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The Ricardian Register

Newsletter of the Richard III Society, Inc.

EDITOR: Linda B. McLatchie, 534 Hudson Road, Sudbury, Mass. 01776

Richard III Society, Inc. is a non-profit educational corporation chartered in 1969 under the membership corporation laws of the State of New York.

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Bon Voyage to 1977 Ricardian Tour to Britain

The 1977 Ricardian Tour members will start their journey on August 12. They will participate in an exciting itinerary, including special Ricardian sightseeing guided by Major Battcock; annual Memorial Service at Sutton Cheney and touring of Bosworth Field; sightseeing in York and London; trips to Oxford and Middleham; and much, much more. Tour members will be meeting English Ricardians throughout Britain, including a get-together with Malcolm and Nita Knapp. The Knapps will be showing tour members Lincoln Cathedral and will host a luncheon at the historic Angel & Royal.

Tour members will also be delivering needlepoint kneelers to Sutton Cheney Church. The kneelers project is a special project of the American Branch, and is coordinated by Janet Snyder.

Our tireless Betty Schloss has made all the arrangements for this interesting tour. Lillian Barker will act as the group's recorder and coordinator-historian. We look forward to their reports on the trip.

Betty Schloss has the following notice:

"There may be a place for any last minute members from the American Branch who may find time and a way to join the tour to England in August (12th to 27th). The Arthur Frommer air advance booking charter flight is sold out, but TWA has one that at present has space for \$389 per person and there is a possibility of finding arrangements on the tour if I hear as soon as possible. There are nearly thirty persons traveling on this year's program and it looks like the best response so far. This will be our own ten-year celebration of our first tour program to England in 1967."

Betty Schloss, Mattituck Travel, P.O. Box 1421,
Mattituck, N.Y. 11952. Tel. (516) 298-5151.

With a touch of envy, we wish the group a fun-filled and rewarding trip. *Bon Voyage!*

Notice to the Membership

The Legend of Richard III. A condensation of Caroline Amelia Halsted's important biography of 1844, *Richard III as Duke of Gloucester and King of England*, with the views of other writers and additional commentary, researched and edited by William H. Snyder, Chairman, Richard III Society, Inc.

As he has reported at the last two Annual General Meetings, Bill Snyder has been preparing a condensation of Halsted's two-volume, 1,027 page *Richard III*, to be entitled *The Legend of Richard III*.

This condensation, while retaining Halsted's thoughts and words, greatly compresses her work and clarifies her Victorian, hard-to-read prose. In addition, as Richard's story develops, Bill has summarized the views of other major writers and scholars so that the reader may have, in one volume, a wider basis for evaluating the life, character, and times of Richard III. *The Legend of Richard III* should be a useful companion to Halsted's *Richard III* and especially valuable to those who do not have a copy of her work.

We want the members to be fully and clearly informed of current plans for funding the publication of *The Legend of Richard III*, so they may have an opportunity to make their views known.

The Board proposes that the Society sponsor this work as a Richard III Society publication because this action would further our Society's aims. We are a non-profit, educational Society with the objectives of: promoting historical research into the life and times of Richard III; securing a reassessment of the historical material relating to this period and of Richard's role in English history; and circulating all relevant historical information to the Society's members and to educational authorities.

Linda McLatchie is donating her services in undertaking the typesetting of the manuscript. Her work will greatly reduce costs. To further keep costs down, the book will be a paperback. While Bill Snyder will retain the copyright,

all proceeds will go to the Society, and the only reimbursement will be for out-of-pocket expenses. We hope and expect that *The Legend of Richard III* will be a source of income to the Society.

The Board intends to act prudently in this matter by first ascertaining your response to a Pre-Publication Offer (to be published in a subsequent *Register*) before going further. Publication will not be undertaken if it seems that costs will unduly deplete the treasury. In this event, any moneys received from members will be promptly refunded. We recognize that immediate sales cannot be expected to repay costs fully. So, Bill and Linda are prepared to advance sums, if necessary, to be repaid later from sales.

If you have any questions or caveats about the above, please let us know. But we hope that your response to the forthcoming Pre-Publication Offer will be such as to encourage us to move ahead with this project which we believe will further the objectives of the Society and prove useful to the membership.

**Elizabeth D. Haynes, William Hogarth,
Linda B. McLatchie, William H. Snyder**

AGM to be held on October 1

This year's Annual General Meeting will be held on Saturday, October 1, 1977, at the English-Speaking Union, New York City. Arrangements have yet to be finalized, but our main speaker will probably be Bill Hogarth, who will speak on the dramatist's view of Richard through the ages. Bill will share with us the fruit of his many years of research into this area. Members who have heard him speak on previous occasions will look forward to his slide presentation—a blend of amusing anecdotes and informative commentary.

Further details on the meeting will appear in the next *Register*. Invitations will be sent to all members in the beginning of September.

West Coast meeting in October

The West Coast area of the Society will be gathering for a birthday get-acquainted gathering in San Francisco on October 7, 1977. We'd love to see all interested members at a "no host" cocktail hour—5:30 to 8:00—at the Presidio Golf Club. The Club is located at the corner of Arguello and Pacific Avenues (phone 751-1322).

Anyone planning to attend should notify Ann LeFevre (Mrs. Allen LeFevre) at 3755 Clay Street, San Francisco, California 94118 (phone 221-7795).

We look forward to seeing you then!

**Martha MacBride
Regional Vice-Chairman**

Membership list available

A list of the American Branch membership is available from the Editor. If you would like a copy, please send \$3.00 to cover the cost of Xeroxing and postage.

Notes of interest

Nita Slavin-Knapp's article on medieval cookery was delightful. When we had lunch at the Angel & Royal several years ago, I remember reading about the medieval banquets and certainly envy her the opportunity to attend.

Ricardians may be interested to follow her suggestions and recipes, and the following books may be of interest as well:

To the King's Taste: Richard II's book of feasts and recipes (wrong Richard!)

To the Queen's Taste: Elizabethan feasts and recipes.

Both were adapted for modern cooking by Lorna J. Sass and are available from the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. Another fascinating title is Phillipa Pullar's *Consuming Passions*, a recent study of British cookery and eating habits dating back to Roman Britain.

Helena Wright

80 Osgood Street, N. Andover, Mass. 01845

Frances Fisher passes on the following items of interest:

(1) Clymers of Bucks Co. (a mail order firm) offered a plaque-sculpture showing Richard III "just prior to the Battle of Bosworth Field wearing full plate armour as is the white charger he rode." It was produced by Marcus Designs, c. 1974.

(2) Postage stamps:

(a) Richard III stamp (National Gallery portrait) in the English kings and queens series of Barbuda, 1970-1971.

(b) Richard III portrait on the 5c St. Vincent stamp commemorative series (Queen Elizabeth II anniversary issue).

"Richard III" at Stratford Festival

This year the Stratford Festival, Ontario, staged "Richard III." Richard Eder reviewed the play (The New York Times, June 10, 1977) and found it a splendid production about a "bottled spider." Excerpts of that review follow:

" 'Richard III' is a hard play to start. True, the splendid production that the Stratford Festival opened in Stratford, Ontario, Wednesday night begins well enough, with a crablike figure in black lurching down the aisle, mounting the stage, and turning to recite the terrible things he proposes to do.

"But what we actually see there is Brian Bedford, a thoughtful-looking man with a small hump discreetly sewn into his shoulder and one gloved hand clutched to his chest. He is in a bent-over stance and he is making faces.

"We do not immediately accept the evil he asserts; it has to be layered onto him by what at first is obvious acting, and by the grim and effective staging devised by Robin Phillips. It is only gradually, and as he begins to work upon the other characters, that horror begins to grow in us, and we realize what a powerful and deadly performance Mr. Bedford is giving.

"Only the very greatest actors, perhaps, could make Richard's soliloquies at the play's beginning and end truly believable; and convey, without benefit of action, the demonic force within him. Mr. Bedford doesn't manage it, but he manages everything else and the play, in any case, is almost entirely Richard in motion: cajoling, plotting, threatening, killing.

"Mr. Bedford is all broken energy, and everything he does has the excess of disease. When he woos the wife of a man he has killed, he is a blind torrent of language. When he plots to prevent the crowning of his brother's son and to crown himself instead, he has an eerie stillness. He sits, eye blinking, tongue-tip flickering, a foolish quiet about him, while his man Buckingham gives orders. He is precisely what one of his victims calls him: the bottled spider.

"One of the play's best scenes is the arrest of Hastings, the follower whom Richard has decided to kill. . . . Richard enters the council room limping on the left leg, and shoots up his right arm in a wave so boisterous that it all but pulls him apart. He is affectionate, then moody, then distracted; he sends someone for strawberries and suddenly launches himself at Hastings's neck. He walks out, and the other courtiers melt away. Hastings remains, a blasted rock, looking dumbly at the two courtiers who still sit there, and who are to lead him to execution.

" . . . Using a bare set that is a literal prison in which the characters move, Mr. Phillips [director] gives a fast, harsh pacing. Each ghost that visits Richard before his last battle has its moment of accusation, imprisoned in a column of smoky light, and then retreats, murmuring, like a receding sea-wave.

"Everything is in somber, dark tones until the moment of Richard's coronation. Suddenly there is a blaze of red capes and light. The subterranean king crumples inside his gorgeous apparel: his triumph is the beginning of his doom.

Welcome new members

Mark Bernstein
2401 Pennsylvania Avenue
Philadelphia, Pa. 19130

Marianne C. Kern
851 Springfield Avenue
Summit, N.J. 07901

Andrea Rich
P.O. Box 120
Orangeburg, N.Y. 10962

Margaret L. Thrasher
RD No. 3, Box 25
Hunlock Creek, Pa. 18621

Nell de Treville
1829 Senate
Columbia, S.C. 29201

Robert B. McCarthy
Hanover High School
Hanover, N.H. 03755

George K. Sullivan
103 Adams Street
N. Abington, Mass. 02351

John Scheppe
101 Maysville Road, No. 2
Huntsville, Ala. 35801

**"Beggerly Bretons and Faynte-Harted
Frenchman: Age- and Class-Specific Mortality
During London's Sweating Sickness of 1485"
by Lorraine Attreed**

[EDITORS'S NOTE: The following article by Ms. Attreed was written while a student at the University of New Mexico. As reported in the last issue of the Register, Ms. Attreed has won a Marshall Scholarship. She will be studying in York, where she will be furthering her research into Richard and his times.]

Faced with the need to reorganize the kingdom he won on a battlefield and prove to the English he was more than just another usurper, Henry VII's task was complicated by the spread of the sweating sickness throughout the London population. In the autumn of 1485, Henry began a successful rule that resurrected the monarchy as the focus of society, forcibly reminded the aristocracy of their place beneath the law, and promised justice and unity after years of civil turmoil.

An exile in Brittany and France for half his life, Henry knew little of English administration and had to rely on London's political leaders who had survived into his reign. Their chances of continued survival decreased with the arrival of an influenza-like disease which the chronicles note attacked the old politically-influential of the City. The contemporary historians described an age- and class-specific disease, striking only these older leaders, but it is important to remember that the victim's position and wealth would have attracted chroniclers' attention as the suffering of London's poor could not. Henry, the well-born men who shared his exile, and the Northern French mercenary soldiers he used all remained healthy. The possibility that the sweating sickness was a disease endemic in Northern France and that Henry's group acted as immune carriers is one that is strongly supported by medical evidence. The factor of weather gains importance in examining the virulence and spread of a disease while the classic accounts of its symptoms provide the basis for identifying it as a strain of influenza.

The disease was said to return in 1508, 1517, 1528, and 1551, but private letters deny these epidemics by referring to almost constant illness. What is most important to a study of the 1485 bout is the factor of disease density-dependence as applied to the political situation of that year. Henry's fellow exiles were in London to receive grants and positions as reward for service. Entertainment by the City's political leaders accompanied the ceremonies and meetings required by a new king, who with his men had close personal contact with a group of influential men whose ranks thinned after suffering the sweating sickness. The mortal effects of the disease deprived Henry of support and guidance, but his successful rule underlines his own ability to grasp the details of a situation and work for a practical solution.

The classic account of Thomas Forrestier, recorded only five years after the London outbreak, helps identify the sweating sickness as a strain of influenza. In addition to emphasizing the wealthy merchant class which suffered, the Norman physician underlines the suddenness of the attacks:

And this sickness cometh with a grete swetyng and stynkyng, with rednesse of the face and of all the body and a contynual thirst, with a grete hete and hedache because of the fumes and venoms. . . . Some appear red and yellow and in two grete ladies that we saw, the which were sick in all their bodies and they felt grete pricking in their bodies . . . we saw two prestys standing togeder and speaking togeder, and we saw both of them dye sodenly.¹

The symptoms closely resemble those of modern influenza, and two modern physicians consider treating a patient infected with sweating sickness today as they would simple A-strain 'flu.² In both diseases there is sudden onset and disappearance, with some patients recovering in twenty-four hours. Characterized by prostration, myalgia (muscle pain), headache and fever, influenza is spread by droplet infection. Redness of the face and body points to pulmonary involvement and secondary bacterial infection which increases mortality.³

Despite contradictory accounts that do not provide a clear definition, the sweating sickness resembles the B-strain of influenza. There is little agreement on the characteristics of B-strain, but much of the literature describes it as less widespread geographically than the A-strain, with a more sudden onset of fever, prostration, and body aches, and greater mortality for those over age forty. The B-strain is more likely to be endemic than epidemic, and intervals between outbreaks tend to be longer than the two to three years common for A-strain.⁴

The difficulty in finding a one-to-one correspondence of symptoms between the sweating sickness and any strain of influenza virus probably stems from the ability of disease to mutate. The reservoir of influenza between outbreaks is believed to be swine and the swine lungworm, in which the virus undergoes mutation, antigenic drift, or a genetic recombination with another type to produce a unique third strain.⁵ Historians dissatisfied with the diagnosis of sweating sickness as influenza because of an absence of coughing and its excessive mortality must take the factor of mutation into account. Severity of the attack and death of the host suggest that the sweating sickness was a new disease, but no doubt it was new only in the sense that mutation had affected its host range, virulence, and hemagglutinin production while changing enough to escape antibodies from previous bouts. Still, modern studies are unable to firmly and without doubt identify the fifteenth-century disease as

influenza, because of the sparse accounts written for purposes other than those of epidemiology. The possibility exists that the sweating sickness was not caused by a virus and was not influenza. Studies must not point to mutation as an efficient, applicable answer to all differences in pathology. The factor of mutation is valuable for analysis of disease behavior, and to use it to explain away discontinuities and fill in gaps left by historical records lessens the factor's importance. The argument that the sweating sickness was an early and slightly different form of modern influenza is supported by theories of viral mutation, but care should be taken in accepting such a convenient hypothesis.

The problems of historical demography explain why the behavior of the wealthy and politically-active was noted with care. At the most basic level of recording information, "those who were of no fiscal interest to the Crown—the landless, the vagrants, most women, most children—do not appear [in State as well as parish records]; the record grows manifestly fuller as one works upward through the social scale."⁶ Thus, it is understandable why many important demographic studies have concentrated on the nobility.⁷ Matters are complicated by the diverse motives of the writers, because "all historical demography before the beginnings of official statistics has to be based on material gathered by men who neither had our purposes in mind, nor could have been made to see their importance if someone had tried to explain them."⁸

Despite their faults, the records clearly show an increase in English population from about 1450 to 1620. Sudden interruptions by short-term crises like localized plague outbreaks and the sweating sickness could do no more than temporarily reverse the trend. Accompanying this material is the unlikely suggestion that virulence of all illness was reduced in this period. This does not assist a study of the sweating sickness, but the general idea of more favorable conditions for birth and survival corresponds with the projected expectation of life for men born between 1426 and 1450. In examining the extremes, someone born in 1426 was fifty-nine in 1485 when the sweating sickness occurred. His expectation of life at birth was 32.76 years, but at age 59 he could expect 14.10 more years of life (total 73.10 years). A man born in 1450 was thirty-five in 1485, and at that point could expect only 21.7 more years of life. Life spans had increased since the fourteenth century, when the factor of disease (the bubonic plague) strongly influenced the life-tables. The annual mortality rate, defined as the number of people out of one thousand who will die in the next year, was for age thirty-five 32.7 deaths per 1000 and for fifty-nine year olds 48.4 deaths per thousand.⁹ The age-specific mortality rate showed a greater difference between the two ages, with 16.35% of those entering the 35-39 year old interval dying during the period, and 28.57% of the members of the 55-59 interval succumbing before its end. Throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, September and October showed the highest mortality, with

12-16% of all deaths occurring at that time. Critics of the English climate blame this evidence on the "heat of August and returning chill of September,"¹⁰ but environmental shock can only be measured by considering disease frequency as well. These mortality rates are not low, even after compensating for exaggeration and gaps in the records. They show that more people over forty-five will be dying in an epidemic-free population than young people. The addition of a virulent disease with debilitating symptoms is going to affect the older group so that their high mortality will characterize the illness as age-specific. Histories of a reign or epidemic will focus on this group's strikingly obvious susceptibility even without the probability that many of the older victims will have, by the time of their death, achieved noteworthy status in their community.

The possibility that the sweating sickness was endemic on the Continent arises in much of the literature. Severe epidemics result when a disease is introduced to a population which has never encountered it or has not succumbed to it for long periods. Immunity is granted to those who experienced the disease in its full form or as a subclinical infection without noticeable symptoms and effects. Endemic diseases, in that they are always present to some extent in the community, prevent the development of huge sections of the population which do not contract the illness early and thus suffer greatly if they encounter it in adulthood.¹¹

The frequently-quoted assertion that France and Spain remained free of the sweating sickness when the disease spread to Europe in the sixteenth century suggests that immunity was present in these areas as the result of endemic illness.¹² Creighton argues that this suggestion is proven by the Picardy sweats which occurred from 1717 to the 1890's from the epicenter of Rouen. For many years the illness had been mild, extended over many days, and rarely epidemic over a large population or area. The eighteenth century witnessed a change to short sharp attacks with mortality like that of the English sweating sickness. Conjecture alone leads to the explanation that a sweating sickness was endemic in Northern France, perhaps but not necessarily as a subclinical fever that attacked children. A population imported into the area contracted the disease in adulthood, and after recovery migrated to London whose citizens were not immune. After the spread of the disease in England, it was taken to the Continent, where groups which had already experienced it were not again affected. By the eighteenth century either mutation had taken place on the disease so that it was novel to Northern France, or the conditions that granted subclinical infections and resultant immunity were changed. Therefore, it is important to study what groups were in contact with the population of Northern France, to what area those groups travelled, and what people they dealt with and possibly infected.

Henry's exile in Brittany for the second fourteen years of his life brought him into areas in which it is believed the disease was endemic. Descended from the second family of Henry VI's mother, the Tudors were Lancastrians, and the accession of the Yorkist Edward IV in 1471 prompted Henry and his uncle to escape the uncertainties of their future in England. The pair was accepted into the Breton court of Duke Francis II, always eager to antagonize either French policy or English foreign relations. The Tudors' English servants were replaced by native Bretons, and Henry was well-received throughout that northwest region as the male heir of the Lancastrian house.¹³

Contact with the inhabitants of Brittany both at close range (his servants) and at court grew more frequent when Francis began bargaining with England. In August 1475, Francis sent Henry to St. Malo on the northern coast of the duchy, where he was to be returned to England and probably killed. At some point on the journey Henry recognized the scope of the plan, and fell into a fever which forced his return to the city's sanctuary.

Medieval historian S.B. Chrimes doubts that Henry was truly ill,¹⁴ but the truth of his complaint is irrelevant. Henry needed an excuse that would save his life, and it is reasonable that he would choose an illness known to the Bretons as present in the area, serious, and able to be contracted by Henry. This incident alone does not prove that a disease characterized by fever was endemic in Northern France, but it cannot be ignored in the face of evidence of immunity.

During the next nine years, Francis supported Henry's abortive plans to invade England, but his protection and support were involuntarily withdrawn when in 1484 he became incapacitated. The Treasurer of Brittany took Francis' place, and in June agreed to give Henry to Richard III of England. Henry, then at Vannes on the south coast of Brittany, was warned and fled southeast to Anjou. Upon his recovery, Francis sent Henry the men who had remained at Vannes, but more important than his strategy is the extent to which Henry and his companions travelled in Northern France. The group was not sequestered in a castle for fourteen years, but riding out and conducting business. Like Henry's fever in 1475, these movements do not prove contact with an illness, but what is present is the opportunity to contract what was for the French an endemic disease.¹⁵ Henry was living in Brittany for fourteen years, and most of his companions spent at least two years there after fleeing Yorkist England. There was ample time for these foreigners to come down with a disease they had not encountered previously, and their travels and contacts gave them the opportunity. Henry was an unimportant exile at this time, with whom no historian bothered. Illness among his ranks went unnoticed.

Henry's move into France proper gained him the attention and support of the French king. The *Memoirs* of Philippe de Comynes detail with fair accuracy this assistance:

With a small amount of money which the King (of France) had given him, as well as some 3000 men which had been raised in Normandy—the worst kind which could have been found anywhere—he proceeded to Wales, where he was joined by his stepfather Lord Stanley with about 25,000 Englishmen. After three or four days he encountered that cruel King Richard, who was killed on the battlefield; he was crowned king and has reigned to this day.¹⁶

These soldiers, drawn from convicts and thieves the king of France was glad to be rid of, were Normans from the northern regions of France and especially Rouen. This is the area which resisted contagion when the sweating sickness moved to the Continent after 1485 and later succumbed to the Picardy Sweats. The soldiers, described in the chronicles as "beggerly Bretons and Faynte-harted Frenchmen," were led by Philibert de Chandee, "a man who had some status in Brittany, and who had apparently entertained Henry at an earlier stage of his exile."¹⁷

Henry, his English exiled companions, French supporters, and the Norman troops sailed for Wales 1 August and landed six days later when many in the group were knighted by Henry. The party turned inland and travelled east when on the nineteenth day of August, Henry and a few selected companions lost both the troops and their way, and for a few hours it must have seemed as if the invasion would be another failure.¹⁸ There is no evidence to prove the Normans were camped elsewhere or confused because of any illness. No historian mentions apparent symptoms of fever or sweating among the French or English exiles. It must be remembered that Henry was the victor at Bosworth, and historians like Bernard Andre, Polydore Vergil, and later Sir Thomas More would have liked to portray Henry as a great hero. It is true that the odds he faced were great in themselves, and the bravery of Henry and the Norman soldiers fighting both Richard's men and the symptoms of a sweating sickness would have appealed to these historians' sense of drama and right making might. Paul Murray Kendall in his biography of Richard III describes the last days in August as a feverish time for Henry, but an account of Tudor's bravery cannot be augmented with the fearful odds of disease.

Nor was Richard III having an easy time of raising troops and convincing them the Welsh forces were a major threat to the country. The conflict and violence of the Wars of the Roses had diminished respect for the crown, and Richard's two years of creative continuity and care for peace and justice were only beginning to return the aristocracy to a place below the law.

The Stanley clan was an exception because Thomas Lord Stanley was married to Henry Tudor's mother. Unsure of Henry's strength but wary of Richard's power, Thomas refused to join the king on 15 August and gave the excuse that he had the sweating sickness. S.B. Chrimes refers to private correspondence to conclude that "the sweat" or

something like it, was known in York at an earlier date, and Stanley would have known that Richard III would have been obliged to recognize that if Stanley really had the sickness" he could not have joined the king.¹⁹ As with Henry's fever, Thomas's excuse has two different levels of value. Ill or not, Thomas had to tell a good story, one recognizable as possibly true, because he could not afford to make Richard suspicious. Richard was a fine military commander certain to win any confrontation with the untried Henry. Richard was king and would probably remain king, and Thomas's vacillating loyalty between Richard and stepson Henry could not afford to be underlined by an implausible story. His excuse had to be the best possible, and he had to choose one Richard could have known about, at least because of the latter's native connection with York and the North. If Thomas knew about the disease, it was probably common knowledge, and because he spent the summer on his estates in Cheshire and Lancashire (north and central England), it is possible the disease itself or tales of it were common. Until Professor Chrimes publishes further details of the correspondence, it can only be concluded that the sweating sickness could have been present in the north of England in the summer of 1485.

Thomas did join Richard, and marched to Bosworth Field where on 22 August Henry came into power by defeating the king. The Stanleys had made a quick decision and supported Henry to victory, but the new king's first thought was not of reward. He immediately sent his secretary and fellow exile Sir Robert Willoughby to Sheriff Hutton in Yorkshire to take two young Yorkist heirs to London. Henry was sending Willoughby, a man who had spent years in France and could have contracted many diseases, into an area believed to be suffering from a sweating sickness. The North and York in particular was still experiencing an outbreak of the plague, and there exists speculation that a population could have succumbed again to the Black Death if it had been earlier weakened by a sweating sickness.²⁰

The arrivals in London of the two groups preceded the outbreak of the disease, whose autumn occurrence bears examination with data on weather and precedents. Willoughby, the two young heirs, and their servants arrived in London 13 September, eight days before the sweating sickness broke out. Henry had arrived 27 August, and throughout September and October was greeted and entertained by all classes of society. Concerning the factor of weather, "about all that can be said on the seasonal prevalence of many viral diseases is that . . . they tend to be most prevalent at about the time of the vernal or the autumnal equinoxes [March 22-23 or September 21-2],"²¹ and a close reading of the fifteenth-century Paston letters reveals that illness during the fall or winter was common. Either the Paston family and everyone they knew were frequently ill or its members only wrote letters when they

were home in Norwich or London with some disease and had nothing better to do than check up on the size of their ships' masts. In November 1479, a son wrote to his father

The pepyll dyeth sore in Norwyche, and specyally a-bought my house; but my wyff and my women come not out, and fle ferther we can not, for at Sweynsthorp [six miles south of Norwich] sythe my departyng thens they have dyed and ben syke nye in every house of the town.²²

Similar diseases accompanied by aching joints, fevers, and inclement weather are mentioned throughout the letters of these higher gentry, who still managed to live beyond their expectation of life.²³

References to the weather are infrequent in personal letters, London chronicles, and historical works, but a study of climatic effects can be fruitful. After controlled tests and more general observation, it is known that weather affects the infectivity and lifetime of a pathogen and the resistance of the host. Temperature and humidity are the vital factors, with high humidity reducing the period of infectivity of virus and cold weather apparently lowering hemoglobin values which affect the body's mechanism of disease resistance.²⁴ While Burnet argues that in air not saturated with moisture breath droplets dry and leave protein flakes of virus able to infect others,²⁵ most studies concentrate on the death rate of a virus at a given relative humidity. Both Buckland and Lester conclude that the rate of decline for influenza virus is lower when the relative humidity remains below 40%, and that more virus is killed when the humidity rises above 70%. Buckland predicts that the relative humidity rarely falls below 50% in modern British homes because of central heating,²⁶ but this inconclusive statement does not handle the conditions of public meeting chambers in fifteenth-century London. DeOme demanded humid conditions of 74% relative humidity before airborne organisms' death rate increased, and brought in the factor of temperature with the conclusion that "at a given relative humidity the death rate increases as the temperature is increased . . ."²⁷ His study is most important for its argument that lethal effects were attained by atmospheric conditions, and a reduction in live virus was not the result of a mechanical removal by sticking or settling to tubes of the measuring apparatus.

A slightly different approach to the influence of weather is taken in most literature, and the problems of applications to the fifteenth-century increase. Developing from the idea of wave-like advances of a disease from an epicenter, Watt and Gafafer's theory maintains that influenza outbreaks originate at a particular place because of climatic events there, and are spread even six to twenty months later by the migration of infective carriers. In this case, atmospheric abnormalities would have had to occur either in Northern France or Yorkshire from the winter of

1483 to July 1485, before the Normans and Willoughby left for London:

It has been observed repeatedly that major epidemics of influenza flag their arrival many months in advance by minor increases in incidence, followed by disappearance until the major wave appears. Thus, there is reason to believe that whatever phenomenon caused the epidemic to appear had been set in motion by some causal pathway operating long before the epidemic occurred.²⁸

Following this argument it is possible that the sweating sickness started in Northern France or York prompted by a change in climate, and Henry's men and/or Willoughby's group contracted it and brought it into London. Yet the lack of evidence of atmospheric abnormalities or widespread illness in those regions strengthens the idea the disease was endemic and probably subclinical, at least in France.

A variation on this theme is the possibility of temperature fluctuations, which are more thoroughly discussed in the literature of epidemiology. "It seems there may be a relation between an unusually large influenza outbreak and a winter that is sharply colder than the preceding winter."²⁹ In addition, the early autumn is considered to be the end of the warm period, and even a slight fall in temperature below normal at this critical time increases the likelihood of upper respiratory attack.³⁰ The evidence that the winter of 1484 was severe is from the unreliable source Noah Webster who does not specify the area he monitored,³¹ and whose argument that the summer of 1485 was rainy and cold varies with Paul Murray Kendall's assertion that August was hot and threatening. Creighton's classic account of disease in Britain notes that the epidemics of 1508, 1517, 1528, and 1551 followed without pattern both frigid dry periods and milder seasons of moisture, and he reached a Victorian conclusion that covers all variations:

According to that law [of the recent Munich school], the dangerous products of fermentation arise from the soil when the pores of the ground are either getting filled with water after having been long filled with air, or are getting filled with air after long being filled with water.³²

Despite these unhelpful but often-quoted analyses, the theories of temperature fluctuation are able to converge and yield information when assisted by descriptions of behavior in chronicles and medical accounts. The concern of a Paston son for his mother contains a plea that God bless him "after my dyssease," experienced in December 1484.³³ This reference to illness is the first made in the letters since 1479, and with the theory that viral disease usually starts in cold, dry periods,³⁴ the information supports the claim that

the winter of 1484 was severe or abnormally cold. The danger in accepting this line of thought and its slightly circular reasoning is that the claim rests on material recorded five hundred years ago for other purposes than ones of meteorology.

The second part of the material on temperature stress and fluctuation does not have a more solid base, but together the arguments support and illuminate well-recorded facts. Gafafer maintains that "the greatest effect of weather on a biological system does not occur when the weather conditions are most apparently deleterious, but rather when they are most unlike the expected normal pattern for a given time of year."³⁵ He continues that a drop in mid- or late summer temperatures is followed in a few days by an influenza outbreak because of changes in the properties of the blood protein reacting to the climate change. We have Kendall's word that August was hot and threatening, and for the moment we must believe him. Records of London activities welcoming the new king in September and October contain no references to the weather, but a proven remedy for the sweating sickness included in Hall's *Chronicle* suggests the type of weather that occurred.

The man who felt his first symptoms in the daytime was advised to lie down with all his garments on and not move for twenty-four hours. An attack at night was best handled by staying in bed and abstaining from excess amounts of fluids. "And in this his amendynge, one poynte diligently above all others is to be observed and attended, that he never put his hand or foote out of his bed to refreshe or coole himself, the which to do is no lesse pain than short death."³⁶ Certainly there is a temperature contrast between bed and living quarters in any season, but if people were warned to stay covered in bed there could not have been warm summer temperatures outside. The heat and humidity of August had probably changed to autumn weather that affected resistance and recovery, and while London near the river will never be dry, a reduction in relative humidity might have increased the survival time of influenza virus.

Fifteenth-century England experienced warmer, milder conditions than those of the present, as seen in the recorded spread northward of cherry cultivation. Today, August is a hot and humid month with 2.2 inches of precipitation. September does not continue this humid trend but remains dry and cool despite August moisture rising from the earth. October brings more rain and colder temperatures as air over the warm sea moves over Atlantic depressions, but southern England is usually dry.³⁷ Even with the addition of this information, the value of this particular study does not lie in predicting an outbreak of influenza during an inclement autumn. The records of such an outbreak at that time render that evaluation pointless. Rather, its importance lies in noting that atmospheric conditions were one of the factors in the occurrence of sweating

sickness, and that the disease's behavior was typical of influenza virus.

To discuss the factor of density and the spread of a disease by droplet infection, the sweating sickness must be considered to have been a form of influenza. The dangers of such an assumption have already been mentioned and the problem of viral mutation discussed, but the disease's symptoms and virulence support the decision. Influenza is spread by droplet infection, the generation of aerosol virus particles suspended in moisture expelled from the respiratory tract through the nose or mouth during breathing, coughing, sneezing, or talking.³⁸ The initial site of infection for viruses in the new host is the cells of the mucous membranes or the oral and nasal cavities. There exists a natural tendency of a host-parasite relationship toward a mutual tolerance which will permit survival of both partners, but in certain instances parasites and viruses have much to gain by being virulent. The respiratory tract virus in particular "has a better chance to survive and spread if it causes the host to sneeze or cough, thus spreading it more widely in the population"³⁹ and most efficiently into the site of infection, and thus decreasing the normal incubation period to less than twenty-four hours.

The number of unaffected and non-immune people in contact with those infected with the disease will influence its spread. Even in large rooms the virus will survive in the air long enough for the infective level to be built up. In a room 10' by 10' by 8' (800 cubic feet) with 45% relative humidity, the virus remains infective six hours after it entered.⁴⁰ Even if there is only one virus excreter in a group, the more people there are in a specific area with him or just in contact with him, the greater the chance that the infection will spread.

The Brand-Auraban study of population density and the mean percentage sickness rate showed a direct relationship between crowding or contact of from one to five people and the proportion of the group who fell ill.⁴¹ To prove that epidemics are density-dependent phenomena, Kermack and McKendrick assign the labels N_u to that part of the population which is unaffected and non-immune, N_i to the ill, and N_r to those recovered from the illness or dead. At the beginning of an epidemic, the number of N_u is large and the rate at which that group becomes ill is slow. As more people contract the disease and spread it to others, the rate of infection picks up and the number in groups N_i and N_r increases.⁴² The greater the number of people non-immune and in contact with carriers, the greater the chance of an epidemic, particularly in the case of influenza whose spread is not difficult in situations of ordinary human relations.

An examination of the events in London from the end of August to the end of October 1485 reveals situations in which the sweating sickness could have been easily spread and contracted. The Norman soldiers and the group from Sheriff Hutton in Yorkshire are not unreasonably blamed

for carrying the disease. The illness erupted a few weeks after their arrival in London, and they were the only large groups from outside the City to enter. Although their health was not recorded, most damning is the proof that cases of a disease will recover but still remain carriers of the illness. The causative viruses persist in the tissues of recovered hosts who seem quite normal. Prominent among these kinds of viruses are herpes simplex and the B-strain of influenza.⁴³ "Influenza, between outbreaks, can go 'underground,' possibly in chronic lung lesions in man, possibly in a form unrecognizable by conventional tests ('basic virus')." ⁴⁴ Burnet calls this condition the "stranger's cold," when viruses are multiplied in and liberated from host cells with or without cell damage, and proceed to infect a non-immune group.⁴⁵ Neither the Norman mercenaries and French exiles nor the households from Yorkshire had to display symptoms to be carriers of the sweating sickness.

The nine weeks before Henry VII's coronation were filled with public and private celebrations, and many social classes participated in the welcoming activities for the French exiles. On 26 August, four days after Bosworth, the Lord Mayor of London proclaimed Henry king. The court of alderman then met to take precautions against any opposition that might surface against the new ruler. This meeting, the first after many months of uncertainty under Richard III, initiated a series of encounters that increased the opportunities for infection of the wealthy and politically-influential of London.

Following these arrangements made on 31 August, the Lord Mayor, the companies and craft-guilds of the City, all aldermen, and various servants and household dependents gathered at Shoreditch to greet the new king and his supporters.⁴⁶ By the time Willoughby and the Yorkist heirs arrived from Yorkshire on 13 September, Henry had met with his temporary council and promised to marry the young female heir. Installed at the palace of the Bishop of London, the new king and his supporters dined with the most important men in the City, including the Lord Mayor and aldermen whose duty it was to entertain the group, as well as up to one thousand other men of civic importance.⁴⁷ These included "The Scarlet" or municipal oligarchy, guild masters, shopowners, ironmongers, and even apprentices. The Lord Mayor was usually a mercer, draper, or grocer wealthy enough to neglect his work for the one year of service to which he was elected. As well as giving feasts and private dinners for substantial citizens and guests, he was expected to preside over coronations, tournaments, royal weddings, victorious entries, and the welcoming of foreign potentates. With the aldermen, senior members of a ward's municipal council, the Lord Mayor was personally responsible for ethical practices in the City's markets, for the promotion of cleanliness in sewers and water pipes, rubbish collection, and fire prevention.⁴⁸ His personal supervision and investigation

brought him into contact with many people of all ranks, especially in the mayor's court which dealt with civil disobedience.

The level of hospitality demanded great wealth and a talent for entertaining both kings and apprentices. When the Lord Mayor died of the sweating sickness exactly three weeks after the disease was first noted, the great loss demanded an immediate election. His successor died within five days, and a third replacement had to be found. At least six aldermen died, and the comment made by the historically-minded physician Dr. Caius underlines the opportunity for contagion: "At the longest, to them that merrily dined it gave a sorrowful supper."⁴⁹ These eight people, upon whose deaths the chronicles concentrate, were always in contact with the lower classes of London, whose unsanitary living conditions and crowding assured the spread of any disease. However, the autumn of 1485 was a different situation.

The Norman mercenaries and ex-convicts were more likely to have met and done business with the lower classes than with "The Scarlet," but because of the latter's duties the municipal oligarchy could have been indirectly infected by the soldiers. The sweating sickness as a class-specific disease cannot be proven by the deaths of London's enfranchised citizens. Clearly, the contact of the mercenaries with London's crowded poor provided all the factors needed for infection and spread of a virus. Unnoticed by historians and chroniclers, the lower classes undoubtedly suffered with the same disease as the City's influential. Certainly it is possible that the poor could have had some immunity granted by a subclinical infection maintained in their population by high density living conditions. The sickness present that summer in Yorkshire could also have been present in London to infect the poor to grant immunity when it appeared again in the autumn. But years of subclinical infections or a summer bout would surely have resulted in contagion by the City leaders who worked with them. At some point the poor of London were ill, and because it was recorded that the wealthy succumbed that autumn it is logical to conclude that if the lower classes were sick at all they were sick the same time as the rich. Their illness was probably a result of contact with the mercenaries and French exiles, and the wealthy then could have picked it up from the poor, but a less indirect method of contagion can be found.

The two thousand soldiers from an area in France that was the probable epicenter of the disease are important in tracing one of the origins of the poor's illness, but a study of the political situation is needed to determine why the wealthy contracted the sweating sickness in striking numbers. The moneyed classes had the advantages of a more varied and nutritious diet and sanitary living conditions,⁵⁰ therefore very special conditions were needed to overcome their resistance. The group that gains importance as immune carriers in contact with London's wealthy is that

of English nobles and gentry who shared Henry's exile for at least two years. In France, they had travelled throughout the northern region, and once in London took advantage of social mobility granted by old and new titles to deal with the City's political leaders. Henry's following (French, Welsh, and English) lost no time in travelling from Bosworth to London to make personal suit for the grants and patents to be issued under royal seal. Most arrived between 27 August and 3 September, when many of the gentry acted as Henry's go-betweens to the merchants of London for coronation clothes and facilities.⁵¹ In reorganizing the administration, Henry stressed efficiency:

He must without delay . . . reward his supporters and followers, without whose services he could not have succeeded and upon the continued services of many of whom he must be able to rely; and above all he must as soon as possible appoint suitable persons to the principal ministerial and administrative posts to ensure that government could be carried on in his name . . . Many of [these tasks] were coped with simultaneously.⁵²

but not all by word of mouth. He rewarded his Stanley kin and other English supporters in the provinces after concentrating on the gentry, nobility, and commoners who had helped him in Brittany and France. These supporters and Henry himself, most likely to be immune carriers of a disease endemic in Northern France (and which Henry contracted in 1475), were in London and were joined by Willoughby and the noble group from fever-ridden Yorkshire. It is not possible to assume these groups were sequestered in the City from 27 August through the coronation 31 October. Many former exiles were arranging the details of the coronation with London's merchants and craftsmen. They accompanied Henry to dinners given by political leaders. All were in close physical contact with many classes of a non-immune population, which quite reasonably fell ill within three weeks of their arrival.

The granting of rewards, positions, and places in the Council took all of the autumn of 1485, perhaps hindered by the deaths of so many leaders whose advice and guidance Henry needed. S.B. Chrimes lists only twenty-two men who spent time in Brittany, but that number swells to sixty-three when the list of grants is studied.⁵³ A few national administrative posts were given in addition to the scores of positions as park keepers, gamekeepers, bailiffs, and constables:

19 Sept. Grant for life, to John Rothercomme, one of the king's guard (For true and faithful service as well beyond the sea as on this side), of the office of keeper of the park of Mershwodeville, co. Dorset.⁵⁴

On 6 October, Henry consulted with English justices

about the problems he could encounter as an exile out of contact with national administration. On 19 October, a commission to prepare the coronation met, headed by Sir Edward Courteney and John de Vere, Breton exiles, and eight other noblemen who had remained in England.⁵⁵ This episode of close contact and high density was followed eight days later by a dinner with the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Cardinal. The last days before the coronation saw the creation of twelve Knights of the Bath, "who afterwards dined together at one table in the king's great chamber." The council was being formed at this time as well, with selection tapping Richard III's servants and Henry's new men. The most able were chosen to impose royal rule on a country used to disorder and "to enable the king to do what he ought, not to decide what the king ought to do."⁵⁶ Representatives of the nobility were included, but the majority consisted of English and Breton lesser landowners, professional men, lawyers, and the gentry chosen for legal skills in land management. The meetings of the Council provided some of the better opportunities for contact of the carriers with a wide range of London's enfranchised citizens, who represented most of the professions of the fifteenth century. That these people were dying as well destroys the view of the sweating sickness as a class-specific disease attacking only the very rich, while underlining the effect of high-density situations and contact with Breton carriers.

It is difficult to draw a firm conclusion from events and theories culled from imperfect records and experiments carried out hundreds of years after the situations they hope to explain. The value of this study lies instead in its ability to point to opportunities, distinct populations, and contacts, even if contemporary records do not permit us to trace more than a few people through these contacts to their deaths.

Henry VII's task of reorganizing a kingdom and establishing himself firmly on the throne could only have been complicated by the deaths of men he needed for advice and support. It is both unfair and unreasonable to blame the introduction of the disease on only the Norman mercenaries whose contacts with the upper classes were limited and indirect. The emphasis in the chronicles on the deaths of the wealthy was probably exaggeration, but the fact that their natural advantages of diet and environment were overcome by the sweating sickness prompts a study of situations in which that group could have been infected. The decision to identify the disease as a strain of influenza introduces the factors of its ability to be endemic in an area, its spread by droplet infection, and density-dependence.

Clearly, the political situation in London in the autumn of 1485 presented opportunities for the king's fellow exiles and households from the North of England to be in close contact with non-immune of the City during entertainments and meetings of business. The disease burned itself

out in London before the November Parliament and travelled to Oxford in the late winter 1485-86. It is interesting to note that those who suffered most were the students of the university, whose conditions of study demanded close gatherings of high density.⁵⁷ During its London bout, the sweating sickness deprived the country of men of experience in government. To overcome both the effects of a fatal disease and the country's natural tendency toward anarchy is certain proof of the first Tudor's insight and ability.

APPENDIX I

Personal communication dated 15 November 1976 from Professor S.B. Chrimes, formerly of the University College Cardiff, Wales, has provided a copy of the correspondence between Sir Frederick Rees and Professor J.F.D. Shrewsbury of Birmingham. Dated 5 September 1948, the letter deals with the problem of the sweating sickness in Yorkshire in 1483 and how it is complicated by forged chronicles and records. The theory of the "good story" follows the one presented in this paper (see page 11), but the Rees letter arrived too late for it to be incorporated. Professor Chrimes grants full permission for this letter to be used, and despite his pessimism that any value can be derived from a study of sweating sickness, some important and revealing conclusions can be drawn.

Dear Sir Frederick,

... I am so sure that Fenton [author of *Historical Tour through Pembrokeshire*] was far wrong when he carelessly dated the first outbreak of "The Sweat" in 1483. An epidemiological analysis provides no grounds for the assumption that the disease was imported by the French mercenaries of Richmond [Henry Tudor's title], and the archives of the city of York contain records of an epidemic that was not plague, which was raging in the north of England three months before Richmond landed. Laycock, in his survey of the health of York, asserts that this epidemic was "The Sweat," but unfortunately he supplies no confirmation of his assertion. The "History of Croyland" states that when Stanley was ordered by Richard III to repair to his standard at Nottingham, he excused his absence on the grounds that he was ill with "The Sweat." As Richard had Stanley's eldest son as a hostage, it would seem to be a reasonable presumption that "The Sweat" was sufficiently widely known, and feared, in England to provide Stanley with an excuse, that even Richard would have to accept, before Richmond had reached Shrewsbury. Creighton, in his "History of Epidemics in Britain," dismisses the Croyland record as a late forgery; but the writer of the Croyland continuation was a contemporary, and it is difficult to conceive his inclusion of a single deliberate falsehood in what is otherwise a historically accurate

record. There is certainly no evidence that the record is a late forgery as Creighton claims, but, as he was concerned to establish the identity of "The English Sweat" with the "Picardy Sweat," he had to discredit the awkward Croyland record. . . .

Yours sincerely,
J.F.D. Shrewsbury

P.S. Fenton (Or Friend) was also wrong in his statement that Henry VIII caught "The Sweat" in 1528. Both Wolsey and Anne Boleyn had the disease, as well as several minor officials of Henry's peregrinating Court, but Henry himself escaped. Wolsey was ill with it at a critical period in the early stages of Henry's divorce proceedings, and it is an interesting speculation as to the part played by "The Sweat" in Wolsey's misjudgment of the affair and his consequent downfall. Also, if Anne had died from her attack, we should not have had Elizabeth I.

JFDS

To continue with interesting speculations, it is probable that Richard III himself could have caught the disease if he had survived Bosworth. In battle, he and his men would have had close contact with the Breton mercenaries, and in continuing his administration would have dealt with the Yorkshiremen who were sent in mid-August to assist him at Bosworth. Richard, after encountering both the Bretons and groups from the north, could have died that autumn and left the unsettled country in the hands of his only heir, an adolescent nephew.

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REVISED DATES FOR NPG EXHIBITION

Owing to the fact that the Queen cannot lend vital pictures until June 27, the opening date of the National Portrait Gallery exhibition on Richard III has been slightly postponed. The new dates for the exhibition are now: June 27, 1973 until September 29, 1973 or October 6, 1973 (not June 6 through September 16 as advertised in the last issue of the Register). These revised dates do not, of course, affect Betty Schloss' tentative plans for a tour of the United Kingdom in the latter half of August.

CALENDAR OF RICHARD III EVENTS

The following list of events might be of interest to American members of the Society who are visiting England this year:

1973

- | | |
|--------------------------|--|
| April 30 | Publishing date of Rosemary Jarman's <u>The King's Grey Mare</u> . |
| June 27 | Official opening of the National Portrait Gallery (London) exhibition, "Richard III." |
| July 28 | Day visit to Stowe School (Buckinghamshire) by the London and Home Counties Branch of the Society to see a unique mural--a large, carved relief of the Battle of Bosworth. |
| August 19 | Annual visit by the Society to Sutton Cheney Church and Bosworth Field. |
| Sept. 29
or
Oct. 6 | Closing of Richard III exhibition at N. P. G. ; Annual General Meeting and Birthday Re-union Party--either at the National Liberal Club or at Crosby Hall, Chelsea. |

OLD RICARDIANS AVAILABLE

The Editor, in cleaning out her attic, discovered a pile of extra copies of old Ricardians. The following Ricardians are available, on a first come, first served basis: No. 33, June 1971; No. 34, September, 1971; No. 36, March 1972; No. 37, June 1972. The price per copy is \$.25. Please make all checks payable to the Richard III Society, Inc.

THE ABBEY RESTAURANT

Mrs. Karen Kohut of Los Angeles has discovered The Abbey Restaurant in Marina del Rey, California (400 East Washington Street). She writes: "I recently had the pleasure of going back into a medieval world, at least as close as you can come to Medieval in Southern California. The object of this enchanting world was a restaurant called The Abbey. It was built from the original set from Camelot and is filled with a collection of medieval treasures such as highbacked chairs, suits of armor, swords, and tapestries, to name a few of the items that surround you as you dine in this enchanting world. Not only was the atmosphere out of this world, but both the service and the food were very good. ... I recommend it highly for it was, for me, a most pleasant evening and one in which, if you allow your imagination to flow, you might even meet Richard III."

Mrs. Kohut would like to arrange a meeting of Ricardians at The Abbey. Since the restaurant is closed on Monday nights, the manager is willing to rent it out for a meeting of Richard III Society members on any Monday night, with a special rate for cocktails and dinner. All interested members in the area should contact Mrs. Kohut so she can start making plans for the meeting:

Mrs. Karen Kohut
1170 West 31st Street
Apartment 20
Los Angeles, California 90007

NEW MEMBERS

Mrs. Karl H. Clauset 2532 Buena Vista Road Winston-Salem, N. C. 27104	Mary Anne King 1318 9th Street Santa Monica, Calif. 90401	Helen K. Swanson 465 Russell Avenue Suffield, Conn. 06078
Melissa Dreyer 221 W. Banner Avenue Winston-Salem, N. C. 27107	Mrs. Ruth Moss 217 Pine Tree Road Radnor, Penna. 19087	Mrs. Joy A. Veros 9581 Salem Detroit, Mich. 48239
Mrs. Robert Horner 138 Elmerston Road Rochester, N. Y. 14620	Theodore Steele Potato Hill II Cream Hill Road Mendon, Vt. 05701	Phyllis B. Wilson 1200 Valley View Avenue Pasadena, Calif. 91107

ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY

"The Anarch Supreme-- Richard III" from The Breath of Clowns and Kings; Shakespeare's Early Comedies and Histories by Theodore Weiss, Atheneum, N. Y., 1971; gift of Irene M. Joshi.

"Richard of Gloucester" from Political Characters of Shakespeare by John Palmer, Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London, 1961; gift of Irene M. Joshi.

Richard Plantagenet, a Legendary Tale by Thomas Hull, J. Bell, London, 1774, a narrative poem regarding the Plantagenet of Eastwell, Kent; gift of Irene M. Joshi.

"Yorkists: Richard III and the Murder of the Princes," Chapter 2 of The Tower of London in the History of England by A. L. Rowse, Putnam, 1972; gift of Irene M. Joshi.

The Rose in Spring and White Rose, Dark Summer by Eleanor Fairburn; gifts of Maude D. French.

The Reign of Henry VII by R. L. Storey (Tudor tales of Richard); gift of Francis Gallagher.

The Expansion of Elizabethan England by A. L. Rowse; gift of Francis Gallagher.

BOOK LOOK

A Question of Choice by Prudence H. Andrew

G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1962

A charming and enjoyable novel of abbey life in 1468. Due to the death of their abbot, the monks must elect a successor. Edward IV commands them to elect his candidate, Nigel Woodville, a cousin of the Queen. He is an active, aggressive man with plans for making the abbey rich and well-known. The Earl of Warwick, long a patron of the abbey, sends his own candidate, an elderly priest who reminds the monks of their former abbot and who promises them to make no changes. Thus, in microcosm, occur the conflicts and soul-searchings of the divided loyalties between Warwick and the King. Eventually each monk casts his secret ballot. The result is a surprise to all, and turns out to be the best for the future of the abbey.

The Last Plantagenet by Tyler Whittle

Heinemann, London, 1968

This is an accurately researched biographical novel. Richard's character is developed in the usual fashion of authors sympathetic to his reformed image; however, in private he is allowed occasionally to give way to grief or rage, destroying expensive things like clocks or mirrors in his passion. Anne is rather wispy, but Richard loves her well. Richard is not guilty of the murder of the Princes, but the blame is not fixed. There are quite good characterizations and plot. If this were the only novel about Richard, it would be of great value.

Reviews by Libby Haynes

GROWTH OF A LEGEND

by

William H. Snyder

"It's all very well for you to say that later historians invent scenes and charge Richard III with crimes on which historians contemporary with Richard III are silent, but let's have a specific example, and cite your authority--not merely your own conclusions." This challenge recently greeted me after I had given a talk on Richard III to a study group in Washington, D. C.

Volume IV of English Historical Documents¹ furnishes an especially good example of the growth of a legend in the chroniclers' own words. That example, which follows, involves the death in 1471 of Edward, Prince of Wales, son of King Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou.

The contemporary chronicles, The Tewkesbury Abbey Chronicle, 1471, and Warkworth's Chronicle, 1473, merely state that Prince Edward was "slain in the field." But three chronicles and 71 years later, in 1542, Edward Hall paints a picture completely unsubstantiated by contemporary accounts. Instead of Prince Edward being "slain in the field," we have a confrontation after the Battle of Tewkesbury between the Prince and King Edward IV. King Edward strikes the Prince, whom Richard and others then "murdered and pitifully slew." This gives us a much more vivid and dramatic scene, but it is drama--not history.

And this raises the point made by several authorities: Some historians writing in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were more interested in creating dramatic scenes, with invented dialogue, than in writing accurate history. For example; George B. Churchill² points out that fully one-third of Sir Thomas More's "Richard III" comprises imaginary dialogue.

Now, as the legal maxim has it, "res ipsa loquitur"--let the thing speak for itself:

The growth of a legend: the death of Edward Prince of Wales at Tewkesbury, 1471

(i)

(The Tewkesbury Abbey Chronicle, 1471, ed. C. L. Kingsford, English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century [Clarendon Press, 1913]) (376[Latin])

Also in the same year, on May 3rd, that is, on the feast of the Finding of the Holy Cross, there came to Tewkesbury Prince Edward, son of King Henry VI, with a great army, and on the morrow entered the great field which is called

¹English Historical Documents, 12 vols. (Eyre & Spottiswoode), Vol. IV, edited by A. R. Myers (1969).

²Richard Third up to the Time of Shakespeare, Palaestra X (1900), Berlin.

Gastons. When King Edward IV arrived with his army, he slew prince Edward in the field, when also John Somerset, brother of the Duke of Somerset, the Earl of Devon, and Lord Wenlock with many others were killed.

(Ibid., 377 [English])

These are the names of the noblemen that were slain at Tewkesbury field. Lord Edward, prince of King Henry, in the field of Gastum beside Tewkesbury, slain, and buried in the midst of the convent quire in the monastery there; for whom God worketh.

(ii)

(Warkworth's Chronicle, c. 1473, 18. [English])

And Prince Edward . . . held forth his way to the town of Tewkesbury, and there he made a field not far from the River Severn; and King Edward and his host came upon them, the Saturday the 4th day of May . . . 1471 . . . And there was slain in the field Prince Edward, which cried for succour to his brother-in-law the Duke of Clarence.

(iii)

(The Second Continuation of the Croyland Chronicle, 1486 [W. Fulman, Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores (1684), 555 (Latin, trans. H. T. Riley [Bohn's Antiquarian Library, 1893], 466))

When both armies had now become so extremely fatigued with the labour of marching and thirst that they could proceed no further, they joined battle near the town of Tewkesbury. After the result had long remained doubtful, King Edward at last gained a glorious victory. Upon this occasion, there were slain on the queen's side, either on the field or after the battle, by the avenging hands of certain persons, Prince Edward, the only son of King Henry, the Duke of Somerset, the Earl of Devon, and all and every the other lords above-mentioned.

(iv)

(The Great Chronicle of London, 1512, ed. A. H. Thomas and I. D. Thornley [1938], 218 [English])

The king assembled his people and drew towards his enemies and finally met with them at a place or village called Tewkesbury, where after a short fight he subdued his enemies and took Queen Margaret and her son alive. The which being brought into his presence, after the king had questioned a few words of the cause of his so landing within his realm, and he gave unto the king an answer contrary to his pleasure, the king smote him on the face with the back of his gauntlet. After which stroke so received by him, the king's servants rid him out of life forthwith.

(v)

Edward Hall, The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Famelies of Lancastre and York (1542, ed. H. Ellis [1809], 301 [English])

[After the Battle of Tewkesbury] The queen was found in her chariot almost dead for sorrow, the prince was apprehended and kept close by Sir Richard Crofts. . . . After the field was ended, King Edward made a proclamation that whosoever could bring Prince Edward to him alive or dead should have an annuity of £100 during his life, and the prince's life would be saved. Sir Richard Crofts, a wise and valiant knight, not at all mistrusting the king's former promise, brought forth his prisoner Prince Edward, being a goodly girlish looking and well-featured young gentleman. When King Edward had viewed him well, he asked him how he durst so presumptuously enter into his realm with his banner displayed. The prince, being bold of stomach and of a good courage, answered saying, "To recover my father's kingdom and heritage, from his father and grandfather to him, and from him, after him, to me lineally descended." At which words King Edward said nothing, but with his hand thrust him from him (or, as some say, struck him with his gauntlet) whom at once they that stood about, which were George, Duke of Clarence, Richard, Duke of Gloucester, Thomas, Marquis of Dorset, and William, Lord Hastings, suddenly murdered and pitifully slew. The bitterness of which murder some of the actors afterwards in their latter days tasted and assayed by the very rod of justice and punishment of God. His body was interred in homely fashion . . . in the church of the monastery of black monks at Tewkesbury.

