

= Richard Neville , 16th Earl of Warwick =

Richard Neville , 16th Earl of Warwick KG ( 22 November 1428 ? 14 April 1471 ) , known as Warwick the Kingmaker , was an English nobleman , administrator , and military commander . The son of Richard Neville , 5th Earl of Salisbury , Warwick was the wealthiest and most powerful English peer of his age , with political connections that went beyond the country 's borders . One of the leaders in the Wars of the Roses , originally on the Yorkist side but later switching to the Lancastrian side , he was instrumental in the deposition of two kings , a fact which later earned him his epithet of " Kingmaker " to later generations .

Through fortunes of marriage and inheritance , Warwick emerged in the 1450s at the centre of English politics . Originally a supporter of King Henry VI , a territorial dispute with the Duke of Somerset led him to collaborate with Richard , Duke of York , in opposing the king . From this conflict he gained the strategically valuable post of Captain of Calais , a position that benefited him greatly in the years to come . The political conflict later turned into full @-@ scale rebellion , where in battle York was slain , as was Warwick 's father Salisbury . York 's son , however , later triumphed with Warwick 's assistance , and was crowned King Edward IV . Edward initially ruled with Warwick 's support , but the two later fell out over foreign policy and the king 's choice of Elizabeth Woodville as his wife . After a failed plot to crown Edward 's brother , George , Duke of Clarence , Warwick instead restored Henry VI to the throne . The triumph was short @-@ lived however : on 14 April 1471 Warwick was defeated by Edward at the Battle of Barnet , and killed .

Warwick had no sons . The elder of his two daughters , Isabel , married George , Duke of Clarence . His younger daughter Anne had a short @-@ lived marriage to King Henry 's son Edward of Westminster , who died in battle at the age of 17 . She then married King Edward 's younger brother Richard , Duke of Gloucester , who later became King Richard III .

Warwick 's historical legacy has been a matter of much dispute . Historical opinion has alternated between seeing him as self @-@ centred and rash , and regarding him as a victim of the whims of an ungrateful king . It is generally agreed , however , that in his own time he enjoyed great popularity in all layers of society , and that he was skilled at appealing to popular sentiments for political support .

= = Becoming Warwick = =

The Nevilles , an ancient Durham family , came to prominence in England 's fourteenth @-@ century wars against the Scots . In 1397 King Richard II made Ralph Neville Earl of Westmorland . Ralph 's son Richard , the later Earl of Warwick 's father , was a younger son by a second marriage , and not heir to the earldom . He received a favourable settlement , however , and became jure uxoris Earl of Salisbury through his marriage to Alice , daughter and heiress of Thomas Montacute , 4th Earl of Salisbury .

Salisbury 's son Richard , the later Earl of Warwick , was born on 22 November 1428 ; little is known of his childhood . At the age of six , Richard was betrothed to Anne Beauchamp , daughter of Richard de Beauchamp , 13th Earl of Warwick , and of his wife Isabel Despenser . This made him heir not only to the earldom of Salisbury , but also to a substantial part of the Montague , Beauchamp , and Despenser inheritance .

Circumstances would , however , increase his fortune even further . Beauchamp 's son Henry , who had married Richard 's sister Cecily , died in 1446 . When Henry 's daughter Anne died in 1449 , Richard also found himself jure uxoris Earl of Warwick . Richard 's succession to the estates did not go undisputed , however . A protracted battle over parts of the inheritance ensued , particularly with Edmund Beaufort , 1st Duke of Somerset , who had married a daughter from Richard Beauchamp 's first marriage . The dispute centred on land , not on the Warwick title , as Henry 's half @-@ sisters were excluded from the succession .

By 1445 Richard had become a knight , probably at Margaret of Anjou 's coronation on 22 April that year . He is visible in the historical record of service of King Henry VI in 1449 , which makes mention of his services in a grant . He performed military service in the north with his father , and might have

taken part in the war against Scotland in 1448 ? 1449 . When Richard , Duke of York , unsuccessfully rose up against the king in 1452 , both Warwick and his father rallied to the side of King Henry VI .

= = Civil War = =

In June 1453 , Somerset was granted custody of the lordship of Glamorgan ? part of the Despenser heritage held by Warwick until then ? and open conflict broke out between the two men . Then , in the summer of that year , King Henry fell ill . Somerset was a favourite of the king and Queen Margaret , and with the king incapacitated he was virtually in complete control of government . This put Warwick at a disadvantage in his dispute with Somerset , and drove him into collaboration with York . The political climate , influenced by the military defeat in France , then started turning against Somerset . On 27 March 1454 , a group of royal councillors appointed the Duke of York protector of the realm . York could now count on the support not only of Warwick , but also of Warwick 's father Salisbury , who had become more deeply involved in disputes with the Percys in the north of England .

