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# Bosworth Field: a battlefield rediscovered?

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## ABSTRACT

*The Bosworth Project concluded that the deciding battle in The Wars of the Roses was fought entirely at Fenn Lane and the site proposed is the only feasible candidate. However, the authors suggest that the narrative provided overlooks or downplays key aspects of contemporary accounts to support those conclusions. It is instead proposed that the primary site of battle was in a nearby location and an alternative narrative is offered that matches more of, and better accommodates, the contemporary accounts of battle events.*

## Introduction

Between 2005 and 2010 The Bosworth Project was undertaken by The Battlefields Trust in an attempt to find the true site of the Battle of Bosworth Field.<sup>1</sup> Detailed field investigations were conducted around Sutton Cheney, Dadlington, Shenton, and Stoke Golding. The project's findings were ultimately reported in *Bosworth 1485: A Battlefield Rediscovered*.<sup>2</sup>

## A Battlefield Rediscovered?

The Bosworth Project aimed to draw together three separate strands of research: original accounts, historic terrain, and battle archaeology. However, the team's search of accounts for 'Redemore' (the original name for the battle) and 'Sandeford' (the site of King Richard's death) was inconclusive: reporting that '[F]urther work needs to determine the precise location, extent, and character of Redemore, and its relationship with the arable fields of the surrounding villages.'<sup>3</sup>

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\*Jack Shaw and Peter Shaw are independent scholars based in Australia who developed an interest in the location of the Battle of Bosworth while previously living in the area. DOI: [10.25602/GOLD.bjmh.v9i1.1685](https://doi.org/10.25602/GOLD.bjmh.v9i1.1685)

<sup>1</sup>The Bosworth Battlefield Project (hereinafter Bosworth Project), [https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/bosworth\\_hlf\\_2011/](https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/bosworth_hlf_2011/) Accessed 18 September 2022.

<sup>2</sup>Glenn Foard and Anne Curry, *Bosworth 1485: A Battlefield Rediscovered*, (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2013). Page references in this article are to the second (2018) edition.

<sup>3</sup>Bosworth Project, 'Report on the documentary sources for the reconstruction of [www.bjmh.org.uk](http://www.bjmh.org.uk)

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The documents examined have been largely disappointing in that they have not provided detailed descriptions of the pre-enclosure landscape. Nor have references to Sandeford been found, while only one additional reference to Redesmore has been identified to support the thirteenth-century record previously discussed by Foss.<sup>4</sup>

There were also remaining uncertainties regarding the historic terrain, including the marsh which featured prominently in contemporary accounts of the battle. The researchers could find only fragmentary areas of wetland and conceded that further work was required 'to establish a more coherent picture of this key element of the battlefield terrain'.<sup>5</sup> In the meantime they were, 'unfortunately, thrown back onto a combination of place names and soil data to define the potential extent of the medieval fen'.<sup>6</sup>

Running out of time, the project was left with an ever-expanding search for archaeology – '[w]ithout a securely located site from the other research, our survey of the battle archaeology had become the only way to find the battlefield' and it was here that their perseverance paid off.<sup>7</sup> A metal-detected lead shot, found in the very last week of their allotted time, was later determined to be medieval and had been fired. This one discovery prompted the project leader to declare the 'Bosworth problem' solved. Understandable hyperbole given the circumstances.

Foard and Curry attempt to offer an all-encompassing interpretation that ties the finds together by 're-running the sequence of documented events, but set within the historic terrain and informed by the artefact scatter'.<sup>8</sup> In this new narrative, the site of battle is identified, not as Ambion Hill in Sutton Cheney as many have held, but instead along a portion of Fenn Lane (once a Roman road) lying largely within Upton township. This interpretation is not without its problems, and caveats are scrupulously given for many of the conclusions. Despite more than 30 lead shot found in the extended time given to the project, plus other significant finds, the authors of this article still believe that the conclusion drawn was premature and overreached. There will be later discussion

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the historic landscape of Bosworth battlefield' by Mark Page, (hereinafter *Historic Landscape*), p. 8.

[https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archiveDS/archiveDownload?t=arch-1114-1/dissemination/pdf/Reports/Bosworth\\_landscape\\_documentary\\_report.pdf](https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archiveDS/archiveDownload?t=arch-1114-1/dissemination/pdf/Reports/Bosworth_landscape_documentary_report.pdf)

Accessed 10 February 2023.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>5</sup>Foard & Curry, *Bosworth 1485*, p. 81.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 96-97.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 180.

here around what other alternatives regarding the lead shot may be considered, following this broad critique of the Foard & Curry interpretation that contests both its underlying assumptions and the plausibility of some of the theory's critical elements.

The sources drawn upon by this article are predominantly the ones used by The Bosworth Project and nothing is added to the debate regarding the veracity or strength of these or any other sources. At this stage, it is simply wished that the narrative will match more sources than any previous theory, whilst accepting that further work and evidence is needed. The authors will, however, declare their agreement with those, such as Charles Ross, who say 'on both historical and literary grounds, the [Stanley] 'Ballads' (for they are not ballads as such but poems) deserve most serious consideration as a major historical source.'<sup>9</sup>

### **Redemore and Sandeford**

The names given immediately after the battle were 'Sandeford' and 'Redemore' (both subject to spelling variations). These names appear in the York House Books, which contain council meeting reports from just days after the battle

[T]he king assertayneth you, that Richard due of Gloucestre, late callid king Richard, was slayne at a place called Sandeford, within the shyre of Leicestre.<sup>10</sup>

Wer assembled in the counsail chambre ... to understand how they shall be disposed enent the king's grace Henry the sevent, so proclamed and crowned at the feld of Redemore.<sup>11</sup>

Thus, the names of Sandeford and Redemore are linked by eyewitness accounts to the same events, at the same location, at the same point in time, and are supported by Henry's subsequent royal proclamation. Unfortunately, Sandeford and Redemore remain the most elusive of places. Neither the Bosworth Project nor any other researcher has plausibly placed them together on a map, then or since. Sandeford, as a 'sand-bottomed-ford' is generally accepted. Redemore is more problematic and, along with misleading maps and the positioning of the marsh, contributes greatly to the subsequent confusion as to the battlefield location.

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<sup>9</sup>Charles Ross, *Richard III*, (London: Eyre Methuen, 1992), p. 235.

<sup>10</sup>Francis Drake, *Eboracum, or the History and Antiquities of the City of York*, (London, 1736) (hereafter, 'Drake'), pp. 121–122, reprinted in *The York House Books, 1461–1490*, Appendix V, edited by L. Atreed, (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1991), pp. 735–736. [City Officials Ride to King Henry, Royal Proclamation Read in City, 25 August 1485].