A General History of England, Vol. II (from Henry III to Henry VIII) by
Thomas Carte, an Englishman (pub. London, 1750)

"Facts, and the general tenour of a man's conduct, best show his real character--and all the virulent and atrocious calumnies founded purely on surmises, a perverse imagination, or downright falsehood, and thrown upon Richard by the flatterers of his successor, whose cruelty came by that means to be overlooked, will never efface the just praise due to Richard for his excellent laws, and his constant application to see justice impartially distributed, and good order established, in all parts of England." (page 821)

Dictionary of National Biography, Thomas Carte
1686-1754. Vol. I published 1747. "It was not prepossessing in point of style; but it was so great an advance on previous histories, in the extent of the original material used and quoted, that it would have commanded success but for an unlucky note" concerning curing of the king's evil by the Pretender in 1716.

A General History of England, Vol. II (beginning with the reign of Edward
Second and ending with that of Henry the Eighth) by William Guthrie
(London, 1747)

"Somewhat, however, may be said of him as a king, who wanted to uphold by virtue, the crown which he had acquired by perjury. For Richard, in all matters which did not touch his ambition, cultivated justice, piety and moderation. . . . In one of his proclamations against the rebels in Kent, part of which the reader will find in the note (1) he shows a disposition for government not inferior to that of the most virtuous princes antiquity can boast." (page 769)

"I cannot leave this subject of his character, without observing how little he has been beholden to that immortality which Shakespear has given to his infamy. That poet has adopted every weakness, as well as vice, attributed to Richard by our historians. . . . Who can doubt that the prejudices of the public, by such representations, are rivetted to an almost impossibility of ever being removed, and that it is in the power of a favorite poet to give them a permanency with the public, which the labours of a historian cannot efface." (page 770)

Dictionary of National Biography, William Guthrie
1708-1777. History of England "was the first
attempt to base history on parliamentary records."

Submitted by Mrs. Sol Newman

Linda B. Ragazzini
386 Weaver Street
Larchmont, New York 10538



Mrs. William Haynes
4149 25th Street, N.
Arlington
Virginia 22207

FIRST CLASS MAIL



Trafalgar Square: a view of the National Gallery

GENERAL INFORMATION



The 5th RICHARD III SOCIETY tour to England

August 17th through September 3rd, 1973
brings many new exciting events into its program!

- escorted by Mrs. William Haynes, Society Librarian for the American Branch
- visiting the prestigious National Portrait Gallery exhibition of fine art covering the many secrets and challenges of Richard III during his lifetime
- unusual sightseeing scheduled in and around London with our fellow Ricardian and lecturer, Major Roy Battcock
- 4 days in the beautiful walled city of YORK
- participating in the Bosworth Memorial, August 19th
- plus many other specials that will give you two weeks of traveling through history under interested guidance

If you have ever wanted to turn back 500 years and be surrounded with sympathetic company, then these two weeks visiting London and York are planned just for you. This year your American Branch officers will be along to take you in and out of little known places that have remained unchanged throughout the years!

The total cost including round trip GIT airfare, New York/London via BOAC will be \$750 per person. Your deposit of \$75 will confirm a place, balance due July 20th. All arrangements are first class with the London Hotel Senator and in York, the Viking. Single rooms will be available on a limited supplement. For further information and reservations on the tour, write to me at

PONZIO INTERNATIONAL TRAVEL

535 - 5th Avenue
Pittsburgh, Pa. 15219
Phone: (412) 471-7800

Every effort will be made to encourage individual pursuits during the time of the program. We invite all Ricardians and their friends to join this 1973 program which is offered for the experienced as well as the first time traveler. It will be more than worthwhile, and I look forward to welcoming each of you along.

Ricardianly,

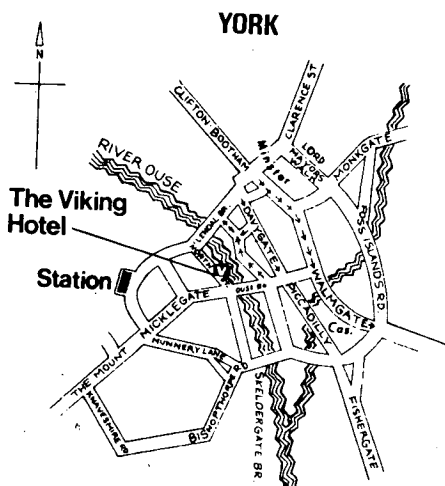
Betty Schloss
Travel Coordinator

**RICARDIAN
Tour**

**TO
LONDON**

**THE CITY OF
YORK**

AND





Dues, grants and contributions are tax-deductible to the extent allowed by law.

The Ricardian Register

Newsletter of the Richard III Society, Inc.

EDITOR: Miss Linda B. Ragazzini, 386 Weaver Street, Larchmont, New York 10538

Richard III Society, Inc. is a non-profit educational corporation chartered in 1969 under the membership corporation laws of the State of New York.

Volume VII -- issue 2 -- March-April 1973

RICARDIAN TOUR TO ENGLAND -- SUMMER 1973

This year's program for visiting England is expected to be a very worthwhile project. It is hoped that many of the American Branch membership will be able to tour with Libby Haynes, our Society Librarian, to the many sites existing in England today that have changed little since the fifteenth century.

Dr. Pamela Tudor-Craig, a fellow Ricardian, has worked diligently with the National Portrait Gallery in London to assemble the exhibition of Ricardian objects, and 1973 is truly a year of distinction for the Society in this respect. Further recognition has been given to the Bosworth Field memorial, and access to the Well is now easier for anyone wishing to view the area since ownership of the farm has changed recently.

The tour hotel in York will now be the Dean Court, which is a comfortable facility directly across the street from the MINSTER. This has been especially arranged for us by the York Visitor's Bureau. The London hotel will be the Belgravia Royal, another pleasant location offered just for us.

England as always will be a treasure of history, and 1973 will be an exciting time for us to be there. Mrs. Haynes, with her extensive background in Ricardian affairs, will bring inspiration and enlightenment to this summer's tour. August promises to be an ideal time to travel through Ricardian Britain with your Society.

Betty Schloss
Travel Coordinator

NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY EXHIBITION ON RICHARD III

June 27 - October 7, 1973

A king who has been the subject of endless controversy, and a period of British history which has to a large extent kept its secrets, provide the essential challenge of this exhibition. Richard in his personal and public roles is brought alive through numerous objects known to have been directly associated with him, and even among his personal possessions, including some of his books and jewels. His strong religious interest is recalled by the creation in the exhibition of an oratory. Portraits of Richard hang with those of his family and friends, while his enemies have a section to themselves. The Yorkist court is evoked through portraits, pictures, and decorative hangings, and illuminated manuscripts. The climactic end of the exhibition, as of Richard's reign, is the Battle of Bosworth, conjured

up through sight and sound, full of military objects, and surrounded by a frieze of battle scenes based on a contemporary manuscript.

(The National Portrait Gallery is open Monday-Friday, 10-5; Saturday, 10-6; Sunday, 2-6. Admission to the exhibition is 30p; 90p for a season ticket. Admission for children, students, and pensioners is 15p; 45p for a season ticket.)

[Editor's note: For those Ricardians who will be unable to see the National Portrait Gallery's exhibition on Richard III, there will be available a booklet describing the highlights of the exhibition and providing background information. Watch for this offer in future issues of the Register.]

RICARDIAN BOOKS FOR SALE

The following books on Richard III are available from the Editor. Please make all checks payable to the Richard III Society.

The History of the Life and Reigne of Richard III
by George Buck @ \$7.25 per copy

History of the Life and Reign of Richard the Third
by James Gairdner @ \$6.50 per copy

Richard III, His Life and Character
by Sir Clements R. Markham @ \$5.00 per copy

The Betrayal of Richard III
by V.B. Lamb @ \$3.00 per copy

On Some Bones in Westminster Abbey, A Defence of King Richard III
by Philip Lindsay @ \$3.00 per copy

TAPES OF PBS FORUM ON "RICHARD III" AVAILABLE

Following the Public Broadcasting System's airing of Olivier's film version of "Richard III," there was a forum which included authors Paul Murray Kendall and Ron Birman. Tapes of this PBS forum are available to Society members both here and abroad and can be obtained by contacting me.

Bernadette Poulos
270-03 82nd Avenue
New Hyde Park, New York 11040

NEW MEMBERS

Margaret Ann Borreggine
220 Adams Place
Bronx, New York 10457

Janet Dalbey
2003 W. Touhy
Chicago, Ill. 60645

Mrs. Harold Harrower
35 Maplecrest Drive
Greenville, R.I. 02828

Stacey Custis
1600 Roscoe
La Porte, Texas 77571

Mrs. Jean Dennis
5309 Ashley
Houston, Texas 77005

Mrs. Margaret W. Hut
500 A East 87th Street
New York, New York 10028

NEW MEMBERS (cont'd)

Laura Ann Johnston
233 East 3rd Street
New York, New York 10009

Mrs. Jerry L. Mercer
21341 Aberdeen Road
Rocky River, Ohio 44116

Robert J. Shea
819 W. Altgeld Street
Chicago, Illinois 60614

Susan L. Kramer
43-30 44th Street
Long Island City, N.Y. 11104

Priscilla Whittier
446 W. Surf Street
Chicago, Illinois 60657

BOOK LOOK

Richmond and Elizabeth by Brenda Honeyman
Robert Hale, Ltd., London, 1971

This is a well-researched and exceptionally well-constructed novel following the parallel lives of Henry Tudor and Elizabeth of York. It begins in the fall of 1460 with the three-and-a-half-year-old Princess in Westminster sanctuary, and the thirteen-year-old Henry in the palace. The format of two sections in each chapter telling what each is doing at the given time is followed chronologically until their marriage; afterwards they are still not one in spirit and the parallel construction reflects their different thoughts on the same events. The explanation of the disappearance of the Princes is consistent with the author's earlier book, Richard, by Grace of God, and completely reasonable considering the historical facts. The characters are consistent in both books and with the still earlier Warwick the Kingmaker form an impressive trilogy. The minor characters are very well described and come through as real people with plans and motives. Physical descriptions are vivid and smoothly written. An underlying theme is Elizabeth's unfulfilled love for her Uncle Richard and her faith in his integrity despite her husband's continuing defamation program.

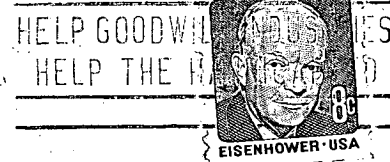
The Goldsmith's Wife by Jean Plaidy, pseud. (Eleanor Hibbert)
Appleton-Century-Croft, Inc., N.Y., 1950

Adult historical fiction. This is a fanciful account of the life of Jane Shore, in the popular vein. Jane is credited with behind-the-scenes manipulating of historical decisions. This is an entertaining, imaginative tale, light and easy to read. The plot is well thought out and plausible, giving quite well reasoned backgrounds and causes for events which are matters of history. The various characters have the descriptions and personalities that a serious student of the period is likely to give them. Matters of historical record are neatly worked into the plot at the proper times and the proper sequence so skillfully that there is no break in the flow of the story.

Richard is presented as serious and hard-working, with no real animosity to Jane, although he disapproves of her way of life. Jane is a merry, kind-hearted soul, and always uses her influence for the good of everyone, of high or low estate.

Deadline data for submission of material for May-June issue of The Ricardian Register: June 22, 1973.

Richard III Society, Inc.
Linda B. Ragazzini
386 Weaver Street
Larchmont, New York 10538



Mrs. William Haynes
4149 25th Street, N.
Arlington
Virginia 22207

F I R S T C L A S S M A I L



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The Ricardian Register

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VOLUME VII -- issue 3 -- May-June 1973

TENTATIVE PLANS FOR 1973 ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

Plans for this year's Annual General Meeting have been made, subject to change, of course. The meeting will be held on Saturday, September 29, 1973, with social hour at noon, lunch at 1 p.m. and business meeting and lectures at 2 p.m. The meeting place is Keen's English Chop House in New York City, the restaurant that gave the Society such excellent accommodations last year. Invitations will be sent to all members one month in advance.

Our tentative plans call for Dr. Helmut Nickel, Curator of Arms and Armor at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, to speak on weaponry, warfare, heraldry, and the armorial bearings of Richard's adherents during the Wars of the Roses. Also, we hope to hear from Dr. Madeleine P. Cosman about the interdisciplinary Institute of Medieval and Renaissance Studies at City College of New York.

Please set aside September 29th for the AGM--I'd like to meet as many members as possible on that day.

Linda B. Ragazzini

RICARDIAN TOUR, SUMMER 1973

August 17th is departure-day for the American Branch Ricardian tour to London and York, and this year's tour promises to be packed full of fun and surprises for each of the 25 members and friends traveling together.

Libby Haynes is working night and day getting together her list of sights, Major Battcock is looking forward to our many questions and requests on Ricardian points and locations; and our many English friends are preparing hospitality. All of which points to a more than enjoyable visit for each of us in 1973.

We cannot give too much encouragement to anyone considering this year's tour program. At the present time, there are two places remaining for latecomers. Ricardian knowledge and historical appreciation will be expanded and everyone's wellbeing will be carefully looked after throughout. The tour features are many and far too exciting to list. Again, we do invite any member not already signed up to come along, and make this 1973 vacation a Ricardian Holiday.

See you at the BOAC Terminal, August 17th!

Betty Schloss, Tour Coordinator
1124 Bigelow Apartments
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15219

BOAC released the following announcement in "BOAC Air News" on May 30, 1973:

Boac Offers Richard III Society Tour to England

PITTSBURGH: A two-week tour to Britain featuring the life and times of Richard III is being offered by British Airways-BOAC, reports Lee Vetlesen, district sales manager, Pittsburgh.

"The Ricardian tour to England, escorted by Mrs. William Haynes, Richard III Society Librarian, includes four days in York, plus sightseeing in and around London, highlighted by a visit to the National Portrait Gallery exhibition of fine art covering the many secrets and challenges of Richard III," Vetlesen said. "This tour is guaranteed to turn back the clock 500 years and visit little known places that have remained unchanged since the 15th century."

Total cost of the tour is \$750 from New York and includes round trip air transportation, hotel accommodations with full English breakfasts and sightseeing.

The departure is scheduled for August 17 from BOAC's terminal at JFK Airport.

Richard III Society tour brochures and booking information may be obtained from the BOAC sales office, One Oliver Plaza, Pittsburgh, Pa., 15222, telephone (412) 261-5712.

PUBLICATION OF CONDENSED HALSTED

Since The Ricardian may have to temporarily cease publishing William Snyder's able condensation of Halsted's Richard III, the American Editor decided that American members shouldn't have to miss out--so, starting with this issue, The Register will be publishing these chapters, beginning with Chapter X.

Mr. Snyder has included "Additional Notes" to these chapters, providing material that was not available or had not yet been written when Halsted was writing (1844). These notes will make the condensation of Halsted an even more valuable reference source.

BOOKS AVAILABLE

Copies of the Folio Society The Universal Spider have finally come through, and I have two on hand in case anyone might like to order them. I can supply them for \$10.85 each postpaid, first come, first served. (Please make checks out to William Hogarth.)

Also, I own a personal copy of Polydore Vergil's HISTORIA ANGLICA in the Scholar Press facsimile, Latin only (no English translation). Since only a partial translation was made in the 19th century Camden Society edition, any serious student who wishes to tackle the Latin as part of a thesis or other paper, can make arrangements to borrow it on application to me.

William Hogarth
207 Carpenter Avenue
Sea Cliff, New York 11579

MORE BOOKS

The Editor has a limited supply of the following books for sale. Checks should be made payable to the Richard III Society, Inc.

WE SPEAK NO TREASON by Rosemary Hawley Jarman (paperback edition) at \$1.90 (including postage and handling)

HISTORY OF THE LIFE AND REIGN OF RICHARD THE THIRD by James Gairdner at \$6.50 (including postage and handling)

ON SOME BONES IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY, A DEFENCE OF KING RICHARD III by Philip Lindsay at \$3.00 (including postage and handling)

THE BETRAYAL OF RICHARD III by V.B. Lamb at \$3.00 (including postage and handling)

"MAJOR DATES IN WORLD HISTORY"

Frannie Levy, in looking through the Random House Dictionary of the English Language, found the following in the section called "Major Dates in World History." The following excerpts from the 15th century indicate that we still have a long way to go in our educational mission.

1483: Edward V [1470-83] becomes king of England at the age of 12. His uncle and guardian, Richard, Duke of Gloucester, succeeds in de-throning him and having himself crowned as Richard III. The same year Edward and his younger brother are imprisoned in the Tower of London and murdered, probably at Richard's order.

1483-1485: Reign of Richard III [1452-85] of England. He is an able ruler, but he cannot erase the general impression that he has usurped the throne from his nephew Edward V and is responsible for his death. His enemies unite behind Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, head of the House of Lancaster, and Richard is defeated and killed at Bosworth Field (August 22, 1485). Tudor succeeding as Henry VII.

1485-1509: Reign of Henry VII [1457-1509] of England, first king of the House of Tudor. Seeking to re-establish law and order after the turbulence of the Wars of the Roses and to assert the power and efficacy of royal government, Henry outlaws private feudal armies ("livery and maintenance") and makes great use of the star Chamber, a special court, for swifter and more efficient justice.

Submitted by Frannie Levy
1509 Park Avenue
Baltimore, Maryland 21217

SPREADING THE WORD

[Editor's Note: Many members wonder what they can do to further the goals of the Society. One member, Sybil Ashe, helped to start high school students thinking about the controversy surrounding Richard III by running a contest, which she describes in the following article.]

Like all of you, I wanted to do something. Admitting the regrettable unlikelihood that I shall uncover some unassailable evidence of Richard's innocence, or that I will write a book of such power and erudition as will henceforth be cited by scholars as the final authority for refuting Messrs. Morton/More, Shakespeare, et al., I decided to settle spreading our gospel by means of the inverted pyramid--I convert two people, and they each convert, two, and they each convert two, and so on. It occurred to me that it might be even more useful to inform and influence those not yet committed, before their opinions, based on unenlightened textbooks, had hardened. Who knows, one of them may one day write that powerful book, or dig up that vital evidence, if sufficient interest and partisanship is implanted now.

Knowing young people as I do (I have 3 of my own), I was pretty certain that I would rouse more interest in my project by offering financial reward for their efforts; so I went to our local high school and asked the head of the History Department if he would sanction my proposal to award a \$50 prize for the best paper on the controversy surrounding Richard. To my surprise, he not only agreed to that, but also set aside an entire class period for me to give the Society's viewpoint, with reference material (15 minutes of which I gave to answering individual questions), and he asked me to read those portions of their textbook in which I was interested and give my opinion of it as a valid tool. The authors do not overtly condemn Richard III, but obviously consider him historically unimportant because his reign was so brief. They have completely ignored his manifest contributions to law, commerce, and the good of the common man.

I prepared a booklet consisting of: a suggested reading list, and the libraries where the books can be found; excerpts from The Ricardian and The Ricardian Register, which gave information not found in general texts; and a couple of personal articles in which I condensed some of my own research. I also made available a copy of the Titulus Regius.

The themes to be written could treat of the general subject of the Ricardian controversy, or of any one facet of particular interest to a student. I have even bent over backward to be impartial (which I'm not!) by promising to award the prize to one who accepts the Tudor propaganda--if it's the best theme submitted. I trust my second promise--to slit that author's throat, in such case--won't be construed as bringing undue pressure to bear. The papers must show research, original thought and personal conclusions. Any new ideas or interpretations are encouraged.

The contest ends May 30, with entries to be judged by the head of the History Department, the English History teacher, and me.

The English Literature teacher has asked me to discuss Shakespeare's "Richard III" with his class; and, if the contest is successful this year, I intend to continue it, in future, and include English Literature students. I've given some thought to taking the idea to neighboring towns, if feasible.

Sybil S. Ashe
229 South Street
Medfield, Massachusetts 02052

[Note: This article was submitted May 4; we hope to hear further from Mrs. Ashe on the results of this contest.]

NEW MEMBERS

Katrina Brodine
425 North Bellevue Avenue
Wayne
Pennsylvania 19087

Mrs. Joan M. Davies
9055 S.W. 115 Terrace
Miami
Florida 33156

Mrs. Frances A. Fisher
107-B Entwistle Street
China Lake
California 93555

Betty F. Giragosian
Route 4, Box 309
Glen Allen
Virginia 23060

Lucy Green
1800 Lavaca
Austin
Texas 78701

Eric Hawke
Potato Hill II
Cream Hill Road
Mendon, Vt. 05701

Mrs. James Henry
Pioneer Home
Thermopolis
Wyoming 82443

Cathy Howey
925 Highland Boulevard
Gloucester
New Jersey 08030

John Ben Lott
5134 Richmond Avenue
Houston
Texas 77027

Mrs. J.P. McKinney
6025 Hollins Avenue
Baltimore
Maryland 21210

Philip Merrill
130 East End Avenue
New York
New York 10028

Mrs. Gordon A. Neal
107 W. Sheridan Place
Lake Bluff
Illinois 60044

Eleanor O'Larey
518 West 4th Street
Aberdeen
Washington 98520

Kathryn K. Paxton
6300 Blakely Square
Virginia Beach
Virginia 23462

Mary Reynolds
P.O. Box 401
Melrose Park
Illinois 60160

Melinda Rosenzweig
153-10 58 Avenue
Flushing
New York 11355

Phyllis Silverberg
433 West 54th Street
New York
New York 10019

Mrs. Mary Toerner
P.O. Box 491
Flagstaff
Arizona 86001

Jennifer Winch
60 San Andreas Way
San Francisco
California 94127

MEDIEVAL FAIR

On Saturday, August 18, 1973, 10 a.m.-5 p.m., there will be a Medieval Fair at the Cloisters Museum in Fort Tryon Park, New York. As last year, there will be instrumental groups, booths with food and medieval handicrafts, demonstrations of swordplay, etc. If you have a period costume, you are welcome to wear it.

HALSTED'S *RICHARD III*

by William H. Snyder

Chapter X

RICHARD, DUKE OF GLOUCESTER, OCCUPIES BARNARD CASTLE

Amongst the very small portion of the Duke of Clarence's confiscated lands which were bestowed upon Richard of Gloucester after his brother's death was Barnard Castle, in the county of Durham. This superb building, the abode of the Lady Anne's maternal ancestors, seems henceforth to have shared with Middleham Castle the peculiar attention and interest of Richard. Barnard Castle received its name from Barnard de Baliol, who came into England with the Conqueror, and whose great grandson was afterwards King of Scotland. Edward I dethroned him and seized the manor and castle.

RICHARD'S COGNIZANCE, THE WHITE BOAR, STILL PRESERVED IN RUINS

While the foundation of Barnard Castle was coeval with the Norman conquest, its renovation and embellishment were the work of Richard of Gloucester. Here may be found the earliest trace and perhaps the best preserved specimen of his badge, the boar. Surtees, in speaking of Barnard Castle, says, ". . . a beautiful mullioned window, hung on projecting corbells, still exhibits withinside on the soffit of its arch the boar of Richard, with some elegant tracery, plainly marking the latest portion of the castle to be the work of Gloucester" (Surtees, p. 90).

The badge, impress, or cognizance, as certain heraldic figures in general use at this period of English history were styled, "was an emblematical device," says Camden, "by noble and learned personages to notify some particular conceit of their own." They were altogether distinct from coats of arms, "which were used to distinguish families, and usual among the nobility in wars, tilts, or tournaments," or from the crest, the highest armorial distinction, which was worn in the helmet by the knight, himself, as an especial mark of nobility (Camden's Remains, p. 447). The badge, in short, was the household or livery cognizance worn by the retainers of princes and powerful barons to declare visibly the liege lord to whose service they were attached.

Many of the most remarkable associations relating to feudal times are connected with this ancient appendage, including the very name of Plantagenet. This was derived from the cognizance of the progenitor of that chivalrous race of English monarchs, Geoffrey, Count of Anjou. He adopted a sprig of the Planta-genista (the yellow broom) as a symbol of humility when performing a pilgrimage to the Holy Land (Buck's Richard III, p. 6). "The white boar was the badge of Richard, Duke of Gloucester, and was retained by him after he ascended the throne. His arms were sometimes supported by two of them. In Sandford's time, there remained over the library gate at Cambridge, carved in stone, a rose, supported on the sinister side by a boar, which boar, the same author informs us, Richard had found among the badges of the House of York, being of silver, with tusks and bristles of gold, inscribed 'Ex Honore de Windsor.' The badge of the white boar is said to have been derived from the honour of Windsor" (Retros. Review, 2d Series, vol. ii, p. 156).

BRACKENBURY ATTACHED TO GLOUCESTER'S SERVICE

Nothing is more remarkable in the study of history than the fact that the sincerity of even the most impartial writers becomes affected when their prejudices, whether religious or political, are called into play. How completely the false colouring thus given by them to persons or things perverts the truth which they seek to establish and from which, indeed, they have no intention of departing.

Richard III is not the only instance in our regal annals that could be adduced in corroboration of this fact. Queen Mary, melancholy as was her reign, resulting from the bigotry of her ministers and the fury of religious persecution at that period, was far

from being the cruel and unfeminine character usually described. On the contrary, she was mild and amiable in private life. Her letters and literary productions which are yet extant (see Hearne's *Syllogi Epistolarum* and Strype's *Hist. Memorials*) prove her to have been a right-minded and very learned woman. She was the victim of the unhappy times in which she flourished, rather than the willing agent of those savage deeds which procured for her in after years the approbrious term of "Bloody Mary,"--an epithet resulting from the same factious spirit which bestowed on Gloucester the epithet of "Crook-backed Richard."

The family of Brackenbury was of very ancient date, having settled at Selaby, in the immediate vicinity of Barnard Castle, from the end of the twelfth century. One of the main bulwarks of the Castle is still designated as "Brackenbury's Tower." The Robert Brackenbury whose name is inseparably interwoven with that of Richard of Gloucester was a junior member of this ancient family. It is a fair inference that upon Richard fixing his abode at Barnard Castle, a cadet of the Brackenbury family should be numbered among his retainers, as the vassal of his princely superior.

Richard of Gloucester appears to have possessed qualities that won the greatest confidence from such as surrounded him, and inspired the most devoted attachment in those on whom he bestowed his friendship. He distinguished Brackenbury with marks of the highest favour, and there is no existing document or even tradition to prove him undeserving of the prince's regard. With firmness and fidelity Brackenbury followed Gloucester's fortunes to the very close of his life, even at the sacrifice of his town. Thus, Brackenbury's name suffered from being so intimately associated with a prince whose testimonies of regard were interpreted into bribery for crime, and whose rewards for faithful services were considered as designating only his co-partners in guilt.

CHARACTERS OF EDWARD IV. AND RICHARD CONTRASTED

It is scarcely possible to imagine a stronger contrast to the active and praiseworthy career pursued by Richard, Duke of Gloucester, than was afforded by the inert and luxurious life led by King Edward IV. His indolence increased with his years, and his love of pleasure and personal gratification gained strength by excessive indulgence. The tribute-money, which continued to be regularly paid by Louis XII after the Treaty of Picquiny, afforded him ample means for indulging to satiety those enervating habits which weakened his talents for government fully as much as they paralyzed his naturally active and energetic character.

Secure, then, in the peaceful possession of his own dominion and undisturbed by foreign enemies, King Edward yielded himself wholly to a life of frivolous amusements and the unrestrained indulgence of the most dissolute habits, leaving the entire charge of his kingdom, as relates to military affairs, to Richard, Duke of Gloucester. "The king," observes Lingard (p. 202), "desired to live to the best advantage of his pleasure; Gloucester, of his honour." Richard's increasing importance throughout the country at large, as the only prince of the House of York capable by age or inclination for active exertion, kept pace with popularity in the North. His unblemished reputation in public life and his submissive and consistent deportment to King Edward increased his influence with that monarch and strengthened the attachment which had ever bound the brothers to each other. As a natural result, Richard perpetually received fresh proofs of the king's confidence and affection.

In the 17th Edward IV, he was reappointed great chamberlain of England for life, which office it will be remembered he had relinquished in favour of the Duke of Clarence, by whose death it became vacant and was again in the gift of the crown. In the 18th Edward IV, he was constituted admiral of England, Ireland, and Aquitaine, and in the 20th Edward IV he was nominated lieutenant-general of the kingdoms in consequence of threatened hostilities with Scotland.

Richard was likewise appointed (to quote the quaint language of the times) "one of the triers of petitions" for England, Ireland, and Scotland, in the Parliament which met in the painted chamber at Westminster, January 16, 1478 (*Rot. Parl.*, vol. vi, p. 167), an

appointment which attests Richard's judgment and integrity and is proof also that he was accustomed to conducting the actual business of the state. De Lolme's Constitution of England (p. 234) explains that "In the beginning of the existence of the House of Commons, bills were presented to the king under the form of petitions. Those to which the king assented were registered among the rolls of Parliament, with his answer to them; and at the end of each parliament the judges formed them into statutes. Several abuses having crept into that method of proceeding, it was ordained that the judges should in future make the statute before the end of every session. Lastly, as even that became in process of time insufficient, the present method of framing bills was established; that is to say, both Houses now frame the statutes in the very form and words in which they are to stand when they have received the royal assent."

RICHARD LEASES CROSBY PLACE

The king's increasing indolence rendered the judicious advice and active assistance of his brother not merely essential to his own individual ease, but important to the internal government of the kingdom. Up to this period, however, no fixed abode in London appears to have been appointed to the Duke of Gloucester. At this early period of English history the abiding place of the great feudal lords was their baronial halls. They rarely visited the metropolis and when they did so it was with a great retinue and purely on matters of state. Such business included attending the great councils of the nation, assisting at the coronation of their monarchs, allaying civil commotions, and affording support or offering opposition to the reigning sovereign and his ministers.

At this time (about 1475), Richard occupied a newly erected mansion late belonging to Sir John Crosby, an alderman of London, from whose widow the prince probably leased it. Erected in a style of princely grandeur, it was completed both within and without with that gorgeous splendour which peculiarly characterized the buildings of the 15th century. Crosby Place, with its embowered oriels, superb hall, and matchless roof is famed as perpetuating in this present day (1844) the only specimen now remaining in the metropolis of the domestic architecture of the middle ages. It is as interesting from its association with the last monarch of the Plantagenet race as is Barnard Castle, the abode of Richard of Gloucester in early and less troubled times, from the preservation in that Castle of his household cognizance, "the bristled boar."

RECORDS RELATING TO RICHARD

These habitations, together with provincial records of his laudable proceedings in the northern counties previously related, constitute almost the only traces of Richard's private life after his marriage. His public acts, however, are most numerous. They are registered in the archives of the land and establish his reputation as a warrior and yet more his character as a patriot and his dignified conduct as a prince of the blood royal of England. He was still in the prime of life, for he had not attained his twenty-sixth year on the death of Clarence (February 18, 1478).

Richard of Gloucester merited in its fullest sense the eulogium extorted by a sense of justice even from the prejudiced pen of Lord Bacon: "a prince in military virtue approved, jealous of the honour of the English nation; and likewise a good law-maker for the ease and solace of the common people" (Bacon's Life of Hen. VII, p. 2). "The northern parts were not only affectionate to the House of York, but particularly had been devoted to King Richard III" (Ibid., p. 17). Such, indeed, was the character which he bore universally in the extensive district in which his career as Duke of Gloucester must chiefly be sought for and judged, and where so many records yet exist (Drake's Eboracum, p. 117) to bear testimony of his bounty, his generosity, and his justice.

RECORDS RELATING TO RICHARD'S WIFE AND SON

It is much to be lamented that so little is known of the childhood of Richard's son, the Earl of Salisbury, and so little preserved of the Lady Anne, Richard's wife. However,

the same dearth of material for biographical notice will be found in the case of all the consorts of the illustrious men who flourished at that period.

It appears probable that the Lady Anne suffered from the same ill health and inherited the same fragile constitution that carried the Lady Isobel to an early grave. Both sisters appear to have died of decline. In both instances, their wasting away and gradual decay were attributed, but without foundation, to poison.

There is solid ground for supposing that the young Earl of Salisbury, though usually represented as Richard's only legitimate child, was but the eldest and sole surviving son, and that the cares of an infant family engrossed the Lady Anne's attention, although they survived not to reward her maternal care. The causes for this surmise are not based on conjecture. On the creation of the young Edward as Earl of Salisbury, the letters patent (Cal. Rot. Pat., p. 322), which yet exist, distinctly term him "the eldest son of Richard, Duke of Gloucester." In the Harl. MSS., 433, fol. 242, a very curious document is preserved in which Richard himself styles the young prince "Edward, his first begotten son." In a collection of ordinances which, at a later period of his life he issued for the regulation of his household in the North, one of the leading items is this (ibid., p. 269): That "my Lord of Lincoln," his favourite nephew (son of Elizabeth, Duchess of Suffolk, the eldest surviving sister of King Edward IV and Richard, Duke of Gloucester) and "my Lord Morley," probably his son's preceptor, "be at one breakfast" and "the children together at one breakfast." He also afterwards implies the high rank of the parties thus specified by commanding that no livery exceed his (Gloucester's) limitation, "but only to my lord and the children."

Additional Note. Gairdner states that Richard "called his eldest son (filio primogenito) in the charter of creation, though he was his only legitimate one. See Patent, February 15, 17 Edward IV, p. 2, m. 16"--Life of Richard III, footnote, page 36.

JAMES, KING OF SCOTLAND, BREAKS TRUCE WITH ENGLAND

It was fortunate for the honour of the kingdom and the tranquility of the Yorkist dynasty that the active habits of Richard of Gloucester were so singularly opposed to the supineness of King Edward. For his ancient enemy, Louis XI, was no indifferent spectator of a state of things which his tribute money had effected and the payment of which he meant to continue until such time as he considered it convenient to throw off the mask.

The King of Scotland was less scrupulous in preserving even an appearance of faith. He openly showed his intention of annulling the alliance with England which had been cemented by the betrothal of the heir of his crown with the Princess Cecily of York. Constant outrages were perpetrated by the Scottish borderers on the English frontiers for which neither redress nor compensation could be obtained. The rich dowry promised with the English princess on her union with the Duke of Rothsey was regularly paid by installments beforehand, as had been agreed at the time of the contract. Still, year after year rolled on, and the articles of marriage were not fulfilled. Neither was the money received by James as the pledge of King Edward's sincerity returned by the Scottish monarch as had been stipulated in the event of non-fulfilment of the marriage.

RICHARD APPOINTED LIEUTENANT-GENERAL OF KINGDOM

Accordingly, in 1478, the sums hitherto paid by England were discontinued but without producing the desired effect on the treacherous Scottish king. The exasperation of Edward IV at what he designated James' "meanness of conduct and breach of faith" (Lingard, vol. v, p. 230) was heightened by the artful representation of the Duke of Albany, King James' brother, who had been exiled from his native Scotland because of his ambitious and rebellious conduct and now sought the assistance of England in restoring him to his country and his honours (Foedera, vol. xii, p. 173).

Accordingly, King Edward proclaimed war against Scotland and entrusted the command of the expedition to the Duke of Gloucester. "This prince," observes Habington in his *Historie of Edward IV* (p. 223), "had now no competitor in greatness both of judgment and power." His royal brother was so subdued by his inert habits that he was well content to leave to others that vengeance which he had determined to inflict. "Willing to decline labour," adds his biographer (*Ibid.*), "he waived the expedition," thus proving the truth of a previous quotation from this same author "that the king desired to live to the best advantage of his pleasure; Gloucester, of his honour."

The successful result of Richard's mission presents a marked contrast to the inglorious peace purchased by France and displays in a remarkable manner the different sentiments which influenced the two brothers when called upon to uphold the honour of their country.

Both in England and Scotland the warlike preparations were on an extensive scale. King James resolved on heading his own troops. The wording of the patent which conferred upon Richard the sole command of the English army attests the confidence reposed in him by the king, as well as the popularity of the prince himself. The letter recites "that notwithstanding the truce which had lately been concluded with James, King of Scotland, he was again about to wage war; and that the king, not only on account of his consanguinity and fidelity, but also by reason of his approved prowess and other virtues, appointed his brother Richard, Duke of Gloucester, his lieutenant-general, during his own absence, to oppose, if they [the Scotch] should enter the English territory" (*Foedera*, vol. xxi, p. 115).

The expenses of assembling an army sufficiently powerful to invade Scotland and compel King James to make restitution for his breach of faith were enormous. King Edward devised the most despotic and novel measures for exacting sums of money from his subjects. The most obnoxious levy, and the one which bore heaviest on the whole country, was the method of exacting large sums by means of what was termed a "benevolence" (*Cont. Croy.*, pp. 558, 563). This consisted of plate and money demanded from the people as a gift or extorted from them on various pretexts without legislative authority. By this means, his agents gathered vast sums to replenish the regal coffers at the expense of his impoverished subjects.

RICHARD BESIEGES BERWICK--MARCHES TO EDINBURGH

Richard had secured the English frontiers from all hostile invasion by the efficient state to which he had brought the walls and fortresses on the border country (*Issue Roll of Exchequer*, pp. 499, 501).

All preliminaries were at length completed for invading Scotland, and in June 1482 the Duke of Gloucester laid siege to the town and castle of Berwick, justly termed the key of Scotland. He was accompanied by an army of nearly 23,000 men, including the most renowned English warriors, leading officers of the royal household, the king's own physician, and the king's treasurer--evidence of the king's support of his brother's honour, dignity, and safety.

The Castle of Berwick, then the strongest fort in the North, was commanded by the valiant Earl of Borthwick, who made such determined resistance that Gloucester speedily foresaw the length of time it would take to subdue the Castle. Having forced the town to capitulate, Richard lodged a small but determined band within it. He then resolved, with his accustomed energy, to penetrate instantly to the Scottish capital, surprise King James, and secure full indemnification for the contempt shown to England and her sovereign. He left the Lord Stanley and 4,000 men-at-arms to continue the siege of Berwick Castle and entered Scotland with the main body of the English army.

Striking terror into the inhabitants in the line of his march by setting fire to such towns and villages as resisted his progress, he marched direct to Edinburgh. King James had taken refuge within Edinburgh Castle upon hearing of the Duke of Gloucester's approach. To the honour of Richard it must be recorded that he saved Edinburgh from pillage and

destruction. Habington says (p. 204) "his entry was only a spectacle of glory, the people applauding the mercy of an enemy who presented them with a triumph, not a battle; and welcomed him as a prince who took arms not for pecy (probably specie, an abbreviation of the old French word 'espece,' or a corruption of the ancient Latin term 'pecuniosus,' of or belonging to money--Bayley, vol. i) or malice, but for the safety of a neighboring kingdom."

RICHARD AGREES TO CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES ON MOST HONOURABLE TERMS

The nobles of Scotland had as a body deserted their sovereign, who was deservedly unpopular with his subjects, and sent a message to the Duke of Gloucester imploring him to suspend arms. They offered him full restitution on every point, even to the immediate solemnization of the marriage between the Duke of Rothsay and the Princess Cecily, second daughter of King Edward IV.

Gloucester's reply "that he came to right the honour of his country, often violated by the Scots," was worthy of him and so, also, were the terms which he submitted to them. These comprised restoration of the money paid by King Edward; capitulation of Berwick Castle, so dear to the Scotch from being an ancient appurtenance to their crown and representing the portal of their land; and recall and restoration of the Duke of Albany. Richard would not compromise the honour of his niece by accepting an extorted consent to her union with the young Duke of Rothsay. The marriage, he said, must be left to King Edward's future consideration, but the sums paid for her dowry must be refunded without delay.

No argument could weaken Gloucester's resolution. Therefore, a day was appointed for the restitution of all money lent by King Edward; a pledge was given for a reparation of all damage done the English by any inroad of the Scottish borderers; and Berwick was ceded to England with a covenant "by no act hereafter to labour the reduction of it" (Habington, p. 205).

RICHARD RECEIVES THANKS OF KING AND PARLIAMENT

"Thus, having avenged the indignity shown to his niece, upheld the regality of his sovereign, defended his country from insult and wrong, and been the medium of effecting a reconciliation between the Duke of Albany and his misguided brother, Gloucester quitted Edinburgh in triumph; and with all increase of glory to the English name (and by consequence to his own), he returned to Berwick, which, according to the former agreement, had been yielded to the Lord Stanley" (Habington, p. 206). "Thence," continues Habington, "in all solemnity of greatness he came toward London, to yield an account of his prosperous enterprise; and to show how much more nobly he in this expedition against Scotland had managed the peace for the honour of the English nation, than his brother had in his undertaking against France. . . ." (p. 207).

Richard was welcomed by King Edward--as, indeed, he justly merited--with the warmest affection. Having received, with his compeers, the thanks of the Houses of Parliament, the royal approbation was publicly given, and with great solemnity to those wise and vigorous measures which had ended in reducing Berwick and humbling the Scots. Satisfied with the energy of Gloucester's proceeding and pleased with the ample revenge taken on his faithless ally, King Edward disguised his anxiety at the vast expense and strove to appease the discontent of his impoverished subjects by the most sumptuous entertainment and gorgeous festivities.

Additional Notes: When King Edward IV. learned of Berwick's fall, he "immediately wrote a long, exultant letter to the Pope, in which he thanked 'God, the giver of all good gifts, for the support received from our most loving brother, whose success is so proven that he alone would suffice to chastise the whole kingdom of Scotland'"--Kendall, Richard The Third, page 144.

Gairdner states that this campaign augmented and confirmed Richard's reputation as a successful warrior. Despite the cost "it was still a great achievement, and gave England a most important advantage in case of further hostilities. And not only by this, but by his rule over the West Marches, of which he was Warden, Richard earned for himself such golden opinions that the Parliament which met in January following (1483) was not slow to recognize his merits. As Warden he had acquitted himself so ably that he had brought a whole district, about thirty miles long, of what had formerly been debatable land, into acknowledged subjection to the King of England; in reward for which service it was decreed, by a most extraordinary enactment, that the Wardenship of the West Marches should belong to him and the heirs male of his body forever. . . . In fact, the good rule of Gloucester on the borders, notwithstanding his unpopularity afterwards as King Richard III, was remembered long after his day as a very model of efficiency.

At this time, therefore, whatever may have been thought of his character by close observers, no man stood in higher honour than Richard throughout the kingdom generally."--Life of Richard III, pages 41, 42. (The underscored comments show Gairdner's strong bias against Richard--he cannot resist making these invidious observations.)

LOUIS XI VIOLATES TREATY OF PICQUINY

Little time, however, was allowed for feasting and pageants or for redeeming, by the blessings of peace and prosperity, the devastating effects of war. Louis XI had been the secret agent in fomenting discord between England and Scotland. Now an unlooked-for event afforded him the means, so long desired, of casting off the English yoke and ridding himself of the detestable tribute which necessity alone had induced him to pay.

Mary, Duchess of Burgundy, died within four years of her marriage with the Archduke Maximilian of Austria, leaving two infant children, a son and a daughter. The prospect of annexing to France a portion of the rich provinces of Burgundy by affiancing the dauphin to the orphan princess of that wealthy principality was far more tempting to the French monarch than the empty honour that would have accrued to his heir by the existing alliance with the Princess Royal of England, Elizabeth of York (see Chapter IX). Louis was never over-scrupulous in the measures he adopted for compassing his views. He considered faith and treaties as mere political agents--never as the pledge of kingly honour.

The infant Margaret was delivered to commissioners appointed by the French monarch. King Edward had not merely to endure the mortification of seeing the annulment of his long-cherished plans for the aggrandizement of his eldest daughter. At the same time, the tribute-money ceased to be paid. The serious deprivation this entailed because of Edward's extravagant habits increased his bitterness and mortification. He now saw fully the value of Gloucester's expostulation at Picquiny and how easily and completely he had been duped by Louis XI.

EDWARD IV RESOLVES TO INVADE FRANCE--IMPENDING DEATH

No sooner was the French monarch's breach of faith communicated to Edward IV than he resolved on being avenged and humbling Louis as severely as he had the Scotch people and their ruler. Summoning the lords of his Council, Edward made known his injuries and his daughter's wrongs. The whole court--indeed the whole kingdom--were loud in their call for war and in requiring instant preparations to be made for invading France. The great feudal lords, retiring to their ancient halls, summoned their vassals and retainers. All who held lands by military tenure hastened to assemble the archers and knights by which they were bound to the service of their king. Parliament voted subsidies; the church levied considerable sums; and the tocsin of war, as if by universal consent, sounded throughout the land.

But Louis XI was again saved from a renewal of those desolating wars which had ever impoverished the French nation by one of those solemn decrees which prove the fallacy of human designs, through the uncertain tenure of human life. King Edward, although in the prime of manhood, had prematurely accelerated old age by the luxurious habits in which he

indulged. An illness, at first considered unimportant, soon began to assume an alarming appearance, and the monarch speedily felt that his dissolution was approaching. The period allotted him to prepare for the last solemn scene was very short. His attention, from the commencement of danger, was exclusively devoted to those religious duties which he had so fearfully neglected. He endeavored to make reparations for the severe exactions with which he had grievously oppressed his subjects to enrich the royal coffers and gratify his personal enjoyments.

Additional Notes: Kendall states (page 155) that the peaceful succession of his son was now the dying King's sole worldly concern. A shadow, however, "emanated from the figure of a young man whose only name was Henry Tydder or Tudor but who persisted in calling himself the Earl of Richmond, a Lancastrian refugee at the court of Francis, Duke of Brittany."

On his mother's side, Henry's great-great-grandfather was John of Gaunt, fourth son of Edward III. Gaunt's mistress, Catherine Swynford, bore him four children. Gaunt married her after their respective spouses had died. Richard II legitimated Gaunt's bastards and gave them the name of Beaufort. In 1407, Gaunt's son Henry IV, half brother to the Beauforts, confirmed their patent of legitimacy with the limiting phrase excepta dignitate regali. John Beaufort, the eldest of the four children Catherine Swynford bore Gaunt, became the Marquis of Somerset. His grand-daughter, Margaret Beaufort, married Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond. Her only child, Henry Tudor, was born on January 28, 1457.

Henry's ancestry on his father's side was equally flawed. A generation before Henry's birth a Welshman, Owen Tudor, had appeared at the English court. His father had been butler to the Bishop of Bangor. Owen became a clerk in the household of Queen Katherine, Henry V's widow and daughter of the mad Charles VI of France. Kendall says "Soon he had sung himself into her bed. Three children were born of this liaison--Jasper, Edmund, and Owen.

When Henry VI's Council, furious at the slight to Henry V, discovered this union in 1437, Owen claimed that he and the Queen were married. But he never supplied any proof, and the Council threw him into Newgate prison.

Thus, Henry Tudor had no real claim to the throne. His lineage was flawed on both his maternal and paternal sides.

But the dying Edward IV was more concerned with the discord in his own court. Kendall notes that Edward IV's court was marked by "the unchecked greed and arrogance of the Woodvilles" and "the habitual debauchery into which Edward had sunk in the company of the genial, brave, and corrupt Lord Hastings."--Richard The Third, page 146. Gairdner states "In the full prospect of death Edward had called before him those lords whom he knew to be at variance, especially the Marquis of Dorset and Lord Hastings, and implored them, for the sake of his children and for the peace of the kingdom, to forget their old quarrels and live thenceforward in amity. The lords were deeply touched by this appeal, and gave each other their hands in presence of the dying man, making formal protestations of mutual forgiveness and reconciliation. Nevertheless, no sooner was the breath out of Edward's body than symptoms of the old suspicion began to show themselves."--Life of Richard III, pages 44, 45.

EDWARD IV'S DEATH

His disorder, an intermittent fever, produced by a surfeit (Habington, p. 223), but probably accelerated by agitation arising from the French monarch's perfidy and his own short-sightedness, terminated his life at his palace of Westminster on April 9, 1483, in the 41st year of his age and in the 21st of his reign. There was insufficient time to summon the young Prince of Wales from Ludlow, where he was residing, or to enable Richard, Duke of Gloucester, who had returned to his military duties in the North, to attend on the death-bed of a brother whom he had ever so faithfully served and to whom he was warmly attached.

KING EDWARD'S ANCESTORS AND PROGENY

By his queen, Elizabeth Woodville, King Edward had a numerous progeny, of whom two sons and five daughters alone survived their father, the remainder dying in childhood, viz.:

1. Edward, Prince of Wales, afterwards Edward V, born November 4, 1470.
2. Richard, Duke of York, born May 28, 1474.
3. George, Duke of Bedford, died an infant.
4. Elizabeth, Princess Royal born February 11, 1466, betrothed to the Dauphin of France, but eventually married to Henry VII.
5. Cecily, affianced to James, Prince of Scotland, but afterwards married first to the Lord Viscount Welles, secondly to a person named Kyme, in Lincolnshire.
6. Anne, espoused Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk.
7. Mary, betrothed to the King of Denmark, but died in childhood.
8. Margaret, born 1472, died in her infancy.
9. Katherine, married to William Courtney, Earl of Devon.
10. Bridget, youngest child, born 1480, became a nun at Dartford.--Sandford, Geneal. Hist., book v., p. 393.

Of Edward's ancestors, Richard, Duke of Cambridge, the grandsire of Edward IV and Richard III, was beheaded at Southampton, August 6, 1415. Richard, Duke of York, their father, was beheaded on Wakefield Green, December 30, 1460.

Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, youngest brother of King Henry V, was "for his virtuous endowments surnamed the Good; and for his justice, Father of His Country." In the first year of King Henry VI, his nephew, he was by Parliament made protector of England during the king's minority, but "by the envy of Margaret of Anjou, his nephew's queen," he was murdered at Bury St. Edmund's, A.D. 1446 (Sandford's Geneal. Hist., book iv, p. 308). Richard, Duke of Gloucester, youngest brother of the succeeding monarch, Edward IV, was the next prince who bore that ill-omened title. As narrated by the annalist of that period, in the first year of the reign of King Edward V, his nephew, "he received the same power as was conferred on Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, during the minority of Henry VI with the title of Protector" (Chron. Croy., p. 566).

KING EDWARD'S CHARACTER

Edward IV presents one of the most deplorable instances regal annals can furnish of brilliant talents being sacrificed to trifling enjoyments. The glory of this monarch's character terminated with those brilliant actions that twice secured him the throne. The noble and princely qualities which gave such promise of future excellence on his accession at the young age of eighteen were lost in the selfishness, indolence, and frivolity that marked his maturer years and tarnished his eventful reign--perhaps the most striking in English annals. He supinely abandoned himself to unworthy excesses and relinquished the government, all but nominally, to his more right thinking and more nobly disposed brother, Richard, Duke of Gloucester.

Linda B. Ragazzini
Richard III Society, Inc.
386 Weaver Street
Larchmont, New York 10538



Mrs. William Haynes
4149 25th Street, N.
Arlington
Virginia 22207

F I R S T C L A S S M A I L

Annual General Meeting

Richard III Society, Inc.



Richard III Society, Inc. is a non-profit educational corporation chartered in 1969 under the membership corporation laws of the State of New York. Dues, grants and contributions are tax-deductible to the extent allowed by law.

Reply to: 9 Weld Street
Apartment 48
Framingham, Massachusetts 01701
August 25, 1973

Dear Ricardian:

The Annual General Meeting of the Richard III Society, Inc. will be held this year in New York City:

Date: Saturday, September 29, 1973

Time: Social hour beginning at noon
Luncheon served at 1:00 p.m.
Business meeting and lecture at 2:00 p.m.

Place: Keen's English Chop House
72 West 36th Street (between Fifth Avenue and Avenue
of the Americas)
Manhattan, New York

Speaker: Dr. Helmut Nickel
Curator of Arms and Armor
The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Topic: Warfare and Weaponry during the Wars of the Roses

Guests are welcome. The price per person is \$8.25. If you plan to attend the Annual General Meeting, please fill in Coupon Number 1 and send it to Linda B. McLatchie, 9 Weld Street, Apartment 48, Framingham, Massachusetts 01701 (please note my new name and address); please make all checks payable to LINDA B. McLATCHIE. Members who will be attending the meeting should not fill out Coupon Number 2, the ballot proxy, since you will be voting at the meeting.

Members who do not intend to come to the meeting should fill in Coupon Number 2 and return it to me before September 25, 1973.

Sincerely yours,

Linda B. McLatchie

Linda B. McLatchie (née Ragazzini)
Secretary-Treasurer

N.B.: Short biographical sketches of the nominees for office appear on the reverse side of this letter.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF NOMINEES FOR OFFICE IN THE RICHARD III SOCIETY, INC.

Elizabeth D. Haynes. B.S. in Mathematics, George Washington University. Commissioned in U.S. Air Force 1951, discharged for pregnancy, 1955. Postgraduate study in meteorology, M.I.T., 1952-53; stationed in Newfoundland 1953-55 as flight forecaster (where she met her husband). Research items: list of the Knights of the Garter during Richard's reign; genealogical chart of 15th century nobility; complete peerage of England as of the time of Richard's accession, their parts in the coronation process; notebook of reviews of Ricardian fiction.

William Hogarth. Designer and illustrator for books and advertising. Education: Maryland Institute of Art, Johns Hopkins University; art history training at Walters Arts Gallery, Baltimore; studied with painters Reginald Marsh and Mervyn Jules. Worked as stage designer; assistant art director for Scholastic Magazines and The New York Times; Art director for magazines 1948-59; free-lance since then. Research in American sources for current Richard III Exhibition at NPG, London. Working on definitive book, "Richard III On Stage and Off."

Donald G. Kilgore, Jr. M.D., Southwestern Medical College of the University of Texas. Presently Clinical Assistant Professor of Pathology, Medical University of South Carolina, and Director of Laboratories, Greenville Memorial Hospital. Certification: American Board of Pathology, Pathologic Anatomy, 1954, Clinical Pathology, 1955. Co-Chairman of the Richard III Society since 1966.

Linda B. McLatchie (nee Ragazzini). B.A. in Sociology, New York University; graduate work in Sociology, New York University. Affiliated for 3 1/2 years with New York University as Administrative Secretary and Administrative Assistant; currently self-employed. Interests: ballet, playing the violin. Working on chronology of events during late Yorkist period.

William H. Snyder. Doctor of Jurisprudence, University of Denver. Member of the Bars of the U.S. Supreme Court and the Supreme Court of Colorado. Formerly on staff of the U.S. Bureau of the Budget in the Executive Office of the President (on natural resource, economic, and scientific programs) and Executive Secretary of the President's Advisory Board for the Post Office Department. Vices: singing with Montgomery Light Opera Co. and lawn bowling.



Dues, grants and contributions are tax-deductible to the extent allowed by law.

The Ricardian Register

Newsletter of the Richard III Society, Inc.

EDITOR: Linda B. McLatchie, 9 Weld St., Apt. 48, Framingham, Mass. 01701

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Volume VII -- issue 4 -- July-August 1973

DUES ARE DUE!!!

Membership dues for the year 1973-1974 are due by October 1. Since the assessment that the American Branch pays the English Branch has risen by 50%, the officers have reluctantly approved an increase in the dues paid by regular subscribers and the abolition of the student rate; the family rate has not changed. Therefore, the dues schedule is as follows:

Regular subscription.....\$6.00

Family subscription.....\$8.00

Please fill in the attached form and return it, along with a check or money order made payable to the Richard III Society, Inc., to Linda B. McLatchie, 9 Weld Street, Apartment 48, Framingham, Massachusetts 01701. A pre-addressed envelope is provided for your convenience.

If you joined the Society after July 1, 1973, you need not repay the 1973-74 dues. Check your membership card if you are in doubt.

Members who pay the dues for another member should fill in the bottom portion of the form and include payment for that guest member along with their own dues.

Please remember that DUES AND DONATIONS ARE TAX-DEDUCTIBLE TO THE EXTENT ALLOWED BY LAW. Keep your receipt for dues in your tax records.

Linda B. McLatchie
Secretary-Treasurer

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING 1973

The Annual General Meeting will be held on Saturday, September 29, 1973, in New York City at Keen's English Chop House on 72 West 36th Street. The guest lecturer will be Dr. Helmut Nickel, Curator of Arms and Armor at The Metropolitan Museum of Art; his topic will be warfare and weaponry during the Wars of the Roses. In case you have not yet done so, there are still a few days for members to sign up the luncheon. The price per person is \$8.25.

CHANGE IN NAME AND ADDRESS FOR THE EDITOR

As I recently married Mr. William D. McLatchie (he's not a Ricardian, but I met him at the Ricardian wedding of Sue Hester and Richard Drozdowski), my name is now Linda B. McLatchie. We are residing at 9 Weld Street, Apartment 48, Framingham, Massachusetts 01701.

Linda B. McLatchie (nee Ragazzini)
Editor

BEQUEST BY MRS. ROBERT BRUCE NAUGHTON

Mrs. Robert Bruce Naughton, a member of the Society since 1971, recently passed away; we offer our sympathies to her family.

Mrs. Naughton made a very generous bequest of \$500.00 to the Society. The officers have decided to use part of that money to establish a memorial award program in Mrs. Naughton's name. The award will be given for the best researched article and the best original story pertaining to Richard III or his times. Further details of the award program will be announced at the Annual General Meeting on September 29, 1973, and in subsequent issues of The Ricardian Register. On behalf of all members, the officers would like to express their deep gratitude for this extremely generous bequest.