York 's first protectorate did not last long . Early in 1455 the king rallied sufficiently to return to power , at least nominally , with Somerset again wielding real power . Warwick returned to his estates , as did York and Salisbury , and the three started raising troops . Marching towards London , they encountered the king at St Albans , where the two forces clashed . The battle was brief and not particularly bloody , but it was the first instance of armed hostilities between the forces of the Houses of York and Lancaster in the conflict known as the Wars of the Roses . It was also significant because it resulted in the capture of the king , and the death of Somerset .

York 's second protectorate that followed was even shorter @-@ lived than the first . At the parliament of February 1456 the king ? now under the influence of Queen Margaret ? resumed personal government of the realm . By this time Warwick had taken over Salisbury 's role as York 's main ally , even appearing at that same parliament to protect York from retributions . This conflict was also a pivotal period in Warwick 's career , as it was resolved by his appointment as Constable of Calais . The post was to provide him with a vital power base in the following years of conflict . The continental town of Calais , conquered from France in 1347 , was not only of vital strategic importance , it also held what was England 's largest standing army . There were some initial disputes , with the garrison and with the royal wool monopoly known as the staple , over payments in arrears , but in July Warwick finally took up his post .

After the recent events , Queen Margaret still considered Warwick a threat to the throne , and cut off his supplies . In August 1457 , however , a French attack on the English seaport of Sandwich set off fears of a full @-@ scale French invasion . Warwick was again funded to protect the garrison and patrol the English coast . In disregard of royal authority , he then conducted highly successful acts of piracy , against the Castilian fleet in May 1458 , and against the Hanseatic fleet a few weeks later . He also used his time on the Continent to establish relations with Charles VII of France and Philip the Good of Burgundy . Developing a solid military reputation and with good international connections , he then brought a part of his garrison to England , where he met up with his father and York in the summer of 1459 .

= = House of York triumphant = =

In September 1459 Warwick crossed over to England and made his way north to Ludlow to meet up with Salisbury , the latter fresh from his victory over Lancastrians at the battle of Blore Heath , and York . At nearby Ludford Bridge their forces were scattered by the king 's army , partly because of the defection of Warwick 's Calais contingent under the command of Andrew Trollope . As it turned out , the majority of the soldiers were still reluctant to raise arms against the king . Forced to flee the country , York left for Dublin , Ireland , with his second son Edmund , Earl of Rutland , while Warwick and Salisbury sailed to Calais , accompanied by the duke 's son , Edward , Earl of March ( the future King Edward IV ) . Henry Beaufort , Duke of Somerset , was appointed to replace Warwick as

Captain of Calais , but the Yorkists managed to hold on to the garrison .

In March 1460 Warwick visited York in Ireland to plan the way ahead , and returned to Calais . Then , on 26 June , he landed at Sandwich with Salisbury and March , and from here the three earls rode north to London . Salisbury was left to besiege the Tower of London , while Warwick took March with him in pursuit of the king . At Northampton , on 10 July , King Henry was taken captive , while the Duke of Buckingham and others were killed in battle .

In September York arrived from Ireland , and at the parliament of October that year , the duke walked up to the throne and put his hand on it . The act , signifying usurpation , left the assembly in shock . It is unclear whether Warwick had prior knowledge of York 's plans , though it is assumed that this had been agreed upon between the two in Ireland the previous March . It soon became clear , however , that this regime change was unacceptable to the lords in parliament , and a compromise was agreed . The Act of Accord of 31 October 1460 stated that while Henry VI was allowed to stay on the throne for the remainder of his life , his son Edward , Prince of Wales , was to be disinherited . Instead , York would succeed the king , and act as protector .

This solution was not ideal to either party , and further conflict was inevitable . On 30 December , at the Battle of Wakefield , York was killed , as were York 's second son Edmund , Earl of Rutland , and Warwick 's younger brother Thomas . Salisbury was executed a day later . Warwick marched north to confront the enemy , but was defeated and forced to flee at the Second Battle of St Albans . He then joined forces with Prince Edward of York , the new Yorkist claimant to the crown , who had just won an important victory at the Battle of Mortimer 's Cross .