<sup>11</sup>York City Archives, HB 2/4, f. 169v, reprinted in *The York House Books, 1461–1490*, Volume I, edited by L. Atreed, (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1991), p. 368.

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Foard & Curry follow the impressive research of Peter J. Foss in tracing the name 'Redemore' to a 1283 reference to 'six roods of meadow in Redmoor, in Dadlington', with the name (they say) derived from the Anglo-Saxon 'Hroed-mor', a low-lying moor full of reeds.<sup>12</sup> Yet the same distinguished author, in his 'History of Market Bosworth', describes a 'wide plain' stretching three miles west from Bosworth containing the hamlets of Near and Far Coton, which are 'positioned on a spur of Bosworth's own hill, commandingly placed just above "Redmore Plain"' and notes that '[I]n the 15th and 16th Century, this entire area was known as Redmoor Plain'.<sup>13</sup> Foss quotes William Hutton in support, who stated 'its [Bosworth Field's] real name is Redmore Plain from the colour of the soil, as the meadows on the west are called White-moors for the same reason.'<sup>14</sup> Yet Foard & Curry reject the suggestions that the name 'Redemore' comes from the local soil colour, whilst overlooking similarities with the naming of 'Whitemoors'.

Similarly, Foard & Curry cleave to the 'Rede' element as a reference to reeds rather than the colour, claiming the 'moor' in 'Redemore' signifies low-lying ground rather than an upland moor – which is 'a tract of open uncultivated upland; a heath', or 'an open area of hills covered with rough grass' – that has red-coloured soil.<sup>15</sup> Yet, a number of historical names for the battle used the word 'heath' such as 'Brown Heath' (Hutton), 'Bosworth heth' (Calais Chronicle), 'Redesmore heath' (Fabyan) and the Welsh name for the battle unambiguously supports the soil-colour argument. 'Rhos Goch' translates as 'moor red'.<sup>16</sup>

As for 'Sandeford', the original name given for the location of Richard's death, Foard & Curry state that 'the jury is still out';<sup>17</sup> the fact that it was not located by the project

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<sup>12</sup>Peter J. Foss, *The Field of Redemore: The Battle of Bosworth, 1485*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, (San Francisco: Kairos Press, 1998), p. 34.

<sup>13</sup>Peter J. Foss, *The History of Market Bosworth*, (Sandhurst: Sycamore Press, 1983), p. 7.

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 24.

<sup>15</sup>Oxford Learners Dictionary Online

[https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/moor\\_1](https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/moor_1) Accessed 11 February 2023; Cambridge English Dictionary Online

<https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/moor> Access 11 February 2023.

<sup>16</sup>Geiriadur Ar-lein Cymraeg-Saesneg/Saesneg-Cymraeg (Welsh-English/English-Welsh Online Dictionary), University of Wales,

[https://geiriadur.uwtsd.ac.uk/index.php?page=ateb&term=rhos&direction=we&which\\_part=exact&type=noun#ateb\\_top](https://geiriadur.uwtsd.ac.uk/index.php?page=ateb&term=rhos&direction=we&which_part=exact&type=noun#ateb_top). Accessed 29 September 2022.

<sup>17</sup>Foard & Curry, *Bosworth 1485*, p. 196.

is 'taken as confirmation of Thornton's hypothesis that it was not a real place'.<sup>18</sup> This can be agreed, in the sense that it was a descriptive reference or local name only. So why can the same not be said for 'Redemore'?

## **The Marsh**

This is one of the few physical clues to the battlefield location provided by contemporary sources. Following Polydore Vergil, Hall offers some context with regard to the landscape and the orientation of the armies

Between both armies ther was a great marrysse which therle of Richemond left on his right hand, for this entent that it should be on that syde a defence for his part, and in so doying he had the sonne at his backe and in the faces of his enemies. When kynge Richard saw the earles compaignie was passed the marresse, he commaunded with al hast to sett vpon them.<sup>19</sup>

Writing 500 years after the battle, Ross categorically states that 'when all available sources suggest that the fighting began early in the morning' Vergil, with regard to the position of the sun, and writing 20 years after the battle and with access to eyewitnesses – 'had simply got his facts wrong'.<sup>20</sup> This given position of the sun fits the argument that the two main armies faced each other north-south (more of which later) but is inconvenient to anyone wanting them to face each other east-west. For example, Richard Mackinder describes a manoeuvre to 'put' the sun behind Henry rather than him having 'left' it there.<sup>21</sup> Others have suggested an afternoon battle to achieve the same result. Foard & Curry have an east-west approach but place the marsh literally between the armies; forcing Henry to move around it, Henry Percy, 4<sup>th</sup> Earl of Northumberland inactive because of it, and claims of confirmation from the lead shot found within it.

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<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 94.

<sup>19</sup>Edward Hall, *Hall's chronicle: containing the history of England, during the reign of Henry the Fourth, and the succeeding monarchs, to the end of the reign of Henry the Eighth, in which are particularly described the manners and customs of those periods. Carefully collated with the editions of 1548 and 1550*, London, printed for J. Johnson & c, 1809, (reprinted New York, AMS Press, 1965), (hereinafter Hall), excerpt reprinted in Bosworth Project, 'Transcripts and translations of the primary sources relating to the battle of Bosworth' (hereinafter Transcriptions/Translations), p. 30.

[https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archiveDS/archiveDownload?t=arch-1114-1/dissemination/pdf/Reports/Bosworth\\_Primary\\_Source\\_Transcripts.pdf](https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archiveDS/archiveDownload?t=arch-1114-1/dissemination/pdf/Reports/Bosworth_Primary_Source_Transcripts.pdf) Accessed 10 February 2023.

<sup>20</sup>Ross, *Richard III*, p. 220.

<sup>21</sup>Richard Mackinder, *Bosworth: The Archaeology of the Battlefield*, (Barnsley: Pen & Sword, 2021), p.112.

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The problem arises from different potential meanings of the word between: a point on a straight line from A to B, versus a point from A and B but to one side. For example, in 2019, the BBC reported the discovery of a sixth-century Anglo-Saxon burial site 'between a pub and Aldi supermarket' when in reality, the grave site formed an almost 90-degree angle with the other two sites.<sup>22</sup> Thus, any medieval use of the word 'between' should be viewed with caution.