IN MEMORIAM FOR RICHARD

August 22, 1973 marked the 488th anniversary of Richard's death at Bosworth Field. Members across the country placed In Memoria for Richard in their local newspapers and in national publications. The Society placed an In Memoriam in The New York Times which, curiously enough, utilized a quote from Gairdner to eulogize Richard:

RICHARD III, KING OF ENGLAND. Betrayed and killed at Bosworth Field, Aug. 22, 1485. "He really studied his country's welfare, passed good laws, stopped extortion, declined free gifts, and declared he would rather have the hearts of his subjects than their money."--Gairdner.

MEETING OF CHICAGO-AREA MEMBERS

All Chicago-area members of the Society who would like to get together should contact Sharon Grodsky either at home (272-6807) or at the office (729-3000).

Sharon Grodsky
3610 Maple Leaf Drive
Glenview, Illinois 60025

QUERY CONCERNING RICHARD'S BOAR DEVICE

I recently visited the British Museum in London and while there happened upon a brick in the Roman antiquities area of the Museum which had been made by the XX Legion. The emblem of that Legion was a Wild Boar. It faced in the other direction from that of Richard but otherwise appeared quite similar. I know that the XXth was not at York but was at Chester for the most part of its long service in Britain. However, we do know that detachments of the XXth worked on the Wall, along with detachments from the other Legions. Wouldn't it be interesting if Richard, seeing a remnant or ruin in the North, bearing the device of the XXth, had taken it for his own, thus joining his own heroic story with that of an outstanding Roman Legion, the Valeria Victrix XXth Legion, twice as far removed from him in time as we are from him today. I wonder if any readers have any information on a possible connection?

William C. Cogswell
1360 Mercury Street
Merritt Island, Florida 32952

NEW MEMBERS

Geoffrey H. Arnold
52-B Trowbridge St.
Cambridge, Mass. 02138

Barbara A. Lee
420 East 55th St.
New York, N.Y. 10022

Miss Donna Regan
8671 Tulare Street
La Mesa, Calif. 92041

Joan Bartel
1415 Clarence Ave.
Lakewood, Ohio 44107

Anne E. Lewis
Box 943, Drew University
Madison, N.J. 07940

Arley L. Ripin
61 Greenway South
Forest Hills, N.Y. 11375

Sandra R. Beavers
3333 71st Street
Jackson Heights, N.Y. 11372

Dr. & Mrs. Valentin Mersol
7295 Ober Lake
Chagrin Falls, Ohio 44022

Bruce K. Schmidt
3440 W. Seven Mile Road
Detroit, Mich. 48221

Mr. & Mrs. Kelley Davis
234 E. Colorado Blvd.
Pasadena, Calif. 91101

George L. Miller
7801 Ardmore Avenue
Philadelphia, Penna. 19118

Diana Marie Wallace
5006 Timberline Drive
Austin, Texas 78746

Ursula DeSimone
445 East 68th St.
New York, N.Y. 10021

Marthiel E. O'Larey
4627 1st Avenue N.E.
Seattle, Wash. 98105

Anita L. Zeidler
2921 N. 2nd Street
Milwaukee, Wis. 53212

Eliza F. Kelly
14 Gay Street
New York, N.Y. 10014

Mary E. Zeidler
334 East 91st Street
New York, N.Y. 10028

BOSWORTH FIELD: A NEW APPRAISAL OF THE BATTLE

by Susan E. Leas

A residential weekend conference with the above title took place at the University of Leicester in England from June 29 to July 1, sponsored by the Department of Adult Education. More than seventy persons enrolled in the course, over a third of whom are members of the Richard III Society from all parts of England. The conference consisted of lectures on the political background, on the battle itself, on the weapons and armor of the period, and on the consequences of the battle. An escorted trip to the battlefield was also included. The talks were uniformly objective and unsentimental, yet basically favorable to Richard III as a man and as a king. There was no Tudor propaganda.

"Political Background: The Sequence of Events Leading to Bosworth Field" was the opening lecture, given by Mr. J.J. Bagley, Reader in History at the University of Liverpool. He clearly presented the major events in a highly complicated situation. Beginning with Henry V's early death in 1422, he traced the rift which developed among the nobility when the pious Henry VI sided with Bishop Beaufort in advocating a peace with France which Beaufort's opponents, the Dukes of Gloucester and York, considered dishonorable. Mr. Bagley continued with the chaotic "Wars of the Roses" to Edward IV's death in 1483. The people of England were chiefly interested in having a king who could maintain law and order, so that business and trade could prosper. Edward had established peace and had therefore been popular. Richard III, known as a good administrator and soldier, wished to be a good ruler, but time and circumstances were against him. After his son and wife died, the lack of a direct heir to provide an orderly and peaceful succession caused some of his erstwhile supporters to waver in their loyalty. Their own interests came first.

"The Battle of Bosworth" was a two-part lecture by Dr. D.T. Williams, Lecturer in History at the University of Leicester, whose booklet on the battle will soon be published by the Leicester University Press. Dr. Williams proceeded from two assumptions: (1) that Richard III was not mad or stupid, and (2) that he wished to win the battle.

The Battle of Bosworth was in a sense a microcosm of the fifteenth-century wars with their complexities and sudden changes in fortune. The aristocracy waited on events, guided by their instinct for survival. The prime example of this type of equivocation is Lord Thomas Stanley, who, with his brother Sir William, emerged as the "villain" of the conference.

Richard III made the best possible use of the topography. He took the only elevated position, Ambien Hill. The southern slopes were protected by a marsh. Norfolk's vanguard were located on the vulnerable western quadrant. Northumberland, of doubtful loyalty, was stationed to the north to defend against a possible but unlikely attack from the hesitant Stanleys, who had committed themselves to neither side. Richard himself commanded the mounted knights on the northwest. The cavalry were the decisive arm in the warfare of the Middle Ages, a mobile force which could enter at a crucial stage and turn the tide of battle--as it almost did at Bosworth.

As the Tudor forces were swinging round in battle array, Richard ordered the attack. Norfolk charged, not rashly, but to exploit the Tudor's temporary disadvantage and Richard's superior numbers. However, the Tudor vanguard under Oxford remained cool and closed ranks into a wedge which Norfolk could not penetrate. The battle was developing as a stalemate.

Much depended on the Stanleys. Henry Tudor needed them desperately to make up his weak left wing. His front were doing well but could not sustain forever against Richard's superior numbers. So with a small escort, standards raised, he rode toward Sir William's men, to persuade them to enter the fighting on his side. Richard, fearing treachery from Northumberland, also felt that time was against him. He had to break the deadlock. When he saw the Tudor's party riding toward the Stanleys, he realized both the danger, should

the Stanleys agree to enter on the Tudor 'side,' and the opportunity to end the battle quickly with victory.

His cavalry charge down the northwestern slope of Ambien Hill, then, was not impetuous or desperate but rather a "brilliant and almost decisive tactical maneuver." Passing the Stanleys was a risk, but Richard believed that they were too indecisive to attack him. He may not have realized that the army were commanded not by Lord Thomas, who was certain to keep his fingers clean, but by Sir William, more impetuous by nature and already acclaimed a traitor.

Stanley attacked, of course, just in time to save Henry Tudor. Richard was killed at a point which local tradition calls Sandford; Northumberland "retired" north, and the rest of Richard's troops fled south. The Battle of Bosworth, begun in early morning, was probably over before noon.

The next part of the conference was a visit to Bosworth Field and the site of the proposed Interpretive Center, accompanied by Mr. E.C. Turner, Leicestershire County Land Agent. He outlined the Council's plans to make the battlefield more accessible to visitors through a series of marked footpaths and car parks, with plaques indicating significant points. The old buildings on Ambien Hill Farm, now vacant, will be the Center, in which the emphasis is intended to be on history rather than on commercialism. An unscheduled part of the trip was a visit to the Sutton-Cheney Church Fete, opened by Mr. Turner and presided over by the Rev. Mr. Boston, Chaplain of the Richard III Society.

"Weaponry, Armor and Military Tactics of the Period" was the subject of Mr. H. Russell Robinson, Assistant Keeper of the Armouries at the Tower of London. He pointed out that Richard's cavalry charge at Bosworth was almost archaic, for in the late fifteenth century most knights fought on foot with pole ax and sword. English arms of the period were simple and basic. If Richard really wore a crown into battle which was later presented to Henry Tudor, then this "crown" was likely a crest fastened to the top of a helmet. Mr. Robinson concluded by revealing the truth about two popular misconceptions concerning armor. First, men in complete armor did not require cranes for getting onto their horses. Second, there is no such thing as chain mail; the proper term is simply mail.

The Sunday morning session of the conference was a discussion relating to the disappearance of the Princes in the Tower and the Buckingham Rebellion. Dr. Williams, who led the discussion, stated that the rebellion was probably the most crucial event of Richard's reign: it was such a shock to the king that he was almost a different person afterwards. His progress to the north after his coronation had its climax at York, where the citizens demonstrated their affection for him. Everyone wore the white boar device-- "Rather like this conference," commented Dr. Williams to his audience of Ricardians wearing boar emblems and white roses. Richard was generous with titles and lands, particularly to the Howards and to Buckingham. The latter repaid generosity with treason. The most powerful man in England after the king, his ambitions were dangerous; he may have aspired to the throne himself. Of the disappearance of the Princes, little could be concluded, except that the plan of the Buckingham Rebellion in October of 1483 assumed their deaths.

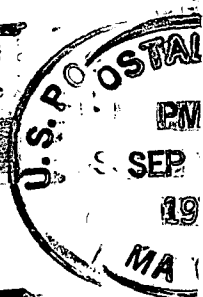
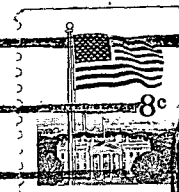
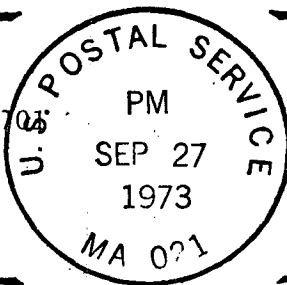
"The Consequences of the Battle" was the final talk, given by Mr. Bagley. The Middle Ages, he said, did not come to a sudden end about noon on August 22, 1485. England was passing gradually from the medieval to the modern age from about 1450 to 1550. The change was marked by the growth of nationalism, of trade, of naval power, and of the notion of an absolute king. To the individuals at Bosworth such as the Stanleys, the outcome was vitally important. If Richard had won, Lord Thomas would have been in a dire position ("at least for the first few days"). But for history, the battle made little ultimate difference. England would have developed as it did whether the kings were Yorkist or Tudor. The outcome of the Battle of Bosworth was that a particular "team" of noblemen won and acquired their rewards. The other group lost and paid the penalty.

Susan E. Leas

1141 Monroe Drive, N.E.

Atlanta, Georgia 30306

Linda B. McLatchie
9 Weld Street, Apt. 48
Framingham, Massachusetts 01704



Mrs. William Haynes
4149 25th Street, N.
Arlington
Virginia 22207

F I R S T C L A S S M A I L



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The Ricardian Register

Newsletter of the Richard III Society, Inc.

EDITOR: Linda B. McLatchie, 9 Weld St., Apt. 48, Framingham, Mass. 01701

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Volume VII -- issue 5 -- September-October 1973

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING 1973

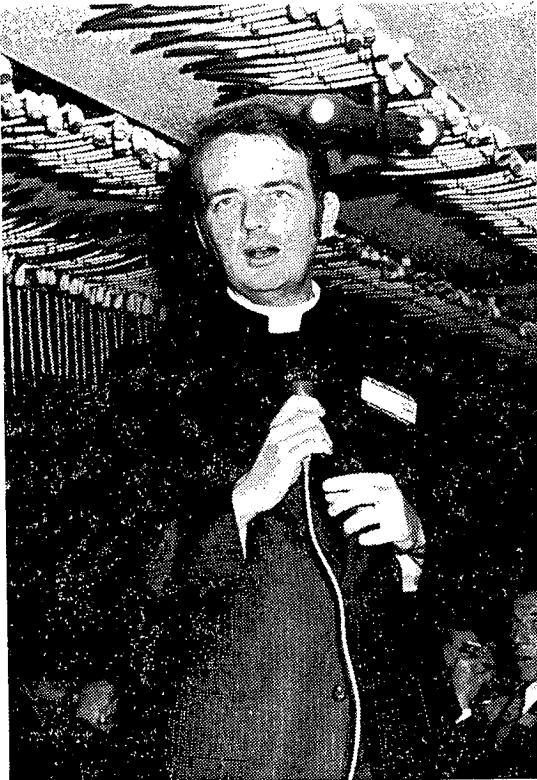
The Annual General Meeting of the Richard III Society, Inc. was held on Saturday, September 29 in New York at Keen's English Chop House. Eighty-nine members and guests attended.

At the social hour, old friends had a chance to chat and meet new members, and persons who went on this year's tour to England reminisced about the trip and showed photographs of the tour's highlights.

(Continued next page)



DR. HELMUT NICKEL accepts Indian pottery from Vice-Chairman William Hogarth after Nickel's lecture on Warfare, Weaponry, and Heraldry during the Wars of the Roses.



FATHER JOHN GILL discusses the aims and goals of the Institute for Medieval and Renaissance Studies at the City College of New York.



MUG SHOT--Chairman William Snyder presents Secretary-Treasurer Linda McLatchie and Librarian Libby Haynes with cups as "Awards for Excellence and Service."

(Photographs by William D. McLatchie)

After the luncheon, Bill Snyder, Chairman, opened the business meeting. He introduced the head table: Dr. Helmut Nickel, guest speaker; Bill Hogarth, Vice-Chairman; Martha Hogarth; Libby Haynes, Librarian and Pursuivant; Linda McLatchie, Secretary-Treasurer and Editor; Bill McLatchie (clad in kilt and serenaded by Maude French's bagpipe chanter); Father John Gill of the City College of New York; Don Kilgore, Vice-Chairman; and Jean Kilgore.

Mr. Snyder called on Mrs. McLatchie to report as Treasurer (see Treasurer's report in this issue), Secretary, and Editor. She announced the decision of the officers to raise the dues paid by regular members from \$5.00 to \$6.00 and to abolish the student rate (necessitated by the increase in assessment the American Branch pays the English Branch). She reported that the most current membership list indicated 372 members, an increase of 3% over last year's figures. As Editor, she hoped to make the Register more research-oriented; the Naughton Award Program (to be outlined in future issues of the Register) would hopefully stimulate research.

Mrs. Haynes then reported as Librarian (see Librarian's report in this issue) and Pursuivant. She explained that the function of the Pursuivant is to research matters related to heraldry. Mrs. Haynes, who was the group leader of the American tour to England this year, praised Betty Schloss for planning the trip so smoothly and successfully and briefly described the highlights of the trip, including the National Portrait Gallery exhibition.

After election of the officers (the list of officers for 1973-1974 remains unchanged from last year), Bill Hogarth introduced Father John Gill, Program Development Officer of the Institute for Medieval and Renaissance Studies at the City College of New York, who spoke briefly about the Institute's functions and aims. The Institute, which coordinates an interdisciplinary program of medieval and renaissance studies, recently received a major development grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. The Institute serves to preserve old disciplines and allow them to expand and grow.

Mr. Hogarth then introduced Dr. Helmut Nickel, Curator of Arms and Armor at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, as the main speaker. Dr. Nickel presented an informative and often humorous lecture on Warfare, Weaponry, and Heraldry during the Wars of the Roses (see summary of the lecture in this issue).

After the lecture, Bill Snyder presented on behalf of the Society "Awards for Excellence and Service" to Linda McLatchie and Libby Haynes, comprising two Wedgwood cups--one depicting Chaucer's Canterbury Pilgrims and the other showing scenes from the Bayeux Tapestry.

The meeting closed with everyone looking forward to next year's meeting, which should be as enjoyable as this year's.

NOTE OF THANKS

I would like to express my thanks to all members who sent me best wishes on my recent marriage. Due to the fact that I was busy with Ricardian and personal matters, I was, regretfully, unable to thank each one of you individually.

Linda B. McLatchie

NPG BOOKLET AVAILABLE

Members who were unable to see the National Portrait Gallery exhibition on Richard III should be glad to hear that the booklet pertaining to that exhibition is now available from the Editor. The booklet was written by Dr. Pamela Tudor-Craig, and contains 100 pages of closely researched text and 32 pages of black-and-white plates. In addition to describing in detail the paintings and objects that were on display at the exhibition, it provides introductory notes on the art, politics, people, and culture

of Richard's time. The booklet is already a collector's item and should be contained in every Ricardian's library. The price per copy is \$5.00 (checks should be made payable to the Richard III Society, Inc.).

RICARDIAN BRITAIN AVAILABLE

The revised and expanded edition of Ricardian Britain is now available from the Editor. The 48-page booklet, by Valerie Giles and Carolyn Hicks, is a guide to places in Britain connected with Richard III. It is invaluable for anyone contemplating a trip to Britain. The price per copy is \$1.75.

"KILLING OF RICHARD III"

Lois Rosenberg informs us that Robert Farrington's "The Killing of Richard III" (reviewed in Nov.-Dec. 1971 Register) is available for \$1 from Edward R. Hamilton, Bookseller, Sherman, Connecticut 06784.

NEW MEMBERS

Tom Burnam
Dept. of English
Portland State Univ.
Portland, Oregon 97201

Agnes Colaneri
77 Larch Avenue
Jersey City, N.J. 07306

Mrs. Roger A. Cox
752 Bassett Drive
Saline, Michigan 48176

David Dickinson
Graves Road
Ashfield, Mass. 01330

Mr.&Mrs. J.M. Donnelly
4313 Knox Road
College Park, Md. 20740

Joellyn Dorkin
Box 1086, Brown Univ.
Providence, R.I. 02902

Mrs. Richard Doyle
3 Reed Road
Landing, N.J. 07850

Mrs. Mary Lee Eldridge
741 Pennsylvania Ave.
Sellersburg, Ind. 47172

Roger B. Goodman
2005 Pearson Street
Brooklyn, N.Y. 11234

Claire Green
348 East 9th Street
New York, N.Y. 10003

Mr.&Mrs. Morton Holman
Wood Junior College
Mathiston
Mississippi 39752

Dr.&Mrs. David Howarth
1735 Bedford Square
Rochester, Mich. 48063

Mrs. William R. Knox
4110 East Palo Verde Drive
Phoenix, Arizona 85018

Anne Storer Korr
7702K Woodstock Road
St. Louis, Mo. 63135

Alexandra W. Kurland
110 Salisbury Road
Delmar, N.Y. 12054

Barbara S. Laiks
305 East 40th Street
New York, N.Y. 10016

Don McCracken
Wood Junior College
Mathiston, Miss. 39752

Mrs. Pamela E. Machemer
George School, Box 267
Newtown, Penna. 18940

Mrs. Peter Malkin
Bobolink Lane
Greenwich, Conn. 06830

Anne Miller
25 East 67th Street
New York, N.Y. 10021

Linda Moyer
Federal Power Commission
805 N. Capitol St., N.E., Rm. 3345
Washington, D.C. 20002

Carol E. Parker
818 Old Pittsboro Road
Chapel Hill, N.C. 27514

Kathryn Perino
505 - 13th Street
Union City, N.J. 07087

I. Scott Small
394 Erin Road
Stoughton, Mass. 02072

Pauline M. Sulyok
309 Avenue C
New York, N.Y. 10009

Dr. William S. Wald
14 Vanderventer Avenue
Port Washington, N.Y. 11050

Mary Wallace
45750 Hull Road
Belleville, Mich. 48111

Jeffrey Wexler
341 West Broadway
Cedarhurst, N.Y. 11516

Merrill Wilner
7000 Bay Parkway
Brooklyn, N.Y. 11204

WEAPONRY, WARFARE AND HERALDRY DURING THE WARS OF THE ROSES

*A summary of a talk by Dr. Helmut Nickel,
Curator of Arms and Armor at the Metropolitan Museum of Art,
given at the Annual General Meeting of the Richard III Society
in New York on Saturday, September 29th, 1973*

Dr. Nickel modestly acknowledged the "danger" of addressing an audience which knows more about a given subject than could an outside speaker; but since Richard III was the last English king to die in battle, he felt it appropriate that he speak on arms and armor of the Wars of the Roses, with "a little heraldry thrown in."

The purpose of armor was to keep people alive. Arms and armor experts are criticized for being in a bloody business; but the armoror was the "good guy" . . . the people who made the weapons were the "bad guys." Dr. Nickel showed a slide of a complete suit of 15th-century armor from the Metropolitan collections, which actually consisted of matched pieces not necessarily made to accompany one another, and was the type of Gothic armor (a Victorian antiquarian term derived from a resemblance to "spikey" Gothic cathedrals) that could have been worn at Bosworth Field. All examples of such armor are known, and Dr. Nickel pointed out that among arms authorities "an unreported suit of 15th-century armor would be as rare as an unreported Gothic cathedral."

The major center of armor fabrication was Milan, where plate armor was invented, and each piece (helmets, elbow plates, knee pieces, etc.) was made by a specialist who signed his work. Whole families engaged in the business, and the tracing of individual artisans is a complicated and confusing task. Patterns were chosen from models and then made to fit precisely. The myth about armor being so heavy that a knight, unhorsed, could not move and needed to be hoisted to his mount is a myth. A suit of armor was so well fitted that the wearer could move easily, and the weight averaged 50-55 pounds, not more than the full gear of a modern soldier. Expensive armor was worn by lords, earls, and barons, and under such demanding patronage had to fit.

Knights-errant, poor knights who could not afford squires to dress them and polish their armor (a constant need) wore black armor, achieved by coating the metal in its rough unpolished state with linseed oil, searing it in fires and applying black paint as a rust-proofing coat. These knights were "free lances" (the origin of the term), and the black knight was a loner, traveling to seek his fortune in tournaments and wars. The loser forfeited his horse, which was then held for ransom, or "blackmail", by these "blackguards." A close view of a breastplate showed the hook attached as a partial rest for a lance, bearing part of its weight.

Large triangular *shields* as used in the Crusades were out of fashion by the time of the Wars of the Roses, supplanted by a smaller forearm shield slotted to allow the lance to pass through. These shields were often decorated with family coats-of-arms or personal badges.

Mail shirts originated long before plate armor and consisted of rings, each linked to four others, and riveted with a kind of hand punch where the ends of the rings overlapped. The shirt was formed very like needlework, the meshes increasing in density at stress points and decreasing at curves around shoulders and underarms. A mail shirt might contain 250,000 rings and take six months to make. It was expensive, reportedly having the value of 12 cows.

More flexible and comfortable than the solid breastplate was the *brigandine*, made of movable strips of steel covered on the exterior with silk and velvet and riveted on the inside, worn over a mail shirt to cover "chinks in the armor." This was most often worn by men-at-arms, archers and foot soldiers.

There were apparently no left-handed warriors. Shields were always worn on the left and weapons carried in the right hand. Dr. Nickel thought that southpaws "probably entered monasteries and painted missals." Helmets and body armor were strongest on the left side, since encounters were always left side to left side. Breathing holes were usually on the right side of a helmet for this reason, and brigandine plates were joined overlapping to the right, the only reason why men's jackets and coats continue to be buttoned left-over-right. (Women's clothing fastening the other way was a Victorian invention, since the 19th century thought it would not be proper for men and women to button clothes the same way.)

The common helmet or *sallet* of the 15th century was a metal adaptation of the equally common felt or wool men's hat. The longbowman's helmet had cheekpieces instead of a brim so that his bowstring would not be cut when he drew his arrow to his cheek. All armor was, by our definition, "streamlined" . . . not for conscious esthetic reasons, but for sheer practicality in deflecting blows.

In a slide of an army on the march, it was seen that the warriors wore mainly helmets and breastplates, with half armor to the knee essential to mounted knights. *Swallow-tail banners* were typical personal cavalry flags, with *square standards* bearing coats-of-arms carried by great lords, or by their knights-banneret (the modern equivalents would be staff officers or colonels). Swallow-tail banners bore the personal devices or badges of lords, and the badge was worn also by his retainers down to the common foot soldier (as the white boar and the sun in splendor). These badges of loyalty were worn on the left sleeve (like present-day chevrons) and gave rise to the expression "heart on the sleeve," especially when a lady's scarf or veil was worn this way in a joust.

The *cannon* carried by troops at Bosworth Field were small, but difficult to move, and a muzzle-loader often could not be fired except at long intervals. However, a breech-loading cannon, with mugs of powder filled in advance, could, in batteries, produce rapid fire. A shot every ten seconds was reported by the Spaniards in Mexico early in the 16th century. The balls were small, about the size of an apple.

Color was widely used for identity, and pavilion tents for field use and at tournaments were brightly colored to mark headquarters for adherents of a given notable. Personal badges were woven into *tabards*, or surcoats, worn over armor, rather than as decoration in the metal. These tabards later became the uniform of heralds, pursuivants and kings-of-arms, the authorities on heraldry and precedence. In the 14th century these surcoats were worn over chain mail alone, the English in white coats with red crosses, the French in red coats with a white cross. It was customary for the red coats to be lined in white, and the white coats in red. If it became expedient to change loyalties when something went wrong, the coats were reversed. Hence: "turncoat."

In another slide, Dr. Nickel pointed out the twin tied laces on the shoulders of plate armor. The laces were attached to the padded cloth shirt worn next to the body, threaded through the chain mail shirt and then tied to the breastplate above. The laces were called "*points*" (the only fastening until the coming of buttons and zippers) and needed to be tied very tight, since it would be disastrous to "stretch a point."

Swords had elongated handles which swelled in the center to provide a grip for gloved hands. The handles were so long that 19th-century antiquarians thought they were used with two hands, until measurement showed that two hands would not fit, and they were dubbed "swords of one and one-half hands" . . . a meaningless term, since they were superbly balanced for use in one hand, with the center of gravity a handsbreadth in front of the cross-piece. Made well, a 2 1/2- to 3-pound sword, four feet long, had effortless balance, and, according to Dr. Nickel, could handle "as easily as a pencil."

Maces were made to shatter armor, and they survive as the ceremonial batons of field marshals and as regal symbols. The "morning star" mace was a studded ball and chain attached to a handle, and originally intended to strike behind a shield edge; but it so frequently got caught in bits of harness that it was not widely used. More practical was the *steel war hammer*, the haft of which was covered in studded steel plates, and the *battle axe*, with hatchet and hammer surfaces and an end point. The battle axe head in Dr. Nickel's slide was the one that Mr. Hogarth had previously borrowed for his appearance on the Dick Cavett Show in 1970.

Spears and halberds were more popular on the continent than in England. The halberd was a pole axe that could thrust, chop and cut. England preferred a *bill*, adapted from the pruning bill hook, with its curved sharpened head that could cut and be used to pull a horseman to the earth. A yeoman called up for war service simply took his pruning hook and at the command "Bows and bills!" went off to battle.

The English longbowman, in his close-fitting *sallet* helmet with no brim, carried his sheaf of arrows tied loosely in a string at his waist. The back quiver, with arrows drawn over the shoulder as in Errol Flynn's Robin Hood films, is a misapplication of an American Indian practice, not medieval.

The Bowman scattered his arrows before him on the ground, or placed them in the earth, point first. The deadly *crossbow* was another weapon more popular in Europe than in England. At Crécy, it lost out to the longbow because in the rain the strings became wet and useless, while the English longbowmen could remove their bowstrings and keep them dry under their clothing. However, the power of the crossbow was undeniable. It was to the longbow as the rifle was to the musket. A longbow had a pull of 60 to 80 pounds, while the crossbow pulled at up to 500 pounds and was extremely accurate at long range. Companies of longbowmen fired a virtual cloud of arrows (as in Olivier's "Henry V"), decimating the enemy as if with a machine gun; while the crossbow, which took time to load--the string pulled with the aid of a crank or windlass device--was more often used at sieges, from behind a large body shield which rested on the ground.

Dr. Nickel showed an illustration from a Tudor document of the cat device of Catesby before his last slide, which was a photograph of the Metropolitan Museum armorers at work on the maintenance of arms in the collection. In the foreground was the prototype of the G.I. "pot" helmet of World War II, created by the then armorer of the Museum, who beat it out of steel in one afternoon. If the armorer had not been available to do this, moulds and stamping presses would have taken months to produce the pilot model. Dr. Nickel concluded by promising members of the Society a behind-the-scenes visit to the armor workrooms.

* * * * *

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

HELMUT NICKEL grew up in Dresden, Germany, where he spent much of his time as a boy in the zoo and in the splendid armory of the Kings of Saxony, undecided whether to become a zoologist or an art historian. Art history won, and he became interested in American Indians as well, with courses in ethnology and pre-Columbian art, and the study of the Aztec language. He worked as an illustrator of children's books and of historical and science fiction for boys' magazines. After receiving his Ph.D. for a thesis on the Knightly Shield in the Middle Ages, he worked at the Berlin Museum, coming to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York in 1960. He is the author/illustrator of several books in the field, including "Warriors and Worthies: Arms and Armor through the Ages," published by Atheneum in New York in 1969.

* * * * *

NOTE: Dr. Nickel referred enthusiastically to "A Dictionary of Chivalry" by Grant Uden, illustrated by Pauline Baynes. This beautiful book was published by T.Y. Crowell in 1968 and is a treasure trove of information.

--William Hogarth

TREASURER'S REPORT

October 1, 1972 through September 30, 1973

Income (10/1/72 - 9/30/73)

Balance on hand 10/1/72	\$ 793.24
Received from members*	3,036.83
Interest from bank	35.48
Refund on New York State sales tax	<u>15.13</u>

\$3,880.68

Expenses (10/1/72 - 9/30/73)

Payments to England	642.00
In Memoriam	86.85
Office Supplies	150.62
Postage	516.10
Printing of <u>Register</u>	293.75
Other Printing	59.70
Items for Resale**	1,489.15
Miscellaneous	<u>18.20</u>

\$3,256.37

Balance on hand 9/30/73

\$624.31

*This figure includes the bequest of \$500.00 from Mrs. Robert Bruce Naughton.

**This figure includes payment of \$460.00 for items for resale which have not yet been received.

Submitted by Linda B. McLatchie

LIBRARIAN'S REPORT

October 1, 1972 through September 30, 1973

Income (10/1/72 - 9/30/73)

Balance on hand 10/1/72	\$10.39	
Gifts	22.00	
Payment from Arlington County Library for Halsted, <u>Dickon</u>	<u>22.25</u>	
TOTAL		\$54.64

Expenses (10/1/72 - 9/30/73)

Postage (mailing Halsted)	26.52	
Duplicating	<u>22.80</u>	
TOTAL		\$49.32

Balance on hand 9/30/73		\$ 5.32
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152 items circulated.

Submitted by Elizabeth D. Haynes

Richard III Society, Inc.
Linda B. McLatchie
9 Weld Street, Apt. 48
Framingham, Mass. 01701

Mrs. William P. Haynes
4149 25th Street, N.
Arlington
Virginia 22207

FIRST CLASS MAIL



Dues, grants and contributions are tax-deductible to the extent allowed by law.

The Ricardian Register

Newsletter of the Richard III Society, Inc.

EDITOR: Linda B. McLatchie, 9 Weld St., Apt. 48, Framingham, Mass. 01701

Richard III Society, Inc. is a non-profit educational corporation chartered in 1969 under the membership corporation laws of the State of New York.

Volume VII -- issue 6 -- November-December 1973

NPG BOOKLET AND RICARDIAN BRITAIN SOLD OUT

Both the National Portrait Gallery Exhibition booklet and Ricardian Britain are completely sold out. While the Editor will be able to obtain additional copies of Ricardian Britain from England, the NPG Exhibition booklet is no longer available from the National Portrait Gallery, and there are no plans to reprint it.

WINDSOR PORTRAIT REPRINT

Members interested in purchasing a color print of the Windsor portrait of Richard should contact Carol E. Parker, 818 Old Pittsboro Road, Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27514. She has contacted a firm in London who will make an 8"x10" color print for 20 pounds, with any additional prints costing 3 pounds. The initial cost of 20 pounds will be divided up among those members who actually desire to purchase a print.

CHICAGO-AREA MEMBERS

Chicago-area members are invited to a Ricardian Twelfth-Night gathering on Sunday, January 6, 1974, at 2 p.m. Please contact me for further information.

Sharon Grodsky, 272-6807
3610 Maple Leaf Drive
Glenview, Illinois 60025

SUNY CENTER FOR MEDIEVAL AND EARLY RENAISSANCE STUDIES CONFERENCE

The Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies at the State University of New York at Binghamton will hold its eighth annual conference on May 3-5, 1974. The topic of the conference will be "Jewish Culture in the Middle Ages." Members interested in obtaining further information should write to Professor Paul E. Szarmach, Conference Coordinator, Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, State University of New York, Binghamton, New York 13901.

RICHARD IN MUSIC

Sometime between 1856 and 1861 Bedrich Smetana wrote a symphonic poem called "Richard III," based on Shakespeare's play. Quoting the dust jacket of the record, which itself quotes Smetana's letter to Liszt: "'I wrote it with love

and pleasure and with the deployment of all my powers. I cannot for the moment add anything to it. It consists of a single movement and the emphasis follows more or less the action of the tragedy; the attainment of the goal after all obstacles have been surmounted; the triumph and the downfall of the hero. In the theme of the first bass I have imagined the person of the hero himself, who is active throughout, and in the second motif his opponent." It goes on to quote from another letter, this time to Srb-Debrnov, saying Richard is introduced in the first bar: "This motif, in number of variations, predominates throughout the whole composition. . . The middle section, Richard's victory as king, then follows the slow decline until the end, which describes his downfall." The record I have, several years old (nearly a decade), is by the Czech Philharmonic Orchestra, Kerel Sejna conducting. (A Supraphon/Abbey Production, Artia Recording Corporation, ALP-117, Connoisseur Record Corp., 160 Passaic Ave., Kearny, New Jersey). I don't know if it's still available or not. Does any member know if any other composer used Richard III as the basis for his music?

Susan Curry
Wood Junior College
Mathiston, Mississippi 39752

PORTRAIT OF RICHARD FOR SALE

Portrait on board of King Richard III by Federico Zuccherro, circa 1600, from Lord Northwicke's and Thomas Phillips' collections. Will sell to principals only. Phone (212) Trafalgar 7-9306.

Alexander Clark

NEW MEMBERS

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Elaine H. Canlas 2737 Bellbrook St. Hillcrest Hts., Md. 20031	Geraldine Lineger 3090 21st Avenue San Francisco, Calif. 94132	Robert A. Scott 44A Garden Drive Roselle, N.J. 07203
Mrs. R. Jean Davis 101 Elmwood Drive Glenshaw, Pa. 15116	Dr. D.R. Lund "Town End" Bethlehem, Conn. 06751	Mr. & Mrs. J. Frederick Smitzel 126 Brushy Ridge Road New Canaan, Conn. 06840
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Kathy Johnson 5223 N. Christiana St. Chicago, Ill. 60625	Stephen Paradis 3179 Mac Avenue Flint, Mich. 48506	Lynda Wynn 241 South Street Medfield, Mass. 02052

NEW MEMBERS (continued)

Mike Kennedy
3314 San Marcus
Dallas, Texas 75228

Sandra K. Pells
41 Beech Street
Cranford, N.J. 07016

Louis N. Zelle
1 Teal Island Road
St. Paul, Minn. 55110

Janice Klein
56-47 186 St.
Flushing, N.Y. 11365

Rosalie Poserow
2217 Sultana Drive
Yorktown Hts., N.Y. 10598

Virginia & Mark Ringer
6316 E. Colorado St.
Long Beach, Calif. 90814

TEST ON TEY

James E. Scanlon of the Department of History of Randolph-Macon College in Virginia writes: "The chairman of my department was looking for a good book as a means to introduce the freshmen to the notion of history as a changing art form. (Most of them are convinced that history and the past are the same thing.) I recommended Tey's Daughter of Time, which was made required reading for two sections of the Western Survey course. The readers of the Ricardian Register may be amused by the [following] tests. So far there have been no converts to the cause, but the seeds are planted."

Below are some questions included in the exams:

What was strange about Sir James Tyrell's confession that he was directly involved in the murder of the young princes?

What happened to Elizabeth Woodville (the widow of Edward IV and the mother of the murdered princes) after the accession of Richard III? Is there anything strange about her behavior?

Why does Miss Tey seem to feel that Henry VII was responsible for the princes' death?

What is the origin of the term "Tonypandy"?

Approximately when does Miss Tey feel the "murders" were committed, and what evidence does she cite?

From Miss Tey's description, how much of Richard III's actions may be reconstructed from the time of Edward IV's death to Richard's own accession to the throne?

Cite as much evidence as you can of the inaccuracy in Sir Thomas More's account of Richard's reign.

What evidence is cited to show that Richard was basically a kind and considerate person (as distinguished from the usual Tudor version)?

HALSTED'S *RICHARD III*

by WILLIAM H. SNYDER

Chapter XI

DUKE OF GLOUCESTER IN NORTH AT BROTHER'S DECEASE

Richard, Duke of Gloucester, was with the army in the marches of Scotland preparing to move the soldiery for the contemplated invasion of France when he received the news of the death of his brother King Edward IV, on April 9, 1483. Almost the last act performed by the deceased king had been to assure to Richard by the authority of Parliament (Rol. Parl., vi. p. 204) a broad extent of territory and increase of authority in the north, where Richard was already so popular. This fact evinces the absence of all jealousy on the king's part and the deserts of a prince who could be thus fearlessly entrusted with almost unlimited power.

RAPACITY OF THE WYDVILLES

The amicable terms on which the two brothers had ever continued may, in great measure, be attributed to the pacific conduct which Richard observed towards the queen, Elizabeth Wydville, and her relatives. In all likelihood, his prudence preserved him from the violent death of Clarence and Warwick's untimely fate. Nevertheless, Richard had been no unobservant spectator of the undue influence exercised by the royal Elizabeth and the house of Wydville over the council and actions of the king. Richard shared the indignation of the ancient nobility at the elevation of a race who, having no claim for preferment but that of consanguinity to the queen, had been raised to the highest offices in the state and permitted to occupy the chief seat in the council chamber. He also viewed with distrust and misgiving the blind policy of his royal brother, who had removed the heir apparent, Edward, from all intercourse with the proud and royal kindred of their illustrious line and placed him under the direct tuition and immediate influence of his mother's family, in a remote part of the kingdom.

As the sole surviving brother of Edward IV, and first prince of the House of York—with the exception of the youthful offspring of that king—Richard's position became one replete with difficulty and, judging from the fate of the princes who had been similarly placed in the past, one beset with danger also. Relinquishing plans for invading France, he hastily prepared to quit the north and assume that lead in the

direction of public affairs which his nephew's minority had imposed upon him.

RICHARD TAKES OATH OF ALLEGIANCE TO EDWARD IV'S SON

Richard wrote to the queen, promising "advent, homage, fealty, and all devoir to the king and his lord, eldest son of his deceased brother and of the said queen" (Chron. Croy., p. 565). Proceeding to York with a retinue of 600 knights and esquires "all attired in deep mourning" (Ibid.), he commanded the obsequies of the deceased king to be performed at the cathedral with the splendour due to his regal station and assisted at the ceremony "with tears" (Ibid.). He then constrained all the nobility of that district, as the late king's viceroy in the north, "to take the oath of fealty to the king's son, he himself setting them the example by swearing the first of all" (Ibid. and Drake's *Eboracum*, p. 111).

EDWARD V PROCLAIMED KING

The funeral of the deceased Edward IV was sumptuous, befitting the splendour and magnificence which had characterized his life. He was interred at Windsor in a chapel which he had erected, and his eldest son, aged twelve years and six months, was forthwith proclaimed his successor as King Edward V. (Edward, Prince of Wales, was born in the Sanctuary at Westminster, November 4, 1470; proclaimed king, April 11, 1483.)

The youthful monarch was residing at Ludlow when his father died, under the immediate charge and tutelage of his maternal uncle, the Lord Rivers, and the monarch's half brother, the Lord Richard Grey. Intelligence was forthwith sent to him of the demise of Edward IV, accompanied by letters from the queen to her son urging his immediate return to London.

The widowed queen of Edward IV, Elizabeth Wydville, had two sons by her first husband, Sir John Grey of Groby. The elder son was Sir Thomas Grey, created by her royal consort, in the eleventh year of his reign, Earl of Huntingdon, and four years later, Marquis of Dorset. He had been appointed governor of the Tower by Edward IV, who had bestowed upon him the marriage and wardship of Edward, Earl of Warwick, son of the late Duke of Clarence. The

younger son was the Lord Richard Grey, an appointed counsellor of the young Prince of Wales and associated with the Lord Rivers in the important charge of his personal safety. Of the queen's brothers, only two survived at the death of Edward IV, viz., Anthony, Earl Rivers, governor of Prince Edward's household, and Lionel Wydeville, Bishop of Salisbury. —See Dugdale's Bar., vol. ii, p. 719; Cal. Rot. p. 313.

Note: Halsted is in error. The queen's brother, Sir Edward Woodville, was also alive. Kendall (pages 168, 178) notes that, on April 29, 1483, the day before the queen fled to sanctuary, Sir Edward Woodville and his fleet sailed with a portion of the royal treasure in the Tower. When all but two ships of this fleet declared for the Protector and Council, Sir Edward and his adherents "fled to Brittany, bearing a portion of Edward the Fourth's treasure to line the future enterprises of one Henry Tudor, calling himself the Earl of Richmond." (188)

EDWARD IV'S WILL—RICHARD TO BE PROTECTOR

During the lifetime of Edward IV, the court was divided into two distinct parties—(1) the queen's relatives and supporters, together with those who coveted honour and official distinction without claim of high birth or lineage and (2) the ancient nobility and proud kindred of the House of York, attached either to the king's household or his administration. A perpetual rivalry and constant collision of interests existed between these two parties, so jealously opposed to each other.

The king, on his death-bed, foreseeing the disastrous consequences which were likely to arise from his son's minority and the prospect of a regency—that fruitful source of intrigue and evil ambition—used his expiring efforts to effect a reconciliation between the factious opponents (More, p. 13). He is even alleged to have nominated the Duke of Gloucester as protector (Drake's Eboracum, p. 111) and guardian during the young Edward's nonage. "The nobles at London and in the south parts speedily call the duke home by their private letters and free approbation to assume the protection of the kingdom and the princes committed unto him by the king. 'Rex Edwardus IV filios suos Richardo Duci Glocestriae, in tutelam moriens tradidit,' as Polydor testifieth." —Buck, lib. 1, p. 11. (King Edward IV, on his death-bed, gave over his sons to Richard, Duke of Gloucester, for care and education.)

Gairdner: "... it was the will of the deceased king himself that after his death the care of his son's person and kingdom should be transferred to Richard Duke of Gloucester. This confidence may seem extraordinary ... but as the fact is distinctly recorded by two well-informed writers of that day (Bernard Andre (Henry's official biographer) in Memorials of Henry VII, p. 23,

and Polydore Vergil (Henry's official historian), p. 539), who are by no means friendly to Richard, there cannot be a doubt that such was Edward's real intention. . . The queen and her adherents had always been disliked by the old nobility, and it is probable that Richard was the man who seemed to him most likely to be able to keep the peace between two opposite factions. . .

As Richard was in the North when his brother died, he could not have been called upon to take any part in these declarations of amity and goodwill; but there is no appearance (notwithstanding what we read in Shakespeare) that he had hitherto shared very strongly the common dislike of Queen Elizabeth Woodville and her relations. He had shown himself all along the zealous champion of his brother's rights, and . . . (Edward IV) had greater confidence in him than anyone else. . . He believed that in committing to his brother the care of his family and kingdom during the minority, he was taking the best means that he could devise to avoid dissensions. . . He most probably died in the hope that the queen's relations would have been content to exercise hereafter a subordinate authority under the control of Richard as protector of the kingdom." (44, 45)

Mancini: "... it is impossible to ascertain whether or not Edward appointed Gloucester protector. Probably he did; for, besides Mancini, Bernard Andre (Vita Henrici VII, 23), Polydor Vergil (Anglica Historia, 685), and Molinet (Chroniques, ii, 377) declare that Edward committed his kingdom and children to Gloucester." (132)

STATE OF AFFAIRS AT ACCESSION OF EDWARD V

The two dissenting parties united in testifying their affection and respect for the memory of Edward IV by cooperating at the solemnization of the last sad rites. Very brief, however, was the unanimity thus formally displayed. Immediately after the funeral the council assembled and fixed May 4, 1483, as the day whereon Prince Edward should receive the ensigns of his coronation. The queen's ambitious views are made known, not merely by her desire that the young king should be conducted to London with a powerful army, commanded by her brother and son, but yet more from information supplied by the annalist of that period, the chronicler of Croyland. He states (p. 564) that the more prudent of the council thought that the custody of the king's person, until he became of age, ought not to be entrusted "to the uncles and brothers on the mother's side; which they considered could not be prevented if they were permitted to attend the coronation otherwise than with a moderate number of followers."

Little knowledge, indeed, of the condition of England at the accession of Edward V is necessary to perceive that physical strength was

the chief agent employed to acquire and maintain authority and that justice was measured out in proportion to the force which could command it. The council, therefore, limited the retinue of the young prince to 2,000 horsemen—"A retinue not exceeding two thousand, which number was satisfactory to Lord Hastings, because he calculated that the Dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham, on whom he chiefly confided, would not bring with them a less number."—Chron. Croy., p. 565.

Legge: "The objection of Hastings (to a large force) was reasonable, since his head would not have been safe for an hour with Earl Rivers at the head of an imposing force in London." (vol. I, 190)

The wisdom of this decision can only be understood by considering the fact that the Lord Rivers possessed almost unlimited power at the critical period of the death of Edward IV. The youthful Edward V was in his hands and under his entire control as governor of his household. He had supreme command of South Wales and the royal forces in the surrounding district. He had only to summon the army in the king's name and march in triumph to London, the military command of which was already in the hands of his nephew, the Marquis of Dorset, Governor of the Tower of London.

With access to the royal treasury in the Tower, and with the entire command of the soldiery there, nothing was wanted to complete the aspiring views of Elizabeth and the Wydville family than possession of the young king's person and effecting a junction with Lord Rivers and his overwhelming force. This dangerous collision was defeated by the farseeing sagacity of those prudent counsellors who aimed at limiting the queen's authority without an open rupture. This action also gave time for communication with a third party in the state who might secure the young sovereign and his administration from the factious spirit which had so long agitated the council and embittered the last days of King Edward IV.

The third party consisted of the surviving members of the Plantagenet race and the powerful kindred of Cecily, Duchess of York. The heads of this illustrious and influential party were Richard, Duke of Gloucester; Henry, Duke of Buckingham; and Cecily, the widowed parent of Edward IV. As first prince of the blood royal, the laws and usages of the time pointed out the Duke of Gloucester as most fit for the responsible situation of regent during the minority of his nephew. Both Cecily and her connections supported this prince in his just pretensions to the protectorate and in firmly opposing the rapacity and inordinate ambition of the young sovereign's maternal relations.

Gairdner: "... great jealousy was entertained of the queen dowager's ascendancy; and the more prudent councillors—so says the Croyland

chronicler—considered it expedient to remove the young prince entirely from the sway of his maternal relations. When it is considered that the Croyland chronicler was himself a member of the council, and unquestionably a friend to the late king and his family, his opinion that this was a prudent course ought certainly to have considerable weight. It is evident that the queen dowager and her relations were expected to make a strong effort to preserve by force the authority they had hitherto exercised by their influence over the late king; and the council was not inclined to yield to them. When, therefore, the queen dowager expressed her desire that the young king should be escorted by a strong body of followers... Hastings, the Lord Chamberlain, threatened to retire to Calais of which place he was the governor; and what that threat implied men had seen in the case of the King-Maker. A civil war, a disputed empire at sea, a strong naval station across the channel in the command of the enemy, a descent upon the coast at some unguarded point whenever it seemed convenient, and perhaps a successful revolution after it, were consequences only too apparent. The queen dowager thought it wise to give way, and the matter was compromised in an agreement between the parties that the escort should not be allowed to exceed 2,000 horse."—Cont. Croyl. 564, 5, as cited by Gairdner (46, 47)

Mancini: "The aim of the Woodville party was probably to form a regency resembling the government established by Edward IV to operate during his absence on the French campaign of 1475. The prince of Wales had then been created Keeper of the Realm to exercise the authority of the crown, but it was Elizabeth Woodville who governed, as the young Edward was brought from Ludlow to London and installed in her household (Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1467-77, 534-5; Rymer, Foedera xii. 13; British Museum, MS Cotton, Vespasian C. xiv, f. 272 vo). (140)

RICHARD'S HONOURABLE CONDUCT

Such was the state of affairs when Edward V left Ludlow for London on April 24, 1483, just a fortnight after his royal father's death. Richard, Duke of Gloucester, had been in no position to take any part either in the resistance made to the queen's assumed authority or to the decisive measures adopted by the council. The interval thus occupied in dissensions at court and divisions in the cabinet had been passed by this prince in travelling from the Scottish borders to York, in commanding requiems to be solemnised there and in the large towns (Harl. MSS. 433, fol. 176) for the repose of the soul of Edward IV, and in exacting allegiance from all under his dominion to Edward V.

Richard's conduct was open and honourable throughout, consistent in every respect with the deference and love he had invariably shown to his royal brother, and such as was best

calculated to insure the peaceful succession of his nephew to the throne.

There was no undue assumption of power; no assembling, of which he had the entire control, to enforce his authority as nearest of kin to the royal minor; no tarrying in his viceregal territories to ascertain the feeling of the populace or to induce the most remote suspicion that he contemplated usurpation of the sceptre. Richard had long possessed the sole command of one-half of the kingdom and had dissipated in the north many of the factions which had disturbed the peace of the realm. He was lord high admiral and chief constable of England, and lieutenant general of the land forces. His administration in these different capacities, maritime, civil, and military, were allowed by all to have been just, equitable, and prudent.

Legge: "The Duke of Gloucester was at York. Could the coronation be accomplished before his arrival? It was a race with time. In these circumstances the dilatoriness of Richard's movements must be regarded as evidence of his determination to pursue a strictly constitutional course, and of the absence of that reckless ambition which has been alleged against him. His conduct was as honourable and loyal, as it was frank and decided. Had his purpose at this time been to seize supreme power, instead of solemnizing requiems in every large town in his route, he would surely have hastened to London and secured the suffrages of the citizens to whom he was favourably known; or, with the large disciplined force at his command, cut off the King's approach to the metropolis. That he did neither is so far a confirmation of all the evidence which history affords, that up to this time he had no other purpose than to subvert the power of the Woodvilles, and to secure the protectorship during the minority of Edward V. after allowing his peaceful succession to the throne. He was well informed by Hastings, who 'shewed great forwardness' (More), of all that transpired in the Queen's Council, and to this must be assigned his determination, at all hazards, to accept the responsibility imposed upon him by his brother's will. In order to do this it was essential that he should obtain possession of the young King." (vol. I, p. 192)

Gairdner: "The Croyland writer . . . says that he (Richard) called on all the nobility and gentry of the neighborhood to swear allegiance to his young nephew as king, himself setting the example. His journey southwards does not appear to have been very expeditious." (48, 49)

RICHARD DISCOVERS PLOT—HASTENS SOUTHWARD

At York, however, the aspect of affairs assumed a very different hue. Richard received intelligence from the Duke of Buckingham and Lord Hastings concerning a deep plot formed by the Wydvilles to achieve the total overthrow of

his protectorate and his claims to the regency. In the light of this plot, strong measures were immediately necessary.

Accordingly, Richard quitted York for Northampton so as to intercept the royal progress: ". . . when the Duke of Gloucester reached Northampton, there came there, to do him reverence, Anthony Earl Rivers, the king's uncle, and Sir Richard Grey, the king's uterine brother, and others sent by the king his nephew, that they might submit all things to be done to his decision." (Chron. Croy., p. 565). In the evening, Richard and his associates were joined by Henry, Duke of Buckingham, accompanied by 300 horsemen.

Only four days remained before the time appointed by the council for the coronation of Edward V, May 4, 1483. Edward was already at Stoney Stratford, 13 miles advanced toward London, whither they intended "on the morrow to follow the kyng, and bee with hym early ere he departed" (More, p. 28).

Markham: "By his will King Edward IV left the care of his son's person and government of the kingdom during the minority to his brother Richard, without any colleague (Bernard Andre, 23; Polydore Virgil, 530, 171, 173 Eng. trans.). Richard Duke of Gloucester proceeded to York on hearing of his brother's death and attended the solemn obsequies in the minster. He then caused his nephew to be proclaimed, and began the journey to London, with 600 gentlemen . . . in deep mourning . . . to assume the responsibilities imposed upon him by his brother."

Very different was the conduct of the Woodvilles. They formed a conspiracy to set aside the late King's wishes, to exclude the Duke of Gloucester, and to retain by force the authority they had hitherto exercised through the Queen's influence. Rivers set out from Ludlow with 2,000 men, and a large supply of arms, on April 24 (Rous, 212. Croyland, 564). Dorset seized the arms and treasure in the Tower, and fitted out a naval force to secure command of the Channel. Council Orders were issued in the name of Rivers—"Avunculus Regis," and of Dorset—"Frater regis uterinus," while that of the Duke of Gloucester was excluded. There can be no doubt of the treasonable designs of the Woodville faction, which are indeed proved by these overt acts; and which went the length of conspiring against Richard's life. Rous says they had contrived the Duke's death, 213. Also the Croyland Monk, 565: "Conspiratum est contra eos, quod ipsi contrivissent mortem ducis Protectoris Angliae." (89, 90)

Mancini: "On completion of the royal obsequies, and while many peers of the realm, who had received neighboring estates, were collecting in the city, a council assembled before the arrival of the young King Edward and Richard duke of Gloucester. In this meeting the problem of the government during the royal

minority was referred to the consideration of the barons. Two opinions were propounded. One was that the duke of Gloucester should govern, because Edward in his will had so directed, and because by law the government ought to devolve on him (emphasis added). But this was the losing resolution; the winning was that the government should be carried on by many persons among whom the duke, far from being excluded, should be accounted the chief. By this means the duke would be given due honour, and the royal authority greater security; because it had been found that no regent ever laid down his office, save reluctantly, and from armed compulsion, whence civil wars had often arisen. Moreover, if the entire government were committed to one man he might easily usurp the sovereignty. All who favoured the queen's family voted for this proposal, as they were afraid that, if Richard took unto himself the crown or even governed alone, they, who bore the blame of Clarence's death, would suffer death or at least be ejected from their high estate.

According to common report, the chamberlain Hastings reported all these deliberations by letter and messengers to the duke of Gloucester, because he had a friendship of long standing with the duke, and was hostile to the entire kin of the queen on account of the marquess. Besides, it was reported that he advised the duke to hasten to the capital with a strong force, and avenge the insult done him by his enemies. He might easily obtain his revenge if, before reaching the city, he took the young King Edward under his protection and authority, while seizing before they were alive to the danger those of the king's followers, who were not in agreement with this policy. Hastings added that he was alone in the capital and not without great danger, for he could scarcely escape the snares of his enemies since their old hatred was aggravated by his friendship for the duke of Gloucester. The latter being advised of these things, and with a view to achieving them more easily, wrote to the council in this fashion. He had been loyal to his brother Edward, at home and abroad, in peace and war, and would be, if only permitted, equally loyal to his brother's son, and to all his brother's issue, even female, if perchance, which God forbid, the youth should die. He would expose his life to every danger that the children might endure in the father's realm. He asked the councillors to take his deserts into consideration, when disposing of the government, to which he was entitled by law, and his brother's ordinance. Further, he asked them to reach that decision which his services to his brother and to the State alike demanded: and he reminded them that nothing contrary to law and his brother's desire could be decreed without harm (emphasis added). This letter had a great effect on the minds of the people, who, as they had previously favoured the duke in their hearts from a belief in

his probity, now began to support him openly and aloud; so that it was commonly said by all that the duke deserved the government. However, the lords, who filled the council, voted in a majority for the alternative policy: and they fixed a day for the coronation, and wrote to the young King Edward that he should reach the capital three days before the date appointed for the coronation. There were, however, in the council those who said that everything ought not thus to be hurried through; rather should they await the young king's uncle, whom this business greatly concerned, so that he might be present both at the making and execution of such important decisions. Because, should they act otherwise, the duke could only accede reluctantly, and perhaps might upset everything. To this the marquess is said to have replied, 'We are so important, that even without the king's uncle we can make and enforce these decisions.' " (87-91) Kendall (p. 463) notes that "since Mancini rarely permits himself a direct quotation, it seems probable that he had first-hand information that the Marquess had said these very words."