While Queen Margaret was hesitating to make her next move , Warwick and Edward hastened to London . The citizens of the capital were scared by the brutal conduct of the Lancastrian forces , and were sympathetic to the House of York . On 4 March the prince was proclaimed King Edward IV , by an assembly that gathered quickly . The new king now headed north to consolidate his title , and met with the Lancastrian forces at Towton in Yorkshire . Warwick had suffered an injury to the leg the day before , in the Battle of Ferrybridge , and may have played only a minor part in the battle that followed . The unusually bloody battle resulted in a complete victory for the Yorkist forces , and the death of many important men on the opposing side , such as Henry Percy , Earl of Northumberland , and Andrew Trollope . Queen Margaret managed to escape to Scotland , with Henry and Prince Edward . Edward IV returned to London for his coronation , while Warwick remained to pacify the north .

= = Warwick 's apex = =

Warwick 's position after the accession of Edward IV was stronger than ever . He had now succeeded to his father 's possessions , and in 1462 he also inherited his mother 's lands and the Salisbury title . Altogether he had an annual income from his lands of over £ 7 @, @ 000 far more than any other man in the realm but the king . Edward confirmed Warwick 's position as Captain of Calais , and made him Admiral of England and Steward of the Duchy of Lancaster , along with several other offices . His brothers also benefited : John Neville , Lord Montagu , was made Warden of the East March in 1463 , and the next year created Earl of Northumberland . George Neville , Bishop of Exeter , was confirmed in his post as chancellor by King Edward , and in 1465 promoted to the archbishopric of York .

By late 1461 , risings in the north had been put down , and in the summer of 1462 , Warwick negotiated a truce with Scotland . In October the same year , Margaret of Anjou invaded England with troops from France , and managed to take the castles of Alnwick and Bamburgh . Warwick had to organise the recapture of the castles , which was accomplished by January 1463 . The leaders of the rebellion , including Sir Ralph Percy , were pardoned and left in charge of the retaken castles . At this point , Warwick felt secure enough to travel south ; in February he buried the remains of his father and brother at Bisham Priory , and in March he attended parliament at Westminster .

That same spring , however , the north rose up in rebellion once more , when Ralph Percy laid siege to Norham Castle . Warwick returned to the north and rescued Norham , but the Lancastrians were left in possession of Northumberland , and the government decided on a diplomatic approach

instead . Separate truces were negotiated with Scotland and France , which allowed Warwick to retake the Northumbrian castles held by the Lancastrian rebels . This time no clemency was given , and around thirty of the rebel leaders were executed .

= = Early tensions = =

At the negotiations with the French , Warwick had intimated that King Edward was interested in a marriage arrangement with the French crown , the intended bride being Louis XI 's sister @-@ in @-@ law , Bona , daughter of Louis , Duke of Savoy . This marriage was not to be , however , because in September 1464 , Edward revealed that he was already married , to Elizabeth Woodville . The marriage caused great offence to Warwick : not only due to the fact that his plans had been sabotaged , but also the secrecy with which the king had acted . The marriage ? contracted on 1 May of the same year ? was not made public before Warwick pressed Edward on the issue at a council meeting , and in the meanwhile Warwick had been unknowingly deceiving the French into believing the king was serious about the marriage proposal . For Edward the marriage may very well have been a love match , but in the long run he sought to build the Woodville family into a powerhouse independent of Warwick 's influence .

This was not enough to cause a complete fallout between the two men , though from this point on Warwick increasingly stayed away from court . The promotion of Warwick 's brother George to Archbishop of York shows that the earl was still in favour with the king . In July 1465 , when Henry VI was once more captured , it was Warwick who escorted the fallen king to his captivity in the Tower .

Then , in the spring of 1466 , Warwick was sent to the continent to carry out negotiations with the French and Burgundians . The negotiations centred around a marriage proposal involving Edward 's sister Margaret . Warwick increasingly came to favour French diplomatic connections . Meanwhile , Edward 's father @-@ in @-@ law , Richard Woodville , Earl Rivers , who had been created treasurer , was in favour of a Burgundian alliance . This set up internal conflict within the English court , which was not alleviated by the fact that Edward had signed a secret treaty in October with Burgundy , while Warwick was forced to carry on sham negotiations with the French . Later , George Neville was dismissed as chancellor , while Edward refused to contemplate a marriage between Warwick 's oldest daughter Isabel , and Edward 's brother George , Duke of Clarence . It became increasingly clear that Warwick 's position of dominance at court had been taken over by Rivers .