There is no dispute that there was a small area of Dadlington called 'Redmoor' in the thirteenth-century but, even if accepted that it derives from 'Hroed-mor' and not the soil colour, there is no evidence of that name still being in use in 1485. Nor whether that area was by then cultivated, or marshland that was somehow still worthy of purchase. This, however, is ultimately irrelevant because Foard & Curry admit that the proposed battle-site 'lies mainly in Upton township ... not within Dadlington' but argue that 'this should not be a problem' claiming that it might have instead been where Richard's army first deployed (even though the book places him elsewhere on page 182).<sup>23</sup>

The Bosworth Project identified two possible candidates for its marsh, with both possibilities based on fragmentary evidence. Foard & Curry recognise that their inability to determine from the archaeology which of their candidates played the central part in the battle is problematic, but the possibility that neither did is not countenanced. Instead, Foard & Curry offer a narrative of the opposing forces' movement before, during, and after the battle that is designed solely to support one of their candidates because if the other equally possible location was true, it would contradict their own theory. 'We therefore consider their (the troops') location principally by using the documentary record and by considering the tactical possibilities provided by the terrain, in the light of each army's approach to the field'.<sup>24</sup> However, this narrative is equally problematic.

### **Bosworth Field**

So, why was Bosworth chosen? For that we need to look at where the respective armies were located in the lead up to the battle. From the Crowland Chronicle, Richard is known to have moved out of Nottingham on 19 August

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<sup>22</sup>'Southend Burial Site UK's Answer to Tutankamun', *BBC News* (9 May 2019) <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-essex-48203883>. Accessed 21 September 2022.

<sup>23</sup>Foard & Curry, *Bosworth 1485*, p. 195.

<sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 182.

Meanwhile ... the enemy was making haste and moving by day and night towards a direct confrontation with the king and therefore it was necessary to move the army, though it was not yet fully assembled, away from Nottingham and to proceed to Leicester.<sup>25</sup>

Projecting Henry's progress in a straight line from mid-Wales through Welshpool, Shrewsbury, Newport, and Stafford, takes one directly towards Nottingham. This north easterly direction challenges the commonly held view that Henry was heading southeast, and his target was London. If Henry was moving 'towards a direct confrontation with the King' and the King was not ready, Richard would then find it 'necessary to move the army'. This he did and arrived in Leicester the same day. Only now, over ten days after landing, was Henry heading towards London by duly shadowing this move. '[T]hen Henry turned aside and sought Litchfield, where he passed a night outside its walls'.<sup>26</sup> He is known to have arrived at Lichfield on 19 August and moved to Tamworth the next day.

Thereby, on the morning of 21 August, Henry was at Tamworth and Richard at Leicester. These cities are on a straight-line, east-west alignment, 23 miles apart and Bosworth is the exact mid-point. The route taken in 1485 has now been lost but, according to Foss quoting the 'letters patent issued by Elizabeth I in 1601', the governors of Bosworth school were required to purchase a chest with three locks to be kept 'next the street leading from Leicester towards Lichfield'.<sup>27</sup> This route from Leicester would have been that which a now-prepared Richard took if he was heading directly to Henry at Tamworth or, more likely, if Bosworth was the expected place of battle.

Despite being the first placenames associated with the battle, Sandeford and Redemore soon fell into disuse, displaced by early sixteenth century references to the Battle of Bosworth Field. Battles often take their name from local identifiers, nearby towns or villages, routes to and from battle, camps, or places of burial. So why, in the decades following the battle, did the association with a nearby village displace the earliest names assigned to the battlefield?

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<sup>25</sup>Nicholas Pronay and John Cox, eds & trans, *The Crowland Chronicle Continuations: 1459–1486*, (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1986), (hereinafter *Crowland Chronicle Continuations*), Transcriptions/Translations, p. 5.

<sup>26</sup>Polydore Vergil, *Anglica Historia* (1555 version), A hypertext critical edition by Dana F. Sutton, The University of California, Irvine, (posted August 4, 2005), Transcriptions/Translations, p. 116.

<sup>27</sup>Foss, *History of Market Bosworth*, p. 53.



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The suggestion is that both the absence of any suitably situated ‘Sandeford’ or ‘Redemore’ on contemporary or later maps *and* the rapid (in historical terms) abandonment of these names in referring to the battle indicate that these were descriptive references – whether coined by the witnesses to the battle themselves or adopted from local usage – rather than names that were in any sense formal or official. First-time visitors would need visual features to provide reference when describing to others where they had been. A ‘red moor’ and a ‘sandy ford’ would have been simple and effective descriptors for the eyewitnesses who reported back to York council the very next day.

Over time, however, the value of these descriptions would diminish. There are many red soils and river crossings in the area; for those writing decades or more after the battle, reference to more permanent and less ambiguous features was necessary. The next level of formality would be to use the name of the nearest human habitation or permanently named site. Vergil, Fabyan, Hall, and The Great Chronicle of London all stated that Richard camped at Bosworth on the night before the battle. Not one contemporary source refers to Richard at any other local village.

Notably, neither a pre-battle march by Richard from Leicester to Ambion Hill nor a post-battle march by Henry from Fenn Lane to Leicester – as would follow from the scenario proposed by Foard & Curry – would pass through Bosworth. Would other closer villages not then be of sufficient size and importance to have lent their name to the battle?<sup>28</sup> Also, the much-larger Hinckley is just as close to Fenn Lane as Bosworth. The focus of inquiry must therefore be on finding a location that links the three key sites identified by witnesses: Redemore, Sandeford, and Bosworth. Where, in the Bosworth area, is a location that answers these requirements *and* supports a credible narrative of how the battle played out on its’ topography?

The answer is Wellsborough.

### **An Alternative Narrative**

Wellsborough lies three miles (4.8km) due west from the centre of Market Bosworth in the county of Leicestershire. It is one mile (1.6km) north of Sibson, two miles (3.2km) south-east of Twycross, and two miles east (and within the parish) of Sheepy. First recorded as a chapelry of Sibson in 1220, Wellsborough may have been a farm settlement since Roman times but was known to be depopulated by 1445. The profile of Wellsborough is that of long flat-topped ridge, with the high ground (above 100m) half a mile in length (east/west) by a quarter-mile breadth (north/south) and covering an approximate area of 30 hectares (78 acres). Combining various points, there are

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<sup>28</sup>Dadlington, Sibson, Stoke Golding, Sutton Cheney, and Shenton are all closer to the proposed site at Fenn Lane.

360-degree views commanding many square miles. The surrounding land slopes gently to all sides at a gradient of less than four per cent and the soil colour is predominantly red. Wellsborough has an elevation of 117 metres with Twycross slightly higher at 126m. Between the two is the River Sence at 79m. Sheepy, at 85 metres elevation and Sibson, nearer to 100m, are both prone to flood.