Kendall: "In that day there was no body of legislation which defined even the rights of the succession, much less the forming of a regency government. During the minority of Richard II, his uncles had assumed charge of affairs. Henry V had bequeathed the regency of France to his brother Bedford, the regency of England to his brother Humphrey of Gloucester. In leaving the kingdom to the protection of his sole surviving brother, King Edward had followed—Richard was reminding the council—a custom approved by over a century of practice. But the wishes of a deceased monarch, Richard knew, had not always prevailed." (163)

"By this time he (Richard) had received further messages from Lord Hastings, each more pressing and ominous than the last. The Woodvilles had ignored Richard's appointment as Protector. They were moving to crown the King at once in order to keep his power in their hands. Richard must secure young Edward at all costs." (164)

"Richard had come to only one decision: to hold himself uncommitted to anything except his dead brother's ordinance . . . He did know that the authority of the protectorship was rightfully his, and he trusted to his abilities and to the will of the realm to make good that authority. There is something at once naive and formidable about Richard's rigorous confidence in the face of opposition so aggressive and a political situation so complex and explosive." (165)

TREACHEROUS ACTIONS OF THE WYD-VILLES

The Marquis of Dorset had taken possession of the king's treasure (More, p. 27) and had already commenced equipping a naval force, although Richard as Admiral of England, had the entire

control over the maritime affairs of the country. This information explained the subtle part acted by Lord Rivers in sending the young king to Stoney Stratford, a day's journey in advance of his uncle—although Richard was hourly expected at Northampton—and thus withdrawing Edward on the very verge of his coronation from all contact with his father's brother. Richard and Buckingham and their most chosen friends spent a great part of the night in council, reviewing the extraordinary actions of the queen's family in London and the sinister conduct of Earl Rivers in greeting Richard, Duke of Gloucester, unaccompanied by the young king.

Legge: "It was no private plotting between Gloucester, Buckingham, and Hastings; for More himself tells us that 'the two Dukes with a few of their most privy friends, set them down in council, wherein they spent a great part of the night.' More's Works, p. 41. Mr. Sharon Turner, therefore, has the sanction of More's authority to his contention that this conference at Northampton 'was a serious discussion of their party on the measures proper to be taken . . . ; whether the Queen's family should exclude or be excluded from the Regency or Government, and whether this should be determined by an appeal to open war, or by their use of the opportunities that lay before them.'—Sharon Turner, vol. iii, p. 427." (vol. I, pp. 194, 195)

Kendall: "What was happening in London might have been predicted by measuring the known character of the Queen and her kindred against the dangers and opportunities which, in their view, the death of Edward opened to them. They were at the nadir of their unpopularity: detested by the commons for their extortion and for the profligacy of the Marquess, Lord Richard Grey and Sir Edward Woodville; hated by the nobles as arrogant upstarts who had monopolized the royal favour; and held by all to have encompassed the death of the Duke of Clarence. Sustained only by the power of the King, they considered that his death must imperil their fortunes and their lives, if anyone besides themselves assumed control of Edward V. Driven by their avidity for power, they reached for the first means of circumventing the protectorship of Richard of Gloucester, in order to bring the new King, and thus the realm, under their sway. . . . The Queen was the impelling spirit of the Woodville Clan. She was the greediest and the most wilful; neither her triumphs nor humiliations of the past two decades had taught her anything." (165)

"Dorset . . . at once set about gathering ships and filling them with his own followers. The Marquess, apparently without consulting the council, provided his uncle with a portion of the treasure in the Tower; the rest of it he promptly divided with his mother. . . . The council they had called into being was, in fact, as unlawful as their own pretensions. In the fifteenth century, a

King's council was simply whatever men he summoned to give him advice and help him govern. It had no independent existence; with the death of a King it ceased to be." (168)

"Several councillors—the more prudent members, says the Croyland Chronicler who was himself probably present—had become alarmed by the naked ambition of the Woodvilles and their reckless attempt to ignore the ordinance of the dead King's will. They had come to the opinion 'that the guardianship of so youthful a person (the King), until he should reach the years of maturity, ought to be utterly forbidden to his uncles and brothers by the mother's side'." (169)

CONSPIRACY TO KILL RICHARD—IMPRISONMENT OF RIVERS AND GREY

The reason for Richard's next actions is explained by Rous: "They were accused of having compassed the death of the protector," he says (p. 212). Rous based his statement not on public report or casual hints from nameless eavesdroppers but on no less an authority than the Earl of Northumberland! He was "their chief accuser" (p. 214).

On April 30, 1483, before the day had dawned, or Richard's rivals were stirring, every avenue of the city was guarded, and horsemen stationed on the high road to intercept all communications with the king and his escort. All the lords departed Northampton together, but when they had nearly approached Stoney Stratford, Earl Rivers and his chief associates were suddenly arrested, by command of Richard, Duke of Gloucester.

Continuing their route, Richard, Buckingham, and their companions proceeded with all speed to Stoney Stratford, where the wily scheme of the young king's attendants for hurrying him to London, and separating him from his uncle of Gloucester became still more evident, for "they founde the kinge with his companie readye to leape on horsebacke" (More, p. 26). Richard arrested Sir Thomas Vaughan, the king's chamberlain; Dr. Alcock, Bishop of Worcester, his chief preceptor; and other of his personal advisers. The duke was convinced that the young monarch, now in his thirteenth year, was a party to the deception sought to be practiced upon him, in sending the Lord Rivers to Northampton ostensibly to submit "all things to his decision," but in reality to gain time and to blind Richard to the scheme at which his royal nephew seems to have connived. This is made apparent by the following remarkable passage with which the Croyland historian ends his brief account of these most singular proceedings:

"The Duke of Gloucester, who was the chief of this faction," (here he plainly intimates that the duke did not act merely on his own responsibility), "made no obeisance to the prince, by uncovering, bowing, or otherwise. He merely

said that he would take heed for his safety, since he knew that those who were about him conspired against his honour and his life. This done, he caused proclamation to be made, that all the king's servants should forthwith withdraw themselves from the town, and not approach those places whereunto the king should remove, under pain of death. These things were done at Stoney Stratford the 31st April, 1483." (Chron. Croy., p. 565)

Richard had only 600 of his own retainers, plus Buckingham's 300 horsemen, or 900 in all. Nevertheless, the 2,000 horsemen appointed to guard their prince did not oppose Richard's orders to stay Edward V's progress and to disperse his attendants. The young Edward expressed his ignorance of the news about the Marquis of Dorset who "hadde entered into the Tower of London, and thence taken out the kyng's treasure, and sent menne to sea" (More, p. 26)

Upon their return to Northampton from Stoney Stratford, Richard sent the Lord Rivers, the Lord Richard Grey, and Sir Thomas Vaughan to Pomfret Castle and other fortresses in "the North parts" (Rous, p. 212). He then took upon himself "the order and governance of the young king" (Chron. Croy., p. 565, More, p. 28), whom the said lords, his counsellors, had sought to mislead, and over whom they had obtained such dangerous ascendancy.

Legge: "The prescience of the Duke of Gloucester defeated a carefully planned scheme, the successful execution of which was of the highest importance to the Woodville faction. It was, indeed, the pivot upon which their entire policy turned." (vol. I, p. 197)

Gairdner: "The things that had been done in London, indeed, were somewhat more than suspicious; for, besides the early day fixed for the coronation, and the attempt to bring up the king to London with a formidable body of the retainers of his uncle Rivers, the queen's son, the Marquis of Dorset, being constable of the Tower, so far abused his office as to obtain from thence supplies of arms and money, with which he had fitted out a small naval force. Everything looked as if the Woodville party had determined to keep the government in their hands by main force until their ascendancy had been secured on something like a constitutional basis by the coronation. They were therefore bringing up the king, as More expresses it, 'in great haste, not in good speed.' The fortune of parties depended upon a race to London. But the 2,000 followers were no doubt a considerable encumbrance, and Rivers must have begun to fear the failure of the party scheme when he found Gloucester advancing so close upon the king at Northampton." (50)

(There was) "a strong suspicion, in the minds of Gloucester and Buckingham, that Rivers and his friends sought, by hastening the king's

progress to London, to keep him entirely in the hands of the queen's party. The Earl of Rivers went to the two dukes to demand the cause of these extraordinary precautions. They told him that he had acted treacherously, and had attempted 'to set distance between the king and them,' which was probably true in more senses than one." (50, 51)

"Very soon, we are informed by Sir Thomas More (though he does all he can to extenuate the conduct of the Woodvilles), the generality of people became convinced that Rivers and Lord Richard Grey had entertained designs distinctly treasonable. Not being allowed to take more than 2,000 followers in the king's suite, they nevertheless had evidently entertained a scheme of arming a greater number; for when their baggage was seized, it was found to contain large quantities of armour and implements of war. Sir Thomas indeed speaks lightly of the discovery. It was no marvel, he insinuates, that such articles were found, as at the breaking up of the household at Ludlow they must have been either brought away or cast away. But the common people, he admits, took a different view of the matter. The 'barrels of harness' seized were exhibited by the two dukes to all the people on their way to London. It was said they had been 'privily conveyed' in the baggage of 'those traitors' from Ludlow, and the world expressed its opinion that 'it were alms to hang them.'" (53, 54)

Kendall: "Richard prepared to remain at Northampton until he had word from Hastings what effect his coup had produced upon affairs in London. He seems to have felt little anxiety. After all, he had done no more than to assume the office of Protector which his dead brother had willed him. Before he retired that night, he dispatched an explanation of his action to the lords and citizens." (178)

HASTINGS APPROVES RICHARD'S ACTIONS

Richard then sent a messenger to the assembled lords in London informing them, through the Lord Chamberlain Hastings, of the decisive measures he had taken, which were fully approved by that most devoted partisan of the late king. Richard likewise wrote to the leading nobles of the realm, explaining the motives by which he had been actuated, viz. "that it neyther was reason, nor in any wise to be suffered, that the young king, their master and kinsman, should be in the hands and custody of his mother's kindred; sequestered in manner from theye companie and attendance" (More, p. 19) the which "quod he, is neither honourable to hys majestie, nor unto us." (Ibid.) Richard, nevertheless, is represented as treating the young monarch with honour and reverence, and as behaving to his captive friends with courtesy and kindness (Ibid., p. 28).

Gairdner: "... the lords of the council met,

and Hastings, who was informed how matters really stood, gave an exact account of what had happened. He explained that nothing had been done or meditated against the royal person; that Rivers and the others had been arrested on account of a conspiracy against the Dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham; that their arrest was ordered for the security of those noblemen, not with any design against the king, and that they were kept in confinement only till the matter should be properly investigated. Finally, he said that the two dukes were coming up to London for the coronation, so that they might soon be expected to answer for themselves, and that any disturbance would only tend to delay that event. These representations, becoming public, soon allayed the excitement and prevented any violent outbreak." (52)

Kendall: "By the end of the day (May 1, 1483), the Lord Chamberlain (Hastings) was able to send Richard word that the Woodville cause had collapsed, that the Protector's action was approved, and that the city eagerly awaited his entrance with the King." (180)

EDWARD V NOT AN INFANT

Here it is important to show that Edward V was not at his accession a mere infant—a babe in loose robes—as shown in many a fanciful engraving. He was in his thirteenth year when he was proclaimed king, certainly old enough to exercise judgment and competent to discriminate in most matters in which he was personally concerned. He had been early prepared by able preceptors for that position to which probably he would one day be elevated. Henry V limited Henry VI's guardianship to the age of sixteen. Richard II was two years younger than Edward V when he was crowned king and was only fourteen when he dispersed the infuriated mob assembled by Wat Tyler.

The young king seems to have been tender, affectionate, and docile, but void of energy, of "a weak and sickly disposition" (Buck, lib. iii, p. 85), meek rather than courageous, and studious rather than enterprising (More, p. 27). Thus, the reign of Edward V bid fair to revive those fearful calamities which had characterized the reign of Edward II, owing to the intrigues of the queen mother, a factious administration, an irritated and discontented nobility, and the ascendancy exercised over a too yielding disposition by unpopular and unworthy favourites.

Richard was ardently devoted to his country and politically, if not personally, opposed to the queen and her kindred. His objective was to save the one from the threatened evils likely to ensue from the uncontrolled ambition of the other. But he acted towards the young prince, his nephew, with the greatest tenderness and compassion (Lingard, vol. v., p. 240).

THE QUEEN AND DORSET TAKE SANCTUARY IN WESTMINSTER

The annalist of that epoch, the chronicler of Croyland, will best narrate the result of the proceedings at Stoney Stratford and the miserable state of disunion into which London was already plunged because the kingdom was without a head and the realm without an acknowledged leader. On May 1, 1483, the night following the capture of the Lords Rivers and Grey, rumours having reached London of the king being in the hands of the Dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham, Queen Elizabeth betook herself to the Sanctuary at Westminster with her children. "You might have seen, on that morning, the fautors of one and the other party, some truly, others feignedly, as doubtful of the events, adhering to this or that side: for some congregated and held their assemblages at Westminster, in the queen's name: others at London, under the shadow of Lord Hastings" (Chron. Croy., p. 566), who was the leading adviser of the late king, Edward IV, and was the member of his council most inimical to the queen and her kindred.

The Marquis of Dorset, awed by the decisive actions of Richard, Duke of Gloucester, abandoned the Tower and the unjustifiable assumption of authority which he had exercised there as its governor and fled for refuge to Westminster where his mother, the queen, had already sought refuge.

RICHARD ESCORTS EDWARD V IN STATE TO LONDON

"After the lapse of a few days," continues the annalist (Chron. Croy., p. 566) "the aforesaid dukes (Gloucester and Buckingham) brought the new king to London," conveying him thither with every testimony of respect. On May 4, 1483, the day originally fixed for his coronation, the youthful prince entered the metropolis, escorted by Gloucester, Buckingham, and a suitable retinue. They were all habited in deep mourning, except the monarch himself (More, p. 34), who was clothed in his kingly mantle of blue velvet. The civic authorities and 500 citizens sumptuously attired (Buck, lib. i., p. 11) met the royal cavalcade a short distance from the city.

The king was conducted to the bishop's palace at St. Paul's where he was lodged with regal state and etiquette. On the way, he was followed by the civic authorities and citizens and preceded by the Duke of Gloucester, who rode uncovered before his nephew and, in passing along, said with a loud voice to the people, "Behold your prince and sovereign." At the bishop's palace, Gloucester compelled the lords spiritual and temporal, and the mayor and aldermen of the city of London, to take the oath of fealty to their lawful and legitimate sovereign (Chron. Croy., p. 566), which "as the best

presage of future prosperity, they did most willingly." (Ibid.)

Perfect tranquility was the consequence of this unanimous feeling. The legislature and municipal authorities fully cooperated with Richard in carrying out measures which restored confidence and allayed the feverish excitement of the populace. "The laws were administered," says Rous (p. 212), "money coined, and all things pertaining to the royal dignity were performed in the young king's name . . ."

EDWARD TAKES REGAL ABODE IN TOWER

The Protector speedily assembled a general council, since some legally constituted executive power was essential, not merely up to the young king's coronation but until he became old enough to govern on his own responsibility. "This council assembled daily at the bishop's palace, because there the young Edward was sojourning; but as this imposed upon the prince unnecessary restraint, it was suggested that he should be removed to some more free place of abode" (Chron. Croy., p. 566). Various dwellings were proposed, and the Tower was finally chosen.

Prejudice has been unduly exercised against this decision of the council because the Tower of London is better known now as a state prison than as the ancient palace of the English sovereigns, which it really was during the middle ages (see Bayley's History of the Tower). In Edward V's day, the Tower was the king's palace, which guarded alike the treasure of the kingdom and the person of its monarch whenever his safety was likely to be endangered. Henry III first made the Tower the regal abode and dwelt there almost exclusively. Every succeeding monarch to the time of Edward V lived there occasionally, since the unsettled state of the kingdom made a fortified abode indispensable for the king's security.

The council's selection of the Tower was justified by precedent since the Tower had been, by ancient usage, the abiding place of English monarchs before their coronation. "It had for a long while been the custom of the king or queen to take up their residence at the Tower for a short time previous to their coronations, and thence they generally proceeded in state through the city, to be crowned at Westminster" (Bayley's History of the Tower, vol. ii, p. 263).

Kendall: The Tower "held, then, no such dark and bloody connotations as the reign of the Tudors conferred upon it." (184)

RICHARD'S ACTIONS PRODUCE TRANQUILITY

The wavering conduct of Rotherham, Archbishop of York and Lord Chancellor, greatly increased the fears of the populace. On learning of the arrest of the Lords Rivers and Grey, "he

tooke the great seal with him, and came yet before day unto the queen," delivering unto her hands this important badge for the "use and behoof" of her son (More, p. 31). Repenting his imprudence in giving the signet of state to the queen, "to whom the custody thereof nothing pertained without expecial commandment of the king" (Ibid.), Rotherham secretly sent for the seal again on the next day and brought it with him to the council chamber.

Legge: "An incident now occurred which shows how little even the Queen suspected the Duke of Gloucester of those ambitious designs which the Lancastrian historians have imputed to him. Rotherham, Archbishop of York and Lord Chancellor, on receiving private intelligence of the arrest of Rivers and Grey, repaired to her with the Great Seal, and delivered into her hands this important badge, 'for the use and behoof of her son,' with a friendly message with which he was charged from Hastings. 'A woe worth him,' exclaimed the Queen, 'for it is he that goeth about to destroy me and my blood.'" (vol. I, pp. 199, 200)

At this crisis, however, Edward V appeared in royal progress, and the Duke of Gloucester displayed respectful homage when, bareheaded, he pointed out their young king to the multitude. These actions set all fears at rest (More, p. 34 and Fabyan, p. 513). The great council of state assembled by Richard in Edward V's name forthwith commenced its deliberations in tranquility and carried out its measures without interruption.

Gairdner: "No apprehensions now disturbed the public mind . . . The queen's party, it is true, had been overpowered by a sudden revolution; but no blood had been shed, and the vanquished met with little sympathy. A reign of peace and prosperity was believed to have begun (Cont. Croyl. 566). The coronation was looked forward to with great interest, and summonses were issued, as usual in such cases, for all who owned land in any part of the kingdom to the yearly value of forty pounds to come before the king and receive the dignity of knighthood (Rymer, vol. xii, p. 185)." (57)

COUNCIL AND SENATE UNANIMOUSLY CHOOSE RICHARD "PROTECTOR AND DEFENDER OF THE REALM"

The first act of the council was to appoint the Duke of Gloucester protector of the king and his realm. More (p. 34) says he was "the only man chose and thought most mete." The chronicler of Croyland (p. 566), corroborating this fact, adds that "Richard received the same power as was conferred on Humphrey Duke of Gloucester during the minority of Henry VI, with the title of Protector." He adds, "this authority he used by the consent and good pleasure of all the lords . . ." A new parliament was summoned for the 25th of the ensuing month (June), as shown by an

ancient document preserved in the Lambeth register (*Royal Wills*, p. 347).

On May 16, Rotherham, Archbishop of York, was deprived of his office as Lord Chancellor, after being severely reproved for having delivered up the great seal to the queen, causing alarm in the city. Dr. Russell, late privy seal and Bishop of Lincoln, was appointed Lord Chancellor in his place—"a wise manne and a good, and of much experience," testifies More (p. 35), "and one of the best learned men, undoubtedly, that England had in hys time." Some new counsellors were appointed, replacing other lords, but the Lord Hastings (late chamberlain of the household), the Lord Stanley, the Bishop of Ely (John Morton), and other personal friends of the deceased monarch, Edward IV, kept still "theyr offices that they had before" (*Ibid.*).

The youthful Edward issued various grants, the functions of government were orderly and wisely executed, and the feast of St. John the Baptist (June 22, 1483) was fixed as the day whereon the king's coronation was to take place without fail. On May 19, the Duke of Gloucester conducted the new monarch to Westminster for presentation to the estates in parliament assembled. Edward delivered a speech from the throne (Sharon Turner, vol. iii, p. 419), claiming their fealty and asserting his royal prerogatives and right of succession. (*Cott. MSS., Vitel. E. 10.*) He eulogized "the right noble and famous prince the Duke of Gloucester, his uncle, protector of the realm, in whose great prudence, wisdom, and fortunes restyth at this season the execution of the defence of his realm." Noticing the dangers to be feared from the opposing party, he urged "thys hygh court of Paliament" to confirm the Duke of Gloucester in the protectorate, to which he had been previously nominated by the council of state. "The power and authority of my Lord Protector is so behoffull and of reason to be asserted and established by the authority of this hygh court, that among all of the causes of the assemblyng of the parliament in thys time of the year, thys is the greatest and most necessary to be affirmed" (*Ibid.*).

Richard, Duke of Gloucester, had no competitor for the office of Lord Protector. He wisely desired, however, that the kingly authority which had temporarily devolved upon him should be confirmed beyond all controversy by legislative enactment. His title to be so confirmed was admitted by all parties. As stated in the speech from the throne, he was "next in perfect age of the blood royal to be tutor and protector" (*Ibid.*). His unblemished character up to this point is demonstrated by the unanimous action of the legislature in ratifying his protectorate and proposing him to the young monarch as an example of mature wisdom, felicity, and experience (*Ibid.*).

The sole guardianship of Edward V having

been committed to his charge by the parliament, Richard henceforth issued the viceregal mandates under the title of "Duke of Gloucester, brother and uncle of kings, protector and defender of the realm, great chamberlayne, constable and lord high admiral of England" (*Chron. Croy.*, p. 566; *Foedera*, xii, p. 184; and *Drake's Eboracum*, p. 115). In doing so, Richard adhered to the precedent afforded by Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, uncle of Henry VI, who held the same power in Henry's reign and whose protectorate was the example given when the same power was conferred upon Richard, uncle of Edward V. Humphrey, after his nomination to the protectorate, used the titles "Humphrey, by the grace of God son, brother, and uncle to kings, Duke of Gloucester, Earl of Henault, &c., Lord of Friesland, Great Chamberlain of the Kingdom of England, Protector and Defender of the said Kingdom and Church of England" (*Sandford*, book iv, p. 308).

Richard of Gloucester was now in effect the ruler of the kingdom—its sovereign all but in title. The chronicler of Croyland says (p. 566) that Richard's power "used by the consent and good pleasure of all the lords" was such "that it empowered him to command and forbid in everything like another king."

Gairdner: As noted earlier in this Chapter, Gairdner (pp. 44, 45) states that "it was the will of the deceased king himself that after his death the care of his son's person and kingdom should be transferred to Richard Duke of Gloucester."

"The act (arresting the king's relations) had certainly produced an unfavourable effect upon the public; but when it became better understood, the alarm which it created had subsided, and on the king's arrival in the metropolis, there was no one more popular than the Duke of Gloucester. So we are told by More. He it is whose testimony, adverse as it generally is to Richard, makes us acquainted with the people's verdict on his conduct. . . . Richard, so far from being censured, was practically commended for what he had done, by being formally recognized as Protector of the king and kingdom."

"It is commonly supposed that this was the time that office was first conferred upon him. But as it seems to have been bestowed on him in accordance with Edward the Fourth's will, we may not unreasonably suspect that Richard was named protector even before he came to London. And that this was really the case is shown, I think, by two documents upon the Patent Roll, dated respectively 21st of April and 2nd of May, in which the Duke of Gloucester is styled Protector of England. . ." (Kendall thinks these dates should be May 21 and June 2—pp. 462, 463).

"... the 22nd of June being the new day fixed for the coronation, a parliament was summoned to meet on the 25th (*Royal Wills*, p. 347; and *Report VII. of Deputy Keeper of Public Record*, app. ii., p. 212), in order that the protectorate

might be confirmed and continued with the sanction of the Three Estates of the Realm." (54-56).

Kendall: "In this atmosphere of hope Richard summoned his first council. He ignored what was past; he did not exclude those who had most strongly supported the Woodvilles. . . The men whom Richard welcomed to the council board were those who had served as the advisors and ministers of his brother."

"They immediately caused Richard to be proclaimed Protector and Defensor of the Realm. It does not appear that they elected him to this office; rather, they registered and confirmed the rights which King Edward's will had given him. . . 'With the consent and goodwill of all the lords,' reports the Croyland Chronicler, '(Richard) was invested with power to order and forbid in every matter, just like another king. . . ' He was also given the 'tutele and oversight of the king's most royal person.' As Regent of the kingdom and Governor of the Prince, he owned an authority most nearly like to that which the Duke of Somerset was to exercise three quarters of a century later during the minority of Edward VI. Though the royal council thus became an advisory body to the Protector, Richard well knew that his power depended upon the goodwill of the lords; and, as they doubtless had expected, he immediately promised that he would be guided in all things by their decisions." (183)

"So quickly had the realm settled into quiet that it seemed safe to hold the ceremony within a few weeks; the date was tentatively set for Tuesday, June 24. Not long after, it was decided that Parliament should be assembled to confirm the establishment of the new reign. Summonses were dispatched on May 13 for a gathering of Lords and Commons on June 25, and three days later the Archbishop of Canterbury was requested to assemble the clergy in convocation at St. Paul's." (184, 185)

BUCKINGHAM AND NORTHUMBERLAND ALERTED RICHARD OF PLOT

Edward V appears, by his signature to certain instruments (Harl. MSS. 435, p. 221) to have moved from the bishop's palace at St. Paul's to the regal apartments occupied by his predecessors in the Tower between May 9 and May 19, 1483. During this brief period, Edward made some weighty appointments, the most remarkable being the nomination of the Duke of Buckingham to high military commands in South Wales and the adjoining English counties (Rymer's Add. MSS., 4616, art. 6). This appointment, and the Earl of Northumberland's investiture with corresponding authority in the north (Drake's Eboracum, p. 111), clearly demonstrates who were the parties that incited Richard to the measures he adopted. There can be no doubt that these two lords had informed Richard of the alleged plot for his destruction

which is detailed by all contemporary writers, and had been speedily recompensed with such high offices.

Kendall: Richard "had not found reason to be sure of his loyalty. Therefore, the Protector renewed Northumberland's appointment as Warden for one year only . . . and extended his captaincy of Berwick for no more than five months. This provisional grant invited Northumberland to declare his allegiance unequivocally." (189)

Buckingham's appointments made him "the ruler, virtually the viceroy, of Wales and the Marches and a good slice of the West Country." (192)

RICHARD'S APPOINTMENT EFFECTS WISHES OF EDWARD IV AND COUNCIL

Richard's power was the result of no illegal measures he pursued but was the voluntary gift first of the privy council and finally of the whole legislature itself assembled in parliament. (And, as we have seen, it carried out the wish of his deceased brother, King Edward IV.) The council of state convened for this purpose, before the dissolution of the old parliament and the assembling of the new one, was sufficiently powerful to have resisted the duke's assumption of the high office of Protector if the council considered that Richard had unjustifiably and unlawfully seized that office. The young king was securely lodged in his royal citadel. He had been placed there expressly to permit free discussion, so that his person was no longer subject to his uncle's detention when parliament confirmed Richard in the protectorate.

Richard had no army in London or resources either civil or military sufficient to intimidate his opponents, even had he evinced such a disposition to violence. He based his claims on ancient usage and on a character free from stain and reproach. The favourable decision of the solemn assembly of the land, which met to consider investing the brother of King Edward IV with the sole guardianship of Edward's heir and successor, was unanimous. It attests their belief of the just, prudent, and upright manner in which, as quaintly expressed in the language of that day, "my said lord protector will acquit himself of the tutel and oversight of the king's most royal person during his years of tenderness" (Cott. MSS. Vitel. E. fol. 10).

Thus, we have the most convincing proof of the injustice which has been exercised for 500 years against the character, actions, and motives of Richard, Duke of Gloucester, up to the critical period when by universal consent he was entrusted with the helm of state and appointed "protector and defender of the realm."

Legge: "Richard had acted as became the Protector of the realm and the custodian of the youthful monarch. The authentic records of history afford not the slightest warrant for the

gratuitous assumption of his calumniators that he had any personal designs upon the throne. The friends of the young King were numerous and powerful. Cardinal Bouchier had pledged his word to Edward IV that he would 'take and accept him for true, very true and righteous

King of England,' and, had the Queen been amenable to reason, the coronation of Edward V would have taken place with only such delay as was consistent with decency and the convenience of the nobility." (vol. I, pp. 203, 204)

End of Chapter XI

GOD GRANT US MERCY FOR OUR COWARD SOULS.

by Pauline M. Sulyok

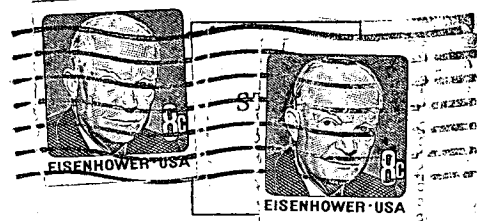
We loved him then,-
Lord of the North, but every poor man's friend,
Holding abbotts and barons in their place,
Scourging the Scots to bring the war to end,
Our right good liege he was, and loving Grace.
God grant us mercy for our coward souls.

We loved him still,-
King then by birth and right and people's choice,
Giving his time and love and gold to all,
The first who ever listened to our voice,
Pitying even traitors in their fall.
God grant us mercy for our coward souls.

We loved him then,-
Murdered at Bosworth fighting for this land,
Defiled by the Welsh bastard's Norman swine,
Betrayed by Stanley and Northumberland,
Most piteous end to great Plantagenet line.
God grant us mercy for our coward souls.

We loved him still,-
Yet when we heard the lies and filth they spread,
We held our tongues in fear of Tydder's men.
What could we do, with good King Richard dead,
But hang our heads 'neath tyranny again?
God grant us mercy for our coward souls.

Richard III Society, Inc.
Linda B. McLatchie
9 Weld Street, Apt. 48
Framingham, Mass. 01701



Mrs. William P. Haynes
4149 25th Street, N.
Arlington
Virginia 22207

F I R S T C L A S S M A I L

Richard III Society, Inc.



Richard III Society, Inc. is a non-profit educational corporation chartered in 1969 under the membership corporation laws of the State of New York. Dues, grants and contributions are tax-deductible to the extent allowed by law.

Dear Ricardian:

The Society announces an extraordinary mid-winter event: an afternoon sociable and high tea on Saturday, March 16, 1974, in New York City to hear Dr. Richard Griffith deliver his especially concocted exposition for members and their guests, called

KING ARTHUR AND RICHARD III

"In which is revealed for the First Time Anywhere that Richard had Aligned against him not merely Henry Tudor, but also the Power of the Printing Press, being Used for Political Purposes just Seven Years after being Introduced into England, and the Traditional Might of King Arthur himself. Hitherto Unnoted References to William Caxton, England's First Printer, will Uncover the Secrets of his Birth, his Rebellious Youth, and his Sinister Early Associates. Analysis of his Subversive Prologues and Epilogues will demonstrate their Anti-Ricardian Bias, while a study of his Patrons
(over, please)

=====

Date: Saturday, March 16, 1974

Time: 2:00 p.m. (refreshments will be served)

Place: Surrey Room, 2nd floor (tentative; check activities board in lobby)
Warwick Hotel
Avenue of the Americas at 54th Street
New York, New York

Speaker: Richard Griffith, Professor of English at C.W. Post College

Topic: "King Arthur and Richard III"

=====

Please reserve _____ place(s) at the Richard III Society meeting at the Warwick Hotel on March 16, 1974. I enclose a check/money order (PAYABLE TO WILLIAM HOGARTH) in the amount of \$ _____ at the rate of \$3.00 per person.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State, Zip _____

Mail this form, with payment, to:

William Hogarth
207 Carpenter Avenue
Sea Cliff, New York 11579

will Expose their Ties to the Infamous Wydville-Buckingham-Tudor Conspiracies, and even to the Stanleys' Treasonous Betrayal...Naming Three Individuals (Two of them Women) Never Before Suspected of Complicity. Finally, the Publication of Malory's Morte Darthur, most celebrated of all Round Table Romances, will be shown to have been Motivated by Political as well as Artistic Considerations, and the Vengeful Printer's Creation of a Deliberate Typographical Error to Twist an Arthurian Prophecy against Richard will be Displayed for All to See. Profusely Illustrated with Slides of Manuscripts, Maps, and Genealogical Charts, All in Violent Color."

Dr. Griffith is a Professor of English at C.W. Post College at Greenvale, Long Island, whose specialty is medieval English literature. He has taught at the University of Kentucky, Ball State University, Ohio State University and the University of Rhode Island. Publications include a book on Chaucer and many articles in scholarly periodicals. His work on the true Sir Thomas Malory is due to be published in a series of articles in several journals of medieval studies. We are privileged to be among the first non-university (if highly specialized) audiences for Dr. Griffith's witty account of his achievements in 15th-century research. As Ricardians, we should be additionally curious about Dr. Griffith's equal championing of both Richard III and Anthony Woodville, subject of a major biography for which Dr. Griffith has been collecting materials for many years.

Members who plan to attend the meeting should fill in the coupon on the reverse side and mail it, together with a check for \$3.00 per person (made payable to William Hogarth) to William Hogarth, 207 Carpenter Avenue, Sea Cliff, New York 11579.

Special reduced rates for hotel accommodations at the Warwick are available through Betty Schloss (these rates will not be available at the desk) at \$25.00 per night for a twin-bedded double room. Members wishing to book accommodations should fill in the attached coupon and mail it to Betty Schloss, c/o Ponzio Travel, 535 Fifth Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15219. Betty must have these coupons no later than one week before the meeting. We hope that these low rates will give members from outside the New York area an opportunity to attend this meeting. With sufficient numbers of out-of-town visitors, there will be Ricardian suggestions for activities available.

HOTEL RESERVATION FORM

Please reserve _____ twin-bedded room(s) at the Warwick Hotel at \$25.00 per night for the following night(s):

_____ Friday, March 15, 1974

_____ Saturday, March 16, 1974

_____ Other dates requested at this rate: _____

=====

I enclose a check/money order (PAYABLE TO PONZIO TRAVEL) in the amount of \$_____.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State, Zip _____

Send this form, with payment, to:

Mrs. Betty Schloss
Ponzio Travel
535 Fifth Avenue
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15219

=====

PLEASE NOTE: This special rate is not available from the hotel desk, but only through Ponzio Travel. The rate includes room taxes, but not tips to bellmen.

This form must reach Betty Schloss at least one week before the meeting.

The address of the hotel is: Warwick Hotel, Avenue of the Americas at 54th Street, New York, New York.



Dues, grants and contributions are tax-deductible to the extent allowed by law.

The Ricardian Register

Newsletter of the Richard III Society, Inc.

EDITOR: Linda B. McLatchie, 9 Weld St., Apt. 48, Framingham, Mass. 01701

Richard III Society, Inc. is a non-profit educational corporation chartered in 1969 under the membership corporation laws of the State of New York.

Volume VIII -- issue 1 -- January-February 1974

SPECIAL MARCH MEETING

The Society will hold a special meeting on March 16, 1974, at 2:00 p.m. in New York City. Details of the meeting are set forth on the attached form, and hotel accommodations at reduced rates will be available through Ponzio Travel to encourage out-of-town members to attend. The guest speaker, Dr. Richard Griffith, has done extensive research into the mystery of the identity of Thomas Malory, author of Le Morte d'Arthur, and his research has brought forth results that are of particular interest to members of the Society. In brief, Griffith postulates that the true author of the Tales of King Arthur (and history provides as many as four candidates) was a friend and neighbor of Anthony Wydville, and he demonstrates numerous connections between the two.

CHAPTER MEETINGS--PAST AND PLANNED

1. *Chicago Area*

The Twelfth Night gathering of Chicago-area members of the Society was a great success. Eight members attended as well as several others who were interested in the Society. Don Jennings showed slides from the 1972 Ricardian tour to England.

The group has decided to meet again on March 24, 1974, at the Atlantic Fish and Chips Shop in Chicago.

Sharon Grodsky
3610 Maple Leaf Drive
Glenview, Illinois 60025

2. *Washington Area*

On December 1, 1973, Bill and Janet Snyder hosted a meeting at their home for Washington area members. Libby Haynes and Laurence Levy showed slides of the 1973 Ricardian trip to England and provided entertaining and informative commentaries. A sociable coffee hour allowed new and old members to meet and chat.

3. *Detroit Area*

A meeting of Society members in the Detroit area is being planned. All persons interested should call Jennifer Pilette in Detroit, 273-5857.

Jennifer Pilette
15786 Biltmore
Detroit, Michigan 48227

4. *Brown University, Rhode Island*

A chapter of the Society is being formed at Brown University. All those interested in joining (or forming your own chapters on other university campuses) should contact Joellyn Dorkin, (401) 831-9060.

Joellyn Dorkin
Box 1086, Brown University
Providence, Rhode Island 02912

RICARDIAN STATIONERY

Ricardian stationery showing Richard's cognizance (the 'boar') is available from the Editor at \$1.50 per dozen (including envelopes). Please make all checks payable to the Richard III Society, Inc.

NEW MEMBERS

Lynn L. Batschauer
2545 W. Catalpa
Chicago, Ill. 60625

Mary Katherine Bennett
Dept. of Math. & Stat.
University of Mass.
Amherst, Mass. 01002

Richard Betz
20 Normandy Road
Asheville, N.C. 28803

Ruth N. Blanchard
Box 65
Petoskey, Mich. 49770

J.J. Brennan
128 Hillcrest Road
Needham, Mass. 02192

Mrs. Roland W. Burbank
RD 1
Wolfeboro, N.H. 03894

LaVerne B. Case
Brunswick
Tennessee 38014

Gerald J. Cassidy
141 Holmes Street
Belleville, N.J. 07109

Philip Fox II
4711 Second Boulevard
Detroit, Mich. 48201

Dorothy I. Greif
19637 N.E. Multnomah St.
Portland, Oregon 97230

Mrs. Richard C. Grimshaw
425 East Fifth Street
Royal Oak, Mich. 48067

Guy Haremski
850 North Main Street
Milford, Mich. 48042

Prof. William N. Hughes
513 Ardson Road
East Lansing, Mich. 48823

Fran Kubica
Box 7103, Graduate Towers
Brown University
Providence, R.I. 02912

Carol Lynn
11524 Nashville
Detroit, Mich. 48205

Ms. Margaret Nelson
1415 East Third Street
Bloomington, Indiana 47401

W. Clark Schermerhorn
602 Wilson
Sturgis, Mich. 49091

Ann Spransy
2423 E. Newberry Boulevard
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53211

Prof. Ann Tukey-Harrison
277 Maplewood Drive
East Lansing, Mich. 48823

NIBBLING AWAY AT THE TUDOR LINE

When Vice-Chairman Bill Hogarth received the copy of the Centenary Edition of Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase and Fable he had ordered in 1973, Martha Hogarth called his attention to the following entry under BLUE BOAR . . . "The cognizance of Richard III. Blue Boar Lane, Leicester, is so called because Richard slept there the night before the battle of Bosworth."

The following exchange of letters is self-explanatory.

Mr. Ivor H. Evans
Editor, Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase and Fable
c/o Cassell & Company Ltd.
35 Red Lion Square
London W.C. 1

Dear Sir:

May I respectfully, but somewhat incredulously, call your attention to a rather blatant error in the revised impression of the Centenary Edition of Brewer's Dictionary.

Under the entry "Blue Boar" on page 126, reference is made to it being "the cognizance of Richard III." Richard's badge was a white boar. After his betrayal and defeat at Bosworth Field in 1485, the white boar in use as inn signs and other applications was hastily repainted and renamed Blue Boar by apprehensive publicans unwilling to offend Richard's successor, the Duke of Richmond, Henry VII.

Surely the tremendous body of phrase and fable which the useful Brewer's elucidates so well does not need such a specious additional fable masquerading as fact. Now I turn to entries with which I am less familiar with new wonderment and some doubt. May I have some reassurance that the offending entry will be corrected in the next edition?

Sincerely,

William Hogarth
Vice-Chairman, Richard III Society, Inc.

* * * * *

Cassell and Company Ltd., Publishers
35 Red Lion Square, London, W.C. 1

Dear Mr. Hogarth,

Thank you for your letter drawing my attention to the entry Blue Boar on page 126 of the centenary edition of Brewer's Dictionary. It is regrettable that this error was taken over from the previous edition and not corrected and the oversight is mine. I will ensure that the matter is put right for subsequent editions.

(continued next page)

Without wishing to be presumptuous or facetious may I draw your attention to the entry Homer sometimes nods? I don't think you need be unduly worried about the reliability of the book as a whole. Where errors occur they must be put right and your letter will have achieved this.

Yours sincerely,

I.H. Evans
Editor, Brewer's Dictionary

Of course, politeness made the question about whether Homer needed to nod for 100 years go unasked. May we ask, somewhat facetiously, English papers please copy?

Submitted by William Hogarth

BOSWORTH FIELD

Anonymous

But one chance left--'mid these misfortunes vast,
Looming like avalanche upon their prey,--
"Treason!" he cried, "the White Rose die is cast,"
And like an unchained eagle spurred away,--
"The fiery Dragon to the heart I'll wound,
And him that with it seeks to snatch my crown,--
Swift! follow me! see Brandon bites the ground,
The giant Cheney from his horse is down,--
Fortune attend! my steed, a few strides more,
And the Red Rose shall doubly-dyed appear,--
Can I but reach him--steeped in its own gore,
Or Death, come thou as foe I never fear,--
Traitors make way!"--but they in vengeful ring
Closed, and 'neath blows relentless fell the King!

Submitted by Joellyn Dorkin

ITEMS OF RICARDIAN INTEREST

The following items can be obtained from the Editor. Please make all checks payable to RICHARD III SOCIETY, INC.

JEWELRY, DECORATIVE ART

- _____ gold and enamelled pendant with boar design @ \$1.25
- _____ cloth badge with woven portrait of Richard III @ \$2.00

CARDS, STATIONERY

- _____ postcard showing National Portrait Gallery portrait of Richard III (in color) @ \$.25
- _____ postcard showing the reconstructed tomb of Richard's only son (in sepia tones) @ \$.25
- _____ postcard showing memorial window to Richard III at Middleham Church (in sepia tones) @ \$.25
- _____ Ricardian greeting cards in various designs @ \$.35
- _____ Ricardian stationery (with envelopes) @ \$1.50 per dozen
- _____ bookplates (gummed backs) with boar design @ \$1.00 per dozen
- _____ heraldic prints ready for coloring (specify: plain; Sir Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury; Sir Richard Ratcliffe; Sir James Tyrell of Gipping), 4" x 5" @ \$.45

BOOKS, BOOKLETS

- _____ "The Battle of Tewkesbury: A Roll of Arms" by Geoffrey Wheeler @ \$1.40
- _____ "Richard III" by G.W.O. Woodward (part of the Pitkin "Pride of Britain" series) @ \$.65
- _____ "Battle of Tewkesbury, 4th May 1471" by Peter Hammond, Howard Shearring, and Geoffrey Wheeler @ \$1.30
- _____ On Some Bones in Westminster Abbey by Philip Lindsay @ \$3.00

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State, Zip _____

Richard III Society, Inc.
Linda B. McLatchie
9 Weld Street, Apt. 48
Framingham, Mass. 01701

STAMP

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The Ricardian Register

Newsletter of the Richard III Society, Inc.

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Volume VIII -- issue 2 -- March-April 1974

RICARDIAN SUMMER TOUR TO ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND FOR MEMBERS AND THEIR FRIENDS

August 10-26...this year's dates will include first-class hotels, special tour program by motorcoach from London to London for nine days, seven days in London with an opportunity to meet fellow English members and find time to visit and enjoy London Ricardian highlights.

The tour this year will fly from Toronto on August 10 at 9:55 p.m. via Wardair, non-stop to London's Gatwick Airport...arriving on August 11 at 9:30 a.m. Hotel accommodation in London will be the Royal Horseguards at Whitehall Court. On August 18, Sunday, a special motorcoach will depart for memorial services at Bosworth Field and continue on to York later for accommodation at the Dean Court, a comfortable English-style hotel directly across from the beautiful York Minster. After a full free day in York to enjoy its majestic sights, continue on via Middleham to Edinburgh for a full day in which to visit this splendid Scottish city. The following day again crossing the border via Berwick and Alnwick to arrive at Carlisle with a full day to explore the Roman Wall. The next day will find everyone visiting Penrith Castle and overnighting at Shrewsbury and continuing the following day to Tewkesbury in Gloucestershire and visiting Minster Lovell before arriving at Copthorne Hotel in Surrey for the final overnight. Copthorne's century-old grounds will add to your complete comfort here and bring the tour to a happy ending at Gatwick Airport on August 26 to board a Wardair jet flight back to Toronto. An early afternoon arrival will give time for everyone to reach their hometown before the end of the day. We hope that this year's departure from Toronto will make it possible for our Canadian members to join the tour program.

Since the air arrangements this year are an "advance purchase ticket", we will not be able to accept any reservations after June 10. This is a very carefully
(over, please)

For a confirmed reservation, please mail this application before JUNE 10, 1974 to Betty Schloss, Ponzio Travel, 535 5th Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa. 15219.

Name _____

Address _____

Telephone No. (Home) _____

Deposit enclosed (\$50.00 per person,
payable to Ponzio Travel) _____

Name of roommate _____

☐ Single room requested

watched government regulation...sorry! This type of ticket will offer the lowest possible airfare next to charter flights. To confirm your reservation, complete the application on the preceding page and forward with a deposit of \$50.00 (payable to Ponzio Travel) to Mrs. Betty Schloss, Ponzio Travel, 535 Fifth Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15219.

Cancellation fees are as follows: 46 days or more before departure, 10% of airfare; 45 days or less, \$100.00 per person. An airfare protector policy is available to each person for \$5.00 to protect against any cancellation, even unexpected return from London.

The per person rates are as follows:

\$279.00 per person for airfare, round trip
\$485.00 per person for land program
\$80.00 for single supplement

Again this year, Major Roy Battcock, our Ricardian friend will accompany the tour program from London until return on August 26. Major Battcock has already given many of the Society tour travellers visits to many places that will long be remembered because of his unlimited knowledge of history and items of local interest. A tour escort will accompany the group from Toronto until return to look after everyone's comfort and enjoyment. Meals will include breakfast daily and lunches on full day travels except where a free day stopover is scheduled. A pub party in London will offer an opportunity to renew and make friendships with our English friends and other events will be planned to make the program a serious and worthwhile Ricardian event.

For a confirmed reservation, please mail the application on the preceding page before June 10, 1974.

N.B.: Inquiries will receive a full day-by-day itinerary and any further information requested.

=====

Mail reservation form on reverse side to:

Mrs. Betty Schloss
Ponzio Travel
535 5th Avenue
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15219

NOMINATING COMMITTEE

I am pleased to announce that I have secured the consent of the following to serve on the Nominating Committee: Betty Schloss (Chairman), Libby Haynes, and Martha Hogarth.

William H. Snyder, Chairman

NEW ADDITION TO MEMBERSHIP ROLLS

The following "flash" was received from Mr. and Mrs. Laurence Levy of Baltimore:

"Laurence and Frannie Levy today [March 6] became the parents of a healthy female child weighing 6 lbs., 1 oz. The child favors her father in appearance, except for the moustache.

"Despite previous rumors of a two-year pregnancy, Mrs. Levy was heard to remark that 'This has been a quick nine months.' Hospital spokesmen have denied that the child was a breech birth or that she already has a full set of teeth. It has been noted also that her arms are of the same length and her shoulders are of even height. Nevertheless, odd rumors persist, alleging such phenomena as owls flying over the supermarket at midday and strange storms of thunder and lightning without rain. Both the Audubon Society and the U.S. Weather Service have investigated these claims and were unable to find any evidence to support the allegations, which they now attribute to 'marsh gas.'

"Mrs. Levy is said to have insisted that the child be named 'Plantagenesta.' On hearing of his wife's demand, however, Mr. Levy threatened her with exile to the Convent at Bermondsey (which for a Jewish girl would be an odious fate). Failing to raise her army, which was stuck in line at a Citgo station on the New Jersey Turnpike, Mrs. Levy capitulated, and it has been decided that the child will be called Jocelyn Brandt Levy."

CHRONOLOGY OF THE WARS OF THE ROSES

A chronology of the Wars of the Roses, composed by Frances Kubica, a student at Brown University and active in the Brown University Chapter of the Society, is available at \$.75. The chronology, summarizing the period from the birth of Richard to the death of Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, can be purchased from Joellyn Dorkin, Box 1086, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island 02912.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

I wonder if any of the members can find the answer to a question which has been bothering me. It concerns Edward IV and the pre-contract with Lady Eleanor Butler.

Edward became king in 1461, and it appears that Lady Eleanor came to his notice about that time. It also seems likely that 1461 or 1462 would be the year of the pre-contract; whether a marriage or a betrothal, some kind of legal binding occurred. Edward then married Elizabeth Woodville in 1464, and it was not until 1468 that the Lady Eleanor died.

My question concerns the Lady Eleanor's actions, or rather lack of them. If she was legally bound to a newly made king and she herself was of noble birth, why didn't she come forward and publicly announce herself? It is hard to believe that she wouldn't try to make the most of the favorable position she found herself in, as Elizabeth Woodville did after her.

And if she didn't come forward at that time, why didn't she do so in 1464 so as to prevent or at least invalidate his marriage with Elizabeth Woodville? She lived four more years after Edward's marriage in complete silence; why?

It is difficult to believe that she would allow another woman to enjoy the benefits of a position that was rightfully hers. The explanation could be that there was no such pre-contract--but then that would not explain Bishop Stillington's pronouncements or Clarence's curious actions.

Susan Kramer
43-30 44th Street
Long Island City, N.Y. 11104

NOTICES

Mrs. Audrey Cartwright (17 Westwood Heath Road, Leek, Staffordshire ST 13 8LN, England) is interested in corresponding with a Society member in the American Branch.

The following books are available from the Editor: The Betrayal of Richard III by V.B. Lamb, at \$3.00; On Some Bones in Westminster Abbey by Philip Lindsay, at \$3.00; We Speak No Treason (paperback) by Rosemary Hawley Jarman, at \$1.90; Richard III, His Life and Character by Sir Clements R. Markham, at \$5.00; and "Edward of Middleham" by Peter Hammond, at \$1.50. Please make all checks payable to the Richard III Society, Inc.

NEW MEMBERS

Mrs. Marshall M. Bassick
Cloverfield
New London, N.H. 03257

Elizabeth A. Farmer
111 Judson Street
Malden, Mass. 02148

Mrs. Addison S. Hall
11 Downing Street
Hingham, Mass. 02043

Ann M. Behling
200 Waverly Place
New York, N.Y. 10014

Prof. Arthur M. Friedman
1200 Mass. Avenue
Cambridge, Mass. 02138

Sandi Johnson
1350 Midvale
Los Angeles, Calif. 90024

Barbara M. Bort
721 Peninsula Court
Ann Arbor, Mich. 48105

Jacquelyn Friedman
115 East 9th Street
New York, N.Y.

Charles F. Kaegebehn
920 Hudson Street
Hoboken, N.J. 07030

Susan Bregman
Box 3275, Brown Univ.
Providence, R.I. 02912

Miss Mary J. Gold
333 East 68th Street
New York, N.Y. 10021

Prof. Judith A. Kates
6 Angier Road
Lexington, Mass. 02173

Miss Fortunata Caliri
9 Shaw Road
Belmont, Mass. 02178

Carolyn Goldhush
118-11 84 Avenue
Kew Gardens, N.Y. 11415

Keith Langham
7664 Merriman
Westland, Mich. 48185

Emily Ellenport
225 Broadway
Cambridge, Mass. 02139

Pamela Gray
Box 1041, Brown Univ.
Providence, R.I. 02912

Deborah B. Lazeration
87 Durand Place
Irvington, N.J. 07111

Rhoda Fairman
900 West End Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10025

Dr. Richard Griffith
8 Glen Avenue
Glen Head, N.Y.

Elizabeth McCollister
718 Middlesex Boulevard
Grosse Pointe Park, Mich. 48230

NEW MEMBERS (continued)

John Marsh
Box 1734, Brown Univ.
Providence, R.I. 02912

Linda Moulton
Box 3918, Brown Univ.
Providence, R.I. 02912

Sylvia N. Reyes
310 West End Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10023

Deniza D. Martin
11110 Whisperwood Lane
Rockville, Md. 20852

Holly J. Mulvey
2450 W. Marquette Road
Chicago, Ill. 60629

Laura Laba Schoales
12 Short Street
Brookline, Mass. 02146

Helen Maurer
150-11 Grand Central Parkway
Jamaica, N.Y. 11432

Lisa Norling
Box 4035, Brown Univ.
Providence, R.I. 02912

Elizabeth Stone
545 West 111th Street
New York, N.Y. 10025

Mrs. Mitchel L. Mitchell
2901 Broadway
San Francisco, Calif. 94115

Mrs. George Ogorzaly
8231 S. Houston Avenue
Chicago, Ill. 60617

Mrs. Janis P. Zaeh
3195 Court Street
Yorktown Hts., N.Y. 10598

Dr. William Moloney
721 Huntington Avenue
Boston, Mass. 02115

Dr. Janet Philips
323 N. Gardiner Avenue
Rockford, Ill. 61107

Renee Zito
410 N. Corona Avenue
Valley Stream, N.Y. 11580

Diane Webb Radke
4451 S.W. Chapman Way
Lake Oswego, Ore. 97034

POSTSCRIPT

Richard the Third was rudely stamp'd, deformed
In personality as well as limb, a villain--
At least according to Tudor propaganda,
But what can you believe:
There are some who think that Richard was a saint.

Whatever the truth there can be only pity
For one who snatches up a pen--the ink still wet
Upon an order to his Chancellor for the Great Seal
Meticulously writ by one John Kendall, Richard's secretary--
And dashes off a postscript urgent, scrambling,
So that he has to turn the letter sideways
To finish it at all:
"We wolde most gladly that ye came yourselffe yf that ye may"
--For Buckingham has revolted--
"Hyme that hadde best cawse to be trewe
The most untrewe creature lyvying"
The blotted script bespeaking
A heart overfull, full overcome
By man's ingratitude.

By Joyce Williams
(printed in Country Life, June 28, 1973)

Submitted by Edie Newman

REPORT ON MARCH 16TH MEETING

by William Hogarth

Accompanied by the muffled skirl and drone of Hibernian bagpipes one block away on Fifth Avenue, over 90 members gathered on Saturday afternoon, March 16th, to hear the latest revelations on "King Arthur and Richard III." We were promised such revelations and 15th-century gossip by Dr. Richard Griffith on the subject, the first being that like Conan Doyle's "curious incident of the dog in the night" (the dog did nothing in the night), there were no connections between Arthur and Richard. Turning this Barnum-like negative into a positive virtue, Dr. Griffith held us enthralled with his case for William Caxton as Tudor apologist, the central proof being his deliberate typographical "error"--the substitution of boar for bear in his printing of Malory's Morte d'Arthur (by the sheerest coincidence, the Caxton/Malory-boar/bear allusion is the subject of a paper in the March Ricardian as well). With projected maps, graphs and charts (all in the promised "violent color") Dr. Griffith detailed his painstaking search for the antecedents and connections of Caxton.

The talk was a model of scholarship presented as hot news. Dr. Griffith's identification with his subject, his unruffled familiarity with step-by-step procedures in dating people, places and events, and his genuine enthusiasm came through very well, with an equally enthusiastic audience responding to points taken with smiling empathy. One measure of response was the attentiveness of Helmut Nickel, our speaker at last year's AGM. Dr. Nickel, himself an Arthurian authority, is preparing a book on Arthurian sites, and was fascinated by Dr. Griffith's exposition.

Since this was an informal meeting (followed by coffee and cake rather than preceded by a luncheon), attendees had ample opportunity to greet old friends and question the speaker before venturing out into a rain-sodden Manhattan. Several members asked if the pattern could be repeated (i.e., talks and meetings during the year between AGMs), and every effort will be made to bring this about on the basis of this well-attended talk. Our special thanks go to Betty Schloss, who arranged the suite at the Warwick Hotel (and bargain-price accommodations for those staying overnight). The presence of Chairman Snyder, Mrs. Haynes, and Mrs. McLatchie among the throng proved that our fellowship continues to defy geography and bad weather.

Dr. Griffith's approach was tailored to the interests of the Society in its emphasis on Caxton's Yorkist and Tudor affiliations. His Malory research (subject of several forthcoming papers) is available in book form in a paperback, Ventures in Research published by the C.W. Post Center of Long Island University. The book may be purchased from William Hogarth at a reduced price to our members (\$2.25, checks payable to William Hogarth, 207 Carpenter Avenue, Sea Cliff, New York 11579).

* * * * *

Postscript: Anyone who attended the March 16th meeting, but neglected to pay the \$3.00 fee, may send their checks to William Hogarth.

HALSTED'S RICHARD III

by WILLIAM H. SNYDER

CHAPTER XII

RICHARD ENTERS UPON DUTIES OF PROTECTORATE

The eyes of the whole nation were now fixed upon Richard, Duke of Gloucester. In the face of a political convulsion, he had secured the tranquil accession of Edward V, quelled the divisions in the late king's council, revived the people's sinking spirits, and restored faith and confidence in the government. And he had achieved all this without striking a blow, without causing the death of one human being or engaging in acts of cruelty, vengeance, or retaliation. "Without any slaughter, or the shedding of as much blood as would issue from a cut finger."--Chron. Croy., p. 566.

Civil war would have ensued had no legitimate claimant for the protectorate existed. Otherwise, the succession of insults inflicted by the Wydville family upon the ancient nobility of the realm rendered an appeal to the sword unavoidable. The fear of this impending collision probably led to Richard's being so unanimously confirmed in the protectorate by the friends of both parties. He saw the dangers which threatened the destruction of his royal house and the heir of the Yorkist dynasty, Edward V. He selected a middle path between open rebellion to his sovereign and ignoble submission to the queen mother, Elizabeth Wydville.

