture of Harlech Castle in 1468. See Ralph A. Griffiths and Roger S. Thomas, *The Making of the Tudor Dynasty* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1985), pp. 32–35 and 55–61.

house of Lancaster. The king had to have the support of the March to keep control of the Welsh, but the distribution of allegiances along the March in the 1450s was against him. Glamorgan was held, on and off, by Richard Neville, earl of Warwick, with Usk and Caerleon held by the Duke of York and Abergavenny held by Edward Neville, a Yorkist supporter. Some small estates in the south east, at Monmouth and Wye, were part of the duchy of Lancaster, but essentially the southern March was Yorkist. From Builth to Denbigh, including Ludlow, the estates belonged to the Mortimer family of the Duke of York and represented a formidable front line of Yorkist support in Wales.

Brecon was at first a significant Lancastrian wedge between Warwick in Glamorgan and the Duke of York's estates in mid-Wales. The lordship was held by the Stafford family, relatives of Henry VI, and their leader, Humphrey, first duke of Buckingham, was one of Henry's trusted councillors. But after the Duke's death in 1460, the land was held by his grandson, a minor, and, under pressure from local Welsh lords, it became loyal to William Herbert and hence to the Yorkists: men from Brecon fought for Herbert at Edgecote (Banbury) against Warwick in 1469.[7] The only securely Lancastrian section of the March was the land between Shrewsbury and Montgomery, held by John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, who remained loyal to the Lancastrians throughout the civil wars.

The pattern of Marcher lordships during the later part of Henry's reign meant that there was an almost unbroken line of Yorkist lands on the March from Cardiff to Chester. Henry urgently needed to bring the Nevilles and Mortimers into his party, but instead they were co-opted by the powerful figure of Richard Neville, earl of Warwick, who spent most of the 1450s working against King Henry while supporting Richard Duke of York as the rival claimant to the throne. Warwick and York seized their moment in 1460, when they challenged Henry VI for the crown. Richard was killed in the subsequent battle at Wakefield in December 1460 and it was his son Edward, earl of March, who took the throne in March 1461.

During these decisive years, the task of preserving order in Wales and delivering a Welsh army to support the Yorkist cause had been delegated by Warwick to his ally and client on the south-eastern March, William Herbert of Raglan. In February 1461, Herbert led an army of men from his own and the Duke of York's Marcher estates into battle at Mortimer's Cross between the Yorkists and the king's party. The Yorkists were the victors, and by 3 March, Herbert was at Baynard's Castle in London to proclaim Edward as king. For the rest of the decade, Herbert served

[7] Evans, *Wales and the Wars of the Roses*, pp. 54, 71, 103.

Edward faithfully and well, while Warwick, resenting Herbert's influence and friendship with Edward, began to turn against them both.

All during the 1460s, Richard, earl of Warwick, who was instrumental in putting Edward IV on the throne, appeared to be a loyal subject, and yet by the end of the decade he was plotting to restore Henry, the Lancastrian king in exile, to the throne. Modern historians, following the historical record, seem unable to explain exactly why Warwick changed his mind about Edward, and speculate that Edward himself wanted to put a distance between himself and the controlling power of the extended Neville family, a move which angered Warwick.[8]

What seems far more likely, but which is obscured by the historical record, is that Warwick developed a considerable resentment concerning the rising fortunes of William Herbert and his close relationship to Edward. A series of decisions by Edward appeared to slight Warwick, including Edward's failure to make him a duke when he elevated Herbert to the peerage in 1461, and Edward's removal of Warwick's brother, George, Archbishop of York, from the chancellorship.[9] It seems clear, and the evidence of the Welsh poetry supports it, that Herbert replaced the earl of Warwick as the main ally of the Yorkist king, and this must have been at least part of the reason why Warwick began to turn against Edward and to plot for the restoration of Henry VI. During the 1460s, only Warwick's own lordship of Glamorgan was outside Herbert control; the rest of Wales and the Marches was indisputably Herbert territory.