The authors suggest that each of the armies – Henry, Richard, Lord Stanley, and Sir William Stanley – occupied high ground at four corners that collectively enclosed the area where the battle took place. This roughly square area stretched from Atherstone (5.5 miles east) to Stoke Golding (3.5 miles north) to Market Bosworth (4.5 miles west) to Sheepy Magna, and 3.5 miles south back to Atherstone. Henry was at the south-west corner (at Merevale), Lord Stanley at the south-east (near Stoke Golding), Sir William at the north-west (Sheepy or Twycross), and Richard at the north-east (Bosworth). This clear statement by Vergil, a source used to support many arguments, has been mostly ignored by historians, ‘Richard, hearing his enemy was approaching, was the first to come to the place of battle, the village of Bosworth, a little beyond Leicester. There he pitched camp.’<sup>29</sup> A possible clue to where Richard camped lies at Near Coton, one mile along the spur of high ground west of Bosworth, with splendid views to both south and west. The same high ground that Foss said was ‘commandingly placed just above “Redmore Plain”’.<sup>30</sup> Later maps called part of this Coton area ‘King’s Hill’. ‘And aftyre contynuyd his Journay tyll he cam unto a vyllage callyd Bosworth where In the ffyeldys ajoynaunt bothe hostys mett.’<sup>31</sup>

The authors suggest that those ‘fields adjoining’ were at Wellsborough.

### **The Approaches**

It is the authors’ view that ‘Bosworth Field’ is the ground between Wellsborough and Sibson. The following account of what happened (and where) awaits confirmation of new evidence that will support original witness accounts of the battle within this topography.

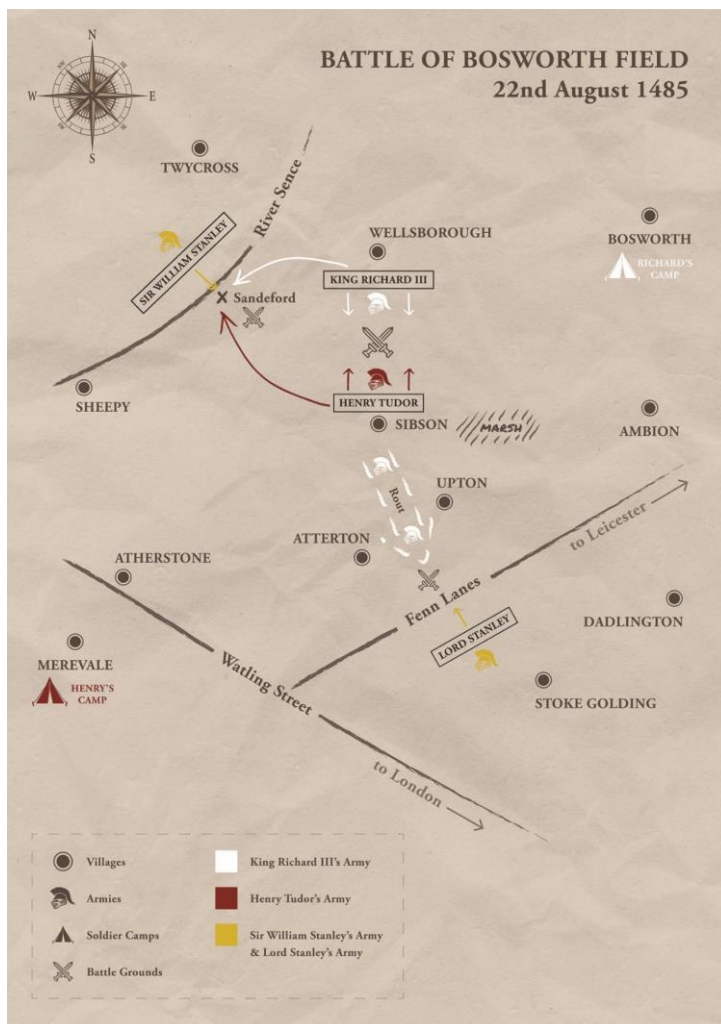
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<sup>29</sup>Vergil, *Transcriptions/Translations*, p. 117.

<sup>30</sup>Foss, *History of Market Bosworth*, p. 7.

<sup>31</sup>The Great Chronicle of London, ed. A.H. Thomas and I.D. Thornley (London, 1938) [Guildhall Library MS 3313], pp. 237-238, *Transcriptions/Translations*, p. 16.

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**Figure 1. Map of the Battle of Bosworth as conceived by the authors**

If the camp locations were as described above, then the approximate distances to 'Bosworth Field' are as follows: Richard (Bosworth) – 1.5 miles; Lord Stanley (Stoke Golding) - 2.5 miles; Sir William (at Sheepy or Twycross) – 1.5 miles; Henry's most northerly camp and his last reported location before the battle (Atterton) – 1.5 miles. This places all four armies roughly equidistant from the field of battle, with the ground between them generally flat (i.e., a plain) but gently rising to the high point at Wellsborough.

Henry may have collected his forces at Witherley, where he is known to have knighted his standard bearer William Brandon and others. He could then have used Atterton to array his forces. Of course, Atterton also works as a setting-off point for Fenn Lane because it avoids the problem of traversing the marsh at Fenny Drayton; however, it should be noted that if one heads east from Atterton, Witherley or Fenny Drayton, one is heading uphill and Richard's forces (had they been at Fenn Lane) would not have been visible until less than a mile away. This fits with Jean Molinet's description of a 'quarter league' between the forces, but not with other sources that imply the armies could earlier see each other from a much greater distance.<sup>32</sup> Whereas, Wellsborough – two miles away - is visible from Atterton.

'King Richard [houed] on the mountaines', taken from the 'ballad' of Lady Bessye this clearly indicates that Richard was on high ground.<sup>33</sup> In 'Bosworth Field', Sir William was also described as being on a 'mountain' and this narrative can only fit with the two adjoining hills of Wellsborough and Twycross. The 'ballads' also say that Sir William Stanley was 'hyndemost' but did not say to whom. It has always been assumed to be Henry, but what if he was behind Richard? As a declared traitor this would make the King watch his back (possibly using Northumberland to do so) and so prevent him from concentrating his larger army onto one battle front – a sound tactical approach.