There is nothing to indicate that Richard had formed any design to usurp the throne. Nor is there any indication that he contemplated the death of the Lords Rivers and Grey, who had been arrested at Stony Stratford (see Chapter XI), until he had investigated the reports about them. "They were accused of having conspired the death of the protector."--Rous, Hist. Reg. Ang., p. 217. The conduct of the Duke of Gloucester thus far, considering the temper and character of the times, was irreproachable. His actions were not conducted in the dark but openly, before the gaze of the people.--Polydore Virgil, lib. i, p. 11; More, p. 29.

Legge: "... he [Richard] had not only been named Protector in the will of Edward IV, but it was his office by natural right sanctioned by custom. However conscious

of his power and determined to exercise it, we have absolutely no ground for supposing that Richard aimed higher than the Protectorate. He was Protector de jure as well as de facto, and was not even accountable to Parliament for the legal exercise of the functions of that office. The first and most pressing of these was the duty of controlling the movements of the boy-King." (vol. I, p. 195)

DEMORALIZATION OF THE REALM AT THIS CORRUPT PERIOD

Succeeding ages have dwelt on this epoch as one of the most corrupt in English history, and justly so. "The state of things and the dispositions of men were such," writes Sir Thomas More (p. 64), "that a man could not tell whom he might trust or whom he might fear." "Every man doubts the other"--Excerpt. Hist., p. 17. From the period of the birth of Richard of Gloucester up to his elevation to the protectorate, the worst passions had disgraced and the most unworthy motives influenced the highest in rank and station.

The Duke of Gloucester well remembered that the leading members of the very council who were now associated with him in governing the realm were those peers and prelates who had been bribed by the wily monarch of France, Louis XI.

"... Dr. Rotherham, bishop of Lincoln, lord chancellor of England, and Dr. Morton, bishop of Ely, master of the rolls, with other noblemen and councillors of special credit with the king, had 2,000 crowns apiece per annum." Buck, lib. 1, p. 29. Richard also knew that their unanimity in raising him to be "defender of the realm" arose more from hatred of the queen mother and her family than from respect to him or devotion to their youthful sovereign.

A PLEASING CONTRAST--CECILY, DUCHESS OF YORK

As a pleasing contrast to this melancholy picture, Cecily, Duchess of York--mother of Edward IV and Richard--remained in the high esteem of the populace. On reaching London, Richard had gone at once to her

abode, Baynard's Castle, and continued there for some days. Thus, the Lady Cecily probably approved of the measures he had taken. In all likelihood she was involved in instigating him to adopt them, from the frequent messengers said to have met him upon his arrival at York and on the road to Northampton. This fact is important as Cecily had recently become a member of the Benedictine order (Cott. MSS., Vitell. L. fo. 17). Her religious vows would seem a sufficient surety that she would not lend herself to any nefarious projects, either for disinheriting her grandchild or for unjustly elevating her son to the throne.

THE THREAT OF THE WYDVILLES

The death of the Duke of Clarence, promoted as it had been by the queen, Elizabeth Wydeville, and her brother, Lord Rivers, still rankled deeply and painfully in the heart of every member of the house of York. Neither Richard, Duke of Gloucester, nor his mother, the Lady Cecily, could doubt that if the aspiring and unscrupulous race, the Wydevilles, who had ruined the fame of one brother, the late Edward IV, and procured the execution of the other, the Duke of Clarence, could but secure the ear of the new sovereign, Edward V, the late sovereign's only surviving brother, Richard himself, would speedily fall a victim to their hatred and ambition.

Thus, upon the demise of Edward IV and the accession of Edward V, a struggle for preeminence arose between the young monarch's royal kindred and his maternal relatives. The natural consequence was that the protector was supported in his resolute measures by every branch of his own princely house, but chiefly by his mother, whose heart had ever inclined to Richard, the youngest but most judicious of her sons.

Legge: "No one can read attentively this portion of history, comparing the tradition with the authentic documents, without seeing that the blame of the quarrel between him (Richard) and the late King's family, in the first instance, attaches to the Queen and her relatives. Richard was, in all

probability, prepared to treat that weak and wayward woman with respect; to place her at the head of her son's Court; and to be satisfied for himself with the substance of authority, without the trappings of royalty. But he found that she and her party were plotting against his authority, his liberty, perhaps his life. Richard was not the man to submit patiently to this state of things. If the Queen's party were not annihilated, nothing less than the annihilation of Richard would satisfy their ambition or silence their fears. . . ." (Dean Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops*, vol. v, p. 367, as quoted by Legge, vol. I, p. 204)

Gairdner: ". . . although the queen's influence was great with Edward himself, she was scarcely regarded with more respect by the nobility than the courtesans by whom she was dishonored. To the last she and her family were regarded as upstarts, and their interference in public affairs was generally resented. . . . Even Henry VII., who afterwards became king and married her eldest daughter, found it advisable to shut up his mother-in-law in a monastery, and had not the slightest scruple in taking her property away from her (Polydore Vergil, 571. Hall, 431). The fact is confirmed by her will, which contains the following clause: 'Item, where I have no worldly goods to do the Queen's Grace, my daughter, a pleasure with, neither to reward any of my children according to my heart and mind, I beseech Almighty God to bless her Grace, with all her noble issue, and with as good a heart and mind as is to me possible I give her Grace my blessing and all the foresaid my children.' The will is dated April 10, 1492. Royal Wills, 350." (70)

DIVISIONS IN THE COUNCIL

The month of May, 1483, glided on more tranquilly towards its close than the portentous events which heralded its dawn would have seemed to prognosticate. Richard presided with his characteristic energy at the helm of state. Three groups of nobles assisted him.

First, the following were servants of the late Edward IV and were also his

executors: Hastings, lord chamberlain to Edward IV; Stanley, lord steward of the late king's household; Rotherham, Archbishop of York; and John Morton, Bishop of Ely.

Second, Richard's special adherents included the following: Buckingham, created Constable of the Duchy of Lancaster; Northumberland, Warden of the North; Howard, seneschal of the Duchy of Lancaster; and Lovel, Chief Butler of England.

Third, the neutral parties were: Bouchier, Archbishop of Canterbury; Russel, Bishop of Lincoln and the new Lord Chancellor; and Gunthorp, Dean of Wells, his successor in the office of Privy Seal.

The new acts of the young monarch were attested at Westminster as well as at the Tower. This fact proves that he was under no undue restraint, but that he occasionally joined his council at Westminster, or was visited by its members at his apartments in the Tower.

The advisers of young Edward's administration had all united in opposing the queen and her family when they had reason to dread their aiming at the regency. They had joyfully elevated Richard to the guardianship of the king in order to crush his rivals. But in so doing they had not designed to invest this prince with the absolute power conferred on him, "commanding and forbidding in every thing like another king!" (Chron. Croy., p. 566).

The first symptom of discontent, says the Chronicler of Croyland (p. 566), arose from "the detention of the king's relatives in prison, and the protector not having sufficiently provided for the honour and security of the queen." This disunion was reflected by the secret meetings in the Protector's London abode, Crosby's Place, in Bishopsgate Street. Sometimes, these meetings were held at the same time when members of the council favourable to the young king and his mother were officially assembled elsewhere. The Lord Stanley in particular, between whom and the Lord of Gloucester there was little love, "said unto the Lord Hastings, that he much disliked these two several councils; for while we (quod he) talk of one matter in the one place, little wot we whereof they

talk in the tother place" (More, p. 67).

Legge: Legge cites as proof that Edward V was not rigidly confined to the Tower the fact that "the Royal grants show that he was at the Bishop's Palace on the 4th of May, at the Tower on the 19th, whilst on the 13th of June he was again at the Bishop's Palace to receive his brother, the Duke of York." (vol. I, p. 213)

PREPARATIONS FOR EDWARD V'S CORONATION

Nevertheless, the important affairs of state progressed without serious interruption, and the month of June, 1483, was ushered in by active preparations for Edward V's coronation. This ceremonial was officially announced as definitively fixed for June 22. Letters were addressed to numerous persons in the king's name charging them "to be prepared to receive the order of knighthood at his coronation, which he intended to solemnize at Westminster on the 22nd of the same month" (Foedera, vol. xii, p. 185). Costly robes were ordered for the young king's coronation.

The appointed time "then so near approached that the pageants and subtleties were in making day and night at Westminster . . ." (More, p. 76). Subtleties or sotilties were paste moulded into the form of figures, animals, etc., and grouped so as to represent some scriptural or political device. Richard, Duke of Gloucester, summoned knights from all parts of the realm. The Duchess of Gloucester "reached the metropolis on the aforesaid 5th instant" (Excerpt. Hist., p. 17), and joined her husband at Crosby Place.

Legge: "In all this we see no trace of that indecent haste for the deposition of his nephew, with which Richard has been charged by writers who forget that history sinks into romance when it dogmatizes upon the unrecorded motives of its heroes." (Vol. I, p. 211)

RICHARD'S DIFFICULT POSITION-- AIMS AT LONG PROTECTORATE

The difficulties of Richard's position daily increased, and he feared to release the Lords Rivers

and Grey. Yet he knew that each day's captivity alienated the young king's affection farther from himself. He also knew that the high dignity of protector of the realm always lapsed after the coronation of the monarch. This had been the case in all minorities preceding that of Edward V. Also, the legislature, in nominating Richard as protector, expressly restricted him to "the same power as was conferred on Humphrey Duke of Gloucester during the minority of Henry VI" (Chron. Croy., 566).

The disastrous fate of that noble prince was too recent to be forgotten. Richard well knew that the Lancastrian monarch, Henry VI (whom Richard's brother, Edward IV, had deposed) was crowned in his eighth year, with the express design of terminating the office and power of his uncle, Humphrey, also Duke of Gloucester and Lord Protector. Richard knew the murder of that Duke of Gloucester resulted from the jealous and determined malice of his political enemies--principally, Henry VI's Queen Margaret of Anjou and the faction led by Bishop Beaufort.

The prospect that awaited Richard of sinking into a mere lord of council, after having ruled for some months as protector of the realm could easily result in his falling a victim to the same dangerous elevation which had proved the death-warrant of preceding Dukes of Gloucester. In addition to the murder of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester (Hall, p. 209), Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, uncle of Richard II, was treacherously inveigled from his Castle at Pleshy by the young monarch himself, then aged but twenty years, and by his command cruelly murdered for having opposed his wishes when a minor (Froissard, lib. iv, c.86.92). Also, Thomas Le Despencer, Earl of Gloucester, closely allied to the House of York, was beheaded at Bristol by command of Henry IV, in the first year of his usurpation (Heylyn, p. 330).

Legge: "As uncle of the King, it was in accordance with the precedents of the last two minorities that Richard should aspire to the Protectorate, not simply for the few days which must elapse before

the coronation, but during the King's minority. Yet he may well have reflected that two Dukes of Gloucester, both uncles to the reigning sovereign, had, in the position to which he aspired, suffered death from the caprice or the weakness of the crown. . . . He knew the pitfalls which beset him, the irreconcilable aims and ambitions alike of friends and foes, and he knew that those who looked up to him to-day as their patron and head, would to-morrow plot his ruin." (vol. I, p. 205)

"It was with the cordial approval of the citizens of London that the Council, 'without the least contradiction,' confirmed Richard in his office of Protector. Mr. Gairdner has, I think, shown conclusively that Richard had been recognized as Protector before he came to London ('Life of Richard III.', p. 69). 'Because,' says Sir Thomas More (p. 486), 'not only as the King's uncle and the next Prince of the blood, and a person fit for that trust as of eminent wit and courage; but as one that was most loyal and loving to the King, and likely to prove the most faithful in that station.' But Richard's position was full of peril. It was at least possible that his Protectorate would end with the coronation. He was not, like his father and grandfather, Regent and Protector; but with power far more circumscribed, he held by an uncertain tenure an office which simply gave him precedence amongst the Lords of the Council. (Sharon Turner, vol. iii, p. 436). In order to its prolongation [sic] it was necessary that his Protectorate should receive the sanction of Parliament, and for this purpose the Houses were summoned for the 25th of June, the coronation being fixed for the 22nd." (Vol. I, p. 209)

Gairdner: "His (Richard's) power as protector was in a critical condition, a party in the council being clearly opposed to its continuance, and the coronation day was approaching, when, according to the precedent of Henry VI.'s time, it ought to terminate. But as Parliament was to meet immediately after, Richard proposed to obtain from the lords there assembled a confirmation

of his authority until the time that his nephew should be competent to rule in person. This apparently was the utmost of what he ventured at present to put forward, and the Chancellor prepared a speech for the opening of Parliament declaring that the confirmation of the protectorship was the main object of their being called together." (64)

RICHARD WRITES TO CITY OF YORK

On June 8, 1483, by the hand of one of his faithful adherents, Thomas Brackenbury, Richard renewed his former connection with the city of York, by writing to the city authorities. He was warmly and firmly beloved in the North, which had for nearly ten years been under his immediate jurisdiction. The letter which he has been charged with writing "artfully, to curry favour" was an official answer to an earnest appeal from the mayor and commonalty of the city of York: "The Duke of Gloucester, brother and uncle of kings, Protector and Defender, Great Chamberlain, Constable, and Lord High Admiral of England. Right trusty and well-beloved. We greet you well. Whereas by your letters of supplication to us delivered by our servant John Brackenbury, we understand that by reason of your great charge that ye have had and sustained, as well in defence of this realm against the Scots as otherwise, your worshipful city remains greatly unpaid for, on the which ye desire us to be good mover unto the king's grace, for any ease of such charges as ye shall yearly bear and pay unto his grace's highness. We let you wot, that for such great matters and businesses as we now have to do, for the weal and usefulness of the realm, we as yet ne can have convenient leisure to accomplish this your business, but be assured that for your loving and kind disposition to us at all times shewed, which we never can forget, we in all goodly haste shall so endeavour for your ease in this behalf, as that ye shall verily understand we be your special good and loving Lord, as our said friend shall shew you, to whom it would like you him to give further credence unto, and for your diligent

service which he hath done, to our singular pleasure unto us at this time, we pray you to give unto him laud and thanks, and God keep you! Given under our signet at our Tower of London this 8th day of June. To our trusty and well-beloved the Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs and Commonalty of the City of York." (Drake's Eborac., p. 111)

CONSPIRACY FOR RICHARD'S DESTRUCTION

Scarcely had Richard's pacific letter of June 8, 1483, been transmitted than some intimation of approaching danger appears to have reached his ear. No details remain of the exact nature and extent of this threatened evil. It appears certain, however, that it was some plot to compass Richard's destruction, from a second letter he addressed to the citizens of York on June 10, 1483: "The Duke of Gloucester, brother and uncle of king's, Protector and Defender, Great Chamberlain, Constable, and Admiral of England. Right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And as you love the weal of us, and the weal and surety of your own self, we heartily pray you to come unto us in London in all the diligence ye can possible, after the sight hereof, with as many as ye can make defensibly arrayed, there to aid and assist us against the queen, her bloody adherents and affinity, which have entended, and do daily entend to murder and utterly destroy us, and our cousin the Duke of Buckingham, and the old royal blood of this realm, and as is now openly known, by her subtle and damnable ways forecasted the same, and also the final destruction and disherison of you, and all other the inheritors and men of honour, as well of the north parts as other countries that belong unto us, as our trusty servant this bearer shall more at large shew you; to whom we pray you to give credence; and as ever we may do for you, in time coming, fail not, but haste you to us. Given under our signet at London the 10th of June. To our trusty and well-beloved the Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs and Commonalty of the City of York." (Drake's Eboracum; p. 111)

It seems certain that this fresh outbreak decided the fate of the

prisoners in the North. The bearer of the above letter, Sir Richard Ratcliffe, was charged by Richard with commands to the Earl of Northumberland to proceed to the castle of Pontefract to preside at the trial of Lord Rivers (Rous, Hist. Reg. Ang., 214). Ratcliffe also carried a warrant for the immediate execution of Grey, Vaughan, and Hurst (Drake's Ebor., p. 111). The following day, June 11, Richard addressed an earnest appeal for support to his kinsman, the Lord Neville.

Up to this period, no accusation of homicide, either as prince or protector, has been laid to Richard's charge by contemporary writers. This fact is remarkable considering that he flourished in an epoch singularly ferocious and noted for summary vengeance and utter disregard of human life (Turner's Middle Ages, vol. iv, p. 398).

The reason for Richard's appeals soon became evident. William Catesby, a friend close to the Lord Hastings, had discovered and reported the designs of Hastings, Stanley, Rotherham, and Morton. Catesby, in his double capacity of friend and betrayer, appears indeed to have possessed himself of some treasonable plans and schemes that involved the destruction of Richard.

Legge: "Attempts have been made to discredit the proofs which Richard furnished of the treasonable designs entertained by the Woodville family. But, resting as they do upon authorities which are habitually appealed to by his detractors, as well as upon those of greater worth, their authenticity is sufficiently established. . . . Sir Thomas More (More in Kennett, p. 486) himself admits the fact, and that when proofs of these treasonable purposes were established the people cried out 'that it would be a great charity for the nation to hang them' . . . all eyes were turned towards the wise and vigilant Duke of Gloucester, who was hailed as a deliverer, the old nobility especially applauding him, and offering their services with enthusiasm to the vanquisher of the hated Woodvilles. The memories of the Civil War were yet fresh enough to create a shudder at the thought of

their recurrence. The danger, so it seemed, had been nipped in the bud by the resolute courage and sagacious policy of the Duke of Gloucester. His former services to the State were recalled to memory and many felt that they were eclipsed by the overthrow of the Woodville family." (Vol. I, pp. 206, 207)

"It is significant that no grants were made to Hastings. He saw Buckingham, Howard, and Lovell rewarded, whilst he, who had contributed more than all to the overthrow of the Woodvilles . . . was subordinate to all in the Protector's confidence." (Vol. I, p. 208)

"Buckingham and Hastings were old rivals 'not bearing each to other so much love as hatred unto the Queen's party.'--More's Works, p. 40." (Ibid.)

Gairdner: "It must not, however, be too readily presumed that there was no foundation at all for Richard's charge of conspiracy against the Queen and her relations. Polydore Vergil, a writer who cannot be suspected of any design to palliate the protector's misdeeds, expressly states that an act of sudden violence was at this time contemplated in order to liberate the young king from his uncle's control." (61)

". . . it appears by the York City Records that writs of supersedeas had been issued to prevent its [Parliament] assembling . . . The chief object . . . for which Parliament was originally summoned was to preserve Richard in his office of protector--an office which, without special safeguards, was always held by a rather uncertain tenure, and which, if the precedent of Henry VI.'s minority had been followed, would have ceased upon the king's coronation. It is quite conceivable, therefore, that the issue of the supersedeas was designed to defeat this object, that is to say, to prevent Richard being confirmed in the office of protector, and so to terminate his power. . . . The supersedeas could not have been received in every borough and county; and this in itself affords reason for believing that the design to set aside the meeting of Parliament was that of Richard's enemies." (84, 86, 87)

Markham: "... the Hastings faction was not idle. A supersedeas was secretly issued to the towns and counties ordering the Parliament not to assemble. (Davies, York Records, p. 154. That this supersedeas was issued by the conspirators and not by the Protector's Council is proved by Dr. Russell having actually prepared a speech for the opening of Parliament on June 24. This speech has been preserved--Cottonian MSS. The date of the supersedeas was probably before June 13.) It was received at York on June 21. This was done to delay or prevent the consideration of the question of illegitimacy, and of the evidence submitted by Bishop Stillington. Finally, a plot was formed to seize the Protector and put him to death (Rastell, p. 80).

The conspiracy was divulged to the Protector by Master William Catesby, who was in the confidence of Hastings. The danger was imminent. It was probably a question of hours."--p. 98.

ARREST AND EXECUTION OF CONSPIRATORS

Accordingly, on Friday, June 13, "the protector having with singular cunning devided the council, so that part should sit at Westminster and part at the Tower, where the king was, Hastings, coming to the Tower to the council, was by his command beheaded. Thomas, Archbishop of York, and John, Bishop of Ely, although on account of their order their lives were spared, were imprisoned in separate castles in Wales." Such is the brief account given by the faithful historian of that time (Chron: Croy., p. 566).

Sir Thomas More, in the spirit of romance which pervades his work, embellishes this portion of his narrative by a display of his oratorical powers. But these descriptions can no longer pass for authentic history. His discrepancies have been examined and exposed by many writers of repute. See Sir Henry Buck, lib. i, p. 13; Walpole's Historic Doubts, 47; Laing (in Henry), xii, p. 415; together with Carte, Rapin, Lingard, Turner, and many others.

One of More's more absurd word

pictures, powerfully employed by Shakespeare, follows: "Then said the Protector, 'Ye shall all see in what wise that sorceress [the Queen], and that other witch of her counsel, Shore's wife, with their affinity, have by their sorcery and witchcraft wasted my body.' And therewith he plucked up his doublet sleeve to his elbow upon his left arm, where he shewed a werish, withered arm and small, as it was never other."--More, p. 72. More does not explain how a prince, who was distinguished as the ablest general of his time, a time noted for ponderous armour and weapons of almost gigantic size, could have had "a werish withered arm." Nor does More explain how a prince of Richard's prominence could have reached the age of 30 without his associates knowing he had a withered arm.

Hastings seems to have admitted that the Lords Rivers and Grey were concerned in some league to get rid of the Protector. More states (p. 74) that these nobles "were by his (Hasting's) assent before devised to be beheaded at Pontefract this self-same day. . ."

The news of Hastings' execution and the imprisonment of the bishops, the Lord Stanley, and others "suspected to be against the Protector," quickly spread throughout London and caused extreme consternation. But Richard, anticipating this reaction, sent a herald within two hours through the city "in the king's name," proclaiming the fact that "Hastings, with divers other of his traitorous purpose, had before conspired that same day to have slain the Lord Protector and the Lord Buckingham sitting in the council; and after to have taken upon them to rule the king and the realm at pleasure, and thereby to pil and spoil whom they list uncontrouled."--More, p. 80.

More's information was derived from Bishop Morton himself, who was implicated in the plot and one of the conspirators accused and imprisoned for it. This accounts for More's marvellous tales and for his concealment of facts that would possibly have held the Protector fully justified in his promptitude and stern decision. "The artificial

glare with which the whole is surrounded generates a suspicion that some treason was detected and punished,--a conspiracy in which Morton had participated with Hastings, and was therefore desirous to remove from view."--See Laing (Appendix to Henry), vol. xii, p. 417.

Legge: "We are now clearly in the region of romance, and the story of the scene, as related by More, is full of improbabilities, from which it is impossible to separate fact and fiction. When he relates that, plucking up his doublet sleeve to the elbow of his left arm, he shewed 'a werish, withered arm, and small,' we recall the fact that not only is there no authority for the tradition, but that so distinguished a warrior, clad in ponderous armour and bearing the gigantic weapons used in his day, could not have encountered Warwick at Barnet, and afterwards, unhorsed Sir Hugh Brandon on Bosworth Field, with that 'werish, withered arm, and small.'" (226, 227)

Gairdner: "... we have every reason to believe that the facts are strictly true; for there can be no doubt that Sir Thomas More derived his knowledge of what took place from one [John Morton] who had been an eye-witness of the scene . . . though he can scarcely be called an impartial spectator. . . ." (65)

"Sir Thomas More--unlike what we should have expected in so wise a man--goes on to tell us, not only of warnings sent to Hastings beforehand, but of various dreams, omens and presages . . ." (67)

"It is unquestionably from his relation in after times that Sir Thomas More obtained a large part of the information contained in his History of Richard III., and especially those vivid details of the scene in council, and other incidents in which the bishop took a leading part. To Morton is alike due the minuteness and the partiality of More's picturesque and most interesting narrative." (68)

Markham: "The danger over, Richard mourned for the loss of his old companion in arms. 'Undoubtedly the Protector loved him well, and was loath to have lost him.' Morton, p. 69, in Rastell. This is the evi-

dence of a bitter enemy." Richard's generosity to the relations of his political foes was almost unprecedented in his times and indeed in later times. He granted Hastings' forfeited estates to the widow and at once restored the children in blood. He also liberally rewarded Hastings' brother for past services and granted all his requests. (99)

Kendall: Kendall points out (470) that the secret of an abortive conspiracy often dies with it. Therefore, we should not be surprised if only faint traces of Hastings' purpose survives.

In the council meeting after Hastings' execution, Richard apparently presented convincing evidence that Hastings was preparing to take action against Richard, and the council decreed that little York should be delivered from Sanctuary. (471)

Kendall states that More doubtless got the information for the famous scene, where Richard confronts Hastings in the council meeting, from Richard's bitterest foe, John Morton, and that his account cannot stand when compared with contemporary sources. Richard had no withered arm so he could not have accused the Queen and Jane Shore of having withered it by sorcery. Morton would have found it easier to substitute the charge of sorcery rather than confess to young More that he and Hastings had conspired against the Protector. No mention of sorcery is made by The Great Chronicle, Fabyan, the Croyland Chronicle, or Mancini. (472)

Contemporary descriptions corroborate the portraits in the Royal Collection at Windsor that Richard had no noticeable bodily deformity. Neither the author of the Second Continuation of the Croyland Chronicle, who knew Richard well, nor Dominic Mancini, who must have seen him several times, mention any physical deformity. Stowe talked to old men who said "that he was of bodily shape comely enough, only of low stature"--Buc in Kennett's History of England, p. 548. Stowe's evidence is corroborated by an oration before Richard, September 1484, by Archibald Whitelaw, one of the Scots envoys. He said that nature

never enclosed within a smaller frame so great a mind or such remarkable powers--Buc in Kennett, p. 572. Kendall concludes that the monster created by Shakespeare represents the zestful elaboration of the later Tudor chroniclers. (459)

Mancini: Nicolas Von Poppelau, of a noble Silesian family, spent ten days in Richard's household in May, 1484. Mancini says Von Poppelau possessed almost superhuman strength. On May 1, 1484, he presented to Richard III letters of introduction from the emperor. After church the next day, Nicolas joined the king's retinue and went to watch Richard at dinner. Afterwards, the king spoke alone with Poppelau. Poppelau says Richard was three fingers taller than himself, but a little thinner, and had "auch ein grosses Herz"--also a great heart. (163)

YOUNG DUKE OF YORK WITHDRAWN FROM SANCTUARY

Richard was, in some degree, justified in striving to obtain possession of the king's brother, the infant Duke of York, as heir presumptive to the crown (More, p. 43). The king desired, as was natural, the companionship of his brother (Chron. Croy., p. 566). Also a report had been circulated that it was intended to send the young prince out of the kingdom (More, p. 36). Richard knew that the Marquis Dorset, the Lord Lyle, and Sir Edward Grey, his young nephews' maternal relatives, had already effected their escape (Rous, Hist. Reg. Ang., p. 212), although Lionel Wydeville, Bishop of Salisbury, yet remained in sanctuary to counsel and aid his royal sister.

The strongest test and greatest surety for the lawfulness of Richard's proceedings up to this time rests upon the fact that he was supported in his design by the heads of the church and the chief officers of the crown, "my Lord Cardinale, my Lord Chancellor, and other many lords temporal."--Stallworth Letters, Ex. Hist., p. 15. More's elaborate account of the transaction, and the long orations of the queen and Cardinal Bourchier, have long been considered as the effusions of More's fertile imagination.--Lingard, vol.

v, p. 244. The simple statement of the Croyland Chronicler, the soundest authority of that day, probably embraces the entire facts of the proceeding: "On Monday, the 16th of June, the Cardinal-Archbishop of Canterbury, with many others, entered the sanctuary at Westminster for the purpose of inducing the queen to consent to her son, Richard Duke of York, coming to the Tower for the consolation of the king his brother. To this she assented, and he was accordingly conducted thither by the archbishop."

Fabyan's account is even more laconic. Simon Stallworth, the writer of the coeval letters referred to above, was one of the officers of the Lord Chancellor into whose hands, he states, the young duke was placed. Consequently, had personal violence been intended, he must have known it. But although he relates that there were "at Westminster great plenty of armed men," the natural consequence of the troubled state of the metropolis, he in no way couples them with what he terms "the deliverance of the Duke of York." He mentions the princely reception given to the royal child.

The silence of the Croyland Chronicler, Fabyan, and Stallworth exonerates Richard from the alleged violence imputed to him by More. The City Chronicler confirms two assertions of Sir Thomas More which tell greatly in the Protector's favour. First, Cardinal Bourchier, the Archbishop of Canterbury, pledged his life for the young prince's safety (More, p. 79), so implicitly did he rely on the honour and integrity of Richard, Duke of Gloucester. Second, Richard pledged that if their royal parent would voluntarily quit the sanctuary, her sons should not be separated from her. But Fabyan adds "the queen, for all fair promises to her made, kept her and her daughters within the foresaid sanctuary."--Fabyan, p. 513.

EXECUTION OF LORD RIVERS

Richard's dispatch forwarded to York by Sir Thomas Radcliff on June 10, 1483, did not reach that city for five days. On June 19, its contents were acted upon by a pro-

clamation (Drake's Eboracum, p. 111) requiring as many armed men as could be raised to assemble at Pontefract by June 22. On June 23 (ten days after Hastings' execution), Lord Rivers, having been removed from his prison at Sheriff-Hutton, was there tried and executed (Wednesday, June 25) by the Earl of Northumberland, who acted both as judge and accuser. --Rous, Hist. Reg. Angl., p. 213.

However harsh this proceeding may appear, it is clear that this unfortunate nobleman was himself satisfied that his sentence was conformable to the proceedings of the age and had been merited by his own conduct. That he had confidence also in the Protector's justice is shown by the following conclusion to his will dated at Sheriff-Hutton, June 23, 1483: "Over this I beseech humbly my Lord of Gloucester, in the worship of Christ's passion and for the merit and weal of his soul, to comfort, help, and assist, as supervisor (for very trust) of this testament, that mine executors may with his pleasure fulfill this my last will."

This accomplished nobleman, although learned and chivalrous, was by no means free from the vices which characterized his family and the times in which he lived. He was universally unpopular, from the selfish and covetous ambition which marked his political conduct during the ascendancy of his royal sister. He was the cause of King Edward's committing to the Tower his "beloved servant" Lord Hastings. He instigated the queen to insist on the Duke of Clarence's execution. --See Foedera, xii, p. 95.

He grasped at every profitable or powerful appointment in King Edward's gift. He would doubtless have sacrificed the Duke of Gloucester to his insatiable ambition had not that prince, from intimation of Rivers' designs, felt justified in committing him to prison and commanding his execution.

Markham: "On the 25th [of June], Rivers, Grey, Haute and Vaughan were beheaded. Those arrested in London, with Hastings, were treated with unwise leniency. The treacherous Stanley was not only pardoned but rewarded. Bishop Morton was merely

taken into custody, and placed in charge of the Duke of Buckingham. Archbishop Rotherham, a weak tool in the hands of the others, after a brief detention, was allowed to return to his diocese." (99-100)

Kendall: Kendall characterizes Lord Rivers' father as a rapacious adventurer and says his mother was so devious that she was considered to be a witch. His brother Lionel was like his father, albeit in the garb of a bishop. Lord Rivers' sister, the Queen, presents a tragic picture of a beauty raised to the highest eminence and then case down to friendless death--an untrue picture because the Queen was mean, stupid, and cruel. (213)

ARREST OF JANE SHORE

Immediately after Lord Hastings' execution, June 13, 1483, Edward IV's favorite mistress, Jane Shore, was arrested. After Edward's death she had been living in the same unlawful manner (More, p. 80) with Hastings up to his execution. She was arrested on suspicion of being implicated in the same conspiracy against Richard for which Hastings had been executed. But it was her immorality, not her political offences, on which she was accused. Dr. Kempe, the Bishop of London, sentenced her to perform open penance (as a harlot, with a lighted taper in the streets) on the Sunday following Hastings' execution. Her saddened look and subdued manner, united to her rare beauty and accomplishments, excited general commiseration.

Gairdner: ". . . there can hardly be a doubt that she was employed as a political agent and go-between by the Hastings and Woodville party." (69)

"Her husband, if he was not dead, was now divorced from her, and she became a prisoner in the city prison of Ludgate. But even here she was aided in the struggle with affliction by her own personal charms and graces, which succeeded in captivating no less a person than the king's solicitor; and notwithstanding her old disgrace and punishment, he made her an offer of marriage. What is more striking is the conduct of Richard himself in relation to

this curious affair. He was certainly not gratified by the intelligence; but at least in this matter he did not show himself a tyrant. He wrote to his chancellor, the Bishop of Lincoln, about it, in the following words:

'By the King.

'Right reverend Father in God, &c. Signifying unto you that it is showed unto us that our servant and solicitor, Thomas Lynom, marvellously blinded and abused with the late [wife] of William Shore now being in Ludgate by my commandment, hath made contract of matrimony with her, as it is said, and intendeth, to our great marvel, to proceed to the effect of the same. We for many causes would be sorry that he so should be disposed. Pray you, therefore, to send for him, and, in that ye find him utterly set for to marry her and [he] none otherwise will be advertised, then, if it may stand with the law of the Church, We be content, the time of the marriage deferred to our coming next to London, that upon sufficient surety found of her good bearing, ye do send for her keeper and discharge him of our said commandment, by warrant of these, committing her to the rule and guiding of her father or any other by your direction in the mean season. Given, &c.

'To the Right Reverend Father in God,

'The Bishop of Lincoln our Chancellor.' MS Harl. 433, f. 340b." (71-72)

DR. SHAW'S SERMON

"Bastard Slips Shall Never Take Deep Root": On Sunday, June 22, 1483, Dr. Raaf Shaw, an eminent ecclesiastic and brother of the Lord Mayor, Sir Edmund Shaw, undertook to advocate the Duke of Gloucester's claims publicly from the pulpit. He ascended St. Paul's Cross, in St. Paul's churchyard, "the Lord Protector, the Duke of Buckingham, and other lords being present" (Fabyan, p. 514) and selected his text from the Book of Wisdom (ch. iv, v. 3). "'Spuria vitulimina non agent radices altas'; that is to say, Bastard slips shall never take deep root." --More, p. 100. He "there showed openly that the children of King Ed-

ward IV were not legitimate, nor rightful inheritors of the crown," because of a previous contract of marriage by Edward. He concluded his discourse by pointing out the preferable title of the Lord Protector, disannulling that of the young king and urged the immediate election of Richard as the rightful heir to the throne.--Fabyan, p. 514.

Distortion of the Sermon: Dr. Shaw's sermon was later distorted and exaggerated an almost inconceivable degree, making Richard perform a part better suited to a strolling player: "Now was it before devised, that in the speaking of these words, the Protector should have come in among the people to the sermon, to the end that those words, meeting with his presence, might have been taken among the hearers as though the Holy Ghost had put them in the preacher's mouth, and should have moved the people even there to cry 'King Richard! King Richard!' that it might have been after said that he was specially chosen by God, and in manner by miracle. But this device quailed either by the Protector's negligence, or the preacher's over-much diligence."--More, p. 102.

Further Distortion--Alleged Charge Against Richard's Mother: The distortions of a later time even have Richard act in so revolting a manner as that of instructing (Ibid., p. 99) the preacher to impugn the reputation of his own mother, fixing the stain of illegitimacy on all her sons but himself, her youngest and eleventh child! Horace Walpole says "The tale of Richard's aspersing the chastity of his own mother is incredible; it appearing that he lived with her in perfect harmony, and lodged with her in her palace at that very time."--Historic Doubts, p. 125. See Archaeologia, xiii, p. 7; Historic Doubts, p. 42; and Buck, lib. iii, p. 82. Monstrous indeed is the charge, a fitting accompaniment to the common story of Clarence's death in a butt of malmsey and Richard's "werish and withered arm."

All reply to this gross accusation against the Protector may be summed up in the simple fact that all contemporary writers are silent on the matter. They make no allusion what-

ever to the Lady Cecily or the unnatural and uncalled-for part said to have been acted by her son. It is later chronicles who create the distortion.

- The prior of Croyland wrote his Chronicle in 1484.

- Rous of Warwick wrote his history in 1487.

- Fabyan's Chronicle was compiled about 1490.

- Sir Thomas More wrote his Life of Richard III in 1508.

- Polydore Virgil was sent to England by Pope Innocent VIII to collect Papal tribute in 1500. He commenced his history shortly after his establishment at the English court and completed it in 1517.

The Prior of Croyland and Rous of Warwick seem to have considered Dr. Shaw's sermon too unimportant to call forth remark. Sir Thomas More was the next writer in chronological order and the first who relates the calumny. More not only certifies that Richard was acquitted of all share in the transaction but also that the entire blame was laid on Dr. Shaw.

Who, then, was it who affixed on the Protector the infamy of aspersions on the Lady Cecily's honour? It is Polydore Virgil, Henry VII's analyst, who compiled his history under the auspices of Richard III's bitter rival. From this corrupted source sprang those calumnies which for ages have supplied the stream of history. But, Polydore Virgil was not contemporary with that time, as was the Croyland doctor. He wrote what he had heard at the court of Richard's enemy, Henry VII, many years after Richard's death, while the Croyland chronicler testified that which he had seen and known during Richard III's reign.

Virgil undertook his history at a period when one of those very children--Elizabeth of York--whose illegitimacy Parliament had confirmed in Titulus Regius (Rot. Parl. VI, 240)--was Queen of England and mother of the heir apparent. Virgil wrote after Henry VII had commanded the obnoxious statute expunged from the rolls. "The statute was abrogated in Parliament; taken off the rolls, and destroyed; and those possessed of copies were directed, under the

penalty of fine and imprisonment, to deliver them to the chancellor, 'so that all things said or remembered in the bill and act be for ever out of remembrance and forgotten.'"--See Henry, vol. xii, App. p. 409; Carte, vol. ii, p. 824. Fabyan, however, was uninfluenced by the political changes which made it expedient in Polydore Virgil to remove the stigma of illegitimacy from the queen consort, and fix the imputation on the children of the deceased Duchess of York.

Cecily, Duchess of York, survived her illustrious consort, Richard, Duke of York, thirty-five years. After outliving her royal sons, Edward IV and Richard III, she died in retirement at her castle of Berkhamstead in 1495--10th Henry VII. She was buried by the side of her husband in the collegiate church of Fotheringhay.--Sandford, book v, p. 369.

Legge: ". . . we are on firmer ground in following the contemporary chronicler Fabyan, the highest authority for all matters occurring in London, and who, as one of the civic authorities, was in all probability present on the occasion. His narrative points to the conclusion that Dr. Shaw's part in the nefarious business has been greatly exaggerated, and wholly exonerates the Protector." (258-259)

"It did not suit the purpose of the Tudor historians to give prominence to the fact that Richard based his claim to the crown upon the invalidity of Edward's marriage. The atrocious imputation of his having sanctioned reflections upon his mother's chastity, betrays an anxiety to divert the public mind from the one fact upon which he relied as conferring a title to the Crown, and which rendered his nephews harmless, with whom a man of his strong sense and sagacity was not likely to deal harshly." (263)

"The force of Richard's contention can only be fully realized if we bear in mind that before the Reformation--as subsequently in Scotland--a contract of marriage was valid without further ceremony; whether ecclesiastical or secular.--See Gibson's 'Codex.' Consent constituted the essence, and was recognized by

the canon law as equally binding as the rites of marriage." (264)

"A greater man than Dr. Shaw had used the pulpit to create a public opinion adverse to the children of the late King." Thomas Penketh, an Augustine friar and a scholar of European reputation, "had been educated at Oxford, where . . . he attained the highest honours usually bestowed by that University on her best divines."--Chetham Society's Publications, vol. xvii, p. xl . . . he espoused the cause of the Protector; but he took little part in public affairs save in assisting Richard in proving the illegitimacy of Edward's children, and in this his renown as a scholar and a theologian were of great service." (264,5)

ILLEGALITY OF EDWARD IV'S MARRIAGE

Dr. Shaw's sermon was based on the testimony of Robert Stillington, Bishop of Bath and Wells, who had informed the Protector that Edward IV's marriage with Elizabeth Wydville was not valid (Rot. Parl., vol. vi, fol. 241), as he had before been secretly married to the Lady Elinor Butler (Milles's Cat. of Honour, p. 743). She was the daughter of a great peer, John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, and the widow of Lord Butler. She was "a lady of very eminent beauty and answerable virtue, to whom the king was contracted, married, and had a child by her."--Buck, lib. iv, p. 122. Sir Thomas More substitutes the name of Elizabeth Lucy for that of Elinor Butler. Elizabeth Lucy was King Edward IV's mistress and mother of his illegitimate son Arthur Lord Lisle; Elinor Butler was the King's espoused wife.--See More, p. 96. "This contract was made in the hands of the bishop, who said that afterwards he married them, no person being present but they twayne and he, the king charging him strictly not to reveal it."--Phil. de Com., lib. v, p. 151.

Edward's mother, Cecily, Duchess of York, had tried unsuccessfully by entreaties and remonstrances (More, p. 93) to prevent the second marriage entered into by her son in direct violation of a sacramental oath and in open defiance of the law, ecclesiastical as well as civil.--Buck, lib. iv, p. 119. Buck states that the announcement of the king's

second marriage "cast the Lady Elianora Butler into so perplexed a melancholy, that she spent herself in a solitary life ever after."--Lib. iv, p. 122. She did not long survive Edward IV's infidelity. Retiring into a monastery, she devoted herself to religion. She died on July 30, 1466 and was buried in the Carmelites' church at Norwich.

Legge: "He [the Croyland Chronicler] tells us that Dr. Shaw disputed the validity of Edward IV.'s marriage with Elizabeth Woodville; 'he shewed openly that the children of Edward IV. were not legitimate nor rightful inheritors of the crown. . .'-Fabyan, p. 669. The children of Clarence were cut off from the succession by their father's attainder, and Richard was thus left the sole lawful heir." (259)

"More must have been acquainted with the record on the Rolls of Parliament, which for two centuries after his day were inaccessible to the historian. And it is there recorded that 'King Edward was and stood married and troth plight to one dame Eleanor Butler, daughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury, with whom the said King Edward had made a pre-contract of matrimony, long before he made his pretended marriage with Elizabeth Grey. The evidence which satisfied Parliament amply justified Richard in regarding himself as his brother's rightful heir, and his nephew as a harmless pretender to the crown.'" (268)

Gairdner: "If, indeed, Bishop Stillington's imprisonment [March-June 1478] was at all connected with this disclosure, it is by no means improbable that Clarence did endeavor to make use of it to the queen's prejudice, for the time corresponds very closely with the date of his attainder, and nothing could better explain the necessity felt by Edward of putting his brother to death [February 18, 1478] in spite of apparent reluctance, than the fact that Clarence had got possession of such a secret.

"Another point, which is perhaps rather an evidence of the truth of the story, is the care afterwards taken to suppress and to pervert it. When Henry VII. became king, and married the daughter of Edward IV. and Elizabeth Woodville, any allusion

to the pre-contract was treated as disloyal. The petition to Richard to assume the crown was declared to be so scandalous that every copy of it was ordered by Parliament to be destroyed. The allegations contained in it were misrepresented; the pre-contract was said to have been with Elizabeth Lucy, one of Edward's mistresses, instead of with Lady Eleanor Butler, and the name of the latter lady was omitted from the story. Thus, in Sir Thomas More's history, a courtesan of obscure birth is made to take the place of an earl's daughter as the person to whom Edward was first betrothed; and such is the version of the story that has been current nearly ever since. It was only after the lapse of a century and a quarter that Sir George Buck discovered the true tenor of the parliamentary petition in the MS. history of Croyland; and again, after another like period had passed away, the truth received ample confirmation by the discovery of the very Roll of Parliament on which the petition was engrossed. Fortunately, notwithstanding the subsequent statute, all the copies had not been destroyed." (91-92)

Markham: "Up to this time affairs had gone smoothly. On June 5 [1483] the Protector had given detailed orders for his nephew's coronation on the 22nd, and had even caused letters of summons to be issued for the attendance of forty esquires who were to receive the knighthood of the Bath on the occasion.--Rymer, vol. xii, p. 186; Anstis, Obs.; Sir Harry Nicolas, History of the Orders of Knighthood, iii, ix; Ellis, Original Letters, 2nd series. But now there came a change. Dr. Robert Stillington, Bishop of Bath and Wells, apparently on June 8, revealed to the Council the long-concealed fact that Edward IV. was contracted to the Lady Eleanor Butler, widow of a son of Lord Butler, of Sudely, and daughter of the first Earl of Shrewsbury, before he [Edward] went through a secret marriage ceremony with the Lady Grey . . ." (93) Under canon law, the essence of marriage was consent, and a betrothal had the effect of a legal tie.

"In 1466 Dr. Stillington became Bishop of Bath and Wells, and in the

same year Edward IV. made him Keeper of the Privy Seal. On June 8, 1467, he was installed in the high office of Lord Chancellor. . ." (94)

"It is very significant that at the very time of Clarence's attainder [February 1478], Bishop Stillington was arrested and imprisoned (Rymer, xii, 66) for 'uttering words prejudicial to the King and his State.' He was pardoned in the following June 1478. All this points clearly to the discovery of the first contract by Clarence, and to the utterance of some imprudent speech by the bishop, which was expiated by imprisonment followed by renewed promises of silence." (95-96)

"Richard had hitherto been ignorant of the early intrigues of his brother. He was only eleven and a half when the widow of Sir J. Grey was taken into favour, and the Butler contract was of a still earlier date."

"The announcement must have fallen on Richard and the Council like a thunder clap. . . There was a prolonged sitting of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in the Council Chamber at Westminster, on June 9. Bishop Stillington brought in instruments, authentic doctors, proctors, and notaries of the law, with depositions of divers witnesses." (Morton, in his account of a conversation with the Duke of Buckingham--Grafton, p. 126) The majority of the Council must have seen at once that the illegitimate son of the late King could not succeed. Such a proceeding would inevitably be the precursor of innumerable troubles. The case was prepared to be laid before the Parliament which was summoned to meet on June 25." (97)

Kendall: Only the Croyland Chronicle, of all the narrative sources, accurately tells about Edward IV's pre-contract with Lady Eleanor Butler. The story of the pre-contract is contained in a bill enacted by Richard's Parliament of January, 1484 (Rot. Parl. VI, 240), reporting and confirming the parliamentary petition adopted by the informal Parliament on June 25, 1483. Kendall suggests that the inconsistencies and errors in Mancini's manuscript are due to his basic assumption that Richard sought the throne

from the outset. (473,4) Kendall believes that Richard did not seek men's opinion on this possibility until Tuesday or Wednesday, June 17-18, 1483 (477).

Henry Tudor issued a warrant for Stillington's arrest on August 22, 1485, immediately after the battle. Although later pardoned, he was kept in a cell at Windsor Castle after espousing Lambert Simnel's cause in 1487, and died four years later. As noted above, Henry had his first Parliament enact a bill ordering all copies of the Titulus Regius to be destroyed. (475)

Nothing is said of Lady Eleanor Butler or Stillington by either More or Vergil. The true story was not uncovered until the seventeenth century when Buc told the accurate account of the Croyland Chronicle and a copy of the Titulus Regius was found (475-6).

Kendall concludes that there is a "strong possibility that Stillington's revelation was true. Gairdner is inclined to accept it." Kendall cites these supporting facts:

- Henry's destruction of all evidence of the pre-contract.

- Henry's imprisonment of Bishop Stillington.

- The perversion or suppression of the story by all Tudor historians.

These factors indicate that Richard had good reason to believe that Stillington's story was true. (219, 476, 477)

PARLIAMENT FORMALLY DEPOSES EDWARD V

Discarding then the irreconcilable discrepancies of a later period, and adhering scrupulously to the coeval accounts transmitted by Fabyan and the Prior of Croyland, the change of government which elevated Richard of Gloucester, and excluded his nephew from the throne may be thus briefly summed up in the concise words of Fabyan, the city chronicler:

"Then upon the Tuesday following Dr. Shaw's address (June 24, 1483), an assembly of the commons of the city was appointed at the Guildhall, where the Lord of Buckingham in the presence of the mayor and commonalty rehearsed the right and title that the Lord Protector had to be preferred before his nephews; the sons of his brother King Edward, to the right of the crown of England. The

which process was so eloquent-wise shewed, and uttered without any impediment," he adds, thus implying that he was present, and heard the discourse,--"and that of a long while with so sugred words of exhortation and according sentence, that many a wise man that day marvelled and commended him for the good ordering of his words, but not for the intent and purpose, the which thereupon ensued."--Fabyan, p. 514.

On the following day, Wednesday, June 25, 1483, Parliament had been legally convened (Royal Wills, p. 347) by Edward V. A supplicatory scroll was presented to the three estates assembled at Westminster (Rot. Parl., vol. vi, p. 240), although not "in form of parliament." "From which I should infer that the parliament was summoned, but that it was not opened in due form; Richard not choosing to do it as Protector, because he meant to be king, and for the same reason determining that Edward should not meet it."--Turner, vol. iii, p. 458.

"There was shown then, by way of petition, on a roll of parchment, that King Edward's sons were bastards, alleging that he had entered into a precontract with Dame Alionora Butler, before he married Queen Elizabeth; and, moreover, that the blood of his other brother, George Duke of Clarence, was attainted, so that no certain and incorrupt lineal blood of Richard Duke of York could be found but in the person of Richard Duke of Gloucester. Wherefore it was besought him on behalf of the lords and commons of the realm, that he would take upon him his right."--Chron. Croy., p. 566. Such is the clear and explicit account of the contemporary historian.

"Whereupon the lords and commons, with one universal negative voice, refused the sons of King Edward" (Buck, lib. i, p. 20), not for any ill-will or malice, but for their disabilities and incapacities, the opinions of those times holding them not legitimate. For these and other causes the barons and prelates unanimously cast their election upon the Protector." (Ibid., lib. i, p. 20; More, p. 110)

Markham: "In spite of the superseas which was treacherously sent

out by the conspirators to prevent the meeting of Parliament (Davies, York Records, p. 134), the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and the commons had assembled in London on the day appointed, June 25, and formed what in later times would have been called a Convention Parliament. The proofs of the previous contract of Edward IV. with Lady Eleanor Butler were laid before this assembly by Bishop Stillington and his witnesses, and it was decided by the three Estates of the Realm that the illegitimate son could not succeed to the throne. Owing to the attainder of the Duke of Clarence, his children were not in the succession. The Duke of Gloucester was, therefore, the legal heir: and it was resolved that he should be called upon to accept the high office of King." (100, 1)

PARLIAMENT TENDERS THE CROWN TO RICHARD

The Three Estates Petition Richard: Importuning the Duke of Buckingham to be their speaker, the chief lords, with other grave and learned persons, had audience granted to them at the Lady Cecily's mansion in the great chamber at Baynard's Castle, then Yorke House. There, they addressed themselves to the Lord Protector. After rehearsing the disabilities of Edward V and reciting the superiority of his own title, they petitioned him to assume the crown.

The result of this solemn invitation is thus narrated in the parliamentary report which attests this remarkable fact: "Previously to his coronation, a roll containing certain articles was presented to him on behalf of the three estates of the realm, by many lords spiritual and temporal, and other nobles and commons in great multitude, whereunto he, for the public weal and tranquillity of the land, benignly assented." (Rot. Parl., vol. vi, p. 240)

Parliament's Action Exonerates Richard of Two Charges: This parliamentary report corroborates the plain account by the contemporary chroniclers, both as regards (1) the cause that led to Richard of Gloucester being elected king and (2) the mode of proceedings observed on the

occasion. It exonerates this prince altogether from two of the odious charges brought against him by subsequent historians.

First, Parliament's action in deposing Edward V because of illegitimacy and tendering the crown to the next prince of incorrupt lineal blood, Richard of Gloucester, disproves his alleged unnatural and offensive conduct to his mother, the Lady Cecily. Not only did he select her mansion, Baynard's Castle, for the audience that was to invest him with the kingly authority, but also his alleged aspersion of his mother's character was totally uncalled for. Valid grounds existed for displacing and excluding his brother's children without calumny or injustice to her. "The doubts on the validity of Edward's marriage were better grounds for Richard's proceedings than aspersion of his mother's honour. On that invalidity he claimed the crown and obtained it; and with such universal concurrence, that the notion undoubtedly was on his side." (Walpole, Historic Doubts, p. 40)

Second, in a legal and constitutional sense, Richard has been undeservedly stigmatized. He neither seized the crown by violence, nor retained it by open rebellion in defiance of the laws of the land.

The heir of Edward IV was set aside by constitutional authority on an impediment which would equally have excluded him from inheritance in domestic life. Richard, having been unanimously elected (Rot. Parl., vol. vi, p. 240) by the three estates of the realm, took upon him the proffered dignity by their common consent.

Legal and Constitutional Basis for Richard's Acceptance: "The jurisprudence of England," says Archdeacon Paley, "is composed of ancient usages, acts of parliament, and the decisions of the courts of law; those, then, are the sources whence the nature and limits of her constitution are to be deduced, and the authorities to which appeals must be made in all cases of doubt."

Hereditary succession to the crown at this period of English history was but feebly recognized. The grand fundamental maxim upon which the jus coronae, or right of succession to the throne of Britain de-

pend, Sir Wm. Blackstone takes to be this: that the crown is, by common law and constitutional custom, hereditary, and this in a manner peculiar to itself; but that the right of inheritance may from time to time be changed or limited by act of parliament, under which limitations the crown still continues hereditary.

"We must not judge of those times by the present. Neither the crown nor the great men were restrained by sober established forms and proceedings as they are at present; and from the death of Edward III. force alone had dictated. Henry IV. had stepped into the throne contrary to all justice. A title so defective had opened a door to attempts as violent; and the various innovations introduced in the latter years of Henry VI. had annihilated all ideas of order. Richard Duke of York had been declared successor to the crown during the life of Henry and of his son Prince Edward, and, as appears by the Parliamentary History, though not noticed by our careless historians, was even appointed Prince of Wales." (Walpole, Historic Doubts, p. 30)

If the throne becomes vacant or empty, whether by abdication or by failure of all heirs, the two houses of Parliament may, it is said by Blackstone, dispose of it. The right of Parliament to depose one monarch and elevate another had been admitted, not only in the previous reign of Edward IV, but also in the case of Edward III and Henry IV--examples grounded on far less valid pretences than that which led to the deposition of Henry VI and Edward V.

Crown Legally Proffered to Richard: Thus, the crown assumed by the Protector was not a crown of usurpation but one that, having become void by alleged failure of legitimate heirs, was legally proffered to him. Richard of Gloucester must have been born in another era and have been imbued with feelings altogether distinct from such as characterized the nobles of England in the fifteenth century could he have resisted such an appeal and rejected a throne which under such plausible circumstances he was unanimously called upon to fill. Kings do but exemplify the character of the times in which they live and the spirit of the people

whom they rule. Richard was neither more vicious nor more virtuous than the great body of the people who chose him for their ruler.

Markham: "A statement of the royal title, styled 'Titulus Regius,' was prepared [by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and the Commons], in which it was set forth that the children of Edward IV. by the Lady Grey were illegitimate owing to that King's previous contract with the Lady Eleanor Butler, that in consequence of the attainder of the Duke of Clarence, his two children were incapacitated; and that Richard, Duke of Gloucester, was the only true and rightful heir to the throne." (101)

Rotuli Parliamentorum (Rolls of Parliament): On Wednesday, June 25, 1483, the parliamentary assembly drew up "An Act for the Settlement of the Crown upon the King and his issue, with a recapitulation of the Title," stating in part: "Therefore, at the request, and by assent of the Three Estates of this Realm, that is to say, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons of this land, assembled in this present Parliament, by authority of the same, be it pronounced, decreed, and declared, that our said Sovereign Lord the King was, and is, very and undoubted King of England . . ." (241,2) (spelling modernized)

RICHARD, DUKE OF GLOUCESTER, PROCLAIMED KING RICHARD III

Richard was petitioned to ascend a throne which had been previously declared vacant. Assenting, therefore, to a choice freely made by the constituted authorities of the realm, he assumed the proffered sovereignty on Thursday, June 26, 1483.

"The said Protector," says Fabyan, "taking then upon him as king and governor of the realm, went with great pomp unto Westminster, and there took possession of the same. Where he, being set in the great hall in the seat royal . . . after the royal oath there taken, called before him the judges of the law, exhorting them to administer the laws and execute judgment, as the first consideration befitting a king."--page 514.

Addressing himself forthwith to

the barons, the clergy, the citizens, and all gradations of rank and professions there assembled, he pronounced a free pardon for all offences against himself and ordered a proclamation to be openly made of a general amnesty throughout the land. --More, p. 125.

Having thus taken possession of the regal dignity amidst the acclamations of the multitude, Richard proceeded in due state to Westminster Abbey. There, he performed the usual ceremonies of ascending and offering at St. Edward's shrine. He was met at the church door by the leading ecclesiastics, the monks singing "Te Deum laudamus," while the sceptre of King Edward was delivered to him by the abbot. --Buck, lib. i, p. 24. From thence he rode solemnly to St. Paul's, "assisted by well near all the lords spiritual and temporal of this realm, and was received there with procession, with great congratulation and acclamation of all the people in every place and by the way, that the king was in that day." Kennet, vol. i, note to p. 522.