In the autumn of 1467 , there were rumours that Warwick was now sympathetic to the Lancastrian cause , but even though he refused to come to court to answer the charges , the king accepted his denial in writing . In July the same year , it was revealed that Warwick 's deputy in Calais , John , Lord Wenlock , was involved in a Lancastrian conspiracy , and early in 1469 another Lancastrian plot was uncovered , involving John de Vere , Earl of Oxford . It was becoming clear that the discontent with Edward 's reign was widespread , a fact that Warwick could exploit .

= = Rebellion and death = =

Warwick now orchestrated a rebellion in Yorkshire while he was away , led by a " Robin of Redesdale " . Part of Warwick 's plan was winning over Edward 's brother George , possibly with the prospect of installing him on the throne . The nineteen @-@ year @-@ old George had shown himself to share many of the abilities of his older brother , but was also jealous and overambitious . In July the two sailed over to Calais where George was married to Isabel . From there they returned to England , where they gathered the men of Kent to join the rebellion in the north . Meanwhile , the king 's forces were defeated at Edgecote , where William Herbert , Earl of Pembroke , was killed . The other commander , Humphrey Stafford , Earl of Devon , was caught in flight and lynched by a mob . Later , Earl Rivers and his son John were also apprehended and murdered . With his army now defeated , the king was taken under arrest by Archbishop Neville . He was imprisoned in Warwick , and in August taken north to Middleham Castle . In the long run , however , it proved impossible to rule without the king , and continuing disorder forced Warwick to release Edward in

September 1469 .

A modus vivendi had been achieved between Warwick and the king for some months , but the restoration of Henry Percy to Montagu 's earldom of Northumberland prevented any chance of full reconciliation . A trap was set for the king when disturbances in Lincolnshire led him north , where he could be confronted by Warwick 's men . Edward , however , discovered the plot when Robert , Lord Welles , was routed at Losecote Field , and gave away the plan .

Warwick soon gave up , and once more fled the country with Clarence . Denied access to Calais , they sought refuge with King Louis XI of France . Louis arranged a reconciliation between Warwick and Margaret of Anjou , and as part of the agreement , Margaret and Henry 's son , Edward , Prince of Wales , would marry Warwick 's daughter Anne . The objective of the alliance was to restore Henry VI to the throne . Again Warwick staged an uprising in the north , and with the king away , he and Clarence landed at Dartmouth and Plymouth on 13 September 1470 . Among the many who flocked to Warwick 's side was his brother Montagu , who had not taken part in the last rebellion , but was disappointed when his loyalty to the king had not been rewarded with the restoration of his earldom . This time the trap set up for the king worked ; as Edward hurried south , Montagu 's forces approached from the north , and the king found himself surrounded . On 2 October he fled to the Netherlands . King Henry was now restored , with Warwick acting as the true ruler in his capacity as lieutenant . At a parliament in November , Edward was attainted of his lands and titles , and Clarence was awarded the Duchy of York .

At this point , international affairs intervened . Louis XI declared war on Burgundy , and Duke Charles responded by granting an expeditionary force to Edward IV , in order to reclaim his throne . On 14 March Edward landed at Ravenspur in Yorkshire , with the acquiescence of the Earl of Northumberland . Warwick was still waiting for Queen Margaret and her son Edward , who were supposed to bring reinforcements from France , but were kept on the continent by bad weather . At this point Edward received the support of his brother Clarence , who realised that he had been disadvantaged by the new agreement with the Lancastrians . Clarence 's defection weakened Warwick , who nevertheless went in pursuit of Edward . On 14 April 1471 the two armies met at Barnet . Fog and poor visibility on the field led to confusion , and the Lancastrian army ended up attacking its own men . In the face of defeat Warwick attempted to escape the field , but was struck off his horse and killed .

= = Aftermath = =

Warwick 's body ? along with that of his brother Montagu , who had also fallen at Barnet ? was displayed in London 's St Paul 's Cathedral to quell any rumours of their survival . Then they were handed over to Archbishop Neville , to be buried in the family vault at Bisham Priory near the river Thames in Berkshire . No trace now remains of either the tomb or the church in which it was housed . On 4 May of the same year ( 1471 ) , Edward IV defeated the remaining Lancastrian forces of Queen Margaret and Prince Edward at the Battle of Tewkesbury , where the prince was killed . Soon afterwards , it was reported that King Henry VI had also died in the Tower . With the direct Lancastrian line exterminated , Edward could reign safely until his death in 1483 .