The two adjoining hills of Dadlington and Stoke Golding do not work for Fenn Lane as the battle site because Sir William would be 'hyndemost' to neither Richard nor Henry, and Lord Stanley would be brought within view of his son, Lord Strange who was being held as a hostage, and who only reported his uncle being there at the start of the battle'

if itt ffortune my vnckle to lose the ffeild—  
as god defend itt shold soe bee!—  
pray her to take my eldest sonne  
& exile him ouer the sea<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>32</sup>Georges Deutrepont G. Doutrepont and O. Jodogne, eds, *Chroniques de Jean Molinet*, 3 vols. (Academie Royale de Belgique. Classe des Lettres et des Sciences Morales et Politiques. Collection des Anciens Auteurs, Belges, Brussels, 1935–37), Volume 1, (hereinafter Molinet), Transcriptions/Translations, p. 1.

<sup>33</sup>'The Song of Ladye Bessiye', British Library Harleian MS 367, fos. 89–100. Printed in *Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript. Ballads and Romances*, ed. J. W. Hales and F. J. Furnivall, 3 vols, (London, 1868), III, pp. 319–363, (hereinafter 'Song of Ladye Bessiye'), Transcriptions/Translations, p. 111

<sup>34</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 112.

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### **The Marsh(es) Revisited**

Molinet refers to Richard's horse leaping into 'a marsh from which it could not retrieve itself' at, or after, Richard's death at Sandeford, but does not say if this was the same marsh referred to at the start of the battle.<sup>35</sup> Most authors have assumed this, which has given rise to some convoluted theories to situate events – from the vanguard's clash to Richard's charge and death, then the ensuing rout and subsequent slaughter – and all within the ambit of the one marsh.

The authors believe the contemporary descriptions allow the possibility of there being two areas of marsh/boggy ground and suggest that this is the reason for the separate name, 'Sandeford' being given to the site of Richard's death, while still occurring within the context of the battle at 'Redemore'. Tentative locations are offered for a marsh on 'Redemoor' and areas of soft ground at a 'Sandeford' that crosses a river, not a marsh.

First the marsh. East of today's A444 road and between the almost parallel roads of Tinsel Lane and Sibson/Shenton Lane, centered approximately 2000 metres due east of Sibson and 400 metres north of Shenton Lane, is the converging point of all the run-off water from the surrounding hills of Wellsborough, Upton, and Bosworth into what is locally known as the 'Sence Brook' – officially the (Leicestershire) River Tweed. Even today, this section of the Sence Brook is prone to waterlogging. It is suggested that in 1485 it was a sizeable marsh.

The position of the marsh at this location allows enough space alongside it to be level with the ridge line at Sibson. This small plateau is in an arc running south to west either side of the current A444 road and is centered on Saint Botolph's church. If Henry's forces had lined up here, it would exactly match the 'quarter league' (ca 0.86 miles, or 1.4 kilometers) distance between the two armies described by Molinet, '[T]he French also made their preparations marching against the English, being in the field a quarter league away.'<sup>36</sup>

The nearest equivalent point in terms of height to Wellsborough is 2 miles away at Twycross. In fact, Twycross is slightly higher at 126 metres but both, in medieval terminology, would be called 'little mountains'. Mid-way between them at 79 metres is the Sence, which flows for 20km from the north-west at Bardon Hill (the highest point in Leicestershire), heading southwest and nearly reaching Watling Street. The Sence Brook rising from Barwell in the east flows under the A444 immediately south of Sibson before joining the Sence at Ratcliffe Culey (a distance of 13km). The brook drops 50 metres at a gradient of 1:650 which results in a slower flow and a muddy,

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<sup>35</sup>Molinet, Transcriptions/Translations, p. 2.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., p. 1.

marshy, and more meandering channel than the Sence, before both join the River Anker near Atherstone shortly after. The authors believe that Sandeford is a crossing point of the Sence between Wellsborough and Twycross near Harris Bridge on the A444. This bridge can be dated back to at least 1582, when the will of Richard Orton provided money towards its' upkeep, but the true origins of the name are unknown. Dare the authors suggest the original local name was *Harry's* bridge? In the past, the surrounding area was marshy enough to contain osier beds. It was/is always prone to flood and could still have pockets of soft ground even in summer.

The authors respectfully differ with the assertion by Foss that one must 'dispense once and for all with the notion that the battle of Bosworth involved the defense of a hill against an assault on it by an ostensibly smaller army. This is Hutton's view followed by Kendall, Ross, and Williams. As we have already established, the battle was fought on a plain - the plain of Redemore.'<sup>37</sup> It should be pointed out that the gradient at Wellsborough is sufficiently slight to qualify as a 'plain' yet still be high enough for a battle and a coronation to be on the same piece of land i.e., for Henry's coronation to occur on the field of Redemoor.

### **The Stanleys**

Before the battle, and with his son held hostage, Lord Stanley could not afford to be seen too close to Henry.<sup>38</sup> If Richard was convinced that Lord Stanley stood ready to prevent Henry from 'escaping' (unlikely given his direction-of-intent thus far) south towards London, then he (Richard) would not need to march via Roman roads out of Leicester – towards Fenn Lane - to achieve the same result. By the same reasoning, Lord Stanley would have had to move out of Atherstone prior to Henry's arrival and find somewhere else to camp.

The authors are in selective agreement with Prof J J Bagley when he says

Lord Stanley halted his troops at Stoke Golding: there he was strategically placed to help either side and distant enough to avoid being involved in the first stages of the battle.<sup>39</sup>

This sits well with Vergil's observation that he was 'midway between the two armies'<sup>40</sup> with midway meaning Henry at Merevale and Richard at Bosworth. This was the same tactic and distance used by Lord Stanley at Blore Heath in 1459. Fabyan said that

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<sup>37</sup>Foss, *The Field of Redemore*, p. 47.

<sup>38</sup>Hall, *Transcriptions/Translations*, p. 20

<sup>39</sup>John J. Bagley, *The Earls of Derby 1485-1985*, (London, Sidgwick & Jackson, 1985), p. 33.

<sup>40</sup>Vergil, *Transcriptions/Translations*, p. 117.

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'[s]ome stood hoving afar off till they saw to which party the victory fell' and Ross helps us understand that 'If Henry won with help from Sir William, then Lord Stanley could claim credit. If not, his own non-intervention might save the family fortunes from Richard's wrath.'<sup>41</sup>

Sir William joined Henry at Stafford on 19 August, and they departed for Lichfield the next day

Unto Lychfild they ryde; a hatrot of armes came to number the company that was with the knight; it was a goodly sight; gonnes in Lychefylde craked; glad was all the chivalry that was on Henry's party.<sup>42</sup>

'[G]uns in Lichefeild they cracken on hye to cheere ... our Kinge.'<sup>43</sup>

No proof appears to exist that Henry landed with guns or if he used them in battle. The comment that 'gonnes ... craked' clearly indicates that there were guns at Lichfield and that they were fired in celebration – an important point to note. The Bosworth Project found a problem with 'the way in which rounds of very different calibre lie in close proximity.'<sup>44</sup> This should not happen when guns of various sizes are fired from the same point. Consideration of a separate firing event on a different day, or similar celebratory firing at a battle-winning-rout, may add to our knowledge with regard to the random shot-scatter at Fenn Lane.