After the customary oblations and recognition in the metropolitan cathedral, the Protector "was conveyed unto the king's palace within Westminster and there lodged until his coronation," (Buck, lib. i, p. 24). That same day he was "proclaimed king throughout the city, by the name and style of Richard III" (Fabyan, p. 515). His coronation, July 6, occurred just two months and twenty-seven days after the demise of Richard's brother, Edward IV, on April 9, 1483. That monarch's hapless child, Edward V, had succeeded to a crown which he was destined never to wear. His name, however, survives on the regnal annals of England as the second monarch of the Yorkist dynasty and the last Edward of the Plantagenet race.

Gairdner: "Such were the mode and circumstances of Richard III's usurpation. A usurpation it certainly was in fact, and so it has always been regarded. So, too, it was considered at the time, even by writers as moderate and as well affected to the House of York as the continuator of Croyland. Yet, in point of form, one might almost look upon it as a constitutional election, if election could be considered a constitutional

principle in those days. Indeed, it was rather a declaration of inherent right to the crown, first by the council of the realm, then by the city, and afterwards by Parliament, --proceedings much more regular and punctilious than had been observed in the case of Edward IV. . . . we must at least acknowledge that the usurpation was one in which the nation, at first, tacitly concurred. The unpopularity of the Woodvilles, and the evils already experienced since the death of Edward IV may have made the termination of the minority seem a real blessing." (95,6)

Gairdner (Letters and Papers Illustrative of The Reigns of Richard III and Henry VII): The parliamentary assembly which met on June 25, 1483, drew up "a bill of petition which the lords spiritual and temporal and the commons of this land solemnly porrected unto the king's highness at London, the 26th day of June. Whereupon the king's said highness, notably assisted by well near all the lords spiritual and temporal of this realm, went the same day unto his palace of Westminster, and there in such royal honor apparelled within the great hall there, took possession and declared his mind that the same day he would begin to reign upon his people . . ." (11, 12)

Markham: On June 26, 1483, "the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and the commons proceeded to Baynard's Castle with the Titulus Regius, to submit their resolution and to petition Richard to assume the crown. He consented. He was then aged thirty years and eight months. On the 27th he delivered the Great Seal to Dr. Russell, Bishop of Lincoln, a prelate celebrated for learning, piety and wisdom. . . . Richard III. then organized his Council, and surrounded himself with able and upright advisers. There were only two false friends among them--the traitors Buckingham and Stanley." (102)

DID RICHARD HAVE PRIOR DESIGNS FOR THE CROWN?

Legge: "It cannot be too much insisted upon that the goal at which he [Richard] ultimately arrived was not at this time [before Stillington's revelations] the object of his ambition. He was surrounded and

circumscribed in all his movements,' observes that eminent historian (Sharon Turner, vol. iii, p. 407) who devoted fifty-three years of his life to the study of this period, 'by active and able men, and he could not in any of his measures effect what he wished against the general will, nor without the co-operation of the most leading men of the country.' That he was countenanced by men of ability, reputation, and influence, who gave him 'great thanks' for his 'discreet guiding,' must be accepted as proof that he was not regarded by his contemporaries as 'that vulgar and satanic anomaly which party prejudice has represented him to be. He was, like most great men who stride forward and command their contemporaries, the creature and the mirror of his age and its circumstances.'--Sharon Turner, vol. iii, p. 411." (vol. I, pp. 205, 206)

Kendall: Mancini and Tudor writers like More and Vergil make the basic assumption that Richard began to seek the throne as soon as he reached London. Perhaps it is this assumption that leads each of these writers to make the same important error in chronology--that Richard secured little York before executing Hastings as the last remaining obstacle to the crown.

Is this assumption true? As noted above, Kendall believes that Richard did not actively consider assuming the throne, on the basis of Stillington's revelations, until about Tuesday or Wednesday, June 17-18, 1483 (477). Here are the reasons:

- The active preparations for Edward V's coronation.

- Richard's decision to ask Parliament to continue the protectorship. This plan could not have been abandoned much before June 25, because Chancellor Russell had already drafted Richard's speech for the opening of Parliament.

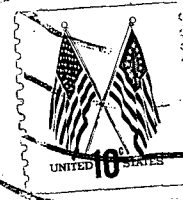
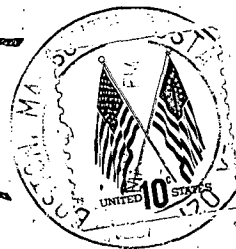
- Evidence that Hastings' conspiracy was aimed against continuation of the protectorship--not against a possible usurpation.

- Richard's call on June 11 for military aid. Kendall believes this action was aimed at possible disorder following Richard's defeat of the Hastings-Woodville plot. After he decided to consider possible assump-

tion of the crown, Richard arranged that no troops would come to London until after his assumption of the crown.

Kendall concludes that the strongest evidence is the developing pattern of events. He suggests that it was the accumulation of circumstances, including his opponents' actions, rather than any pre-conceived plan, that determined Richard's course of action. There was no one moment of decision. (469, 470)

Linda B. McLatchie
Richard III Society, Inc.
9 Weld Street, Apt. 48
Framingham, MA 01701



Mrs. William P. Haynes
4149 25th Street, N.
Arlington
Virginia 22207

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The Ricardian Register

Newsletter of the Richard III Society, Inc.

EDITOR: Linda B. McLatchie, 9 Weld St., Apt. 48, Framingham, Mass. 01701

Richard III Society, Inc. is a non-profit educational corporation chartered in 1969 under the membership corporation laws of the State of New York.

Volume VIII -- issue 3 -- May-June 1974

1974 ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

This year's Annual General Meeting will be held on Saturday, October 5, 1974, at 1 p.m. at the elegant New York headquarters of the English-Speaking Union, 16 East 69th Street, Manhattan. Featured as the principal speaker will be Isolde Wigram, former Secretary of our parent society in England and one of the founders of the reconstituted Society in London after the War. She will speak on the history and many accomplishments of the Society (and not a few of those accomplishments have been due to her energies).

To make our guest speaker feel at home, an English high tea will be served from 4 to 5 p.m.

All guests and prospective members are welcome--the more, the merrier. The price per person will be \$5.50.

Invitations will be sent to all members at least one month in advance.

Mark your calendar: October 5. I hope to see as many of you there as possible.

Bill Hogarth, Program Chairman

NAUGHTON AWARD PROGRAM

In honor of Mrs. Robert Bruce Naughton, who bequeathed \$500 to the Society, and to encourage the submission of research articles and short stories to the Ricardian Register, the officers of the Society are pleased to announce the Naughton Award Program.

A suitable cash prize will be awarded by the Board of Officers, upon the recommendation of the Editor, to those members who have submitted articles or short stories about Richard III or his era which, in the Board's opinion, have sufficient merit. Officers of the Society are not eligible for this award.

Submit your articles or short stories to Linda B. McLatchie, Editor of the Ricardian Register. The deadline for the first award is September 30, 1974, but please do submit your articles or short stories as soon as possible. Awards will be made at least semi-annually if articles or stories of sufficient merit are submitted.

Let's make the Naughton Award Program a resounding success!

William H. Snyder, Chairman

DUES FOR 1974-1975

The Board of Officers has unanimously determined that it must increase the dues rates for 1974-1975. This increase is necessitated by the general inflationary trend as manifested by: (1) 25% increase in first-class postal rates and similar increases for other types of mail; (2) increases in printing costs due to the paper shortage; (3) substantial increase in the amount we send to England for subscriptions to The Ricardian.

Both family and single subscribers will now pay the same dues, but the reduced student rate has been reinstated. Therefore, the new dues structure for 1974-1975 will be as follows:

Regular	\$10.00
Family	\$10.00
Student	\$6.00

The request for membership renewal and payment of dues will be made in the next issue of the Register.

POSTAGE ON LIBRARY MATERIAL

In some cases, members have borrowed so much or so frequently from our library that our postage costs are beginning to increase substantially. Recent increases in postage rates have accelerated this trend.

We therefore ask members requesting library material to include with each such request postage stamps in the amount of at least \$.50. This is a voluntary program, but we ask that you cooperate so that we may avoid impairing our cash reserves.

Libby Haynes, Librarian
4149 25th Street, N.
Arlington, Virginia 22207

MEMBERSHIP ROLLS TOP 400

For the first time in the history of the American Branch of the Society, our membership rolls have swelled above 400. There are over 420 current memberships, with members in almost all states of the continental U.S. Many people became aware of the Society from last summer's National Portrait Gallery exhibition on Richard III, but the majority of new members heard about the Society from a friend.

While quality should always take precedence over quantity, despite our size members have maintained the same intimate fellowship as existed when membership was a fraction of our present size.

BOOK NOTE

The March Ricardian listed several novels on our period. Most are published by Robert Hale & Co. in England and seldom see American publication. Members who wish to order them should know that they are available by mail from Tower Book Service Ltd., 4/6 George Street, Richmond, Surrey TW9 1HD (Hale titles only) at

prices stated plus 20 pence each for postage. (Current exchange rate 1 pound = \$2.40) As an added point of information, any English book can be conveniently ordered from Blackwell's famous bookstore in Oxford. They issue marvelous catalogues periodically on History, Literature, Rare and second-hand books, and the twice-a-year Books New & Forthcoming. Write for them to Blackwell's, Broad Street, Oxford OX1 3BQ. It should also be stated that book prices in England, despite inflation and the floating currencies, are, on the average, always 10-20% cheaper than their American editions. Normal surface mail from the U.K. takes 6 weeks, but Blackwell's has an air freight arrangement (air from U.K., then on from New York by American book rate) that brings titles in stock to you within 10 days at a cost only slightly above the slower sea mail. Since I am close to the subject, and order from the U.K. extensively, I would be happy to answer members' queries about British books.

Bill Hogarth
207 Carpenter Avenue
Sea Cliff, New York 11579

BUCK BACK IN STOCK

A facsimile edition (reproduced from the 1647 edition) of George Buck's The History of the Life and Reigne of Richard Third is available from the Editor at \$8.00 per copy (including postage).

Since the book is now out-of-print, the supply is limited. Orders will be filled on a first-come, first-served basis.

NEW MEMBERS

William H. Barry, Jr.
400 Woodland Road
Kentfield, Calif. 94904

Shirley Fosher
206 Hillside Lane
Bloomington, Ill. 61701

Edith B. Paterson
726 St. Johns Road
Baltimore, Md. 21210

Marge Brannon
4813 N. 24th Street
Arlington, Va. 22207

John R. Krall
7245 Souder Street
Philadelphia, Pa. 19149

Edwarda T. Quinn
117 Spruce Street
Bloomfield, N.J. 07003

Viola C. Bredenberg
4525 Lindell Blvd.
St. Louis, Mo. 63108

Debra S. McParland
627 Round Oak Road
Baltimore, Md. 21204

Ingeborg Reichenbach
38 Fernald Drive
Cambridge, Mass. 02138

Marta C. Christjansen
R.R. 1, Box #353
Momence, Ill. 60954

Mr. & Mrs. R.A. Moran, Jr.
1221 Olympic Circle S.
Whitehall, Pa. 18052

Melissa Scott
621 North Pine
Little Rock, Ark. 72205

Mrs. C. Lyle Cummins, Jr.
2933 W. View Circle
Lake Oswego, Ore. 97034

Mary Parker
95 Charlotte St.
Asheville, N.C. 28801

Susan R. Stone
1365 Peachtree Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Ga. 30309

E. Lee DeGolyer
Box 1005, Brown Univ.
Providence, R.I. 02912

REPLY TO QUERY

The answer to Susan Kramer's query (March-April 1974 Ricardian Register) is implicit in the characters--in the breeding, if you like--of those involved.

The Lady Eleanor Butler was the descendant of high-born people, trained from birth to a code of honorable and well-bred behavior; as witness, she refused to submit to Edward without benefit of clergy. It was Edward's place, not hers, to announce the contract. His acknowledgment of his marriage to Elizabeth Woodville made clear, to Lady Eleanor, that he didn't want her any more. So be it. She would not allow herself or her family to become subjects for gossip and public ridicule. For a woman of her class and breeding, a convent was the only answer. She considered herself married; so making herself unavailable as a marriage prospect to others would forestall awkward questions she was bound not to answer. Some historians say she bore Edward a child, while there. If so, how much stronger her need to remove herself from public sight. In her eyes, the position in which she found herself was far from favorable!

Elizabeth Woodville, on the other hand, was the daughter of a self-seeking upstart and a willful, unscrupulous woman, and was quite unhampered by ingrained ethics. She held out for marriage to Edward, not from virtue, but, alerted to the possibilities by her mother, for gain. Her lack of personal pride and dignity, and her vindictiveness were frequently evidenced; and her greed was ever plain. Even in fear for her safety, she didn't panic to the point of abandoning her riches. Bourgeois! Ignoble!

An interesting side note, in this situation: Edward IV knew his women, didn't he!

Sybil Ashe
229 South Street
Medfield, Mass. 02052

BOOK LOOK

Less Fortunate Than Fair by Sandra Wilson

This is a very well-constructed novel concerning Cecily Plantagenet, second daughter of Edward IV, from the time of her father's death to her first meeting with Henry VII. She had been taught to fear her uncle Richard of Gloucester, but after he becomes king she learns to respect him deeply, and feels no resentment towards him for disclosing the invalidity of her parents' marriage. She falls in love with John of Gloucester, and Richard approves the match, but asks them to wait to marry until after Elizabeth, the elder sister, is wed. The Earl of Desmond is suggested for Elizabeth, but Richard does not rush her or force her to consent.

The two princes remain in the Tower until the spring of 1485, then are secretly conveyed to Sheriff Hutton to live with the other young members of the House of York. Young Edward is a vain, unlikeable child in poor health. Little Dickon is intelligent and delightful. A fortuitous warning of the defeat at Bosworth allows them to make their undetected escape by sea.

To save John's life, Cecily hides her love for him on the trip to London after Bosworth. The story ends abruptly on their arrival there. A postscript would be in order relating John's fate and Cecily's marriage to Lord Welles.

Book review by Libby Haynes

BOOK ORDER FORM

The Editor has just received a large shipment of books from England. The price for some titles has, unfortunately, increased.

Booklets

- _____ "Edward of Middleham, Prince of Wales" by P.W. Hammond @ \$1.50
- _____ "The Battle of Tewkesbury, A Roll of Arms" by Geoffrey Wheeler @ \$1.50
- _____ "The Battle of Tewkesbury, 4th May 1471" by P.W. Hammond, H.G. Shearring, and G. Wheeler @ \$1.50

Books

- _____ We Speak No Treason (paperback) by Rosemary Hawley Jarman @ \$1.90
- _____ The History of the Life and Reigne of Richard III by George Buck @ \$8.00
- _____ The Betrayal of Richard III by V.B. Lamb @ \$4.00
- _____ History of the Life and Reign of Richard the Third by James Gairdner @ \$8.25
- _____ Richard III, His Life and Character by Sir Clements R. Markham, K.C.B. @ \$8.00
- _____ On Some Bones in Westminster Abbey, A Defence of King Richard III by Philip Lindsay @ \$5.00

Please make all checks payable to Richard III Society, Inc. Send this form, with payment, to Linda B. McLatchie, 9 Weld Street, Apt. 48, Framingham, Massachusetts 01701.

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RENEWAL OF MEMBERSHIP FORM

Please renew my membership in the Richard III Society, Inc. for the year 1974-1975. I enclose a check/money order in the amount of \$ _____ (made payable to Richard III Society, Inc.) for:

_____ Individual @ \$10.00
_____ Student @ \$6.00
_____ Family @ \$10.00
_____ Donation in the amount of \$ _____

(Please note: Receipts and membership cards will be sent to you with the next mailing of the Register.)

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State, Zip _____

=====

ALL DUES AND DONATIONS ARE TAX-DEDUCTIBLE TO THE EXTENT ALLOWED BY LAW.

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If you pay dues for another member, please fill out the following form also:

Please renew the membership of _____ in the Richard III Society, Inc. for the year 1974-1975. I enclose a check/money order in the amount of \$ _____ (made payable to Richard III Society, Inc.) for:

_____ Individual @ \$10.00
_____ Student @ \$6.00
_____ Family @ \$10.00

Name of guest member _____

Address _____

City _____ State, Zip _____

=====

Please return this form, with payment to:

Linda B. McLatchie
9 Weld Street, Apartment 48
Framingham, Massachusetts 01701



Dues, grants and contributions are tax-deductible to the extent allowed by law.

The Ricardian Register

Newsletter of the Richard III Society, Inc.

EDITOR: Linda B. McLatchie, 9 Weld St., Apt. 48, Framingham, Mass. 01701

Richard III Society, Inc. is a non-profit educational corporation chartered in 1969 under the membership corporation laws of the State of New York.

Volume VIII -- issue 4 -- July-August 1974

DUES ARE DUE!

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Dues for the fiscal year 1974-1975 are due by October 1, 1974. As explained in the last issue of the Register, higher dues rates have been necessitated by increases in the fee we pay to the English Branch, increased postal rates, and general inflation. Therefore, the dues structure for 1974-1975 is as follows:

Individual	\$10.00
Student	\$6.00
Family	\$10.00

Donations are always welcome and will aid the Society in achieving its goals.

Please fill out the attached "Renewal of Membership Form," and send, with payment (payable to Richard III Society, Inc.), to Linda B. McLatchie, 9 Weld St., Apt. 48, Framingham, Massachusetts 01701. A pre-addressed envelope is enclosed for your convenience.

Please note: Receipts and membership cards will be sent to you with the next mailing of the Register. All dues and donations are tax-deductible to the extent allowed by law.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING--1974

This year's Annual General Meeting will be held on Saturday, October 5, 1974, at the English-Speaking Union, 16 East 69th Street, Manhattan. We will gather at 1 p.m.; after the business meeting and talk by the guest speaker, we will be served an English high tea at approximately 3-3:30 p.m.

We are privileged to have as our guest speaker Miss Isolde Wigram, former Secretary of the English Branch. Miss Wigram, a moving force behind many of the Society's achievements, will speak to us on the accomplishments of the Society.

The price per person is \$5.50. Members are encouraged to bring guests and prospective members to the meeting.

INVITATIONS WILL BE SENT TO ALL MEMBERS SHORTLY. Members who are unable to attend the Annual General Meeting are urged to fill out the ballot proxy that will be included with the invitations.

WANTED: PURSUIVANT

Unfortunately, I find that I am not qualified for the position of Pursuivant, and wish to turn it over to someone with better knowledge, interest, and facilities for research. The Pursuivant should have a keen interest in heraldry and genealogy of the fifteenth century and be able to: answer questions posed by members with regard to coats-of-arms, badges, etc. used by Richard III contemporaries; answer questions with regard to familial relationships and loyalties; cite sources.

Duties will be what you make them; initially, there should be no more than three or four inquiries per year. Would any member who would like to take this position please write to me at 4149 25th Street N., Arlington, Virginia 22207, citing qualifications and proximity to source materials. Appointment of the Pursuivant will be made by the Chairman, Mr. Snyder.

Libby Haynes

PEN-PALS

Members interested in corresponding with other Ricardians should contact me, stating your preference in pen-pals. Please indicate your particular Ricardian or Yorkist interests as well as any other interests you feel to be relevant.

Please send a STAMPED, SELF-ADDRESSED ENVELOPE with your inquiry.

Anne Yelton
5205 Taylor Mill Road
Covington, Kentucky 4015

BOOK NOTES

Mr. William Hogarth (no relation to the onlie begetter) wishes to announce that a small dwindling stock of the Xerox reprints of the Ricardian still remains in his basement vaults, and members may order them (Nos. 1-18) at the bargain price of \$9.00 per set, postpaid. Order now before the rising damp gets 'em!

Also, due to stupidity, an extra brand-new copy of Margaret Abbey's Brothers-at-Arms has appeared in his mail, and this may be sent to any interested member at \$5.15, postpaid. Miss Abbey is in reality Margaret York, head of the Leicester Branch of the Society, and a prolific writer of fine novels.

Only one copy is left of the Folio Society's beautiful edition of Philippe de Commines Memoirs of the Life of Louis XI of France: THE UNIVERSAL SPIDER, edited by the late Paul Murray Kendall, and illustrated with 15th-century illuminated book pages in full color, boxed. The price is \$12.00 postpaid; not available in any bookstore.

Checks for any of the above should be made payable to William Hogarth and sent to him at 207 Carpenter Avenue, Sea Cliff, New York 11579.

Penguin (in England) has just brought out a new edition of The Daughter of Time by Josephine Tey, with the NPG portrait in color on the cover. This is the first time any publisher has ever done more than a scrawled drawing in a book that absolutely depends on a portrait. I have written to Dell in the U.S. to try to induce them to follow suit here.

BOOK NOTES (continued)

I would appreciate it if members would send me reviews or book notices of The Murders of Richard III by Elizabeth Peters.

William Hogarth, Vice Chairman
207 Carpenter Avenue
Sea Cliff, New York 11579

RICHARD III RECORDING

Members may be interested to know that a recording of "Richard III" by Smetana is available on Deutsche Grammophon and is listed in the Schwann catalog.

Carol E. Parker
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

NEW MEMBERS

Mrs. Halton M. Beumer
Radwyn
Bryn Mawr, Penna. 19010

Deborah Goldstein
55 South Street
Northampton, Mass. 01060

Susie Korytar
5942 W. Cornelia
Chicago, Ill. 60634

Sharon N. Crase
47 W. Portal Avenue
San Francisco, Calif. 94127

Heidi Knowlton
925 Chestnut Street
Indiana, Penna. 15701

Mrs. A.F. Murph
3501 Medina Avenue
Fort Worth, Texas 76133

Domenic A. Forte
16409 S. Emerald
Harvey, Ill. 60426

Mr. & Mrs. Robert J. Weber
12954 Fox Haven Drive
Florissant, Missouri 63034

RESPONSE TO MRS. ASHE'S REPLY TO QUERY

I read Mrs. Ashe's reply to the query of Susan Kramer and I noted in her reply the same kind of emotional condemnation of an individual that we've understood to expect from a Tudor historian. I don't like to think of people as wearing white hats or black. I sense a great deal of hostility in the Society in general against the Woodville family. Although I would be very surprised if feelings against the Woodvilles were not unfriendly, I can see little good in venting wholesale hatred against them. The true purpose of the Society is, I think, to seek the truth, to rid the public of its mistaken conception of Richard as an evil, deformed man, as misrepresented by the Tudor historians. Instead I see people being classed as good guys or bad. Why can't people allow historical people their virtues and faults both?

Another thing concerning Elizabeth Woodville and her current treatment to which I take exception is the notion that she was low-born. Her mother Jacquetta was a Luxembourg princess and considered a fine enough match for John of Bedford, Regent of England. Jacquetta's father Pierre was Count St. Pol. Jacquetta was the most important woman in England until the arrival of Margaret of Anjou. Her marriage to Richard Woodville caused her family and Parliament much unhappiness. Her desire to marry a knight whom she loved and thus risk losing everything--family and rank--does not indicate a woman entirely devoted to selfish personal gain.

If Elizabeth's father had been a Luxembourg and her mother a Woodville, her marriage with Edward would have been considered suitable.

If I seem to be defending the Woodvilles fervently, it is because I tire of the now-popular attitude of hatred towards them. I agree that many of Elizabeth Woodville's actions were wrong and cruel, or at the least, shady. But I also tire of hearing her presented as an evil, conniving villainess. One would think it was she who personally betrayed Richard at Bosworth, eliminated the Plantagenet family, and dragged Richard's name in the mud. Henry Tudor, who did this and more, with his friends the Stanleys, Morton, and others, is winked at and ignored. Richard and Elizabeth Woodville have one thing in common; both were utterly destroyed by Henry Tudor.

Pamela Horter
520 Allendale Road
Rochester, Pennsylvania 15074

SHAKESPEARE'S "RICHARD III"

My wife and I are officers of a local theater group, Shakespeare '70; I am also Director of the company's stage productions. Recently, the group presented a program called "An Evening with Shakespeare '70," which included staged excerpts from our past productions as well as concert readings of individual speeches chosen by the performers. In each case, I prepared a short introduction to the scene or reading so that the audience could orient itself to the scene, the play, or the character. One of the actors selected the opening soliloquy ("Now is the winter of our discontent") from "Richard III." My "prologue" to this reading follows:

One of Shakespeare's earliest portraits of the villain is King Richard III. We now know that Shakespeare's historical sources provided him with a good deal of inaccurate and misleading data regarding the life and character of England's most misunderstood monarch. Nevertheless, the play presents a remarkable, dramatic tour de force for the actor in the role. In the opening soliloquy Shakespeare has Richard discuss his background, his psychology, and his future plans, as he prepares for his ruthless march to the throne.

There is an ironic postscript to the story. The actor who made the original choice was unable to go on; so I had to do the reading in his place. I received some compliments from the audience for my "villainous" behavior and appearance, as well as some questions about my commentary on the "real" Richard.

In my work as Professor of English at Trenton State College I regularly offer the Shakespeare course. Each time I teach it, my wife and I do a class on Richard--after the students have read and discussed the play. We have met with generally favorable reactions from the class members, and have even made a few converts, despite the scepticism with which most students approach our unorthodox presentation of Richard.

Frank Erath
121 Grand Street
Trenton, New Jersey 08611

Summary of "The Deposition of Edward V," an article

by Charles T. Wood

[Editor's Note: The Editor hopes to start presenting summaries of important research articles contained in the Library, in order to acquaint members with the scope of materials available to them.]

Upon the death of Edward IV on April 9, 1483, his elder son was proclaimed Edward V in London. In the company of 2,000 troops and his uterine uncle, Edward V left Ludlow to travel to London for his coronation. In late April the Woodvilles dominated London--Dorset held the Tower, Sir Edward Woodville commanded the seas; Rivers was expected with 2,000 men. However, meeting up with the king's party at Northampton and Stony Stratford, Richard Duke of Gloucester seized and imprisoned several of the king's party--Rivers, Grey, Haute, and Vaughan--and thereupon the Dowager Queen, her daughters, and her younger son the Duke of York entered sanctuary at Westminster on the night of April 30-May 1.

Upon entering the city, Richard obtained oaths of fealty to Edward V from the mayor and other notables, and then sought to consolidate his position as Protector, which, as custom dictated, lasted only while the king remained uncrowned. On May 13 writs began to be issued for a Parliament to be held on June 25; subsequently, preparations for the coronation began. Richard sought to strengthen his support by making grants of land to certain members of the old nobility. He also managed to disperse Sir Edward Woodville's fleet and send Dorset into hiding.

On May 10 Richard sought to have the Council condemn Rivers, Grey, Haute, and Vaughan for treason, but was unsuccessful. He further tried to induce the queen, her daughters, and younger son to leave sanctuary, promising their safety; but by June 9 the negotiations had broken down, and she refused to leave sanctuary.

The traditional view that Richard aimed at the throne from the beginning is untenable, since he sought oaths of fealty to the young king and did not rush to London upon hearing of his brother's death. However, he may have been "keeping his options open"; the queen was trying to exclude him from power and he knew what fate frequently awaited royal uncles who lost their voice in the government. Keeping Woodville hostages in the North provided self-protection, but does not prove evil intent towards the new king.

Richard's security depended on the extent to which he continued in power; formal investitures normally ended protectorships in the past, so a coronation could put Richard's position in jeopardy. To avoid this contingency, one option would have been indefinitely to postpone Edward's installation. There is suggestive evidence (e.g., the fact that no official document mentioning the coronation exists prior to June 5 and that the draft of Russell's speech to Parliament did not mention the coronation) that this option was toyed with. In fact, Russell's address placed strong emphasis on Richard as Protector rather than on a newly crowned Edward V. It is possible that Richard hoped to continue in his status as Protector by not crowning Edward until his majority.

If these were Gloucester's initial hopes, they were shortsighted: the Council's support of Richard could not be counted on, nor could Richard control the composition or political sympathies of Parliament. Most importantly, as long as Elizabeth Woodville and her children remained in sanctuary, they provided a rallying point for opposition; if he deferred Edward's coronation, the queen would not leave sanctuary; but he could not strike out against Edward V, usurping the

throne himself, while the king's younger brother remained in sanctuary. Without the young Duke of York, the Protector's quest for security and preservation of his rule was thwarted. This consideration must have moved him to proceed with the coronation, to melt Elizabeth Woodville's intransigence. Richard's letters to the city of York and Lord Neville requesting armed troops could not have been for the purpose of quashing Hastings' conspiracy, as they would not arrive quickly enough for the pressing emergency; nor is Markham's contention that these letters were in response to hearing of the illegitimacy of Edward V and his brother tenable. It seems preferable, therefore, to ascribe the Protector's appeals for troops to his growing realization that something had to be done to break free of the opposition that everywhere seemed to be threatening his long-term survival. Since negotiations with the queen broke down on June 9, the letters' dates--June 10 and 11--are important; her decision to remain in sanctuary would increase Parliament's hesitancy to act. The troops could not have arrived by June 22, Edward's coronation day; so it was not at this time that Richard was contemplating force to prevent his nephew's coronation; the opening of Parliament three days later emerges as the one known event these troops could influence.

On June 16, Elizabeth Woodville finally surrendered Richard of York and at roughly the same time writs of supersedeas began to be issued, cancelling the coronation and the meeting of Parliament, although only a few were sent before the order to dispatch them was countermanded. Elizabeth Woodville's stubbornness appears so to have provoked the Council that it finally agreed to the use of extreme measures to resolve the impasse that had existed for the past month and a half. Here the writs of supersedeas begin to make sense, for if Richard of York could not attend his brother's coronation, that ceremony and the ensuing Parliament would have to be called off. She would surrender the Duke of York only when she saw that the formal investiture of one son would never take place without the presence of the other.

If this analysis is correct, the decision to draw up writs of supersedeas represented little more than a contingency plan agreed to by the Council in the uncertain days preceding June 16. But the decision actually to use them on the 17th has no such air of contingency, especially since it appears to have been made simultaneously with the one to execute Rivers, Grey, Haute, and Vaughan. Though the action was hasty and ill-considered, Richard was at last moving decisively to seize the initiative, hoping to defer Edward's coronation until his majority while Richard continued to serve as Protector.

The supersedeas was probably the cause of Hastings' so-called conspiracy of June 20 (see Hanham's research, 1972), against which Richard took such swift action. Richard's actions had cemented an alliance between Hastings and the queen's party, and Richard found that fragmented forces of opposition were combining against him.

Hastings' plot raised the spectre of continuing conflicts unless and until he could effectively eliminate his enemies' common bond--loyalty to Edward V. Gloucester's decision to depose Edward thus came no later than two days before Edward's planned coronation; at the earliest, it could have come only five days before, the date of the supersedeas.

The deposition created serious constitutional questions. Edward V had not (like Richard II) demonstrated unfitness for office, and so his deposition, unless carefully managed, could appear to be outright usurpation on his uncle's part.

That the specifics of Richard's claims to the crown were unclear and vague is suggested by the differences among the various chroniclers' accounts. Some say Richard based his claim on the illegitimacy of his brother, Edward IV, while others (Croyland and Comines) say he based it on the illegitimacy of Edward IV's children

due to a pre-contract. However, it seems that the accounts of both Comines and the Croyland chronicler are based not on the events of June themselves, but solely on the way in which these events were presented in the act of succession passed the following January.

Mancini left England within a month of Richard's coronation and finished his account in late 1483. His account, therefore, of the events of June 1483 could not have been influenced by later developments. According to Mancini, preachers first called Edward IV a bastard (June 22), and then Buckingham subsequently (June 24) claimed in the Guildhall that Edward's children were bastards due to an earlier marriage by proxy that Warwick had arranged on the continent.

In the tumultuous days following Hastings' execution, Richard, having determined to depose his nephew, had desperately to create reasons to justify the deed. Questioning the paternity of Edward IV (which apparently occurred in the sermon of June 22) not only insulted Richard's mother Cecily, it also weakened the House of York's claims to the crown; moreover, this argument was unlikely to persuade the Parliament. These objections probably explain why the government changed its position between June 22 and 24. The defects of Edward V's title were proclaimed to be due to Edward IV's alleged proxy marriage "on the continent," not his illegitimacy; this would insure Edward V's deposition while remaining in a constitutional framework.

To give the deposition some semblance of constitutional legitimacy, Richard could not entirely abandon the precedents of previous depositions (notably that of 1399), where Parliament had assented to the act. But Richard claimed that Edward V had never been king (at least not de jure) and so his writs for Parliament were void--hence the meeting of Parliament could not be valid. One doubts whether Parliament assembled at all, it being much more likely that Richard made do with the Guildhall meeting, fearing the consequences if a parliamentary group were allowed to voice its opinions. Richard was seeking to legitimate his usurpation through the use of a rump assemblage which could lay no claim to constitutional authority or to a right to speak for the kingdom by virtue of a congruity existing between its membership and that of a legally summoned Parliament. But, finding it impossible thus to abandon earlier precedents, Richard did finally call a Parliament in January 1484 to pass an act of succession that placed the stamp of parliamentary approval on the proceedings of June 1483.

The act of succession alters the stories given out in June 1483. Edward IV's bastardy is omitted and the proxy marriage on the continent (which would not stand up to scrutiny) is transmuted into a pre-contract with Eleanor Butler which, due to its secret nature, would make verification almost impossible. It is significant to note, however, that this new story forced Parliament for the first time to rule on the validity of a sacrament, and that it did so created the precedent for Henry VIII's Reformation Parliament.

Albeit unwittingly, and doubtless unwillingly, Richard III so conducted himself that he both confirmed and created parliamentary precedents that would guide his successors.

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Linda B. McLatchie
Richard III Society, Inc.
9 Weld St., Apt. 48
Framingham, MA 01701



Mrs. William P. Haynes
4149 25th Street, N.
Arlington
Virginia 22207

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RICHARD III SOCIETY, INC.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING: OCTOBER 5TH 1974

The tenth Annual General Meeting of the American Richard III Society will be held on Saturday, October 5, 1974, in New York City. Through the good offices of our Chairman, William Snyder, and at the suggestion of Betty Schloss, we have been able to obtain the main hospitality rooms at the English-Speaking Union, 16 East 69th Street, which attendees will find not only convenient of access (Fifth and Madison Avenue buses at either end of the street, Lexington IRT subway stop nearby) but beautiful and comfortable in themselves.

Our speaker will be Miss Isolde Wigram, one of the founders of the re-constituted Society in London and for a long period its Secretary. Readers of the Ricardian and those who have corresponded with Miss Wigram know her to be one of the most astute, thorough and no-nonsense writers on topics of Ricardian interest. With her late mother, Mrs. Olivia Wigram, Isolde sparked the activity that has resulted in the large following of the Society today. She was instrumental in installing the Anne Neville plaque in Westminster Abbey, and in other achievements of the Society in securing a re-hearing for the revisionist viewpoint. We feel honored in sharing part of her first visit to America, and look forward to hearing of the struggles and triumphs of our Society from one so actively involved.

We will gather after lunch this year at 1 p.m., at the ESU, 16 East 69th Street, NYC for our business meeting, talks, and a sumptuous English tea at 3-3:30 (sandwiches, cake, coffee, and tea). The atmosphere will be non-hectic and allow plenty of time for social exchange after tea, before dispersing at 5 or so. The cost to members and guests is \$5.50 per person.

If you plan to attend the Annual General Meeting, please fill in Coupon No. 1 and send it, with payment (payable to Linda B. McLatchie), to Linda B. McLatchie, 9 Weld Street, Apt. 48, Framingham, Mass. 01701. Members who will be attending the meeting should not fill out Coupon No. 2, the ballot proxy, since you will be voting at the meeting. Members who do not intend to come to the meeting should fill in Coupon No. 2 and return it to Linda B. McLatchie before October 1, 1974.

COUPON NUMBER 1 (To be filled out by members attending the 1974 AGM)

Please reserve _____ places at the Annual General Meeting for myself
and _____ other members and guests, at \$5.50 per person. I
enclose a check (made payable to LINDA B. McLATCHIE) in the amount of
\$ _____.

Your name _____

Address _____

City _____ State, Zip _____

Please list the names of other members and guests who will be in your party:

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

Please complete this form and return, with payment, to:

Linda B. McLatchie
9 Weld Street, Apartment 48
Framingham, Massachusetts 01701

IF YOU ARE ATTENDING THE AGM, DO NOT FILL OUT COUPON 2, AS YOU WILL
BE VOTING IN PERSON AT THE MEETING.

COUPON NUMBER 2 (To be filled out only by members not attending the 1974 AGM)

I hereby authorize my proxy to vote for the following candidates for office at the Annual General Meeting of the Richard III Society, Inc. on October 5, 1974, in New York City (before voting, please read the short biographical sketches of nominees and the description of new offices that appear on the reverse side of this coupon):

Either check name of nominee or write in your choice of nominee

Chairman (vote for one):

☐ William H. Snyder

OR

☐

(write in)

Vice-Chairman (vote for two):

☐ William Hogarth

OR

☐

(write in)

☐ Donald G. Kilgore, Jr.

OR

☐

(write in)

Sec'y-Treasurer (vote for one):

☐ Linda B. McLatchie

OR

☐

(write in)

Librarian (vote for one):

☐ Elizabeth D. Haynes

OR

☐

(write in)

Editor (vote for one):

☐ Linda B. McLatchie

OR

☐

(write in)

Corresponding Sec'y (vote for one):

☐ Martha Hogarth

OR

☐

(write in)

Regional Vice-Chairman (vote for two):

☐ Doris Derickson

OR

☐

(write in)

☐ Elizabeth Meier

OR

☐

(write in)

Name _____

Please return this form by October 1, 1974 to:

Address _____

Linda B. McLatchie
9 Weld Street, Apt. 48
Framingham, Mass. 01701

City _____

State, Zip _____

Description of New Offices

Corresponding Secretary: This office will be specifically to work with the elected Secretary-Treasurer by developing and coordinating as well as follow-up work on inactive membership (regular and honorary).

Regional Vice-Chairmen: These officers will serve as a link between our distant members and the elected officers by providing information on activities in their regions having to do with literary, dramatic or other cultural projects that would be interesting for the Ricardian membership. Also, keeping in touch with nearby members and offering encouragement that cannot be given by officers located 1,000 miles or more away.

(Please note: The Corresponding Secretary and the Regional Vice-Chairmen will be elected officers, but will not be members of the Board of Directors.)

Biographical Sketches of Nominees

William H. Snyder. Doctor of Jurisprudence, University of Denver. Member of the Bars of the U.S. Supreme Court and the Supreme Court of Colorado. Formerly on staff of the U.S. Bureau of the Budget in the Executive Office of the President (on natural resource, economic, and scientific programs) and Executive Secretary of the President's Advisory Board for the Post Office Department. Interests: reader, Folger Shakespeare Library and singing with the Montgomery Light Opera Association.

William Hogarth. Designer and illustrator for books and advertising. Education: Maryland Institute of Art, Johns Hopkins University; art history training at Walters Arts Gallery, Baltimore; studied with painters Reginal Marsh and Mervyn Jules. Worked as stage designer; assistant art director for Scholastic Magazines and The New York Times; art director for magazines 1948-59; free-lance since then. Working on definitive book, "Richard III On Stage and Off."

Donald G. Kilgore, Jr. M.D., Southwestern Medical College of the University of Texas. Presently Clinical Assistant Professor of Pathology, Medical University of South Carolina, and Director of Laboratories, Greenville Memorial Hospital. Certification: American Board of Pathology, Pathologic Anatomy, 1954, Clinical Pathology, 1955.

Linda B. McLatchie. B.A. in Sociology, New York University; graduate work in sociology, New York University. Affiliated for 3 1/2 years with New York University as Administrative Assistant. Currently co-owner, with husband, of photographic studio in Wellesley Hills. Interests: ballet; photo-posterization.

Elizabeth D. Haynes. B.S. in Mathematics, George Washington University. Commissioned in U.S. Air Force 1951, served 4 years in Air Force. Postgraduate work in meteorology, M.F.T., 1952-53; stationed in Newfoundland 1953-55 as flight forecaster (where she met her husband). Research items: list of Knights of the Garter during Richard's reign; genealogical chart of 15th-century nobility; complete peerage of England at time of Richard's accession, their parts in coronation process; notebook of reviews of Ricardian fiction. Four teen-age children.

Martha Hogarth. B.A., New York University; graduate work in psychology. Built the psychological tests for Graduate Record Exams. Organized local League of Women Voters in Sea Cliff; pioneer member for Urban Renewal Committee in the '50s. With Jan Snyder has coordinated needlepoint work for Sutton Cheney. Currently engaged in research for writing a social history of the English Regency Period.

Doris Derickson. B.A., University of Delaware; major: English literature. Interests: English history, literature, and the arts. Moved to Arizona from Delaware in 1950. Husband orthopedic surgeon. Five children, one grandchild (oldest child also member of the Society).

Elizabeth Meier. Educated at Michigan State. Married, with two sons and two grandchildren. Works part-time in Physical Therapy Dept., North Ottawa Community Hospital, Grand Haven. American Red Cross executive committee member for 30 years; first aid instructor for 15 years; member of various voluntary and charitable organizations.



Dues, grants and contributions are tax-deductible to the extent allowed by law.

The Ricardian Register

Newsletter of the Richard III Society, Inc.

EDITOR: Linda B. McLatchie, 9 Weld St., Apt. 48, Framingham, Mass. 01701

Richard III Society, Inc. is a non-profit educational corporation chartered in 1969 under the membership corporation laws of the State of New York.

Volume VIII -- issue 5 -- September-October 1974

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING--1974

The Annual General Meeting of the Richard III Society, Inc. was held on Saturday, October 5, 1974, in a most appropriate setting, the English-Speaking Union in New York. Approximately 115 persons attended the meeting, the largest attendance figure for an AGM to date.

Bill Snyder, the Chairman, introduced the officers present and the guest speaker, Miss Isolde Wigram, and then opened the business meeting.

Linda McLatchie, the Secretary-Treasurer, reported that membership figures had swelled to 475, an increase of about 28% over last year. This increase was mainly due to favorable publicity for the Society in several large newspapers, such as The New York Times and The San Francisco Chronicle, and also due to the interest created in Richard by the National Portrait Gallery Exhibition last summer.

As Editor she noted that the Naughton Award Program, which was established in order to stimulate research and scholarship, had inspired two good articles, which will be published in the Register. Also, the format of the newsletter will be changed so that it conforms more closely in size and lay-out to The Ricardian.

Libby Haynes reported as Librarian. She noted that the Library finished the year with a surplus, thanks to donations of money and postage from members.

Betty Schloss, Chairman of the Nominating Committee, stated that two new offices had been created. The Corresponding Secretary will contact members who have not renewed their membership in the Society, in an attempt to reduce the non-renewal rate. The Regional Vice-Chairmen will coordinate Ricardian activities in their respective geographical areas and will be a link between members in the West and Midwest and the Board of Officers, which is concentrated on the East Coast.

The following slate of officers was elected:

William H. Snyder	Chairman
William Hogarth	Vice-Chairman
Donald G. Kilgore, Jr.	Vice-Chairman
Linda B. McLatchie	Secretary-Treasurer and Editor
Elizabeth D. Haynes	Librarian
Martha Hogarth	Corresponding Secretary
Doris Derickson	Regional Vice-Chairman
Elizabeth Meier	Regional Vice-Chairman

Bill Hogarth, the program chairman for the meeting, introduced the principal speaker, Miss Isolde Wigram. Miss Wigram was one of the moving forces behind the formation of the reconstituted Society in England after World War II and was for many years the Honourable Secretary of the English Society. The American Branch was quite honored that, on her first trip to the United States, she agreed to speak at the meeting on a most appropriate topic: that is, how individuals with a keen interest in Richard III finally banded together to form the Richard III Society.

In her talk, Miss Wigram traced the history of the Society, on both sides of the Atlantic, from its inception in 1924 as the Fellowship of the White Boar to the present Richard III Society, and noted some of the Society's many accomplishments.

After her entertaining and informative talk, Miss Wigram answered questions from the audience. One question concerned the bones found in the Tower of London, identified by Tanner and Wright in 1933 as the bones of Edward IV's sons. It was pointed out that Carbon-14 testing is useless in pinpointing the age of the bones, since that method is not more accurate than ± 200 years, and is valuable primarily in dating prehistoric fossils rather than bones as recent as 500 years old.

After the meeting Bill Snyder announced that he had appointed Dr. Helmut Nickel as Pursuivant. His duties in that post will include research into the genealogy, coats-of-arms and loyalties of prominent families of the time. (See article on "Pursuivant" below.)

It was also announced that the Society is planning a spring trip to the Higgins Armory Museum in Worcester, Massachusetts. The museum is noted for its excellent collection of armor. (Details of this trip will be published in future issues.)

After the meeting, guests were treated to an English high tea and had time to meet old friends and make new acquaintances.

(The official Treasurer's Report and Librarian's Report are printed elsewhere in this issue.)

Linda B. McLatchie

NEW PURSUIVANT

At this year's Annual General Meeting, Bill Snyder, our Chairman, announced the appointment of Dr. Helmut Nickel as the Society's new Pursuivant, the post recently vacated by Libby Haynes. Dr. Nickel, Curator of Arms and Armor at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, was our guest speaker at the 1973 Annual General Meeting, his topic being "Weaponry, Warfare and Heraldry During the Wars of the Roses." Dr. Nickel has published several articles and books in this field and is well qualified to answer any genealogical questions that might arise.

If you have any questions pertaining to heraldry, genealogy, coats-of-arms, badges used by Richard III and his contemporaries, or familial relationships and loyalties, please contact Dr. Nickel, 401 East 86th Street, New York, New York 10021.

PEN-PALS

Members interested in corresponding with other Ricardians should contact me, stating your preference in pen-pals. Please indicate your particular Ricardian or Yorkist interests, as well as any other interests you feel to be relevant.

Please send a STAMPED, SELF-ADDRESSED ENVELOPE with your inquiry.

Anne Yelton
5205 Taylor Mill Road
Covington, Kentucky 41015

NEW PUBLICATIONS

The following publications are available from the Editor. Please make all checks payable to Richard III Society, Inc.

- (1) The Battle of Bosworth Field by W. Hutton. A facsimile reprint of the second edition of 1813, enlarged by J. Nichols. This is a signed, limited edition, so all orders will be processed on a first-come, first-served basis. Price per copy: \$11.50.
- (2) "Ricardian Britain" by Valerie Giles and Carolyn Hicks, revised (1973) by Carolyn Hicks. This booklet is a guide to sites connected with Richard III and is invaluable for Americans planning to visit Britain. Price per copy: \$1.75.
- (3) "The College of King Richard III Middleham" by J.M. Melhuish. This booklet (16 pp.) is available once again. Price per copy: \$1.00.

NEW MEMBERS

As a result of the Society's In Memoriam notice in The New York Times and the feature articles it inspired in The New York Times, San Francisco Chronicle, and Detroit Free Press, the Society welcomes many new members.

Marlene Aig
Tartu College,
Toronto, Ontario

Pamela Clark
101 W. 12th Street
New York, N.Y. 10011

Carole & Zoe Duplantis
Box 13786
New Orleans, La. 70185

Lorraine Attreed
1907 Buena Vista S.E.
Albuquerque, N.M. 87106

Mr. & Mrs. Arthur W. Cox
R.D. 5
Stroudsburg, Penna. 18360

Prof. Sheila Edmunds
Wells College
Aurora, N.Y. 13026

Frances L. Berger
1433 Pebble Vale St.
Monterey Park, Calif. 91754

Judith A. Derickson
1147 Crestmoor Drive
Boulder, Colo. 80302

Joseph Ehrlich
5905 Shore Parkway
Brooklyn, N.Y. 11236

Major Carol S. Bessette
HQ USAFE/IN Box 7044
A.P.O., N.Y. 09012

Ann Di Marzio
68 Boyd Street
Newton, Mass. 02158

Alfred E. Emanuel
2074 Vyse Avenue
Bronx, N.Y. 10460

Robert Blinder
27 Green Hill Rd.
Springfield, N.J. 07081

Thomas W. Donohoe
324 West Front St.
New Holland, Ohio 43145

Mr. & Mrs. Hubert B. Ford
691 Rudder Road
Naples, Florida 33940

NEW MEMBERS (continued)

Virginia Germond
1714 King James Court
Lakeland, Fla. 33803

Regina E. Gottesman
100 W. 94th Street
New York, N.Y. 10025

Dr. David M. Grant
290 Chaplin Lane
San Luis Obispo, Calif. 93401

Mrs. Joseph S. Grover
Wooster School
Danbury, Conn. 06810

Mrs. Marie Hagerty
866 Medway Road
Philadelphia, Pa. 19115

Mr. & Mrs. Burton Haines
35 Mayberry Road
Chappaqua, N.Y. 10514

Mr. & Mrs. Walter Hamilton
179 Hillcrest Boulevard
Ypsilanti, Mich. 48197

Fran Hawthorne
356 W. 23rd Street
New York, N.Y. 10011

Audrey Lee Helfant
12 Livoli Road
Framingham, Mass. 01701

Deborah Anne Helfant
12 Livoli Road
Framingham, Mass. 01701

Lindley R. Higgins
7 Piedmont Drive
Madison Tnsp., N.J. 08857

Thomas V. Hynes
3006 Stearns Hill Rd.
Waltham, Mass. 02154

Mrs. H.M. Jacob
Box 140, R.D. 5
Flemington, N.J. 08822

Jacqueline Jones
1780 Highland Place
Berkeley, Calif. 94709

Gloria Kanter
1717 E. 18th Street
Brooklyn, N.Y. 11229

J.R. Kendell
c/o Exxon Chem. Co
Houston, Texas 77001

Katherine Kurtz
937 3rd Street
Santa Monica, Calif. 90403

Sharon Lambert
Letterman Army Medical Ctr.
Presidio, Calif. 94129

Janet Lampe
1111 J Street
Davis, Calif. 95616

Mr. & Mrs. Bunty Lawrence
112 Central Park South
New York, N.Y. 10019

Mrs. Suzanne Lehman
Richmond House, Wells Rd.
Aurora, N.Y. 13026

Francis F. McGuire
68 Federal St.
New London, Conn. 06320

Mrs. Thomas J. MacBride
1800 Rockwood Drive
Sacramento, Calif. 95825

Sarah B. Magruder
Box 2412, Brown Univ.
Providence, R.I. 02912

Melinda Maidens
411 West 116th St.
New York, N.Y. 10027

Ms. Ann Martini
350 Hutchinson Blvd.
Mount Vernon, N.Y. 10552

Mrs. Langdon Marvin
Hallowell
Maine 04347

Leslie C. Merchant
209 East 56th St.
New York, N.Y. 10022

Mrs. Sherman Miller
1490 Fremont
Los Altos, Calif. 94022

R.H. Mitchell
4 Hancock Drive
Florham Park, N.J. 07932

Mrs. Elaine M. Munsch
11720 A Tazwell Court
Louisville, Ky. 40223

Julie Nahmias
144-44 38 Avenue
Flushing, N.Y. 11354

Louise Osborne
R.D. 3, Quarry Road
Middlebury, Vt.

Martha K. Peeples
1725 Milford
Houston, Texas 77006

Dr. & Mrs. Manuel Rosenfield
8 Marion Road
Mattapoisett, Mass. 02739

Mrs. Rosemarie Roth
6030 S.W. 116th St.
Miami, Fla. 33156

Jacqueline M. Schwartz
26 South Queen St.
York, Penna. 17403

Rose Mary Sheldon
5645 Netherland Avenue
Riverdale, N.Y. 10471

James E. Spellman
P.O. Box 367
Ilion, N.Y. 13367

Fred E. Steele, III
Box 776
Montpelier, Vt. 05602

Michael F. Sturley
503 Yale Station
New Haven, Conn. 06520

Mrs. Nancy Park Whitlock
213 Crocker Drive
Bel Air, Md. 21014

Philippa L. Wise
1090 Amsterdam Ave.
New York, N.Y. 10025

Deborah L. Woodworth
615 Ontario St., S.E.
Minneapolis, Minn. 55414

Mrs. Joyce Wulfinf
Horseshoe Path, R.D. 3
Huntington, N.Y. 11746

REBUTTAL TO RESPONSE TO REPLY TO QUERY

[Editor's note: This rebuttal is in response to Pamela Horter's letter, printed in Volume VIII, issue 4 of The Ricardian Register.]

Forsooth, I don't hate Elizabeth Woodville. Hatred requires effort and I'm far too lazy! It does disturb me, however, to be misread, misquoted, misunderstood, or, most of all, misinterpreted.

I didn't say Elizabeth Woodville was low-born. I said "she was the daughter of a self-seeking upstart" (and historians bear me out that Sir Richard Woodville was exactly that) "and a willful, unscrupulous woman"--which Jacquetta of Bedford was, in my opinion. Being a princess of Luxembourg--or anywhere else--carries no inborn immunization against character flaws. It's how one handles them which tells. If you have read about her to any extent, you must be aware that there was more than a little gossip (and I'll grant you that perhaps that's all it was) about her unbecoming behavior when she was John of Bedford's wife. I'm sympathetic to her circumstances: married, without consideration of her wishes, to a man old enough to be her grandfather (even a girl brought up in that tradition could resent it); then, widowed, with every prospect of another arranged, unwanted marriage, she met the young and handsome Richard Woodville. That she married him is understandable; but it was a willful act, careless of the consequences. If that were the extent of her sins, I'd be the first to cheer, "'Atta girl, Jacqui, more power to you!"

But, was there not a practiced deviousness in the way she arranged Elizabeth's marriage to Edward, and kept it secret from even her husband? I have never been convinced that Elizabeth really wanted to marry Edward, but rather that it was Jacquetta who saw its possibilities. Possibilities for gain--for her family as well as herself, no doubt--nevertheless, personal. Nor did she sacrifice rank by her marriage to Woodville. She remained the Duchess of Bedford to the end of her life; and it seems fairly obvious that by the time Edward hove into view, Jacquetta was looking with jaundiced eye upon her "world well lost for love!"

As I said, I don't hate Elizabeth, nor any of the Woodvilles. In fact, I rather like Anthony, who was definitely the pick of the litter: civilized, artistically productive and intelligent enough to recognize Richard's decency and dependability!

In the comparison of Elizabeth Woodville with Lady Eleanor Butler, I simply put certain bits of historical evidence side by side. Lady Eleanor behaved in a known manner. So did Elizabeth. The conclusions aren't my biased, personal opinion. They're obvious and inevitable. There is neither blame nor hatred implied--just statement of fact. However, it is quite generally supposed that Elizabeth entered into the conspiracy to marry her daughter, Elizabeth of York, to Henry Tudor if he overthrew Richard. Self-preservation? She and her daughters were being well treated by Richard. Mother love? Maybe. It smacks more of betrayal and treason, to me. Is betrayal any more palatable on the home front than on the battlefield?

Jesu, I wouldn't be caught dead winking at Henry Tudor! And what makes you think he "utterly destroyed" Richard? Not while there breathes a member of this Society!

Sybil S. Ashe
Medfield, Massachusetts

IN DEFENSE OF SIR JAMES TYRELL

by Susan Leas

While dining with the baronet of the Tyrrell family of Hampshire, Sir Walter Scott expressed doubts about the authenticity of that family's claim of descent from the assassin of William Rufus. The baronet "was so nettled at any scepticism of the fond traditions of his house, that he somewhat fiercely exclaimed, 'Then next, I suppose, you will say that we did not smother the princes in the Tower!'"¹ Unfortunately for the baronet's family pride, that allegation has been made by various students of history from the seventeenth century to the present. According to Shakespeare and sixteenth-century rumor, Sir James Tyrell indeed supervised the murder of the sons of Edward IV, yet many writers have suggested that he had nothing to do with that crime, if, in fact, a crime was committed.

James Tyrell, oldest son of William Tyrell of Gipping in Suffolk and Margaret, daughter of Robert Darcy of Malden, was probably born about 1445. Little is known of his early life. He served as elector for Suffolk in 1467 and is called "esquire" in 1469. His wife was Anne, daughter of Sir John Arundell of Cornwall. Tyrell was knighted in May of 1471 following the Battle of Tewkesbury, in which he fought for Edward IV, who trusted him to escort the Countess of Warwick to the north in 1473. During Edward's reign Tyrell's name appeared in official documents in various minor capacities. For example, he was one of several knights given a commission to inquire into certain "riots, routs, congregations, assemblies and conventicles within the county of Suffolk."²

A letter written by Tyrell between 1480 and 1482 exists among the Stoner papers.³ At this time he was probably in the service of Edward IV's brother Richard Duke of Gloucester in the north. Tyrell was made knight-banneret by Richard in July 1482 for his services during the Scottish campaign. In the letter to Sir William Stoner, his cousin by marriage, Tyrell states that he has persuaded his lord, presumably Richard, to excuse Stoner's brother for some unnamed fault.

When Richard became king in the summer of 1483, deposing his brother's sons on the charge that they were illegitimate, Tyrell remained loyal to his lord. He took part in the coronation in July and at some time during the year was made Master of the Horse and Master of the King's Henchmen. He received grants and commissions from Richard III and became commander of the garrison at Guisnes Castle, Calais, in 1485.

Tyrell was still at Guisnes on 22 August 1485 when Richard III fell on Bosworth Field and the throne was usurped by the "unknown Welshman" Henry Tudor. As a loyal Yorkist Tyrell was deprived of some of his offices, though he was not attainted, probably because he was not present at Bosworth.