By the winter of 1468–69, Warwick was briefing against Herbert and busily cementing his alliances against the court, while in Wales, Herbert began to marshal a counter-army to support the king.[10] On 26 July 1469, Herbert's army of Marcher lords and Welsh soldiers found itself alone in fighting Warwick and his Lancastrian allies at Edgecote, near Banbury.[11]

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[8] See for example, V.J. Scattergood, who says: 'What precisely caused Warwick's defection is not clear. It seems, however, that Edward consciously set out to free himself and his policies from Neville domination' (*Politics and Poetry in the Fifteenth Century* [London: Blandford, 1971], p. 198).

[9] Evans, *Wales and the Wars of the Roses*, p. 82 and pp. 95–96; Ross, *Edward IV*, pp. 109–10.

[10] In one of his praise poems to William Herbert, Guto'r Glyn describes a feast held by William and his allies on the eve of their departure to Gloucester to support the king. See *Guto'r Glyn.net*, poem no. 23, ed. and trans. by Barry J. Lewis. <http://www.gutorglyn.net/gutorglyn/index/>, [accessed 30 October 2016].

[11] There are a number of Welsh poems describing the battle of Edgecote, or Banbury. See Barry J. Lewis, 'The Battle of Edgecote or Banbury (1469) Through the Eyes of Contemporary Welsh Poets', *Journal of Medieval Military History*, 9 (2011), 97–117.

The Welsh were overwhelmed and the Herbert brothers, William and Richard, were captured and taken to Northampton. The next day, Warwick ordered their execution, a clear act of revenge against William Herbert for supplanting Warwick as the favourite of the Yorkist court.[12] Warwick himself, having lived by the sword, died by the sword just two years later. Following his temporary deposition from the throne in 1470, Edward IV returned in March 1471 to fight against Warwick. At the battle of Barnet, Edward decisively reclaimed the throne and Warwick was killed.

Welsh poems to William Herbert

There is little doubt that Welsh poets, speaking for a multilingual class of nobility and gentry from Welsh and English families on the March, adored William Herbert. They regarded him unequivocally as a Welshman, whose closeness to the court of Edward IV had helped to bring Edward to the throne and would help to keep him there. There are sixteen poems to William Herbert by a variety of Welsh poets, all praise poems, and several more to his son and brother, indicating the importance of the Herbert family as major patrons of the poetic tradition, and as political players in the civil wars.[13]

One of the main poets who composed poems to William Herbert was Guto'r Glyn (fl. *c*. 1435–*c*. 1493), who lived long enough to see the Wars of the Roses through to their end at Bosworth in 1485. Generally regarded by modern critics as a Yorkist supporter, Guto was pragmatic enough to compose poems to both sides of the political divide, but he revealed a clear preference for Sir William Herbert during the peak of William's career in the 1460s. In a striking praise poem to William Herbert, Guto compares William's relationship to Edward IV with that of Roland and Charlemagne:[14]

> O rhoed Siarlmaen yn flaenawr,
> Rolant a ddug meddiant mawr;
> Edwart a Herbart hirbost

[12] The list of dead is given by Evans, *Wales and the Wars of the Roses*, p. 108.
[13] The poems to William Herbert have been edited and studied by W.G. Lewis, 'Astudiaeth o Ganu'r Beirdd i'r Herbertiaid hyd Ddechrau'r Unfed Ganrif ar Bymtheg', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Wales, Bangor, 1982. See also Lewis's article, 'Herbertiaid Rhaglan fel Noddwyr Beirdd yn y Bymthegfed Ganrif a Dechrau'r Unfed Ganrif ar Bymtheg', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* (1986), 33–60.
[14] *Guto'r Glyn.net*, no. 23, ll. 39–48.

Yn un i gyd a wnân' gost.
Ei aelod yw a'i elin,
Ei law a'i droed pan wnêl drin.
Yn y cwnsel y gelwir
Ym mhob peth gyda'r mab hir,
Arglwydd dewr o gledd a dart
A cheidwad heddwch Edwart.

If Charlemagne was made leader, still Roland enjoyed great authority; Edward and Herbert the tall column as one together do hard work. He is his limb and his elbow, his hand and his foot when he gives battle. In the council the decision goes in every matter according to the tall man's [i.e. Herbert's] opinion, a bold lord with sword and dart and keeper of Edward's peace.