On 20 August, when Henry and Sir William were marching to Tamworth, word reached them that Lord Stanley was in trouble, as 'Bosworth Field' recorded,

Througheout Lychefylde rydes that knight; and on the othar syd taryed he, tyll a message cam to hyn, and sayd, 'Lord Stanley is his inemyes nye; they be but a lytle way atwyne; he will fight within thre howres with Richard of England, callyd

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<sup>41</sup>Robert Fabyan, *Chronicle* (first printed 1516 by Richard Pynson as *The new chronicles of England and of France*), (hereinafter Fabyan), Transcription/Translations, p. 16; Ross, *Richard III*, p. 218.

<sup>42</sup>Harleian 542, f.34. Printed in *Leicestershire and Rutland Notes and Queries*, ed. John and Thomas Spencer, vol I (1881-1891), Transcriptions/Translations, p. 41.

<sup>43</sup>'The Ballad of Bosworth Felde', BL Additional MS 27879, fos. 434-443. Printed in Bishop Percy's *Folio Manuscript. Ballads and Romances*, ed. J. W. Hales and F. J. Furnivall, 3 vols. (London, 1868), iii, pp. 233-59. (hereinafter 'Ballad of Bosworth Felde'), Transcriptions/Translations, p. 75.

<sup>44</sup>Foard & Curry, *Bosworth 1485*, pp. 185-186.

kyng.' [Sir William] came to Adorstone ere nyght, wher the lord Stanley lay in a dale, with trompets, and a goodly company: all that nyght they ther abode.<sup>45</sup>

Sir William immediately rode ahead to Atherstone. Henry, having possibly halted in hesitation and/or consultation, lost contact with his army as darkness fell on that long days' march and was forced to hide overnight before re-joining his army, at Tamworth, the following morning.

So, was there a battle that day or not? And, if so, did it happen at Fenn Lane? The above suggests a battle and there is supporting evidence. Inquisition *post mortem* for 20-21 August 1485 record the deaths of seven 'tenants-in-chief' – a not-insignificant amount compared to sixteen such deaths at Bosworth Field.<sup>46</sup> These were men of status and responsible for raising their share of the troops called for by Richard and Henry. Four of the deaths were men from Suffolk and Essex; Richard Broughton, Sheriff of Leicester and Warwickshire, was another. If this many men of status were killed in one day, it is likely that many more deaths were not recorded. Three hours was enough time for Lord Stanley to deploy guns near Fenn Lane and it seems plausible that a conflict occurred given the scenario of different armies – with different allegiances and agendas – crossing paths at the same time. This could include Sir Richard Brackenbury (controller of the royal arsenal), bringing an artillery train to the battle at Richard's command and if there was such an event, then further work is required to untangle the knot of who was where, when, and doing what, because evidence for this could be amongst that found by the Bosworth Project.

### **Monday August 22 - Movements & Battle**

Foard & Curry propose that the armies of Richard and Henry approached from opposite ends of Fenn Lane and faced each other, either side of a marsh, in an east-west orientation. The presence and effect of a marsh is also the reason given for the spread of ballistic evidence claimed to have been fired by Richard at Henry's approach. They further lead us to understand that Henry, at the marsh, moved 90 degrees left - supposedly in a pre-determined 'feint' – and that the marsh was also the reason that Lord Northumberland did not attack the rebel vanguard when it passed in front of them because, 'as so eloquently explained by Vergil, the marsh was a fortress'.<sup>47</sup> Adding,

This is almost certainly the same manoeuvre as that described by Vergil, where the vanguard turned so that the sun was at their back and the marsh, which lay

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<sup>45</sup>Harleian 542, Transcriptions/Translations, p. 41.

<sup>46</sup>David Baldwin, paper presented to the 'Bosworth Revisited' conference, 19 August 2006.

<sup>47</sup>Foard & Curry, *Bosworth 1485*, p. 188.



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between the two armies, provided protection for the right flank' – and that this 'was the decisive move on which the outcome of the battle hung'.<sup>48</sup>

But Vergil does not use the word 'turned', he actually uses the words 'purposely kept [the marsh on his right]' and 'also by doing this he [Henry] left the sun behind [i.e., at his back, where it was already]'.<sup>49</sup> The combination of these words indicates that there was no deviation in direction. And, besides, would it really be a 'feint' if there were no prospect of marching through a marsh that Foard & Curry say was impenetrable?

Vergil also says, 'When the king saw the enemy pass by the marsh, he commanded his men to attack'.<sup>50</sup> If both armies approached with a marsh between them, at what point would Henry have been considered to have 'passed' the marsh if it initially impeded his forward progress? In turning 90 degrees left, only by reaching the extent of the marsh, in this new direction, could he then have 'passed' it. But, even now, he would still not have 'passed' it in his original direction of travel and the authors suggest there was nothing to prevent Northumberland from firing had he been there. So, at neither point would Richard have considered Henry to have 'passed' the marsh. Hence, with this supposed manoeuvre, there was no 'trigger' to start the battle. Sources say that battle was joined *after* Henry's army had passed the marsh. For Foard & Curry to claim the marsh degraded ballistic velocity would mean that Richard's artillery fired *before* Henry had passed the marsh. The conclusion drawn, therefore, is that this area, marsh or otherwise, was not the primary battlefield.

Figures vary over how many thousands of bowmen were present at Bosworth, but each was capable of firing six arrows per minute, possibly more. So, whilst it is plausible to suggest complete degradation of all of those arrows, it is still disappointing to note that no arrowheads were discovered by the Bosworth Project. This leaves open the tantalising and very real possibility that the initial engagement of the battle happened elsewhere.

The Crowland Chronicle, Molinet, and Diego de Valera agree that the initial movement was that of Henry's army.

The king had the artillery of his army fire on the earl of Richmond, and so the French, knowing by the king's shot the lie of the land and the order of his battle, resolved, in order to avoid the fire, to mass their troops against the flank rather

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<sup>48</sup>Ibid., 186.