A change in the new king's attitude toward Tyrell occurred early in 1486. Sir James and others were summoned in January as witnesses in a dispute concerning the Countess of Oxford's lands. Shortly after this he seems to have gained Henry VII's favor, for he was restored to several of his offices and was issued two general pardons in the summer. He was reappointed Lieutenant of Guisnes in December and called "trusty" by Henry VII's 1487 Parliament.

According to letters in the Cely papers, Tyrell had left England for a time in 1487. Cely had been arrested at Dunkirk in November, "but for Syr Jamys Tyrrells sak wee were lett goo." In a January letter, Cely writes, "Syr James Tyrrell hath ben at Bruges and hath spoken w^t the Kynge of Romayns diversse tymes and the Kynge made Syr Jamys grett chere and soo dydd the town of Bruges and all odyr towns of

Flaunddyrs."⁴ Tyrell seems to be a helpful, popular gentleman, trusted by the king as emissary to Maximillian King of the Romans.

As Henry VII's reign continued, Tyrell attended the ceremonies at the Peace of Etaples in 1492, at the creation of Prince Henry (later Henry VIII) Duke of York in 1494, and at the arrival of Catherine of Aragon in England in 1501. A contemporary chronicle states, "Many othir goodly appaylid and lusty Gentylnen were there as sir Jamys Tyrell and othyr which I passe ovyr."⁵ All the evidence indicates that Tyrell was a well-liked and respected knight during this period.

In 1499, however, he had made the error of granting assistance to the wrong person: the Earl of Suffolk, one of the last remaining Yorkist heirs and therefore a threat to Henry VII. Though forgiven one mistake, Tyrell was not pardoned when it happened again. Suffolk fled the court in 1502 and received sanctuary at Guisnes. Tricked into surrendering the castle, Tyrell was arrested along with his son Thomas and several others. He was tried at the Guildhall and beheaded for treason on 6 May 1502, formally attainted in the 1504 Parliament, though in 1507 the attainder was reversed at the petition of his son.

It is not surprising that Sir James Tyrell, long a supporter of the Yorkist kings, should at last have been executed for aiding a Yorkist. The surprising element is that he enjoyed the favor of the first Tudor king to such an extent for seventeen years. Even when his treasonous connection with Suffolk was made manifest, Henry VII was reluctant to believe it, according to his deputy in 1503: "for how longe was yt er hys grace and hys counsell wold belyve ony thyng of untrothe to be in Sir James Tyrell; and some said I dyd seke to do hym hurte for malis."⁶

Documents written during Tyrell's lifetime, then, without exception, indicate that he was a trustworthy, honorable, and likable man. "Years elapsed," writes historian James Gairdner in 1898, "before the world even suspected the foul blot upon Tyrell's knighthood . . . but at last the truth came out."⁷

Or did it?

When Richard III took the throne in 1483, rumors began to circulate that he had already done away with his nephews or would soon, to prevent risings in their favor. The Italian visitor Mancini reports of such rumors even before the coronation.⁸ Most modern historians, however, have assumed that the boys were murdered between that ceremony on 6 July and the Duke of Buckingham's rebellion in October. The chronicle written at Croyland Abbey about 1486 records a rumor of their deaths but suggests no murderer.⁹ Philip de Commynes, probably between 1486 and 1489, states that Richard ordered their deaths and that the agent was the Duke of Buckingham.¹⁰

Two chroniclers who wrote as official adherents of the new king, Henry VII, and thus wished to make Richard III appear as evil as possible, John Rous and Bernard Andre, directly accuse the former king of the murder, but name no agent. Both of these accounts were written before Tyrell's execution in 1502; his name occurs in neither. Robert Fabyan, a city of London chronicler whose work was finished in 1504, accuses Richard of the murder, does not name an agent, and mentions Tyrell's execution as an entirely unrelated event.¹¹

No other significant chronicles completed before the death of Henry VII in 1509 are extant. And in no document before that date does Sir James Tyrell stand accused of the murder of the princes.

The Great Chronicle of London, finished about 1512, possibly by Fabyan, is the earliest accusation. Its terms are vague indeed. Mentioning several different

versions of the princes' deaths, the chronicler adds, "of which Cruell ded sir Jamys Tyrell was Reportid to be the doer, But other putt that wyght upon an old servaunt of kyng Rychardys namyd _____" (blank in the MS).¹² This evidence is far from convincing.

Polydore Vergil, the official Tudor historian, was preparing his account of the reigns of Richard III and Henry VII at this time or slightly later. Vergil believes Tyrell was guilty but unwilling: he "being forcyd to do the kings commandment, rode sorowfully to London." Later Vergil alludes to Tyrell's execution in 1502 as a fitting expiation for his earlier crime.¹³

But as all who are familiar with Shakespeare and the Tudor tradition well know, Sir James Tyrell was supposed to have confessed to the murder shortly before he was beheaded, giving a highly circumstantial account and naming accomplices. If this confession was made, then it must have been in 1502. Yet in Fabyan, the Great Chronicle, and Vergil, all later in date, not only is no confession mentioned, there is not even agreement as to the manner of the princes' deaths.

For the story of Sir James Tyrell's "confession," along with the names of his assistants Dighton and Forest and all the other familiar Shakespearean details, one must turn to that rather dubious piece of history, Sir Thomas More's History of King Richard the Third. More might have been acquainted with Fabyan and Vergil. At any rate, they probably shared the same informants. More conscientiously admits that confusion still existed at the time of his writing, 1513 or a few years later, prefacing his famous account, "I shall rehearse you the dolorous end of those babes, not after euery way that I haue heard, but after that way that I haue so hard by such men & by such meanes, as me thinketh it wer hard but it should be true."¹⁴

His initial description of Tyrell is rather favorable: "a man of right goodlye personage, and for natures gyftes, woorthy to haue serued a muche better prince." At the conclusion of the familiar tale, More alludes to Tyrell's confession and adds, "And thus as I haue learned of them that much knew and litle cause had to lye, wer those two noble princes . . . priuily slaine and murthered." According to More, both Dighton and Tyrell confessed. Dighton, far from being punished, was set at liberty and "yet walketh on a liue in good possibilitie to bee hanged ere he dye."

More nowhere names his informants. Possibly one was Dighton himself, whom More seems to have known and disliked. It is, then, on the word of some anonymous witnesses who spoke with More and possibly also with Vergil that Sir James Tyrell has been condemned for generations as a murderer of innocent children. The later chroniclers from whom Shakespeare obtained his biased "facts" quote More's history almost verbatim. Interestingly, when they speak of Tyrell's death in 1502, not one of them mentions a confession.

Another aspect of More's History is often forgotten by those who are convinced of Tyrell's guilt: the work was never finished and was surely not intended for publication in its existing form. A modern historian notes, "Two years later we find More begging Erasmus not to be hasty to publish, and carefully to avoid all occasions of giving offence. He . . . never wrote another word of history."¹⁵ This imperfect and unreliable work is certainly insufficient evidence for establishing Sir James Tyrell's guilt.

Not accused by his contemporaries, not convincingly convicted by the Tudor historians, Tyrell has received a mixed press from the seventeenth century to the present. Buck and Walpole believe him innocent because they do not think that the princes were murdered at all. The latter feels that Tyrell "never did, never would confess what he had not done."¹⁶ Bacon, in his life of Henry VII in 1622, is dubious about the supposed confession. Caroline Halsted, Richard III's Victorian

defender, makes a sentimental declaration of belief in his innocence: "Sir James Tyrell, the long-reputed destroyer of the young princes, had the moral courage to risk life and fortune, and was condemned to suffer imprisonment, death and attainder, for co-operating to save the life of a friendless, persecuted member of that race, two of the noblest scions of which he is alleged to have coolly, determinately and stealthily murdered!"¹⁷ Paul Murray Kendall suspects the Duke of Buckingham of the murder and points out the numerous inconsistencies in Sir Thomas More's account.¹⁸

On the other side, Markham is quite sure that Tyrell killed the princes in the Tower, but for Henry VII in 1486, not for Richard III in 1483. Gairdner and Rowse accept More's account of Tyrell's complicity. The latter twice refers to him as "the horrid Sir James Tyrell."¹⁹ Jesse finds Sir James "a man who had achieved a high reputation for personal courage, but whose estimate of the value of human life, and of the importance of virtuous actions, was clearly of the lowest stamp."²⁰ These later historians are going far beyond More, who condemns Tyrell only for his ambition.

The real difficulty in believing Sir James Tyrell guilty of the murder of the princes is the lack of logic involved. Tyrell was a loyal and dependable man, honored by three successive kings. The dilemma of trying to believe in his guilt is implicit in Wedgwood's biographical sketch: "The rewards conferred upon him by Richard III do not seem excessive. . . . It is the care taken of him by Henry VII which is remarkable; and, though he was sequestered at Guisnes, his frequent presence at Court where his murder of the Princes must have been known, argues a general laxity of tone on the subject of murder--unless indeed he had an abnormally thick skin."²¹ Those facts argue much more convincingly that he was not known to be guilty of any crime. If his dark deeds "must have been known," then it is strange that they were not alluded to in any extant version of the murder until after the death of Henry VII--seven years after Tyrell's own death and more than twenty years after the disappearance of the princes from the Tower.

Clearly, an unquestioning acceptance of Sir James Tyrell as the murderer of the nephews of Richard III conflicts with the known facts and with logic. Like the unjustly maligned king killed on Bosworth Field, Tyrell deserves better treatment from history.

Notes

¹"Pride of Ancestry," Notes and Queries, ser. 3, XII (July-December, 1867), 343-44.

²Calendar of the Patent Rolls (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1900), LI (Edward IV, Henry VI, 1467-1477), 606.

³The Stoner Letters and Papers, ed. by Charles L. Kingsford (London: Royal Historical Society, 1919), II, 116.

⁴The Cely Papers, ed. by Henry Elliot Madden (London: Longman's, Green and Co. for the Camden Society, 1900), pp. 664-67.

⁵The Great Chronicle of London, ed. by A.H. Thomas and I.D. Thornley (London: Printed by G.W. Jones at the Sign of the Dolphin, 1938), p. 314.

⁶Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III and Henry VII, ed. by James Gairdner (London: Longman, Green, Longmans, Roberts, and Green, 1863), I, 235.

⁷James Gairdner, History of the Life and Reign of Richard the Third (New and rev. ed.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1898), p. 127.

⁸Dominic Mancini, The Usurpation of Richard the Third, ed. and trans. by C.A.J. Armstrong (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936), p. 115.

⁹Ingulph's Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland with the Continuations by Peter of Blois and Anonymous Writers, trans. by Henry T. Riley (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1854), p. 491.

¹⁰Philip de Commynes, The Memoirs of Philip de Commynes, Lord of Argenton, ed. and trans. by Andrew R. Scoble (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1856), I, 64.

¹¹Robert Fabyan, The New Chronicles of England and France in Two Parts, ed. by Henry Ellis (London: F.C. and J. Rivington, et. al., 1811), pp. 670, 687.

¹²The Great Chronicle of London, p. 237.

¹³Polydore Vergil, Three Books of Polydore Vergil's English History, ed. by Henry Ellis (London: Printed for the Camden Society by J.B. Nichols and Son, 1844), p. 188; and The Anglia History, A.D. 1485-1537, ed. and trans. by Denys Hay (London: Royal Historical Society, 1950), pp. 126-27.

¹⁴Sir Thomas More, History of King Richard the Third, ed. by Richard S. Sylvester (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), p. 82.

¹⁵A.F. Pollard, "The Making of Sir Thomas More's Richard III," Historical Essays in Honour of James Tait, ed. by J.G. Edwards, V.H. Galbraith, and E.F. Jacobs (Manchester: Printed for the Subscribers, 1933), p. 238.

¹⁶Horace Walpole, Earl of Oxford, Historic Doubts on the Life and Reign of King Richard the Third (London: Printed for J. Dodsley, 1768), p. 58.

¹⁷Caroline Amelia Halsted, Richard III as Duke of Gloucester and King of England (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1844), p. 283.

¹⁸Paul Murray Kendall, Richard the Third (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1955), pp. 465-495.

¹⁹Alfred Leslie Rowse, Bosworth Field and the Wars of the Roses (London: Macmillan, 1966), pp. 207, 240.

²⁰John Heneage Jesse, Memoirs of King Richard the Third and Some of His Contemporaries (Boston: Printed for Francis A. Niccolls and Co., n.d.), p. 210.

²¹Josiah C. Wedgwood, History of Parliament (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1936), I, 890.

(This article was submitted in consideration of the Naughton Award Program.)

TREASURER'S REPORT

October 1, 1973 to September 30, 1974

Balance on hand 10/1/73

\$ 624.31

Income 10/1/73-9/30/74

Dues	\$2,882.00
Donations	370.83
Items for Resale	1,030.02
Interest	<u>73.53</u>

4,356.38

Expenses 10/1/73-9/30/74

Printing (Register)	\$ 535.03
Other Printing	75.41
Postage	897.70
Office Supplies	162.83
Library Fund	30.00
In Memoriam in N.Y. Times	104.40
Payments to England	1,332.00
Purchase of items for resale	621.45
Refunds	28.50
Miscellaneous	<u>19.00</u>

3,806.32

Balance on hand 9/30/74

\$1,174.37

Submitted by Linda B. McLatchie
Secretary-Treasurer

LIBRARIAN'S REPORT

<u>Balance forward, 10/1/73</u>		\$ 5.32
<u>Income, 10/1/73-9/30/74</u>		
Grant from Treasury	\$30.00	
Gifts from members, including stamps	<u>21.76</u>	
		51.76
<u>Expenses, 10/1/73-9/30/74</u>		
Postage	29.13	
Xerox copies	<u>18.75</u>	
		47.28
<u>Balance on hand, 9/30/74</u>		<u>\$9.80</u>

Thanks to Miss Maude French and Miss Virginia Bower for their generous gifts of cash.

Two hundred and ninety-two items circulated during the year.

There was one serious loss of a parcel in the mail which unfortunately had not been insured. I am trying to obtain duplicates of the lost items from the English Librarian.

Submitted by Libby Haynes
Librarian

** ** *

NOTES OF INTEREST TO MEMBERS

The following is from "The Good Fare and Cheer of Old England," by J.P. Dutton:

"Leicestershire's Bosworth Jumbels are made, so the story goes, from a recipe that was dropped by King Richard III's cook at Bosworth Field, the last battle of the Wars of the Roses where Richard III was killed. History leaves the question open whether the recipe was dropped by accident, or whether the cook hoped to delay the enemy by his tempting bait."

"Leicester Bosworth Jumbels

8 oz. flour, 6 oz. butter, 1 lb. sugar, 1 large egg

Beat sugar and butter, and stir in the egg. Add flour and mix thoroughly. Shape pieces of the mixture into the form of an S and place on a hot greased tin. Bake in moderate oven until brown."

Another note of interest: The Metropolitan Museum of Art's Christmas catalog includes the "Belles Heures of the Duc de Berry," reprinted in full color and in the exact size of the originals. The price is \$29.95 before December 31.

Submitted by Carol E. Parker
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Reserve Now for the

Richard III Society Spring Trip

A full day excursion to The John Woodman Higgins Armory Museum in Worcester, Mass., Saturday, April 5th, 1975: \$20.00 per person (includes transportation, luncheon en route, admission).

A comfortable 50-seat chartered bus (with sanitary facilities) will leave New York at 8 a.m. from in front of the Sutton Theatre, 3rd Avenue and 57th Street. En route, we'll have the opportunity to meet and discuss Ricardian topics with our guide, the Society's Pursuivant, Dr. Helmut Nickel, Curator of Arms and Armor at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Luncheon will be served before arrival in Worcester at noon, where the Museum Director will join Dr. Nickel in our exclusive tour of this outstanding collection of arms and armor, with the accent on our period. Since the day has been set aside just for us, this is an unparalleled opportunity for a leisurely, informative get-together. We return to New York (3rd Avenue and 57th Street) at approximately 7 p.m. NOTE: Luncheon should be ample, but if you have special food requirements, or wish snacks mid-morning or late afternoon on the bus, you are urged to bring your own food, sweets and drinks.

* * * * *

Send to William Hogarth, Box 217, Sea Cliff, New York 11579

Please reserve _____ place(s) on the Spring Tour at \$20.00 per person for (list names):

I enclose \$_____ (make check payable to William Hogarth)

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State, Zip _____ Phone _____

List any special food requirements: _____

* * * * *

★ Members who wish to come by their own transportation: PLEASE INFORM MR. HOGARTH. ★
★ It is absolutely necessary to know exactly how many members will visit the Museum in our group. ★



Dues, grants and contributions are tax-deductible to the extent allowed by law.

The Ricardian Register

Newsletter of the Richard III Society, Inc.

EDITOR: Linda B. McLatchie, 9 Weld St., Apt. 48, Framingham, Mass. 01701

Richard III Society, Inc. is a non-profit educational corporation chartered in 1969 under the membership corporation laws of the State of New York.

Volume VIII -- issue 6 -- November-December 1974

OPENING OF BOSWORTH BATTLEFIELD

Late last summer, the present-day Duke of Gloucester officially opened a new permanent exhibit at the site of the Battle of Bosworth. The following quotes are excerpted from an article by Arthur Osman appearing in the London Times, September 2, 1974:

"The official opening to the public of the Bosworth Field battleground this afternoon by the Duke of Gloucester will go a small way to rehabilitating the king, traduced by Shakespeare, but with his own loyal 1,500 supporters who have backed his cause for 50 years first as the Fellowship of the White Boar and latterly as the Richard III Society.

"Members of the Society, including a coachload from London wearing the White Boar and Yorkist emblems of the king, have been invited to the ceremony. They have been consulted at all stages of the project since Leicestershire County Council first proposed opening up the site about four years ago.

". . . The buildings at Ambion Hill, down which Richard made his last fatal charge to seek personal combat with Henry, have been adapted as the focal point of the whole project and provide an exhibition hall, model room, auditorium for film projection and a bookshop.

"In the exhibition hall is a reconstruction of the battle with taped commentary and 500 models of knights and foot soldiers painted in the colours of the liveries of the households to which they were attached. . . .

". . . In the field near Shenton station where Richard was killed is a simple memorial stone.

"In the auditorium at Ambion Hill, which was the king's command post, scenes from the film which starred Lord Olivier will be shown, but the king's supporters are anxious that it should be prefaced with a note that it is not necessarily accurate and is a fictional, by Shakespeare, version of what happened."

NOTES OF THANKS

From Isolde Wigram (speaker at this year's Annual General Meeting)

I would like to take this opportunity of publicly thanking all my American Ricardian friends for the marvelous time they gave me on my first trip to the U.S. It was all fabulous, from beginning to end. First, to Bill and Janet Snyder, who put up with me for two visits, went to such trouble in planning what I should see and in all the arrangements for it. My only regret is that I didn't get more photographs of the beautiful city of Washington. As for the day at Mount Vernon (a real sizzler), at Alexandria, and at Libby Haynes' in Arlington, that will remain as one of the high spots of the whole trip. Although I suspect the resources of the Mount Vernon Ladies Association are far greater, I shall have a lot to show the National Trust here about the presentation of historic houses.

Then to Bill and Martha Hogarth, who planned such a marvelous trip up the Hudson Valley. With Maude French we made such a good quartet, the weather was glorious, all that we had to see was so interesting and so different, and I know Bill had been to considerable trouble in getting us in to places on days when they were not normally open. To Maude go my special thanks for a veritable shower of presents, all of which are much appreciated, and the brownies were the greatest comfort at odd hungry moments. The slides of the F.D.R. and Vanderbilt homes will have their first public showing on November 13th.

Finally to Betty Schloss, who planned the whole trip, and who went to the trouble and expense of coming to New York City to show me the sights--the Circle Line tour of Manhattan Island by boat is certainly an experience never to be forgotten, and again how glorious the weather was; to Pete Schloss for a memorable dinner at the Algonquin and a delightful evening at the theatre--and also to Gretchen Clumpner for her great kindness and generosity in inviting Betty and me the previous evening to dinner and the musical "Pippin." The weekend with Pete and Betty at Southold, Long Island--a very maritime weekend, which was so nice--was again the perfect experience after the sightseeing in New York. And the wonderful English tea party given us by Miss Kay Salmon at Southold was another high spot. It was delightful too to meet Ethel Phelps and see Martha again at Southold. And above all I am so grateful for the lovely book given me at the AGM (Painting Techniques of the Masters), which will be of greatest value to me.

I look forward immensely to the next English tour of American members of the Richard III Society, in the hope that I can return a little of the munificent hospitality and all that my friends in America showed me of their wonderful country. Incidentally, two things that strike an English person very forcibly in America are the fabulous shops and the plumbing! Never have I experienced such a variety of fittings. Undoubtedly in this, as in so much else, America continues to lead the world.

From Vera Legg

I would like to thank all the American members who have contributed so very generously to the Fotheringhay window appeal.

I was sorry the dedication had to be altered at the last minute. There was trouble with the glaziers, amongst other things. However, the dedication has now definitely been fixed for Sunday, March 9th at 2:30.

With best wishes for a prosperous New Year.

CHANGE OF ADDRESS

Mr. Patrick Bacon, President of the English Branch, has a new address: 84A Abingdon Road, London W.8, England.

NEW REGIONAL VICE-CHAIRMAN

Bill Snyder, our Chairman, has appointed a Regional Vice-Chairman for the New England area: Mrs. Sybil S. Ashe, 229 South Street, Medfield, Massachusetts 02052. Members in the New England area are urged to contact Mrs. Ashe if they have any suggestions for meetings, or if they know of any local literary, cinematic, or cultural events of interest to the membership.

PEN-PALS

Members interested in corresponding with other Ricardians should contact me, stating your preference in pen-pals. Please indicate your particular Ricardian or Yorkist interests as well as any other interests you feel to be relevant.

Please send a STAMPED, SELF-ADDRESSED ENVELOPE with your inquiry.

Anne Yelton
5205 Taylor Mill Road
Covington, Kentucky 41015

BOOK NOTES

The Editor has in stock a limited number of Penguin's new edition of Josephine Tey's Daughter of Time. This is the only edition which carries the NPG portrait of Richard on the cover. Price per copy: \$1.50.

Also recently received in stock: Horace Walpole's Richard the Third. Price per copy: \$7.00.

Please make all checks/money orders payable to Richard III Society, Inc.

KENDALL OBITUARY

Several members have requested that an obituary notice appear for Dr. Paul Murray Kendall, who died November 21, 1973. Below is an excerpt from The New York Times:

"Paul Murray Kendall, historian and biographer, died yesterday [November 21, 1973] in Lawrence, Kan. . . .

"Professor Kendall's 'Richard III,' first published in England, appeared here in 1956. It was praised by Orville Prescott in The New York Times as 'a truly impressive work, bright with the color and pageantry of a picturesque and brutal age; written with skill and grace . . .'. His 'Warwick the King-maker' followed in 1957.

"His later books, 'The Yorkist Age: Daily Life During the Wars of the Roses' (1962), 'The Art of Biography' (1965) and 'Louis XI' (1971), were also well received.

KENDALL (continued)

"Professor Kendall graduated in 1932 from the University of Virginia, where he later received master's and doctor's degrees. He joined the English department at Ohio University in 1937 and rose to Regents professor, retiring in 1969. He had held Ford Foundation and Guggenheim fellowships."

NEW MEMBERS

An "Ask the Globe" column about the Society in The Boston Globe, resulting from an In Memoriam placed by Mrs. Sybil Ashe, brought in many new members from the New England area. Also, a course entitled "The Last Plantagenets," offered by the University of California (Berkeley) attracted 200 participants and several new members.

Thomas G. Adams 2274 N. Belsay Burton, Mich. 48509	Myra F. Clem 24 Avon Street Saugus, Mass. 01906	Jennifer L. Ford 2124 Middle Road Glenshaw, Penna. 15116
Mrs. Mel Altabe 159 Morris Avenue Providence, R.I. 02906	Mr. & Mrs. W. Constantine 51 Irving Place Buffalo, N.Y. 14201	Gypsy Frantz 511 Fell Street San Francisco, Calif. 94117
Ms. Christine Altese 1108 Beech Plymouth, Mich. 48170	Mrs. George W. Corrigan 39 Monterey Avenue Hamden, Conn. 06518	Edwin R. Gasparini 156 Crest Drive Belleville, N.J. 07109
Hesper Anderson 12654 Moorpark St. Studio City, Cal. 91604	Alice M. Crawley 50 Granite Street Medfield, Mass. 02052	Susan Gilman 267 West 70th Street New York, N.Y. 10023
Sylvester P. Anderson 22 Willow Street Holyoke, Mass. 01040	Myriam J. Curet Haffner Hall, Bryn Mawr Bryn Mawr, Penna. 19010	Miss Ann W. Grayson 105 Fruit Street R.F.D. Westboro, Mass. 01581
Vera M. Ballif 3869 Deervale Drive Sherman Oaks, Cal. 91403	Pamela B. Davis 45 Harley Drive Worcester, Mass. 01605	Judith A. Hamburger One Beech Lane Great Neck, N.Y. 11024
Lillian H. Barker 608 Stratford Lane Middletown, N.Y. 10940	Mrs. Lucienne de Turenne 3444 Thomas Avenue Montgomery, Ala. 36111	Mrs. R. Neil Hansen 113 Patterson Road Hanscom Air Force Base Bedford, Mass. 01730
C. Belisarius, S.J. Regis College 3425 Bayview Avenue Willowdale, Ontario	Frederick Dobke 5919 W. Galena St. Milwaukee, Wis. 53208	Judith L. Inskeep 16 Dusenbury Place White Plains, N.Y. 10601
Wallace M. Byers 7502 Brushwood Drive Houston, Texas 77088	Miss Anna E. Dwyer 182 West Main Street Waterbury, Conn. 06702	Dr. John Johansson 176 Kittredge Street Roslindale, Mass. 02131
Mrs. Jane K. Canfield 44 Bow Road Belmont, Mass. 02178	JoAnn Ellsworth 9 Hillside Drive Rochester, N.H. 03867	Patricia Lamb 4110 Yoakum Houston, Texas 77006
Mrs. George C. Capen 87 Walbridge Road W. Hartford, Conn. 06119	Miss Joan Fagan 16 Red Rowen Lane Plymouth Meeting, Penna. 19462	Mrs. Hart Leavitt 15 School Street Andover, Mass. 01810

NEW MEMBERS (continued)

Valerie M. Lee 3048 Larkin Road Pebble Beach, Cal. 93953	Cynthia J. Orr 218 S. Vermont Royal Oak, Mich. 48067	Ralph Trower, Esq. 1730 Jefferson Plaza Napa, Calif. 94558
Lawrence McCarthy 147 Elmlawn Road Braintree, Mass. 02184	Madeline Revere Old Turnpike Bridgewater, Conn. 06752	Barbara J. Underwood 2233 Norfolk #B Houston, Texas 77006
Morris G. McGee 61 Birkendene Road Caldwell, N.J. 07006	James S. Reynolds 514-F S. Mendenhall Greensboro, N.C. 27403	Robert Henry West 7 Brookline Cambridge, Mass. 02139
Mr.&Mrs. Richard Main 40178 Cottage Hill Road Mobile, Alabama 36609	Michael V. Rienti 24 Cooper Street New York, N.Y. 10034	Robin Cindy West 29819 St. Luke Court Hayward, Calif. 94541
Mr.&Mrs. Richard Marion 710 Mammoth Road Dracut, Mass. 01826	Ms. Barbara A. Robertson 928 Hull Avenue Westchester, Ill. 60153	Kenneth H. Wilson, Jr. 470 Main Street Fitchburg, Mass. 01420
Marcia Nabut 7 Eastwood Lane Ballston Lake, N.Y. 12019	Charles R. Scicolone 2830 Strang Blvd. Yorktown Heights, N.Y. 10598	Grace K. Worcester 47 Broadway Arlington, Mass. 02174
	Joseph R. Slights 83 Craigmoor Road W. Hartford, Conn. 06107	

MORE ON ELEANOR BUTLER by Susan Kramer

In Mrs. Ashe's first reply to my query about Eleanor Butler (March-April '74 Register), she ascribed Lady Eleanor's peculiar lack of action to her background. I quote from her reply (May-June '74): "The Lady Eleanor Butler was the descendant of high-born people, trained from birth to a code of honorable and well-bred behavior." But in her rebuttal (September-October '74) she refutes her very own theory, stating Jacquetta of Bedford's behavior was not dependent on her background: "Being a Princess of Luxembourg--or anywhere else--carries no inborn immunization against character flaws." (This certainly applies to Eleanor as well.) If Lady Eleanor's descent was the answer to her inaction, why should Jacquetta, who was subject to the same "high-born peoples" code of honor and behavior be impervious to the same class values which both ladies were exposed to? Did not Eleanor of Aquitaine, Isabel Valois, and Katherine Valois dare to do the same thing in choosing their mates? I do admit, though, the acts of the latter two are not to be commended considering the consequences of their acts, yet they serve to illustrate that Jacquetta's action was not without precedence.

It also strikes me that Mrs. Ashe has attributed to Elizabeth Woodville more political acumen than the lady was capable of. Elizabeth was not the crafty political intriguer who hatched plots of betrayal and treason against her sovereign; rather, she was a deluded, meddlesome fool, who fancied herself a dabbler in statecraft. (Witness her involvement in the Lambert Simnel fiasco in her son-in-law's (Henry VII) reign.) This was an even more rash action than the one taken against a despised brother-in-law, Richard, who had superseded her son on the throne, and thereby thwarted her hope of ruling through him, since in this latter effort she betrayed her own daughter.

I dislike Elizabeth Woodville and fume over Edward's weakness for her, but nevertheless, I cannot subscribe to Mrs. Ashe's description of her. Surely, she is not atypical of the kind of high-born woman of the age, who had grasped at power--no more and no less. Her scheming, manipulating, greedy, grasping nature, which she certainly possessed, are only heightened in our eyes, in light of what tragic events these very characteristics precipitated. However, history is fraught with examples of human failings and their effects. There are many examples of power-hungry women and Elizabeth Woodville must be numbered among them. Like those who attain power through their machinations and wreak havoc in their wake, she cannot by any means be admired, but she cannot be blackened for that which any woman of the Middle Ages, finding herself in the same position, would be capable of and possibly prone to, given the savagery of the age. In fact, many of her prototypes are her very own contemporaries: Margaret of Anjou, Margaret Beaufort, and her own mother, Jacquetta of Bedford.

As a matter of fact, all the aforementioned ladies acted often times in ruthless fashion to secure their offspring's inheritance, social position and betterment, fighting desperately against all odds and with whatever connivance, cunning and courage they could muster in order to safeguard and provide for their children. Not an uncommon emotion in an age in which everything of consequence, wealth, power, and position depended on birthright. And these women are regarded as dynasts for their efforts; we might number Elizabeth Woodville among them.

Getting back to Eleanor Butler, her actions were certainly not done in a "known manner," this is precisely the point! She acted in a mysterious, uncommon way. Sometimes historical personages whose actions come down to us unexplained are exposed to unfortunate character assassination by us, so as to coincide with our preconceived conception of these characters. We mold their supposed attitudes in given situations into the attitude we would like them to take, or that are most acceptable to our way of thinking.

For the sake of argument, though not of conviction, let's assume Eleanor Butler was legally bound to Edward. Then her singular lack of ambition for herself and her child (?) must be reviewed. If there was a boy-child, then he was Edward's legal son and therefore, rightful heir to one of the most powerful thrones in Europe. Mrs. Ashe argues that if Eleanor was mother to Edward's child, all the more reason to remove herself from the limelight to protect her son and herself, simply because "for a woman of her class and breeding" she was above any squabble. This is ludicrous!

No one of influence ever bowed out with grace in those days. It was a time for decisive measures; if there was anything to be gained one gambled for it. The stakes were high, but, win or lose you stayed in the game. The child was Eleanor's trump card in any family tussle that concerned kingship. Moreover, if he was legitimate she owed it to him to fight for his rights as an heir, just as hard as all the other mothers mentioned did for theirs.

If Eleanor Butler did quietly fold up her tents and steal away in the night, as she comes down to us in history as having done, then she certainly was the exception to the rule among the steely-nerved ladies of the era, who didn't hesitate to wage wars to protect their own. And one not, in my estimation, to be admired or defended but to be viewed with a shaking of the head and a clucking of the tongue. She was a woman who belied her own noble birth and stripped her son of his birthright; a woman whose inactions touched off tragic events far more than any evil designs Elizabeth Woodville could ever devise.

Edward's taste in women may have run to the coarse and common but never to the cowardly.

I say all this to pique the curiosity of the membership about Eleanor Butler. I am perturbed by the seemingly blanket acceptance of the legality of the Eleanor Butler marriage. And how much more inappropriate were the lady's actions in such a situation, yet her behavior is accepted without qualm. Chalking up her behavior to class and breeding is not an answer. There have been many women of class in history who have shown their mettle when required to, and a situation like this would certainly be one of those times. And if Eleanor was unable or unwilling to fight for herself and her child (?), then couldn't her family, which was among the powerful and articulate nobility, have done so?

What of Edward's culpability? Wasn't he guilty of wanton neglect of his own children's welfare, if he was indeed a bigamist? Couldn't he have righted the situation simply by remarrying Elizabeth after Eleanor's death and thereby legitimizing his heirs by legalizing his second marriage? A simple enough process, I would think, considering kingly prerogatives that he enjoyed. If we consider him too indolent to make such a move, however, he showed enough energy to take the steps he took against Stillington and George.

By all this, I am trying to reconcile the very real problem of the accepted fact of the illegitimacy of Edward's children, the deciding issue that put Richard on the throne, with the possibility that there was no such issue at hand. The protagonists of this episode seem to move in shadowy ways, without concrete evidence for their actions, either for or against such a pre-contract occurring. I can't accept Eleanor's withdrawal from such a marriage, nor Edward's flagrant jeopardizing of his children's birthright by it, nor Elizabeth's indifference to it (assuming she was aware of it) and the lack of public gossip about it. Yet I am puzzled over Edward's actions against the Bishop and George, which indicates an attempt to cover up something. Lastly these doubts place Richard in an unkind light, which I do not advocate.

In my first inquiry, I sought help from the membership in resolving this mental dilemma. Unfortunately, there has been little serious feedback to this very important pivotal set of circumstances, which I feel deserves better consideration than it's been given.

"ONCE UPON A TIME"--WHEREIN IS CONTAINED AN ALLEGORY

by Sybil Ashe

For most Americans, the alarums and excursions of medieval England are pretty well lost in the fog; and they're content to leave it at that. We Ricardians, however, are peculiarly aware of the value of researching seemingly unrelated events to give insight to a cloudy area, to provide an answer where more direct records no longer exist. One of the principal and most hotly debated accusations against Richard III is that of usurpation. Let's look at this single facet, without partisanship, and bring to bear upon it the weight of accepted history.

Is usurpation a definitive, unqualifiable act? The dictionary defines it as "the seizure of royal sovereignty, by force and without legal right or authority"; therefore, if an individual act of assumption of the crown does not embrace all of those factors, is the perpetrator, in fact, a usurper? Or are they innocent who attempt the crown--fail--yet receive it by consent or legal succession at a later date? For example, what of that singularly unfilial, twelfth-century quartet, the Plantagenet Brothers, whose hit song was "Get Papa!"? Is Richard I whiter than the driven snow because, as the elder of the two surviving sons, he eventually inherited the crown? And what of John, the younger one? During Richard's absence, he used armed force to oust de Longchamps, Richard's appointed regent; and he bribed a foreign prince to keep Richard captive and away from England. True, he didn't immediately call himself king; but can one doubt his aim?--and is it relevant? Richard, being otherwise occupied, failed to provide "an heir of his body," and left the throne to John. Does that absolve John? Also, this brother-to-brother transaction ignored the hitherto accepted law of primogeniture, bypassing Arthur of Brittany, the surviving male heir of an older brother. (Unfortunately for Arthur, his claim was not underrated by his uncle John.)

We move more or less peacefully through a century and a half and arrive at Edward III--who was not an advocate of zero population growth. The Wars of the Roses are rooted in the fact that he had too many sons who grew to reproductive manhood; thus was joined the battle for the crown.

His eldest son, Edward, the Black Prince, predeceased him, as did his second son, Lionel, Duke of Clarence. Had the syndicate practices of Henry II's sons been followed, the crown would have fallen into the lap of John O'Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster. However, the law of primogeniture having been reaffirmed and the Black Prince having left a male heir (albeit a child), John O'Gaunt would have to override that child's claim. He hadn't the boldness or the popularity to accomplish it, and Richard II came to the throne. But John had a son, Henry of Bolingbroke, who did have the boldness, and the determination, to stake the Lancastrian claim for himself. He used armed force to depose Richard II on the flimsy charge that he was "a bad king." He was responsible--directly or indirectly--for the subsequent murder of Richard. As we shall presently see, Henry IV's action fulfilled the defined requirements in other particulars also, and is undoubted usurpation. Lancaster held the crown for three reigns through succeeding, legitimate male heirs.

All this has been preliminary skirmishing. Now we are arrived at the main event--Lancaster vs. York--and the situation boils down to two questions: (1) does a usurped crown have legality through continuing generations?; and (2) does an equally valid and superseding claim remove the stigma of illegality from the act of implementing that claim by force? In answer to the first question, some bring to bear such maxims as: "To the victor belong the spoils," and "Possession is nine-tenths of the law." Are blanket maxims an answer? And what of the other tenth?

If my grandfather stole a cow which was "in the family way," he stole not only the cow, but also the calf, and the calf's bloodlines. From this calf my grandfather and my father eventually bred a prize animal which has come to me. Am I the possessor of stolen property? My cow is not the cow my grandfather stole; but it is the result of that theft. To whom does it really belong?

Question #2: Richard, Duke of York, was legitimately descended, not only from York, the fourth son, but also from Clarence the second son, through whom his claim supersedes Lancaster's. Now we come back to my cow. It was your great grandfather from whom my grandfather stole the original cow, and it was your grandfather who owned the bull which sired her calf. Is my prize cow morally and/or legally more yours than mine? And if because you believe it is, you take her from me at gunpoint, are you also a thief?

If Lancaster's seizure of the crown from Richard II is definitive usurpation, is York's armed seizure of it from Lancaster equally usurptive? The answer is, "No"--because of the qualifying phrase contained in the definition of "usurp"--"without legal right or authority." When it looked as though he might leave no heir of his own body, Richard II exercised the accepted, legal practice of English kings and named Roger Mortimer, grandson of Lionel of Clarence, as heir to the crown. Roger was your great grandfather from whom my grandfather (Henry IV) stole the cow (crown). Your grandfather (Richard, Earl of Cambridge) owned her calf's sire, which increased the value of the bloodlines (descent from the fourth son, York); therefore, Richard, Duke of York (your father) had the "legal right and authority" to take the crown, at gunpoint if necessary, because it belonged to him as prime descendant (through Anne Mortimer, his mother) of the legally designated heir. When Richard was killed, this right passed to his sons (you). So you're not a thief!

We come to the death of Edward IV, having seen quasi-usurpers, definitive usurpers and non-usurpers; and the unbiased consideration of their motives and methods and the qualifying circumstances, permitting thoughtful parallels, is not irrelevant to our own subject of research: the judgment of Richard's guilt or innocence. Richard resorted to force only to enable himself to assume his obligation as designated Protector. He did not seize the crown by armed revolt. What of his "legal right or authority" to assume the crown, later? Let's examine it.

(1) Henry VI being dead without issue, Lancaster is without a candidate.

(2) Edward IV left no legitimate heirs. Can we back that contention? Whether or not one agrees that a promise to marry (pre-contract) is as legally binding as actual marriage isn't relevant. It was the law of the land. Was it applicable in this instance? Not even Edward IV's staunchest admirers and defenders can deny his penchant for bed-hopping. He seems also to have had a "thing" for older women--both of the women involved in this controversy were older than he, which may have contributed heavily to their having been able to push him into marriage. In spite of a great deal of historical evidence to the contrary, there were some women in medieval England who knew and used the word "no." Lady Eleanor Butler would have been one of them. She would have held herself "too good to be his leman"; and he was discerning enough to know she had a point. He was also both heedless of the results of his impulsive actions and supremely confident of his ability to gain later acceptance of them. His historically accepted secret marriage to Elizabeth Woodville, and the timing of his public announcement of it attest to that. He always did what he had to do to get what he wanted; and someone else always paid the piper. The Golden Boy syndrome.

When, three years after his marriage to Elizabeth, Edward revoked the Chancellorship of George Neville, Bishop of York, he conferred it upon Bishop Stillington--

the man who later revealed that he had officiated at the pre-contract ceremony between Edward and Lady Eleanor. A reward for silence? A month after the execution of George of Clarence for treason (why now?), in whose holdings be it noted that Stillington resided, Stillington was imprisoned for saying things "prejudicial to the King." Does it seem strange that he, too, wasn't executed? Of course not. That would have necessitated a trial, at which the specifics of his "prejudicial" words would have been made public. Better to frighten him into silence and let him go. Four days after Bosworth, Henry VII also imprisoned Stillington for his treasonous statement; but, to avoid a public airing of this statement, pardoned him. Then he found an entirely different charge which enabled him to keep Stillington hidden in prison until he died. Why all this geeing and hawing around an insignificant and otherwise unimportant man, unless what he had said was provably true? This is another instance wherein the drawing together of known facts helps to point up the probable answer to the otherwise unanswerable. Edward, not Richard, did the boys out of the crown.

(3) Clarence's heir is under his father's attainder and cannot inherit.

(4) Who, then, is left? Richard, Duke of Gloucester, multiple grandson of Edward III, and oldest, surviving, legitimate, unattainted, male heir of the House of York. None had more acceptable credentials to place before the bar. The crown is rightfully his; and the Titulus Regius ("authority" enough?) is witness that the governing body of England agreed.

Predictably, Lancaster looked about for a representative to dispute this and chose, because of his descent from John O'Gaunt, Henry Tudor. There you sit, in undisputed possession of that beautiful cow; and suddenly a fellow walks up to you and tells you that my great grandfather was up to his eyeballs in hanky-panky, and that standing before you is the living proof--his hand stretched out for the lead rope of your cow. "Uh, uh, wrong side of the blanket, Hank! You have no legal right." Any authority? The posture that, through his father, Henry VII is half-nephew to Henry VI? Wrong half! Legitimate or not, descent from the widow of a Plantagenet puts no Plantagenet blood in the veins. Most assuredly it passes on no rightful claim to the Crown of England. Furthermore, Henry's descent from Lancaster is also through a female. If that is given validity, so must Richard's descent through a female from a designated heir and older brother, Clarence, thereby taking irrefutable precedence.

Put the cow in your barn. She's yours!

I have to warn you, though, that this unknown descendant of one of my great grandfather's by-blows is the type who can recognize a cattle rustler in the dark and, although he's not much for hand-to-hand combat, he won't mind a bit watching while the mercenaries cut you down, then hand your cow to him.

How say you? Who is the usurper?

(This article was submitted in consideration of the Naughton Award Program.)

AMERICAN BRANCH, RICHARD III SOCIETY
tour to England and Scotland, 1975

- August 10th, Sunday...depart from Kennedy Airport, New York City via BOAC #500 at 8:00pm and arrive at London's Heathrow Airport
- August 11th, Monday...7:40am with exclusive transfer to the Waldorf Hotel, Aldwych in London. Afternoon orientation meeting with Major Battcock with tea to discuss the tour activities.
- August 12th, Tuesday through August 16th breakfast at hotel and city sightseeing with Major Battcock, our Ricardian tour guide. During this week a get-together party will be planned with the London members as well as a lecture with Dr. Pamela Tudor-Craig, well remembered for her enormous efforts for the Richard III exhibit at the National Portrait Gallery.
- August 17th, Sunday morning departure by exclusive motorcoach with Major Battcock to travel via Fotheringhay to Sutton Cheney Church for the annual memorial service to Richard III. Later travel to Ambion Hill to visit the Well where Richard III drank during the final battle at Bosworth Field. A packed lunch will be enjoyed during the visit before continuing on to York for accommodation at the Dean Court Hotel, across from the West Door of York Minster.
- August 18th, Monday...breakfast at hotel and walking tour of the walled city of York and chance to visit the Chapter House at the Minster to view the Society vellum on display there.
- August 19th, Tuesday...breakfast at hotel and morning departure vis Middleham with a visit to the Castle, the actual home of Richard from the age of 9 to 13 years and during his marriage from 1472-1483. Arrival at Edinburgh for accommodation at the North British Hotel.
- August 20th, Wednesday...breakfast at hotel and full day sightseeing in Edinburgh with Major Battcock.
- August 21st, Thursday...breakfast at hotel and morning departure to continue on tour traveling South across the border via Berwick and Alnwick, taking time to visit the castle and stop for lunch before arriving in Carlisle for accommodation.
- August 22nd, Friday...breakfast at hotel and full day visit to the Roman Wall
- August 23rd, Saturday...breakfast at hotel and morning departure to Penrith for a visit at the castle and continue on to arrive Shrewsbury for accommodation at the Lion Hotel.
- August 24th, Sunday...breakfast at hotel and morning departure to visit Tewkesbury for a visit to the battle site and museum and continuing to Minster Lovell later stopping for lunch and continue on to Windsor for overnight accommodation at the Castle Hotel.
- August 25th, Monday...breakfast at hotel and early morning sightseeing at Windsor before departing for Heathrow Airport and departure flight at 1:00pm via BOAC #509 to arrive Kennedy Airport, New York and continue on to return to home city. (end of tour arrangements...)

FULL PER PERSON RATE FOR THE ABOVE TOUR PROGRAM will be \$397.00 per person for the tour and airfare (GIT excursion, high season rate of 462.00 per person, round trip) plus \$3.00 US departure tax. Single supplements will be available.

For tour reservation...forward \$25.00 per person to Mrs. Betty Schloss, PONZIO TRAVEL, 535 Fifth Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa. 15219.

Tour only arrangements are available at the land rate listed above. All arrangements are first class, escorted and group must be a minimum of ten persons traveling together. Breakfast daily is included and lunches where mentioned in tour itinerary. As usual, every effort will be made to contact Ricardian members throughout the program.

Richard III Society, Inc.



Richard III Society, Inc. is a non-profit educational corporation chartered in 1969 under the membership corporation laws of the State of New York. Dues, grants and contributions are tax-deductible to the extent allowed by law.

We probably have many members who would be willing to use their talents and experience to assist our Society in its activities. To find out more about our membership, your officers have prepared the Membership Questionnaire below.

Our Librarian, Mrs. William P. Haynes, has kindly consented to receive, review, collate, and categorize the questionnaires, with special notes on members who could render useful service to the Society. Will you please help us in this project by filling in the questionnaire and sending it promptly to Libby?

William H. Snyder, Chairman

RICHARD III SOCIETY, INC. MEMBERSHIP QUESTIONNAIRE

March, 1975

(Attach additional pages if more space is needed)

NAME, ADDRESS, PHONE NUMBER:

EMPLOYMENT/VOCATION:

INTERESTS AND SPECIAL ABILITIES:

MEDIA, LECTURE, AND OTHER PUBLIC SPEAKING EXPERIENCE:

ACCESS TO USE OF MEDIA?:

LIBRARY AFFILIATIONS:

ACADEMIC DEGREES/AREAS OF SPECIALIZATION:

PRESENT ACADEMIC AFFILIATION:

PUBLICATIONS:

(Continued on reverse side)

TELL US HOW, IN YOUR JUDGMENT, YOU COULD BEST HELP THE SOCIETY:

WE INVITE YOUR SPECIFIC SUGGESTIONS ON ALL ASPECTS OF OUR ACTIVITIES:

(signature)

Please fill in this Questionnaire and mail to:

Mrs. William P. Haynes
4149 25th Street, N.
Arlington, Virginia 22207



Dues, grants and contributions are tax-deductible to the extent allowed by law.

The Ricardian Register

Newsletter of the Richard III Society, Inc.

EDITOR: Linda B. McLatchie, 9 Weld St., Apt. 48, Framingham, Mass. 01701

Richard III Society, Inc. is a non-profit educational corporation chartered in 1969 under the membership corporation laws of the State of New York.

Volume IX -- issue 1 -- January-February 1975

TRIP TO HIGGINS MUSEUM, WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS

As publicized in the November-December 1974 issue of the Register, a trip to the John Woodman Higgins Armory Museum in Worcester, Mass. is being planned for April 5, 1975. A chartered bus will leave Manhattan at 8 a.m. (lunch served en route). The Museum Director and the Society's Pursuivant, Dr. Helmut Nickel, will give an exclusive tour of this outstanding collection of arms and armor. The bus will return to Manhattan at approximately 7 p.m.

If you wish to reserve a place for this unique excursion, please use the form included in the last issue of the Register. The price per person is \$20.00, and all reservations should be sent to William Hogarth, Box 217, Sea Cliff, New York 11579.

The deadline for all reservations is March 25, 1975. If you are unable to make this deadline by mail, call Bill Hogarth at (516) OR-6-2374.

KNEELERS FOR SUTTON CHENEY CHURCH

Ladies of the American Branch have for several years been making needlepoint covers for the kneelers of Sutton Cheney Church near Bosworth Field. As Kneeler Coordinator, I have recently received a letter from Mrs. E.R. Boston, wife of the Rev. Teddy Boston, Vicar of Sutton Cheney Church, which says:

"We have received about eighteen kneelers to date. They are all made up, apart from the three which came a week or so ago. Regarding the number of kneelers required, it seems rather cheeky to ask for a certain number as we consider ourselves so very fortunate that your Society is doing them so beautifully for us, but maybe fifty would be about right if you could manage them.

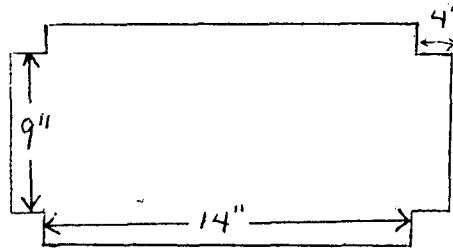
We had a visit last Sunday from our Archdeacon. He preached at Sutton Cheney Church and was most impressed with the kneelers and the story behind them.

Once again, thank you very much for all you are doing in America on our behalf. We are very grateful.

Yours sincerely, Audrey Boston"

Mrs. Boston's letter tells us there is room for thirty-two more kneeler covers in Sutton Cheney Church. The cushions to be covered have already been purchased

by the Vicar and are 9"x14"x4". These dimensions call for a piece of needlepoint shaped according to the following specifications:



No attempt has been made to make the kneelers uniform in color or design. Ricardian and ecclesiastical designs have been used on various background colors. St. James the Greater is the patron saint of Sutton Cheney Church. His emblem is three gold scallop shells on a blue field.

Will each lady or gentleman who is making a kneeler cover please notify me at the address below so that I may keep count of the covers made. A one line description of the design and color used would be helpful for identification purposes.

Mrs. William H. Snyder
4110 Woodbine Street
Chevy Chase, Maryland 20015

THE CHRONICLES OF THE WHITE ROSE OF YORK

The Editor has available, in limited quantity, The Chronicles of the White Rose of York, edited by J.C. Giles (1843). This reprint consists of a series of chronicles, proclamations, letters, and other contemporary documents relating to the reigns of Edward IV and Richard III. These are presented in modern spelling, and are annotated by quotations from contemporary and later sources.

Quantities are limited, so orders will be filled on a first-come, first-served basis. Price per copy: \$12.00 (make all checks payable to Richard III Society, Inc.).

STAINED GLASS PROJECT

Nita Slavin of Pasadena, Maryland has developed a stained glass project that may be of interest to members of the Society. A limitless variety of Ricardian designs, emblems, or heraldic arms can be used. If you wish a copy of the detailed instructions, please write to the Editor.

PEN-PALS

Members interested in corresponding with other Ricardians should contact me, stating your preference in pen-pals. Please indicate your particular Ricardian or Yorkist interests as well as any other interests you feel are relevant. Please send a STAMPED, SELF-ADDRESSED ENVELOPE with your inquiry.

Anne Yelton
5205 Taylor Mill Road
Covington, Kentucky 41015

NEW MEMBERS

Rebecca Askew & Family 749 Echo Lane Houston, Texas 77024	Pamela J. Forde 21 Perkins Street Quincy, Mass. 02169	Eileen Roesler Route 2, Box 38 Junction City, Kansas 66441
Prof. James B. Ayres University of Texas Austin, Texas 78712	Helena Gutleizer 656 Lefferts Avenue Brooklyn, N.Y. 11203	Lynden Dianne Schmidt Rural Route Two Elmwood, Ill. 61529
Mrs. Henry W. Baird 263 Kent Road Wynnewood, Penna. 19096	Mr. & Mrs. Wm. F. Lewis 320 Cutter Street Foster City, Calif. 94404	Juanita L. Slavin 118M Main Avenue, Rte. 11 Pasadena, Md. 21122
Mimi R. Bakalinsky 1249 6th Avenue San Francisco, Cal. 94122	Mr. & Mrs. Donald Mallett 89 Western Avenue Saugus, Mass. 01906	Mr. & Mrs. John Smith-Hill 300 East 40th Street New York, N.Y. 10016
Lisa Barnett 2054 Dorchester Ave. Boston, Mass. 02124	Laurie Margolies 3446 Steven Road Baldwin, N.Y. 11510	Adam Tarlin 93 Perry Street Brookline, Mass. 02146
Stephanie L. Bronder 3235 Apache Road Pittsburgh, Penna. 15241	Mrs. Carolann Marshall 37 Briarfield Lane Huntington, N.Y. 11743	Linda V. Troost Park House, Smith College Northampton, Mass. 01060
Sister Caedmon, O.S.A. Bethany Lincoln, Mass. 01773	Julia N. Nelson P.O. Box 156 Jackson, N.H. 03846	Dr. Carlo Vacca Mass. Bay Community College Wellesley Hills, Mass. 02181
Florence E. Cohen 31 Strathmore Road Great Neck, N.Y. 11023	Margaret Nelson 705 Putman Fayetteville, Ark. 72701	Eileen Vitone 2 Wellington Terrace Brookline, Mass. 02146

BOOK NOTE

As most Ricardians know, Kendall (in Richard III) touches only briefly on Richard's work in the North as Warden of the Marches during the 1470's. For a more detailed picture of the chaotic Border problems and the activities of the Wardens of the Border Marches, read The Steel Bonnets by George MacDonald Fraser (Knopf, 1972). Although the book concentrates primarily on the period 1520's to 1597, the previous fifty years were essentially the same.

Fraser mentions Richard's Wardenship of the Western March (as Duke of Gloucester), his residency at Carlisle Castle (Rickergate in Carlisle was named for him), and remarks that when James I became king in 1603, "he had more experience and knowledge of the Border Marches' problems than any English monarch since Richard III." This particular localized pocket of history occurred during the 15th and 16th centuries, according to Fraser, and so it may be safe to say that Richard III was the only English monarch to have knowledge and experience of the violent and complex internecine guerilla activities of the Border riever family tribes. Had Richard reigned

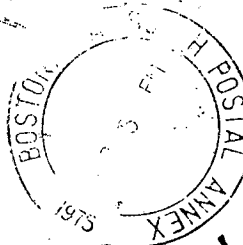
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for a longer period, the terrible destruction and losses of the feuding 16th century Border area might well have been avoided--for it was not until James I that the problem was dealt with by a monarch who understood the situation and peaceful productivity was possible in that devastated area.

In any case, the non-romantic, factual Steel Bonnets is useful background material for understanding Richard's activities in the North as Warden of the Marches.

Book Review submitted by Ethel Phelps

Richard III Society, Inc.
9 Weld Street, Apartment 48
Framingham, Massachusetts 01701



F I R S T C L A S S M A I L

Mrs. William P. Haynes
4149 25th Street, N.
Arlington
Virginia 22207

F I R S T C L A S S M A I L

The RICHARD III SOCIETY, American Branch
(Fellowship of the White Boar)

6th Annual Tour to England & Scotland
August 10th-25th, 1975

with round trip air transportation via BOAC

* * * * *

FULL PER PERSON RATE:

\$397.00 for land tour &

462.00 round trip GIT airfare &

3.00 U.S. departure tax

\$862.00 (NYC to London & return)

(\$105 single supplement available)

* * * * *

The tour program will be fully escorted from New York and guided by Major Roy Battcock in London and throughout the motorcoach tour program.

All arrangements especially planned by
Mrs. Betty Schloss
American Branch tour coordinator
c/o PONZIO TRAVEL
535 Fifth Avenue
Pittsburgh, Pa. 15219

telephone (412) 471-7800

A Ricardian welcome is extended to all members and friends of the American Branch to travel with this year's Society tour to England and Scotland. Our program has been planned to see many of the interesting Ricardian highlights as well as providing an opportunity to meet other Ricardians. The 1975 6th Annual Summer Tour Program will visit the 490th Sutton Cheney Memorial to Richard III, Bosworth Field, the new memorial window at Fotheringhay, get together with members in London and other areas and learn more about Richard III, the much maligned 15th century monarch and the activities of the Society today.

Our lecturer-guide will be Major Roy Battcock, chairman of London Guides, fellow Ricardian and well-known to American members for finding hidden, out-of-the-way places on previous tours. Meetings with Dr. Pamela Tudor-Craig and founding Society officers will provide a worthwhile travel experience and holiday. Your American Branch officers urge every member who can travel this summer to join this '75 tour as one offering dollar value and special Ricardian events.