In his passionate elegy for William Herbert after his execution in 1469, Guto, like a number of other Welsh poets, laments the Yorkist defeat as a national tragedy orchestrated by English treachery, comparing the battle of Edgecote to a *danse macabre*: [15]

Dawns o Bowls! Doe'n ysbeiliwyd,
Dwyn yr holl dynion i'r rhwyd.
Dawns gwŷr Dinas y Garrai,
Dawns yr ieirll: daw'n nes i rai!
Duw Llun y bu waed a lladd,
Dydd amliw, diwedd ymladd.
Duw a ddug y dydd dduw Iau
Iarll Dwywent a'r holl Deau [...]
Ef a'm llas, mi a'm nasiwn,
Yr awr y llas yr iarll hwn,
Cymro oedd yn ffrwyno Ffrainc,
Camreol Cymry ieuainc.

The Dance of Death! Yesterday we were despoiled, the snatching up of all the men into the net. The dance of the men of Doncaster, the dance of the earls: to some it will come closer yet! On Monday there was blood and slaughter, a day of disgrace, the end of all fighting. On Thursday God took away the earl of both regions of Gwent and all south Wales. […] I was killed, I and my nation too, the moment that this earl was killed, a Welshman who used to bridle France and the misrule of young Welshmen.

[15] *Guto'r Glyn.net*, no. 24, ed. and trans. by Barry J. Lewis, ll. 1–8 and 67–70. The Welsh term 'dawns o Bowls' comes directly from the English 'daunce of Powles', meaning the dance of death depicted at St Paul's in London in the 1440s. See the notes to poem no. 24, line 1.

Many of the Welsh poets explicitly blamed the Earl of Warwick for the death of their great hero. Dafydd Llwyd (fl. *c*. 1400–1490), the poet of prophecy and politics who celebrated the exploits of Jasper Tudor and the Lancastrian party, was unforgiving towards the earl of Warwick, who betrayed Henry VI to put Edward on the throne in 1461. In his elegy for William Herbert, Dafydd puts his Lancastrian instincts aside to praise a Welshman whose outstanding achievements override the fact of his service to the Yorkist crown. For Dafydd, the only villains are the English, whose treachery is personified by Warwick: [16]

> Aeth yn frad weithian y fro,
> Ynys Loegr, noswyl Iago.
> Gwŷr Harri ddig hir ei ddart,
> Gwŷr anwadal, gwerin Edwart,
> Gwŷr ffailst gaiff gware â ffon,
> Gwŷr i Warwig yr awron.
> Ar frud y mae'r alltudion
> A fwrw eu gwaed ar frig onn.
>
> Treacherously they went now, the borderland of the isle of England, on the eve of St James. The men of wrathful Henry, long his spear, unreliable men, and Edward's rabble, false men who make a feint with a lance, they are all Warwick's men now. The foreigners are prophesied and spill their blood on the tip of an ash-spear.

In Wales, Warwick's death in 1471 was seen as righteous revenge for the death of Herbert. Celebrating the role of the Welsh lord, Sir Roger Kynaston, at the battle of Barnet in 1471, when Warwick was killed by the triumphant forces of Edward IV, Guto'r Glyn remembers the death of William Herbert at Banbury and reckons that justice has been done: [17]

> Awst y llas fy nghastell i,
> Iarll ar benbryn llawr Banbri;
> Ar dduw Pasg, arwydd paham,
> Y dialodd Duw Wiliam.
>
> In August my fortress [i.e. William Herbert] was slain, an earl on a hilltop on the ground of Banbury; on Easter day, a sign of why, God avenged William.

[16] *Gwaith Dafydd Llwyd o Fathafarn*, ed. by W. Leslie Richards (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1964), no. 54, ll. 43–50; my translation.
[17] *Guto'r Glyn.net*, no. 79, ed. and trans. by Iestyn Daniel, ll. 1–4.

There is enough evidence, then, to indicate that many Welsh poets constructed the rivalry between Herbert and Warwick as a symptom of the traditional enmity between the Welsh and the English. Even those poets who inclined more towards the Lancastrian faction led by Jasper Tudor preferred to support William Herbert rather than the Earl of Warwick, whose role was to symbolise English treachery against the Welsh. In their poems to Herbert, the Welsh poets clearly saw him as a leader for Wales, someone who could unite the country and restore its status as a nation. The role imagined for William is in many ways a nostalgic echo of that played by the independent princes of Wales before the Edwardian conquest of 1282. The death of William Herbert was, for the poets, something close to the death of the nation.