<sup>49</sup>Vergil, Transcriptions/Translations, pp. 117–118.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid.

than the front of the king's battle. Thus they obtained the mastery of his vanguard, which after several feats of arms on both sides was dispersed.<sup>51</sup>

By the absence of a comma, Molinet appears to suggest that Richard's guns showed Henry 'the lie of the land'. This is a somewhat pointless argument if the ground was virtually flat, as is the case with Fenn Lane. The 'lie of the land' needs to be a separate element of a list (guns/lie of the land/order of battle) proving that guns, either centrally or enfilade fired, could not see west of the A444 from Tinsel Lane. The downward-sloping ridgeline running southwest from Wellsborough would have blocked the view and this is why the French attacked Richard's right flank. By taking the battle over this ridge, Henry could move away from the guns and shift the focus west towards, and within the view of, Sir William Stanley. This move would have reduced Richard's ability to see and control the whole of the battlefield that began on a north/south axis and using the lie of the land in this way could well have been the tactical masterstroke that won Henry the battle.

Despite no one else previously using such an obvious route through their 'fortress' of a marsh, Foard & Curry have Richard using Fenn Lane to charge Henry with cavalry.<sup>52</sup> Precariously undertaken along a narrow lane of unstable surface, this move was needed to provide context for the high-status find of a gilded sword guard 500 metres away. They suggest it is proof that Henry's standard bearer William Brandon was killed here by Richard and ask, 'is this the very location where king and pretender clashed?'<sup>53</sup>

Then, despite no other source saying so, Foard & Curry have Richard driven back 600 metres (with or without a horse?) so that he can be in the correct spot for the rightly-famous silver gilt boar brooch to be found, 'surely no coincidence and compatible with the death or capture of the two most important individuals in the royal army'.<sup>54</sup> Certainly a find of major significance from an high-status participant, although Professor Michael Lewis (Head of The Portable Antiquities Scheme at The British Museum) cautioned, 'Some people think that the badge identifies the actual spot where King Richard perished, but that might be reading too much into it.'<sup>55</sup> Much has been made of the boar brooch but it is no more proof that Richard died here than a rare Spanish half-real is proof that Salazar, a known combatant for Richard, was escaping from Wellsborough.<sup>56</sup> The suggestion has not been seen that, rather than being lost in

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<sup>51</sup>Molinet, *Transcriptions/Translations*, p. 1.

<sup>52</sup>Foard & Curry, *Bosworth 1485*, p. 192.

<sup>53</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 193.

<sup>54</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 193.

<sup>55</sup>'Crushed Bronze Age cup shines out among 1.5m detectorists finds', *The Times*, 9 July 2020.

<sup>56</sup>Portable Antiquities Scheme WAW-BC30DD 1474-1504

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combat, the boar brooch was deliberately discarded as a natural act of disassociation with the losing side to whom you had previously showed your support. Could it now belong to Lord Stanley? A bonus of this convenient relocation, by the way, is that it places Richard 'only' 400 (rather than 1,000) metres from his suggested original marsh-crossing point of Fenn Lane, which Foard & Curry wish to designate as 'Sandeford'.

The authors believe that Wellsborough was at the time uncultivated and have trouble understanding why (as some suggest) any commander would deliberately choose to fight elsewhere in fields with deep ridge-and-furrow ploughing surrounded by ditches and hedges. And surely no commander would deliberately compromise his artillery by deploying it behind a marsh, nor expect his men to engage in hand-to-hand fighting whilst trying to walk through one? The Crowland Chronicle reports

[T]here now began a very fierce battle between the two sides; the earl of Richmond with his knights advanced directly upon (*no 'feint' nor change of direction here*) King Richard while the earl of Oxford, next in rank after him in the whole company and a very valiant knight, with a large force of French as well as English troops, took up his position opposite the wing where the duke of Norfolk was stationed.<sup>57</sup>

Consider Richard's army along what is now Tinsel Lane, which runs parallel to and 400 metres below the Wellsborough ridge top, offering 180-degree views and facing Henry's army directly south along Sibson ridge, three-quarters of a mile away. Views to the west are more limited until one reaches what is now the junction with the A444 Burton Road. If Henry had moved towards Sir William in an arc from Sibson to seek help, then he would not have been visible to Richard from Tinsel Lane. Confirmation of this reduced power of supervision appears to exist in the poem 'Bosworth Field' by Sir John Beaumont in 1629.

[T]he king intended at his setting out / To helpe his Vanguard, but a nimble scout / Runnes crying: Sir, I saw not farre from hence, / Where Richmond hover with a small defence, / And like one guilty of some heynous ill / Is couer'd with the shade of yonder hill. ... Then Richard with these newes himselfe doth please / He now diuerts his course another way, / And with his army led in faire array, / Ascends the rising ground, and taking view / Of Henries souldiers, sees they are but few.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>57</sup>*Crowland Chronicle Continuations*, Transcriptions/Translations, p. 6. Authors Italics.

<sup>58</sup>Beaumont, J., 'Bosworth-field: A Poem. Written in the Year 1629 and Dedicated to King Charles I' (Gale ECCO, 2018), p. 52.

For Richard to 'ascend the rising ground', he would climb back to the highest westerly point of Wellsborough. From there, he could fully see Henry at Sibson making his way towards Sir William near Twycross. Vergil said that he 'attacked him [Henry] from the flank, riding outside the battle-line', which fits with Richard charging to the west of his vanguard and towards the Sence.<sup>59</sup> This move (desperate or calculated genius) could very well have succeeded but for the timely intervention of Sir William Stanley, 'remembringe the breakfast that he promysed hym, downe at a backe he hyed, and set fiersly on the kynge.'<sup>60</sup>

Although some use the word 'banke', Ian Forbes Baird says it should be 'backe'; effectively meaning 'around the back'.<sup>61</sup> There is validity in either interpretation since Sir William was both behind Richard at the outset and on a slope possibly from the high ground now occupied by Copton Ash Farm – 108m elevation and less than half a mile from the Sence.

### **The Rout**

Foard & Curry say 'Sandeford need not necessarily be the place of the battle itself but instead it indicates the place where Richard was killed in a rout ... although there is strong evidence to suggest that he died on the field.'<sup>62</sup> The authors believe that Richard's death was not 'in a rout' but at the start of it. Sir William took advantage of Richard's dislocation from his main body of troops and descended upon him before he had time to escape or be rescued. The onward flooding of the battlefield by these extra troops, possibly combined with the celebratory cheering by those who could see King Richard dead, caused the panic and thus the rout. In this theory, Sandeford was the first point of contact for Sir William's troops and Richard was not killed in the rout but was rather the trigger for it to begin, with 'Meanwhile after a brief encounter Oxford quickly routed the others fighting in the forefront, of whom a goodly number were killed in their flight.'<sup>63</sup>

With the battle taking place in the south and west quadrant of Wellsborough, the options for escape were as follows: for those engaged at Sandeford, some may have had chance to escape north which may have been Salazar's exit strategy, hence the significance of where the half-real was found; otherwise, the rapidly-closing gap caused by the direction of attack from Sir William Stanley and his men forced them into the ongoing vanguard action, this would, in turn, have escalated the panic and put Richard's

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<sup>59</sup>Vergil, Transcriptions/Translations, p. 118.