Warwick 's offices were divided between King Edward 's brothers George , Duke of Clarence { who had married Warwick 's daughter Isabel Neville } , and Richard , Duke of Gloucester , the future Richard III . Clarence received the chamberlainship of England and the lieutenancy of Ireland , while Gloucester was made Admiral of England and Warden of the West March . Clarence also received the earldoms of Warwick and Salisbury . The earl 's land had been forfeited and taken into the king 's custody . When Gloucester married Warwick 's younger daughter Anne in 1472 , who had been recently widowed by the death of Prince Edward , a dispute broke out between the two princes over the Beauchamp and Despenser inheritances . A compromise was eventually reached , whereby the land was divided , but Clarence was not pacified . In 1477 he once again plotted against his brother . This time the king could no longer act with lenience , and the next year the Duke of Clarence was executed .

= = Historical assessment = =

Early sources on Richard Neville fall into two categories . The first are the sympathetic chronicles of the early Yorkist years , or works based on these , such as the *Mirror for Magistrates* ( 1559 ) . The other category originates with chronicles commissioned by Edward IV after Warwick 's fall , such as the *Historie of the arrivall of Edward IV* , and take a more negative view of the earl . The *Mirror* portrayed Warwick as a great man : beloved by the people , and betrayed by the man he helped raise to the throne . The other perspective can be found in Shakespeare 's *Henry VI* trilogy : a man driven by pride and egotism , who created and deposed kings at will .

In time , however , it is the latter view that dominated . The Enlightenment , or Whig historians of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries , decried anyone who impeded the development towards a centralised , constitutional monarchy , the way Warwick did in his struggles with Edward . David Hume called Warwick " the greatest , as well as the last , of those mighty barons who formerly overawed the crown , and rendered the people incapable of any regular system of civil government . " Later writers were split between admiration for some of Warwick 's character traits , and condemnation of his political actions . The romantic novelist Lord Lytton picked up on Hume 's theme in his *The Last of the Barons* . Though Lytton portrayed Warwick as a tragic hero who embodied the ideals of chivalry , he was nevertheless one whose time was past . The late @-@ nineteenth century military historian Charles Oman acknowledged the earl 's ability to appeal to popular sentiments , yet pointed out his deficiencies as a military commander . Oman found Warwick a traditional strategist , " not attaining the heights of military genius displayed by his pupil Edward . " Paul Murray Kendall 's popular biography from 1957 took a sympathetic view of Warwick , but concluded that he had ultimately fallen victim to his own overreaching ambition .

More recent historians , such as Michael Hicks and A. J. Pollard , have tried to see Warwick in light of the standards of his own age , rather than holding him up to contemporary constitutional ideals . The insults Warwick suffered at the hands of King Edward ? including Edward 's secret marriage , and the refusal of the French diplomatic channel ? were significant . His claim to prominence in national affairs was not a product of illusions of grandeur ; it was confirmed by the high standing he enjoyed among the princes on the continent . Furthermore , Warwick 's cause was not considered unjust by his contemporaries , which can be seen by the earl 's popularity exceeding that of the king at the time of his first rebellion in 1469 . On the other hand , while Warwick could not easily suffer his treatment by the king , it was equally impossible for Edward to accept the earl 's presence on the political scene . As long as Warwick remained as powerful and influential as he was , Edward could not fully assert his royal authority , and eventual confrontation became inevitable .

= = Coat of arms = =

The Earl of Warwick 's coat of arms was unusually complex for the period , with seven different quarterings . The first quarter consists of the arms of his father @-@ in @-@ law , Richard de Beauchamp , 13th Earl of Warwick , who bore his arms with an escutcheon of De Clare quartering Despenser ( the arms of his wife Isabel le Despenser ) , which Warwick showed in the fourth quarter . The second quarter showed the arms of the Montacutes ( quartered with the Monthermer arms ) . The third quarter showed the arms of Neville differenced by a label for Lancaster to signify descent from Warwick 's father , the Earl of Salisbury , who was the eldest son and heir of Ralph Neville , 1st Earl of Westmorland and his wife , Lady Joan Beaufort , daughter of the Duke of Lancaster .

= = Neville family tree = =

The chart below shows , in abbreviated form , the family background of Richard Neville and his family connections with the houses of York and Lancaster . Dashed lines denote marriage and solid lines children . Anne Neville is shown with her two husbands , in order from right to left .

= = Ancestry = =

== = Chronicles = = =