English poems to Warwick

For English popular poets of the fifteenth century, it is the figure of Warwick, a glamorous and aristocratic hero with an impeccable lineage, who represents the focus of Yorkist support. In a poem written not long after Edward's accession in March 1461, reflecting on past battles such as Northampton (1460) and Mortimer's Cross (1461), where the Yorkists defeated the Lancastrians, the anonymous poet asserts Edward's right to rule by victory in battle, by the will of God, and by the consent of the people: [18]

> Richard, the Erl of Warwyk, of knyghthode
> Lodesterre, borne of a stok that evyr schalbe trewe,
> Havyng the name of prowes and manhoode,
> Hath ay ben Redy to helpe and Resskewe
> kyng Edward, in hys right hym to endewe;
> The commens therto have redy euery houre
> The voix of the peuple, the voix of Jhesu,
> Who kepe and preserue hym from all langoure.

Here it is Warwick who is credited with Edward's success and triumphant accession to the throne, a popular theme among poets of the 1460s.

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[18] 'To have in mynde callyng to Remembbraunse', in *Historical Poems of the XIVth and XVth Centuries*, ed. by R.H. Robbins (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), no. 93, ll. 81–104. There are fourteen stanzas, each ending with the word *langour*, 'distress', and the poem charts a movement from former distress to present wellbeing under Edward's rule: the poem ends with the line, 'Welcom euerlastyng Ioie, and farewal langoure' (l. 112).

In a poem of about 1461, celebrating Edward's ascent to the throne, the four men who, as the poem claims, saved England are Edward himself as the Earl of March, his father Richard, Duke of York, who had died in 1460, Richard, earl of Warwick, and Warwick's father Richard, earl of Salisbury, who was also dead by 1461. Not a word is said about William Herbert, despite his closeness to the king. The poem, known as 'Twelve Letters save England', bears the hallmarks of a popular song, composed to be sung to urban audiences as both celebration and propaganda about how Edward came to the throne: [19]

Yerly be the morowe in a somer-tyde,
I saw in a strete in london as I went,
A gentyl-woman sittyng in chepe-syde,
Syt wirkyng vpon a vestiment.

She set xij letteris in order on a rowe,
That I might right wele vnderstande,
Thorought the grace of god it shal be knowe,
These xij letters shal saue all Inglande. […]

[…] The arris [three Rs] for thre Richard that be of noble fames,
That for the right of englond haue sufferd moche wo—
York, Salesbury, and Warwik, these be the lordes names
That all englond is be-holden to […]

[…] E for Edward whos fame the erthe shal sprede,
Be-cause of his wisdom named prudence,
Shal saue all englond by his manly-hede,
Wherfore we owe to do hym reuerence. […]

[…] W for Warwik, goode with sheld and other defence,
The boldest vnder baner in batell to a-byde;
ffor the right of englond he dothe his diligence
Bothe be londe and watyr, god be his gyde!

In Yorkist poetry from England, Warwick is the lord who is singled out for particular praise, in contrast to the Welsh poetry, where that role is played very definitely by William Herbert and Warwick is scarcely mentioned, except as the villain of the piece. The patterns of power are therefore configured quite differently in the March of Wales compared to the view from London and the larger English towns.

[19] Robbins, *Historical Poems*, no. 91, stanzas 1–2, 6, 8, 11.

Conclusion

The Welsh poems to William Herbert and other leading families of the March, both Yorkist and Lancastrian, provide a historical source for the Wars of the Roses which is often overlooked. Most importantly, the region of the March and its great Marcher lordships, far from being on the margins of power, hold the key to English politics of the fifteenth century. The two great heroes celebrated by the poets, William Herbert and Richard Neville, earl of Warwick, were both Marcher lords whose estates provided the armies which put Edward IV on the throne and which later brought Henry Tudor to triumph in 1485. The great rivalry between Herbert and Warwick which led directly to the deaths of both of them had its origins in their status as Marcher lords, first as colleagues holding estates along the border and then as deadly enemies in the struggle for the English throne. While poetry to both of them, in Welsh and in English, takes an often nationalistic view of their heroism, the narrative of their lives in the Wars of the Roses is framed by the regionalism of their power bases on the March of Wales.