<sup>60</sup>Harleian 542, Transcriptions/Translations, p. 42.

<sup>61</sup>Ian Forbes Baird, 1990 p.358 *Poems concerning the Stanley family (Earls of Derby) 1485-1520* <https://theses.bham.ac.uk/id/eprint/1575/>. Accessed 21 September 2022.

<sup>62</sup>Foard & Curry, *Bosworth 1485*, p. 66.

<sup>63</sup>Vergil, Transcriptions/Translations, p. 118.

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men to flight. The rout would then be on, and escape routes would soon diminish. Foard & Curry say that Oxford pursued Norfolk towards a windmill, one of the very few times they ascribe any veracity to the Bosworth 'ballads', with a site in Dadlington 'by far the most likely candidate'.<sup>64</sup> Previously only finding watermills in the immediate Wellsborough area, an alternative windmill, at the Coton site proposed for Richard's camp, can now be offered.<sup>65</sup>

The option for the majority of those pursued – if there was a marsh to the east of Sibson as proposed – was likely to be downhill and south-eastwards. Pursuing troops would have driven them through Upton and into the waiting arms of Lord Stanley at Fenn Lane, just as Molinet described '[T]he vanguard of King Richard, which was put to flight, was picked off by Lord Stanley'.<sup>66</sup> Hutton describes a two-mile pursuit 'towards Stoke' which many historians have dismissed as making no sense from nearby Ambion Hill or Fenn Lane but fits perfectly if originating from Wellsborough. A rout is more deadly when fleeing men become trapped (as at Towton in 1461) but, in the scenario proposed by Christopher Gravett - with a rout towards Dadlington windmill and away from all other combatants - there is nothing to trap the men being chased.<sup>67</sup>

The pursuit of a rout with mediaeval artillery is impossible. Instead, the authors' proposal is that Lord Stanley's guns were already lined up near Fenn Lane and that the rout was forced onto them. Trapped by Henry's chasing troops, Richard's men simply had nowhere left to go. And this seems consistent with Lord Stanley's *modus operandi* that he would not care to which routed side he was firing on - safely knowing 'to which party the victory fell'.<sup>68</sup> Because more died in the rout than at the main battle, is this a possible reason why original maps show the battle to be in this area? Or was it because of the 'Dadlington field' signet warrant reference in 1511?

...biilding of a chapel of sainte James standing upon a parcell of grounde where Bosworth' feld, otherwise called Dadlyngton' feld, in our countie of Leicestr' was done.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>64</sup>Foard & Curry, *Bosworth 1485*, p. 192.

<sup>65</sup>Historic Environment Record ID-MLE2910 1067-1539

<sup>66</sup>Molinet, *Transcriptions/Translations*, p. 1.

<sup>67</sup>Christopher Gravett, *Bosworth 1485 The Downfall of Richard III*, (Oxford: Osprey 2021), p. 81.

<sup>68</sup>Molinet, *Transcriptions/Translations*, p. 1.

<sup>69</sup>TNA C.82/367/no.15: signet warrant, 1511. Transcribed in O.D. Harris, 'The Bosworth Commemoration at Dadlington', *The Ricardian*, 7.90 (1985); *Transcriptions/Translations*, p. 65.

This warrant is often taken as proof that the battle took place there, but another interpretation is that the area near Stoke Golding and Dadlington was indeed a parcel *or part* of the battle – but not the main site – and that *part* was ‘otherwise called Dadlyngton feld’. The authors feel it should join ‘Redemore’ and ‘Sandeford’ as the final part of this battle-triumvirate.

## **The Aftermath**

Meanwhile, back at Wellsborough

‘Which praier finyshed, he replenyshed wt incomperable gladnes, ascended vp to the top of a littell mountaine’<sup>70</sup>

‘Henry ... climbed a nearby hill, where ... with a great shout his soldiers acclaimed as him as king’.<sup>71</sup>

It is claimed by Foard & Curry that the change of a hill name in Stoke Golding from ‘Garbrody’s Hill’ to ‘Crown Hill’<sup>72</sup> is proof that Henry was crowned there after the battle. ‘Now that the location of the battlefield is known (sic), such identification is given further support from Vergil’s reference to Henry going from the battlefield to a nearby hill where he was crowned. Crown Hill is the only prominent hill close to the battlefield.’<sup>73</sup>

But Vergil did not say ‘going from the battlefield’. Henry was crowned at Redemore, where the battle took place and Stoke Golding is not connected closely enough with battle-related finds to justifiably be described as the same piece of land. If true, this makes Garbrody’s Hill the wrong crowning site, and their location of the main battle site wrong as well.

Knowing that Richard was dead – because he was a witness – it is very unlikely that Henry would have joined the pursuit of a rout that ended at Fenn Lane. Instead, he would have stayed at Wellsborough because, from the Sence (Sandeford), it is only a few hundred yards of rising red ground (Redemoor) to reach Wellsborough’s crowning hill of Bosworth Field.

## **Conclusion**

This article is not a case of our site versus theirs as they are both part of the same story. Whilst agreeing with Hicks that ‘the main fighting seems to have taken place

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<sup>70</sup>Hall, *Transcriptions/Translations*, p. 32.

<sup>71</sup>Vergil, *Transcriptions/Translations*, p. 118.

<sup>72</sup>Foard & Curry, *Bosworth 1485*, p. 87.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid.

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beyond the large area studied', criticism that The Bosworth Project investment return was 'meagre' [and] "does not substantially alter or confirm what little was already known' is a trifle harsh.<sup>74</sup> The Bosworth Project provided a basis for the considerable effort needed to shift intransigence that the battle occurred at Ambion Hill and so opened up possibilities for sites not previously considered. Unfortunately, a new intransigence has seemingly taken hold and other possibilities have *not* been explored.

The authors believe that Wellsborough has the strongest case to be called 'Bosworth Field'. The authors' alternative narrative is coherent, easy to understand, and achieves the aim of matching more contemporary sources than any previous theory.

It does not dismiss the Bosworth Project's findings but rather includes them to much greater effect.

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<sup>74</sup>Michael Hicks, *Richard III The Self-Made King*, (New Haven: Yale University Press 2021), pp. 23-24.