THE ITINERARY

Aug. 10th, Sunday: depart from Kennedy Airport, New York City via BOAC #500 at 8:00pm (dinner served en route)

Aug. 11th, Monday: arrive at London, Heathrow Airport and transfer directly to Waldorf Hotel, Aldwych (WC2). Morning at leisure. Afternoon tea and orientation meeting with Major Battcock to discuss tour activities

Aug. 12th through Aug. 16th: breakfast daily at hotel. A full-day city sight-seeing tour with Major Battcock, London pub party get-together, meeting with Dr. Pamela Tudor-Craig, NPG 1973 exhibition organizer, will take place. Additional events will be noted and careful suggestions provided for complete enjoyment in London.

Aug. 17th, Sunday: departure by motorcoach to Fotheringhay, Sutton Cheney Memorial, Bosworth Field, stop for picnic lunch and continue on to arrive in York for accommodation at Dean Court Hotel.

Aug. 18th, Monday: breakfast at hotel and walking tour in York, visiting the Minster Chapter House to view Society vellum on display and other interesting sites.

Aug. 19th, Tuesday: early departure to Middleham for castle visit which was the actual home for Richard during his early years and from 1472-1483 when he lived their while married to Anne Neville. Arrival at hotel in Edinburgh for accommodation.

Aug. 20th, Wednesday: breakfast at hotel and full day tour in Edinburgh with Major Battcock.

Aug. 21st, Thursday: early departure traveling South across the border via Berwick and Alnwick, taking time to visit the castle, stop for lunch en route to Carlisle for accommodation.

Aug. 22nd, Friday: full day in Carlisle for visiting the Roman Wall.

Aug. 23rd, Saturday: early departure to Penrith for castle visit, continue on to Shrewsbury for accommodation at the LION Hotel.

Aug. 24th, Sunday: morning departure to Tewkesbury to visit the battle site, museum, stop for lunch and continue on to visit Minster Lovell...arrive Windsor for accommodation at the Castle Hotel.

Aug. 25th, Monday: early morning sight-seeing in Windsor before departure to Heathrow Airport for BOAC #509 at 1:00pm

(continued on reverse page)

(Itinerary, continued)

Aug. 25th (cont.) to arrive Kennedy Airport at 3:35pm and connect with flight to home city. (End of Tour Arrangements)

* * * * *

To reserve your place on the '75 Society tour:

Mail a deposit of \$25.00 per person to
Mrs. Betty Schloss
PONZIO TRAVEL
535 Fifth Avenue
Pittsburgh, Pa. 15219

Please advise name of your roommate or if single supplement is requested. Also, indicate your home telephone number.

Single supplements are \$105.00 per person. Roommates will be assigned if they are available, but not guaranteed.

PLEASE NOTE: The minimum requirement for the group tour airfare has been met, and there is still space available for additional membership on the '75 Ricardian Tour to England & Scotland.

Please read the Tour Conditions and Travel Information carefully.

I look forward to meeting all of you again this year on Sunday, August 10th at BOAC Terminal, Kennedy Airport.

Betty Schloss

* * * * *

(Continued) from Tour Conditions, etc.

Responsibility: the tour operators and their agents act only as agents for passengers with regard to travel services provided by means of conveyance, etc., and assume no liability for injury, damage, loss, accident or delay. The right is reserved to refuse to accept or retain anyone on the tour as circumstances may demand. All baggage is carried at the owner's risk and insurance is highly recommended.

All rates are quoted as those in effect at the date of printing. (5/15/75)

PS: All checks for payment are payable to Ponzio Travel.

TOUR CONDITIONS & TRAVEL INFORMATION

Transportation: round trip airfare via BOAC flights listed in the itinerary. Airfare is based on Group Inclusive Tour, high season economy class airfare, via BOAC: New York to London and return: \$462 per person. A required group of 10 persons traveling together has been confirmed. A cancellation fee of 25% of the airfare will be charged to anyone cancelling later than 15 days prior to departure.

Tour transportation for the program as listed will be via exclusive motorcoach throughout. Transfer in London on arrival to the Waldorf Hotel will be also on exclusive basis and include all tips on services as listed.

Accommodations are based on first class hotels in twin bedded rooms with private bath. Single accommodations are available at a supplement of \$105.00 per person. Full English breakfast will be provided daily and lunches on full travel days.

Special Events: a pub party in London for a get-together with London members, visit to Bosworth Field on annual memorial, Sutton Cheney Church Memorial Service on August 17th and full-day London sightseeing with Major Battcock to enjoy Ricardian highlights. Ample free time is planned in London to allow for personal pursuits. Suggestions for restaurants, theatre and a copy of the Ricardian Gazeteer will be provided for tour members.

Tips & Taxes are included to hotel staffs, porters and other persons providing services on the tour. Individual gratuities to tour guide will be a personal discretion as well as any gratuities for services ordered and not included in tour program. Not included in tour rate are any special drinks ordered, laundry charges, telephone charges, shopping expenses or any other item not specifically listed in the itinerary.

Refunds: no refunds will be paid on any unused portions of the tour program. Cancellation fee of 25% of the land rate will be imposed on any cancellations received later than July 29, 1975. Airfare cancellations are listed above.

(continued on left column)



Dues, grants and contributions are tax-deductible to the extent allowed by law.

The Ricardian Register

Newsletter of the Richard III Society, Inc.

EDITOR: Linda B. McLatchie, 9 Weld St., Apt. 48, Framingham, Mass. 01701

Richard III Society, Inc. is a non-profit educational corporation chartered in 1969 under the membership corporation laws of the State of New York.

VOLUME IX — issue 2 — March-April 1975

FIRST NAUGHTON AWARD WINNER

I'm pleased to announce that your Board of Officers has selected the first winner of the Naughton Award, "In Defense of Sir James Tyrell," in the September-October 1974 *Ricardian Register*. We congratulate the author, Miss Susan Leas, of Atlanta, Georgia, on her well-researched article and have awarded her the sum of fifty dollars.

Now, your Board invites all Ricardians to submit your articles or stories on Richard III, or his era, to the Editor for the second Naughton Award. The deadline for submission is *July 31, 1975*. We hope you will join us in the effort to make *The Ricardian Register* a true reflection of the sincere interest, thought, imagination, and research of our members.

William H. Snyder
Chairman

"PERSONAL ESCORT" REQUESTED

At least seven industrious and devoted needlewomen have needlepoint covers in the making for the kneelers of Sutton Cheney Church.

Will any Ricardian who will visit Sutton Cheney this summer kindly let me know if he/she will be willing to take one or two of these valuable covers to Sutton Cheney and present them to Mr. or Mrs. Teddy Boston on behalf of the makers.

Janet B. Snyder, Kneeler Coordinator
4110 Woodbine Street
Chevy Chase, Maryland 20015

PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE QUESTIONNAIRE

As of April 15 there have been 42 responses to the questionnaire, just over 10% of the membership.

Outstanding is the level of literacy of our members. Four secondary school students responded, and their command of English, historical acumen, and enthusiasm is far beyond that to be expected at their ages. Seven of the members responding are college students; twenty-two are college graduates, and eight more have advanced degrees—an elite Society indeed! No less than twelve of the members responding are librarians, and two are history teachers. Several have degrees in the fine arts, music, or literature.

The most frequent suggestion, indeed a recurring theme, for improving the Society was to have more local activities and meetings. The next more frequent suggestion was for more membership participation in *The Ricardian Register*. These two cannot be done by your Board of Directors; but any member can ask the Secretary for names of other nearby members and hold a local meeting, and any member can submit copy to the Editor of the *Register*. It's up to you.

There were a number of useful offers of help to the Society, ranging from offers to do research, public speaking, needlework, writing, photography, illustration, editorial assistance, library displays, and fine book-binding, to paying dues on time. Mention was made of the current medieval exhibit at The Cloisters and the

possibility of visiting the Harding Collection of Arms and Armor which is in storage in Chicago. How about a medieval party in New York? Or a Plantagenet costume ball?

Come on, all you other 90% of the American Branch members, send in your pink sheet, stand up and be counted. Last Chance! The final report on the questionnaire will appear in the next issue of the *Register*.

Libby Haynes
Librarian

REPORT FROM MICHIGAN CHAPTER

On the evening of March 1, I had the privilege of addressing 30 members of the Society for Creative Anachronism at Michigan State University. It was a delight to meet with these young people who are serious students of life and times from about 900 to 1650. I was amazed at the talents shown in their various areas of endeavor and most pleased to discover how well informed many were regarding Richard III. A number of them were most interested in joining our Society and it was a pleasure to discuss our aims and activities.

It was also a lovely surprise to discover that in their society's magazine there was an "In Memoriam" to Richard III. The magazine is *Tournaments Illuminated*, Vol. VIII, No. 3, Fall 1974, published in Berkeley, California, and stated the following:

IN MEMORIAM Lest we forget the death of his Most Gracious Majestie RICHARDUS III
22 August, 1485, C.A.

I was very pleased to find friends in the C.A. Group.

The next interesting event for members in our area was the conference on Medieval Studies to be held at Western Michigan University in Kalamazoo. This began on Sunday, May 4. Last year we were entertained with "jousting" on the green, a grand play given by the group from the University of Toronto, exhibits, medieval music and a really fine ox roast.

Betty Meier
Regional Vice-Chairman

BOOKS FOR SALE

The Editor has received shipments of a wide variety of Ricardian books. Some are new titles; some have previously been offered for sale. (Please make all checks payable to Richard III Society, Inc.)

- *The Coronation of Elizabeth Wydeville*, a contemporary account of this lavish event, edited by George Smith (1935). Price: \$8.00
- *The Battle of Bosworth Field* by William Hutton (1813). This is a signed limited edition which is a facsimile reproduction of the 1813 edition. Price: \$11.50.
- "Richard III" by G.W.O. Woodward. One of the Pitkin "Pride of Britain" series. The booklet is somewhat traditional in its viewpoint but is redeemed by its excellent illustrations. Price: \$1.00.
- "The Battle of Bosworth" by D.T. Williams. An account of the Battle of Bosworth, including a map of the battlefield. Price: \$1.50.
- *Daughter of Time* (paperback) by Josephine Tey. This English edition carries the NPG portrait of Richard on its cover. Price: \$1.75.
- *Betrayal of Richard III* by V.B. Lamb. This excellent book discusses the traditional accusations against Richard and the revisionist counterarguments. Price: \$5.00.

BOAR PINS ONCE AGAIN AVAILABLE

The gold and enamelled pin, showing Richard's device of the boar, is once again available from the Editor. The craftsmanship of the pin is of a better quality than the old pin, but unfortunately the price has also risen. Price per pin *with* plasticized protective cover: \$4.00. Price per pin *without* plasticized protective cover: \$3.75.

Pendants of the same design will be available in the near future.

NOTICES

Lyne-Pirkis Speech

A transcript of a speech by Dr. Lyne-Pirkis regarding a re-evaluation of the anatomical analysis of the bones purported to be those of the Little Princes is once again available from the Editor. Please send a *stamped, self-addressed #10 envelope* with your request.

December Ricardian

The Editor has received a small supply of the December 1974 issue of *The Ricardian*. Any member who did not receive this issue should write to the Editor for a copy.

Pen-Pal Coordinator

Members interested in corresponding with other Ricardians should contact me, stating your preference in pen-pals. Please indicate your particular Ricardian or Yorkist interests as well as any other interests you deem relevant.

Please send a *stamped, self-addressed envelope* with your inquiry.

Anne Yelton
5205 Taylor Mill Road
Covington, Kentucky 41015

Pen-Pal

Anyone interested in corresponding with a fellow Ricardian, whose interests are varied, and who would very much like to exchange ideas and opinions regarding Richard III, his life and times, please contact: Mrs. Karen Ann Kohut, 1170 West 31st Street, Apt. 20, Los Angeles, California 90007.

Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers

Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers, a facsimile reproduction of the first book printed in England, in 1477, by William Caxton (170 pp.) is available from Abner Schram, 1860 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10023. Price: \$25.00.

Change of Address

Frannie and Laurence Levy have moved from 1509 Park Avenue to 1504 Park Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland 21217.

BOOKS REVIEWS

King Richard's Friend by Jayne Viney
Robert Hale, London, 1975

Excellent researched and interestingly written, this novel follows Francis Lovell from his arrival as a new page at Middleham until his death, emphasizing the close-knit and lasting friendship and loyalty of the group of youths who served there with Richard. Lovell was Warwick's ward and perforce went with him to France in 1470; but as soon as he learned of his death at Barnet, he deserted Queen Margaret and joined Richard in time to fight at Tewkesbury for the King. The following years were spent under Richard in the north, until Edward's death brought him with Richard to London. Lovell fought at Bosworth, was wounded and rescued by a faithful man-at-arms, and lived to fight at Stoke.

No new ideas are presented here, but the story is quite well told and the point of view is fresh. The book is explicit enough to make sense to a reader who knows nothing of this historical period, while being entertaining to one who does know and wants to learn more.

Wife to the Kingmaker by Sandra Wilson
Robert Hale, London, 1975

As a recapitulation of the events in England from 1439 to 1478, this is an accurate fictionalized account from the point of view of Anne Beauchamp, Countess of Warwick. She was the aunt of Eleanor, Lady Butler, and knew of the marriage to Edward IV, but honored her promise not to tell. She tried to moderate her husband's fatal ambition, but to little avail.

The author is at home with her historical facts, but slipped in describing Edward as a "broad, blonde giant over six feet tall"—at a time in the story when he was eleven years old. The writing is not as smoothly done as in the trilogy about Cicely Plantagenet, and there are some ludicrous errors of grammar. The book offers an interesting perspective on the period to a reader familiar with the historical situation.

Reviews by Libby Haynes

RESEARCH NOTE

Somewhere in my reading, I came across someone who believed that Richard was at least slightly deformed, based on the drawing in the "Salisbury Roll" which shows him wearing a large thick collar around his neck. The argument was that this was meant to hide the deformity. I would like to point out that all of the male figures of the Kingmaker's family in the Beauchamp pageant are wearing this type of collar (including: Richard Neville, "Kingmaker"; Richard III; his son Edward; George ["Clarence"]; George's son Edward; and Henry VI's son Edward). The collar therefore seems to have been fashionable at this time, rather than a means of "hiding" anything.

Carol Parker

NEW MEMBERS

Mrs. Kenneth B. Anderson
18487 San Jose Boulevard
Lathrup Village
Michigan 48075

Mis Elizabeth Andrews
3800 North Fairfax Drive
Arlington
Virginia 22203

Eileen Bayer
1533 East 32nd Street
Brooklyn
New York 11234

Susan L. Beningson
74 Haviland Road
Stamford
Connecticut 06903

Mrs. Ralph Bohall
86 Jamestown Street
Randolph
New York 14772

Sara Boonin
Vassar College
Poughkeepsie
New York 12601

Frances Caplan
205 East 78th Street
New York
New York 10021

Mrs. Catherine J. Felder
2235 S. Ridgeland Avenue
Berwyn
Illinois 60402

Ms. Peggy Ferrini
British Information Services
845 Third Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10022

Nancy J. Fletcher
Old Stafford Road
Tolland
Connecticut 06084

Debora L. Godfrey
1059 West College
Jacksonville
Illinois 62650

Ann M. Johnston
One Gracie Terrace
New York
New York 10028

Ann J. Juel
6 Bridge Street
Manchester
Massachusetts 01944

Hoffer Kaback
333 East 54th Street
New York
New York 10022

Michael M. Keohane
207 East 59th Street
Brooklyn
New York 11203

Barbara Lawrence
2225 Green Street
San Francisco
California 94123

Carolyn Longworth
48 Coulombe Street
Acushnet
Massachusetts 02743

Theresa & Stefan Mantovani
41-22 Ithaca Street
Elmhurst
New York 11373

Marjorie J. Mead
P.O. Box 1444
Olympia
Washington 98507

Dr. & Mrs. Malcolm K. Miller
c/o Public Health Hospital
Kotzebue
Alaska 99752

Mrs. Carla C. Mirchandani
6429 Windyrush Road
Charlotte
North Carolina 28211

Miss Debbie Morey
1512 Lowden Lane
Mt. Prospect
Illinois 60056

Thomas S. Potts
3 Diana Hills Road
Anniston
Alabama 36201

Mrs. Percy A. Rideout
2999 Pacific Avenue #1
San Francisco
California 94115

Marguerite M. Rivera
2357 Veteran Avenue
Los Angeles
California 90064

Elizabeth Helen Scheuer
3525 Woodley Road, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20016

Norine Jane Smith
523 Gonzalez Drive
San Francisco
California 94132

Iris F. Tillinghast
Center Ossipee
New Hampshire 03814

Gregory D. Tummino
2350 Ocean Avenue
Brooklyn
New York 11229

Christine Smith Watkins
Van Beuren Road
Morristown
New Jersey 07960

Robert P.C. Wenson
460 Elm Avenue
Rahway
New Jersey 07065

STOP PRESS: On June 7, 1975, the New England Chapter will take a trip to the John Woodman Higgins Museum of Armor in Worcester, Massachusetts. New England members will be contacted by mail. Any other interested members should write to Sybil Ashe, 229 South Street, Medfield, Mass. 02052.

GRAVE FOR A KING

Until two years ago, I hadn't come across the story of the dumping of Richard's remains into the River Soar. It was a terrific shock. Since then, I've seen several references to it; but the shock never lessened, and I began to wonder what, if anything, could be done about it. There were so many ramifications. Were any of them insurmountable? Had anyone ever tried to do anything about it?

I did some reading of an unusual sort for me—very little of it calculated to keep you on the edge of your seat. Human bones: their durability; the effects of prolonged immersion; would river silt have a centuries-long preservative effect?; how far would they progress into decay in (when *did* the Dissolution occur? Look it up! O.K.) about 50 years, unembalmed? Habits of rivers: changes in depth; action of currents; shifting of the bed; action of chemical pollutants on. Dull? You wouldn't believe! I had some answers, but a good many of them were qualified by 'ifs', 'buts' and 'excepts'. Where would I look for those bits of esoterica? At the oddest moments I would catch myself muttering, "Now, suppose we could get someone to do that, then . . . I wonder . . . ?"

There were two problems which needed no research, but they loomed all the same. Money, and the City Fathers of Leicester, who just might object to what I'm sure they would term lunatics, digging about in their river. Well, first things first. Half-formed plots were still in the back of my mind when I went to England in September, accompanied by my younger son, whose understanding of what he respectfully and interestedly called my "pilgrimage" added immeasurably to my enjoyment.

Those of you who have been there will know the horror I felt as I stood on Bow Bridge looking at the stagnant, filthy pool, littered with bottles, tins, soggy paper, and even the rusting carcass of an automobile, a corner of its roof rearing out of the scum of algae like a monster surfacing to breathe. *This* is the final resting place of a King of England? *This* is all that's afforded to the man who put teeth into the law of the land, to help insure that its justice would extend unto all the inhabitants thereof? I couldn't believe it! How could they allow it? The Soar was re-routed around the city years ago, and I suppose surface water still drains into the ditch left there; but need it be used as a dump! I felt sick.

The alternative theory, that Richard's dust lies under a parking lot on the site of the old Grey Friars' chantry house, seemed infinitely preferable. So I went there. There's no question that it's a parking lot. Surrounded by dingy buildings with their grimy window-eyes impersonally surveying the unlovely blacktop, it's little better. I looked speculatively at the pitted tarmac. Certainly, it would be physically easier to dig this up . . . but those City Fathers . . . after all, motorists take a dim view of chewed up parking areas, and motorists are also resident voters. Still, I wonder . . . ?

The following day I met Mr. Roy Bishop, a member of the Society's Leicester Branch. A quiet, knowledgeable man, Leicester born and bred, whose alert mind has stored an amazing amount of information which he enthusiastically shares—all of it about England. We spoke of various nearby Ricardian sites; then, as he filled his well-used pipe, I asked him how he felt about the ugly parking lot and the monstrous Bow Bridge dump. He smiled, lighted the pipe, then rose to his feet.

"Come, I promised to show you the sights. One of them will answer your question."

He led us through narrow, cobbled streets to the Old Guild Hall where Elizabeth I had been feasted in the gracious, panelled dining room and entertained by performances on the stage of the central hall; to old houses with dark, crooked stairways and sloping floors wherein are preserved things strange and amusing and things beautiful. At last we came to Leicester Castle and John O'Gaunt's magnificent Great Hall, where the Court of Assizes now sits. As we stood once more in the street outside the courtyard, he nodded toward a section of ancient wall a few yards away and, with a sweeping gesture of his arm, he said, "That's what's left of the wall which once enclosed the city of Leicester as it was then. Right here where we're standing, was the center of the old city; and doubtless it was here that Richard's body was displayed those three days."

After a few moments during which no one spoke, we turned and made our way, single file, through yet another dark, huddled little street. "But how does any of this relate to that cesspool by Bow Bridge?" I was asking myself as we emerged from the tunnel of old England into what passes for sunlight in modern England. Across the thoroughfare from us was a large, reasonably ugly, brick building, not new but certainly not modern. Unhappy but courteously acquiescent, I dodged through the traffic after Mr. Bishop, through a side door of the brick building, along a corridor and down a flight of stairs to what was obviously a basement. Before an ancient stone arch which pokes its apex right into the concrete of the floor above and around which is an iron railing—intended to protect its incongruity from a marauding public—he leaned against its modern counterpart, a concrete column, and, fat little clouds of fragrant smoke drifting from his pipe into the shadowy reaches of the cellar, he spoke.

"I told you I was born here, in Leicester, and when I was a lad there was a bit of local entertainment you may find odd. The old horse trough from the square was taken from town to town and put on display as the one which had been, originally, the sarcophagus in the memorial Henry VII furnished for Richard III. Once when it came to Leicester, my grandfather took me to see it. I remember it in detail, and I can tell you it was of Norman workmanship, far too old to have been of Richard's era.

"After we had seen the trough, my grandfather brought me to this building. There is a sub-cellar under this one, and we went down to it. It's closed to the public now. Right under this spot, under this arch, is the floor of the altar of what was the Church of St. Mary the Lesser. It was that church which the Leicester Grey Friars served. They had no monastery, complete with graveyard—only a chantry house. My grandfather pointed to the great slabs of the altar floor and said, 'That is where they would naturally have buried King Richard III, and that is where he still lies. During the Dissolution of the Monasteries the church, itself, would not have been disturbed.' I may say," Mr. Bishop concluded, "that I have searched records here and in London, and I've found no mention of an expenditure by Henry VII for any sort of tomb or memorial for Richard."

"It *doesn't* fit Old Pinchpenny's character, does it?" I asked. He smiled. "That it does not!"

I looked at the ancient mortar and uneven stones of the heavy arch, the precise, shining black iron of the railing, then around the great, clean cavern of the modern basement of what is now a technical college. 'It isn't Westminster, or St. George's Chapel at Windsor,' I thought, 'shining with gold-leaf and bathed in the jewelled light from those incredible windows. No solemnly intoned prayers or choir boys' voices reach it. But the voices of young students and the sounds of their feet carrying them into the presence of Learning, do. Wouldn't that bring pleasure to the man whose dust lies under here in what is, after all, hallowed ground? Sleep well, Richard.'

As we walked back to the hotel through the gently, almost *perpetually* falling rain, I was happier. No thought of disturbing the altar floor of St. Mary the Lesser entered my mind. As we passed near Bow Bridge, I looked toward it without grief. Mr. Bishop saw my glance, and removed the pipe stem from his mouth.

"That ditch is an eyesore," he admitted. "A civic group is planning to clean it up and make a small park there."

Next morning Chris and I drove across Bow Bridge on our way to another Ricardian site. How glad I was that I had met Roy Bishop! If he were right, those marble and iron plaques affixed to the bridge's masonry, with their inscriptions perpetuating the ghoulish legend, were simply bits of local color. *If* he were right . . . *if* his grandfather had sound basis for his story. Oh, of course they're right! Every region has its folk tales. The thing is . . . how do they get started? Suppose the Bishops, full of native pride in Leicester, had simply *chosen* not to believe this one? Didn't he say someone was planning to build a park here? That would require some digging and poking about, wouldn't it? I wonder . . . ?

NOTE: Quite recently I was reading a biography of Anne Boleyn which contains an account of the death of Cardinal Wolsey, in Leicester. I was dumbfounded to read that he is buried "in the tomb of Richard III, in what the Spanish ambassador, Chapuys, termed, 'the tyrant's grave.'" (Which is the tyrant intended?) This would bear out Mr. Bishop's belief; and as there is apparently no reference in the papers of that indefatigable record-keeper, Henry VII, of any expenditure for Richard's *good*, we can reasonable hope he's right.

Sybil Ashe
Medfield, Massachusetts



Dues, grants and contributions are tax-deductible to the extent allowed by law.

The Ricardian Register

Newsletter of the Richard III Society, Inc.

EDITOR: Linda B. McLatchie, 9 Weld St., Apt. 48, Framingham, Mass. 01701

Richard III Society, Inc. is a non-profit educational corporation chartered in 1969 under the membership corporation laws of the State of New York.

VOLUME IX — issue 3 — May-June 1975

SOCIETY REACHES 500 MARK

For the first time in its history the American Branch of the Richard III Society has topped the 500 mark in membership. While size is not always a virtue, the swelling membership of the Society does indicate a growing awareness of the last Plantagenet king and a desire to investigate the facts and legends surrounding him.

If you know of anyone with a possible interest in the Society, he/she should write to the Editor for a copy of the Society's new brochure, which was beautifully designed by Vice-Chairman Bill Hogarth.

BOAR PENDANTS NOW AVAILABLE

The Editor has finally received a stock of gold and enamelled pendants, showing Richard's device of the boar. Price per pendant (or matching pin) *with* plasticized protective cover: \$4.00. Price per pendant (or matching pin) *without* plasticized protective cover: \$3.75.

VISITS TO FIELDS OF BATTLE IN ENGLAND by RICHARD BROOKE

Visits to Fields of Battle in England of the Fifteenth Century (originally published in 1857) by Richard Brooke is now available from the Editor. This reprint makes available once again the descriptions of ten of the most crucial engagements of the Wars of the Roses. They include the battle of Towton, one of the bloodiest battles ever fought on English soil and in which some 75,000 men took part, and the fields of Barnet, Tewkesbury, and Bosworth. All are based on exhaustive studies of the terrain. Also included in this book are biographical notes on the leading participants in each battle, and three maps.

Price per copy: \$16.00 (make all checks payable to Richard III Society, Inc.). Price includes postage.

"GRAVE FOR A KING"—FOLLOWUP

It was with great interest that I read Sybil Ashe's article "Grave for a King" in the March-April 1975 *Ricardian Register*. In it Mrs. Ashe remarks that neither she or Mr. Bishop remember a mention of Henry VII erecting a tomb for Richard. This brought to mind a passage in a book that had made an impression on me as it was the only reference I had seen concerning a memorial to Richard. Fortunately I was able to locate the book in the library and would like to quote from it as it may be of interest. The following passage is from *English Church Monuments 1510 to 1840* by Katharine A. Esdaile, Oxford University Press, 1946.

"It has been largely forgotten, however, that Henry prepared another royal tomb besides, that of Richard III, whose dead body was maltreated on the battlefield, and 'naked, trussed behind a pursuivant at arms, all clotted with mire and blood was brought to the church of the Greyfriars in Leicester and there meanly buried, where afterwards King Henry the Seventh, out of a royal disposition, erected for him a fair alabaster monument, with his portrait cut out and placed thereon.' So William Burton, the historian of Leicestershire; but unhappily no representation of this tomb is known, for it fell a victim, half a century after its erection, to what that author calls 'the vain and idle conceits of some novelists [promoters of novelty] who think all portraits in Churches to be idols and to tend to superstition.' The James Kelway employed by Henry VII for the Richard III tomb at a cost of £10 5s. is not otherwise known, but was probably a Burton alabasterer."

Earlier in the book William Burton is identified as the brother of the Anatomist of Melancholy and author of *Descriptions of Leicestershire* written in 1597 but not published till 1622. Of course, I cannot vouch for Burton's veracity but thought the quote might be of interest.

It should also be noted that V.B. Lamb in *The Betrayal of Richard III* says "... and even the beggarly tomb which Henry had belatedly put up over the bones of the last Plantagenet king had vanished ..."

Let us hope that one day the final mystery of Richard's life, his last resting place, can be solved and a memorial befitting a king erected.

Mrs. Lee Sayers
726 Kingsland Avenue
Lyndhurst, N.J. 07071

NEW MEMBERS

Naidine Adams
1020 San Mateo Drive
Menlo Park, Calif. 94025

Charles P. Bacha
3806 Rosehedge Drive
Fullerton, Calif. 92635

Louis Cigliano
566 Bothner Street
Oceanside, N.Y. 11571

Mrs. Chester E. Cross
10 Spring Hill Road
East Sandwich, Mass. 02537

Terry Elizabeth Deer
1107 Richmond Rd.
Williamsburg, Va. 23185

Mr. & Mrs. Vergil S. Fogdall
2943 S.W. Lakeview Blvd.
Lake Oswego, Ore. 97034

David Howard Gay
5 Haskell Street
Cambridge, Mass. 02140

Ralph C. Gordon
Box 1
Cross River, N.Y. 10518

Robert C. Hackler
1421 Westwood Drive
Anderson, Indiana 46011

Mr. & Mrs. Paul S. Horvitz
357 Albany Street
Fall River, Mass. 02720

Roberta Ingrossia
2862 Woodhill Drive
Rockford, Illinois 61111

Cecilia C. Melville
39 Burleigh Road
Hampden, Mass. 01036

Mrs. Wallace Merchant
Box 213
Loving, New Mexico 88256

Curtis L. Taub
11990 Duncan Street
San Jose, Calif. 95127

Lita Weinrib
42-49 Colden Street
Flushing, New York 10036

Michael Weiss
Dept. of History
University of California
Irvine, Calif. 92664

WAITING FOR DICKON

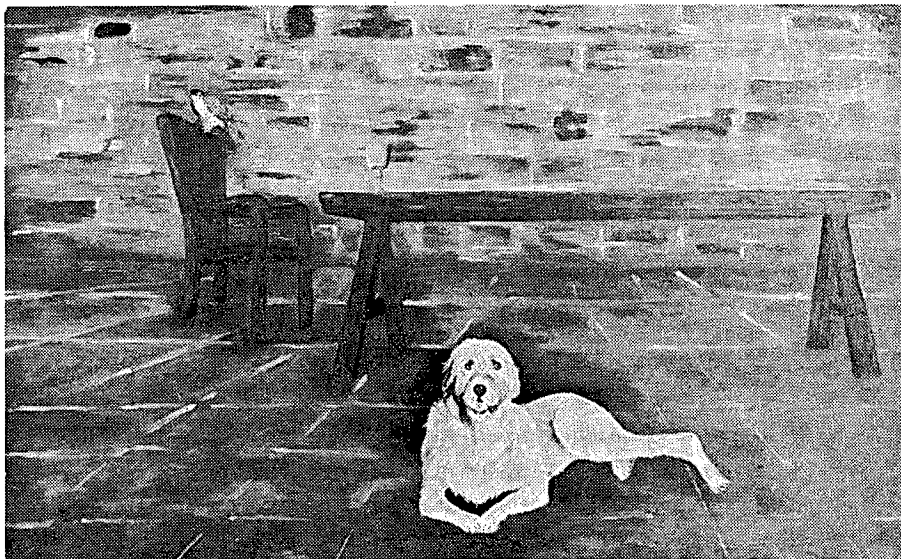
It was inevitable that my two major interests—art and medieval history—should one day merge with great compatibility, and that the life of Richard III, as seen through the eyes of a member of the Society, would undoubtedly appeal to the idealism with which so many artists are abundantly endowed. To me, the artist, the medieval period is the glow of a fire on the stone walls of a castle; the brilliant colors of court dress; the pageantry of a coronation; and, most particularly, the animals which I so dearly love and which were so closely bound to the lives of the people of the middle ages.

In the Kendall biography he notes that Richard, toward the end of his wife's illness and after her death, escaped into the noble pastime of hunting and hawking. Wouldn't Richard have had a favorite falcon and hound who would wait each day, with the loving devotion only animals can give, to join him? Being a lonely man betrayed many times by those closest to him, wouldn't he have found love and affection from the innocent creatures of God to be particularly comforting. I like to think so, and, thus, "Waiting for Dickon" was born.

I chose to create a painting of Richard III without his presence on the canvas. Rather, I hoped to paint the spirit of the man and interpret his feelings and fate by using the everyday objects which were a part of his time. The great hall would be my setting. A bare stone floor and walls unadorned by tapestries would symbolize the harshness of Richard's life and his attitude during those last years. In writing of Bosworth in *The Last Plantagenets* Thomas Costain says "... he could not read in the future much promise or hope." And again, Kendall in his biography refers to Richard's life as "... a tale of action and hard service with small joy and much affliction of spirit." The two animals waiting patiently are the symbols of unswerving devotion which was given him by men such as Richard Ratcliff, Sir Thomas Percy, and Robert Brackenbury. A devotion which led them to Bosworth and their deaths beside him. Fire on the hearth would cast a glow, but darkness gathering at the corners of the room would seem to indicate the fate ultimately in store for Richard. I was fortunate in getting a copy of *Furniture in England* by S.W. Wolsey and R.W.P. Luff which assisted me tremendously with my setting.

My preliminary sketches took about two months to complete. But when I started the painting, the hard work—the questions of perspective, placement of objects and the animals—was finished. Now the picture in my mind has become a reality on my canvas, and soon it will be finished:

It is the night after Bosworth. In the great hall a trestle table catches the flickering firelight; the king's chair stands empty, and an Irish Wolfhound and a falcon keep their lonely vigil—waiting for a master who will never return.



"Waiting for Dickon" by Joan L. Robic. 30" x 48" on stretched canvas.

Joan L. Robic
75 Elm Street
Valley Stream, N.Y. 11580

NEW ENGLAND CHAPTER

At long last, on Saturday, May 3, the New England Chapter was launched. Admittedly, it would have been nice if a greater number of New England's 100 members had been able to attend this inaugural meeting; but the enthusiasm of those who did attend cannot help but result in a vital, going concern which must whet the appetites of others. Plaudits to those who trekked in from Connecticut, Vermont and western Massachusetts.

The steady hum of conversation, shot with frequent laughter, attested to the fact that whoever and whatever they are, Ricardians are never strangers to each other. This was a get-acquainted, dinner meeting; and we had high praise for the food—once we got it. Perhaps it's as well there were only 49 of us to be served; more, and we might well have starved to death!

Successfully over that hurdle, we had a brief business meeting. It's amazing what can be accomplished in a short time, when there's good will. Before you could draw a deep breath, we had a respectable "kitty" (cash in hand); had set June 7 for a trip to the John Woodman Higgins Museum of Armor, in Worcester (see below for report); and our next regular meeting is called for late October. It is in the hands of Ken Wilson (Fitchburg) and "J-J" Brennan (Needham). They aren't letting the little matter of the forty-odd miles between their respective homes interfere with their mutual desire to "keep this chapter humming"—to judge by the phone call I received Monday morning from Ken, so full of plans he fairly sputtered.

Having corresponded with many of the members for some months, any occasion on which I finally met them had to be a happy one for me; but the one fact which most impressed me was the number of young people (I mean teenagers and just beyond) who belong to the chapter. Their knowledge, enthusiasm and sincerity are beautiful to behold. What they don't already know, or plan to know about King Richard, isn't worth knowing; and what they aren't planning to research, discover and accomplish in his cause, isn't worth the doing. Bless 'em!

Report on Trip to Higgins Museum: When every preceding spring weekend had been spent watching another downpour spur the growth of grass and weeds, or gloomily polishing golf clubs, few of us would choose to spend the gift of a warm, sunny Saturday afternoon in a museum. So it was surprising that a couple of dozen people met in the John Woodman Higgins Museum of Armor, in Worcester, on June 7th, the date set for the New England chapter trip.

A preliminary, taped story of the founding of the museum and of the more notable pieces, with slides, was followed by an amusing and informative question and answer period. Later, as we wandered through the rooms, which contain a good deal more than just armor, there were "oohs!" of surprise, "ahs!" of delight and calls to "Come and see *this!*" This was a glowing stained-glass window, or a faded but still lovely arras; or perhaps it was the truly affecting tableau of the young squire keeping his dedication vigil on the eve of his knighthood.

To stand in the gallery and look down through the ranks of armorial banners, flaunting their heraldic birds and beasts, to the Great Hall where armored figures stand at attention around the walls is to move back through the centuries to "days of old, when knights were bold."

The *piece de resistance* is The Joustier. His mount, caparisoned in crimson and gold, arches his neck and paws the ground; his own body is tense in its shining steel case, lance at the ready. Hear the ringing call of the heralds' horns, the pounding of hoofbeats, the clash of lances against shields and the mingled cheers and moans of the spectators?

A more rousing sound than a lawnmower at work!

Sybil Ashe
Medfield, Massachusetts

BOOK REVIEW

The Queen's Sister by Sandra Wilson
Robert Hale, Ltd., London, 1974

This is a sequel to *Less Fortunate Than Fair*, following Cecily of York's fortunes from her arrival in London after Bosworth to the appearance of Perkin Warbeck in England. The book is very well done, interesting, and entertaining to read. The souring of Henry VII's temperament is shown, as he becomes increasingly sly, cruel, and suspicious.

Cecily detests the king's half-uncle, Lord Welles, who leers at her, but he conceals his knowledge of her affair with John of Gloucester and several times protects her from her folly when she praises Richard III in Henry's hearing. Henry arranges for her to marry Welles, who is over twice her age, and she does her duty. After a while she realizes that if it weren't for the memory of her love for John of Gloucester, he wouldn't be a bad husband, and at last they reach a mutual understanding and respect.

Lambert Simnel is displayed at court, and by the look exchanged between Cecily and Elizabeth of York, Henry realizes that they expected to see their brother. Henry forces Cecily to admit that the Princes are alive and probably with Margaret of Burgundy.

ITEMS OF RICARDIAN INTEREST

The following items can be obtained from Linda B. McLatchie, 9 Weld Street, Apt. 48, Framingham, Massachusetts 01701. Please make all checks payable to RICHARD III SOCIETY, INC.

- _____ gold and enamelled jewelry with boar design _____ pin with plastic coating @ \$4.00
 _____ pin without plastic coating @ \$3.75
 _____ pendant with plastic coating @ \$4.00
 _____ pendant without plastic coating @ \$3.75
 _____ stickpin with tiny boar @ \$1.50
 _____ cloth badge with woven portrait of Richard III @ \$2.75
 _____ postcards @ \$.25 _____ National Portrait Gallery portrait of Richard III (in color)
 _____ Reconstructed tomb of Richard's only son (in sepia tones)
 _____ Ricardian greeting cards in various designs @ \$.45
 _____ bookmarks with boar design @ \$.50
 _____ stationery (with envelopes) with boar design @ \$1.50/dozen
 _____ bookplates (gummed backs) with boar design @ \$1.00/dozen
 _____ heraldic prints ready for coloring (specify: plain; Sir Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury; Sir Richard Ratcliffe; Sir James Tyrell of Gipping), 4"x5" @ \$.45
 _____ "The College of Richard III, Middleham" by J.M. Melhuish @ \$1.00
 _____ "The Battle of Tewkesbury: A Roll of Arms" by Geoffrey Wheeler @ \$1.50
 _____ "Richard III" by G.W.O. Woodward (Pitkin "Pride of Britain" series) @ \$1.00
 _____ "Battle of Bosworth" by Dr. D.T. Williams @ \$1.50
 _____ "Battle of Tewkesbury, 4th May 1471" by Peter Hammond, Howard Shearring, and Geoffrey Wheeler @ \$2.00
 _____ *Betrayal of Richard III* by V.B. Lamb @ \$5.00
 _____ *We Speak No Treason* (paperback) by Rosemary Hawley Jarman @ \$2.00
 _____ *The Battle of Bosworth Field* by W. Hutton @ \$11.50
 _____ *Richard III: His Life and Character* by Sir Clement R. Markham @ \$8.00
 _____ *Daughter of Time* (paperback) by Josephine Tey (only edition with NPG portrait) @ \$1.75
 _____ "Edward of Middleham" by Peter Hammond @ \$1.50
 _____ four-color print of Richard III, Anne Neville and their coat of arms @ \$2.00
 _____ *The Coronation of Elizabeth Wydeville*, a contemporary account edited by George Smith @ \$8.00
 _____ *The Chronicles of the White Rose of York* edited by J.C. Giles @ \$12.00
 _____ *Visits to Fields of Battle in England* by Richard Brooke @ \$16.00

RENEWAL OF MEMBERSHIP FORM

Please renew my membership in the Richard III Society, Inc. for the year 1975-1976. I enclose a check/money order in the amount of \$_____ (made payable to Richard III Society, Inc.) for dues (and a donation, if desired), as follows:

- ☐ Individual at \$10.00
- ☐ Student at \$6.00
- ☐ Family at \$10.00
- ☐ Donation in the amount of \$_____

[Please note: Receipts and membership cards will be sent to you with the next mailing of the Register.]

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State, Zip _____

=====

ALL DUES AND DONATIONS ARE TAX-DEDUCTIBLE TO THE EXTENT ALLOWED BY LAW.

=====

If you pay dues for another member, please fill out the following form also:

Please renew the membership of _____ in the Richard III Society, Inc. for the year 1975-1976. I enclose a check/money order in the amount of \$_____ (made payable to Richard III Society, Inc.) for:

- ☐ Individual at \$10.00
- ☐ Student at \$6.00
- ☐ Family at \$10.00

Name of guest member _____

Address _____

City _____ State, Zip _____

=====

Please return this form, with payment, to:

Linda B. McLatchie
9 Weld Street, Apartment 48
Framingham, Massachusetts 01701



Dues, grants and contributions are tax-deductible to the extent allowed by law.

The Ricardian Register

Newsletter of the Richard III Society, Inc.

EDITOR: Linda B. McLatchie, 9 Weld St., Apt. 48, Framingham, Mass. 01701

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VOLUME IX — issue 4 — July-August 1975

DUES ARE DUE

The dues for the fiscal year 1975-1976 are due by October 1. If your dues are not paid by that time, this will be the last *Ricardian Register* you receive. The dues structure remains the same as last year.

Attached is a Renewal of Membership Form and a preaddressed envelope for your convenience. If you have already paid your dues for 1975-1976, you need not return this form.

Starting October 1, 1975, the American Branch will be paying \$5.00/subscription to the parent English Branch, an increase of 33 1/3 % over last year. Great Britain has been experiencing even more severe inflation than has the U.S.A., so the Board of Officers of the American Branch was quite willing to pay the increased cost.

However, because there was not a simultaneous increase in our dues structure, certain economies have been introduced, both in order to pay the increased fee to Britain and to soften the effects of inflation in the U.S.A. These economies are as follows:

(1) Whenever possible, *The Ricardian* and *The Ricardian Register* will be mailed in the same envelope, rather than separately. Moreover, all publications will be mailed third class mail, rather than first class mail.

(2) Items for sale will be sold for profit, not merely cost plus postage, as has been done in the past.

(3) A new format is being developed for the *Register* which could save some money in printing costs.

Donations, large or small, are always welcome. And remember: *All dues and donations are tax deductible to the extent allowed by law.*

1975 ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

This year's Annual General Meeting will be held on Saturday, October 4, 1975, in the English-Speaking Union, New York City. Program Chairman Bill Hogarth is putting together an exciting program, so reserve that date on your calendar.

Full details will be sent shortly to all members in a separate mailing.

FINAL QUESTIONNAIRE TALLY

We have had a total of 67 responses from the questionnaire, of whom 32 are college graduates and an additional 18 have post graduate degrees. Twenty-one specifically mentioned more local activities for Ricardians, with all local branches having meetings on the same day for Richard's birthday. Also, a medieval costume party was mentioned.

Libby Haynes
4149 25th Street, N.
Arlington, Virginia 22207

"MIDDLEMAN" WANTED

Due to somewhat limited resources, the American Branch is not able to keep in stock *all* Ricardian items for sale to members. Therefore, American members must purchase certain items from England, rather than being able to buy them from the American Branch.

It has been suggested that an American member act as "middleman," funneling orders for these items to the English Branch. This "middleman" would collect orders and checks from American members, send a single order to England, and then, upon receipt of the items from England, distribute them to the American members who ordered them. This method would save on transatlantic postage costs and the bank charges involved in purchasing bank drafts for foreign currency; also, it would be less time-consuming for the English Branch.

If any member would like to serve as "middleman," please write to the Editor. In addition to a good deal of energy, you should have easy access to a bank that issues drafts for foreign currency.

BOOK LOOK

The Borrowed Crown, by Cecil Maiden
Viking Press, New York, 1968

Lambert Simnel is here presented as a very likable, intelligent orphan boy of Oxford caught up in the Yorkist plot to unseat King Henry—having his doubts about the rightness of it all, but told by nobles and priests that he is chosen to save England from tyranny.

The history of the situation and Lincoln's plan to use Simnel to put himself on the throne are skillfully worked into the narrative, which is written for teen-agers. There is no particular emotional involvement on the part of the reader, however. Simnel finds Henry to be merciful, putting him to work in the royal kitchens, and he is glad that the masquerade is over.

The book is nicely printed and bound, and the illustrations are quite attractive.

The Lady Cicely, by Sandra Wilson
Robert Hale, London, 1974

This is the third book in the trilogy of the life of Cicely of York, very well researched and plotted, interesting and entertaining to read.

Cicely has come to love her husband, John Wells, who is a man of honor, and understanding of her Yorkist loyalty.

Both Cicely and Elizabeth of York recognize Perkin Warbeck as their brother. Cicely proves his identity to Welles, who has become greatly disillusioned with the character and policy of his nephew, Henry VII. When the Earl of Surrey, Cicely's brother-in-law, conveys Henry's command to Welles that he arrange for the escape, recapture, trial, and execution of Warbeck and the Earl of Warwick, Welles refuses; an event which leads directly to his death.

The widowed Cicely is ordered to court to attend her sister, the Queen, to be kept under Henry's eye. He determines to provide a staunch Lancastrian husband for her. Over the years Cicely has developed a regard and affection for her steward, a man of solid middle-class worth and escapes Henry's plans by eloping with Thomas Kymbe to a new life on the Isle of Wight.

There is the suggestion that Henry "planted" the two bodies in the Tower of London at the time of Tyrrell's execution, to be "discovered" as the Princes after a suitable lapse of time for decomposition.

MORE ON THE PRINCES IN THE TOWER

The following summary of Geo. Edw. Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, Vol. XII, Part II, Appendix J, "The Princes in the Tower," 1959, was compiled by Helen Maurer.

Reasons to consider Richard guilty:

- (1) The boys disappeared.
- (2) Richard thought them a threat to his safety; if he hadn't, he could have set them at liberty to rejoin their mother and sisters without any restraints.

Additional arguments against Richard:

- (3) Discovery of the bones, alleged to be the right ages; if murdered by Henry they would have been older.
- (4) Croyland Chronicle reported rumor at the time of Buckingham's rebellion that they were dead (but this could have been derived from Morton, bishop of Ely).
- (5) January, 1484, Chancellor of France said they were dead (his probable source Mancini and/or Morton).
- (6) Mancini's report of rumors; the boys couldn't be strictly confined after Hastings' execution because the older one was still King. Dr. Argentine's statement (as reported by Mancini) that Edward anticipated death. However, he may have been dying of some disease.
- (7) The Great Chronicle puts the rumors after Easter, 1484, which contradicts (6) above.

Reasons to consider Henry guilty:

- (1) No mention of the crime in the Attainder, when it was obvious policy to blacken Richard's memory.
- (2) Good relations between Richard and Elizabeth Woodville; incredible if he were the murderer of her sons.
- (3) Richard allowed the sisters to live with their mother and put no restraint on their freedom. The girls were no danger to him so long as their brothers were alive. If the boys were dead, claims to represent the House of York would devolve on the daughters.

PLUS HENRY'S OWN MOTIVE: The Act of Parliament that repealed the Act bastardizing the children made the boys' deaths necessary, or else Edward was *de facto* King of England.

About the bones themselves:

Sandford (writing in 1677) tells of their discovery in July, 1674, by workmen digging down a stairs leading from the King's lodgings to the chapel. About ten feet down they found the bones of two "striplings" in "as it seemed" a wooden chest. The skull of the older was entire, the other broken, as were many of the bones and the chest itself, by violence of the laborers. All of the stuff was thrown away, but later on the rubbish was sifted and the bones were recovered. They were said to be "proportionable" to ages 13 and 11, and were presumed to be the Princes. Sandford's account was based on the statement of an eye-witness, John Knight, who was the principal surgeon to Charles II. (He was probably an eye-witness at the sifting, not at the initial discovery, because if he'd been there in the first place he would have prevented them from throwing the bones away, and he'd have known for sure if the bones were in the chest instead of merely considering it probable that they were.)

Points to be deduced from the above:

- (1) Bones were of "striplings"; i.e., boys.
- (2) They appeared to be aged 13 and 11.
- (3) It was thought, but not known, that they were enclosed in the chest.
- (4) There is no evidence as to whether the chest was a coffin, or a smaller box in which bones could have been packed.
- (5) There was no mention of bird or animal bones.
- (6) The remains were buried about ten feet underground.

In February, 1675, a warrant was issued to Wren for a marble coffin. In 1678, the bones were put in the urn. No one knows where they were kept in the meantime. At first, they seem to have been kept by Sir Thomas Chichely, Master of Ordnance, and an 18th century writer who doesn't give his source says they were temporarily placed in General Monck's vault. When? There is also some evidence that some of the bones were sent by antiquary Ashmole to his Oxford museum. Were they given to him by Chichely or given him for temporary custody, or placed in the keeping of other persons who sold or gave bones to Ashmole?

Deducible from the above:

- (1) No proof that the bones put in the urn in 1678 were the same ones that were dug up in 1674.
- (2) Some of the bones excavated were given away.
- (3) It is possible that other bones were given away, lost, stolen, or sold as relics, though it seems unlikely that the skulls were disposed of and replaced by substitutes.
- (4) No mention of bird or animal bones.

On July 6, 1933, the urn was opened. Prof. Wright makes an anatomical examination. Tanner was the archivist of Westminster Abbey. Bones of fish, duck, chicken, rabbit, sheep, pig, and ox were identified along with the human bones! Wright assumes that they were picked up at the same time as the human bones and all taken straight to the Abbey, but this is certainly not so; it would be incredible that a Royal Surgeon and Ashmole could have mistaken these for human bones and they would have sorted them out. The only possible explanation is that when bones sold or given away were called for the "persons in whose charge they were hurriedly collected any bones on which they could lay hand in an emergency in order to make the quantity pass muster with the undertakers."

Deducible from the above (the deductions of Tanner and Wright):

- (1) It is impossible to ascertain the sex of the bones.
- (2) There was no clue as to date of death.
- (3) Human remains were only those of two children aged 12-13 and 9-11.
- (4) Their estimated height was 4'10" and 4'6½".
- (5) Dentist Dr. Northcroft said there was evidence for consanguinity.
- (6) A very slight reddish stain on the larger skull was thought possibly due to congestion from suffocation.

Results of the investigation by Kendall's later authorities:

- (1) Confirmed that sex cannot be determined.
 - (2) Rejected the stain theory.
 - (3) One expert thought that the ages were set too precisely in 1933; another thought that the older child could be 11-13, but was probably 11½, another said that he wasn't over 9.
- Therefore the bones of 1678 can't be the same ones called "striplings" in 1674, unless the Royal Surgeon and everyone else was so obsessed with the idea that they were the Princes that they took their sex for granted.

Arguments in favor of identifying the bones as those of the Princes:

- (1) Bones said to be striplings aged 13 and 11.
- (2) The remarkable coincidence if two other boys of the same ages were buried in the Tower.
- (3) According to More, the Tudor story has them buried at the foot of a staircase.

Arguments against this identification:

- (1) Sex is uncertain if the bones of 1678 were the same as those of 1674.
- (2) According to More's story, the bones were reburied by a priest.
- (3) Unlikely that the murderers would have had time to dig such a deep hole and then excavate under foundation of staircase.

Possible conclusions about the bones:

- (1) So far as can be judged, they seem to answer the description of the 1674 bones.
- (2) They were accepted without question at the time as being the same.
- (3) Even if some bones were given away and replaced by others, it is unlikely that the two skulls were replaced.

But:

- (1) For the period 1674-1678 it is not known who kept the bones or where.
- (2) Since some bones were given away, others may have been given away, lost, or sold.
- (3) No careful examination of the bones was made in 1678 because of the burial of animal and bird bones mixed in with them.

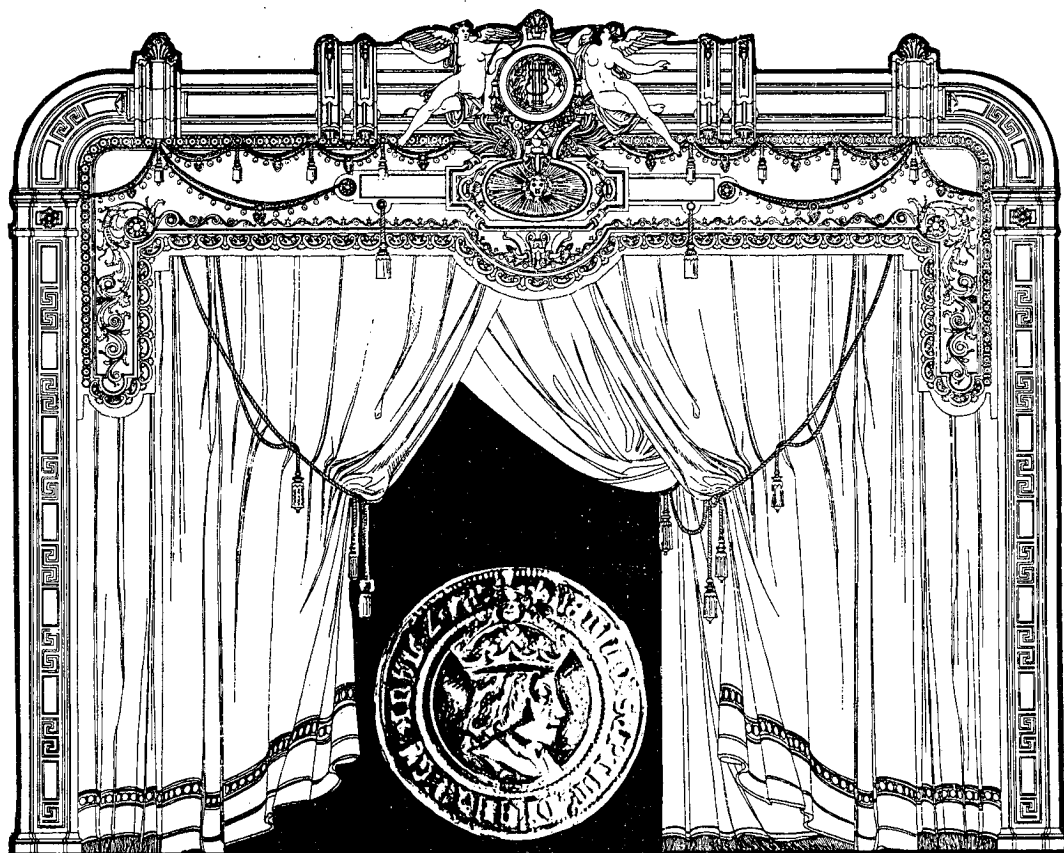
Therefore, the verdict is "not proven."



ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING 1975

"The Royal Game"

...and the royal treasury



THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING of the American Richard III Society will be held once again at the English-Speaking Union in New York City on Saturday, October 4, 1975. The location, at 16 East 69th Street, is convenient of access, with Fifth and Madison Avenue buses at either end of the street, the Lexington IRT subway at hand, and parking garages nearby.

Rather than one speaker this year, we will have a galaxy of speakers in a rare theatrical treat. Author/director **Stuart Vaughan** has written a play about our period which treats of the aftermath of Bosworth Field, a trenchant look at the lives of Henry VII, Elizabeth of York and Elizabeth Woodville ... *THE ROYAL GAME*. Though Richard III appears only as his body is received by the Grey Friars at Leicester in the opening scene, his presence haunts the entire play. Mr. Vaughan will set the scene and stage a reading of several key episodes, together with his wife, **Anne Thompson**, and **Donald Madden** as Henry VII. (Mr. Madden is an honorary member of the Society, who starred as Richard III in Central Park in 1970, in the production of *THE WARS OF THE ROSES* staged by Mr. Vaughan.) Other well-known actors will complete the cast, their names to be announced on the day.

Since I saw the play in a workshop production last year, I have been anxious to have our members hear *THE ROYAL GAME*; I am deeply indebted to Mr. & Mrs. Vaughan, Mr. Madden and the other actors for this opportunity to sample it. It is also possible that it may be produced in London in the spring, with our own English President, Patrick Bacon, associated in the presentation, and with the Society as historical advisor.

We are also pleased to have American Society member

Dr. G. Congdon Wood of New York speak on English coinage of our period. He is a collector and numismatic authority, who will bring with him for display English groats and pennies from the reigns of Ethelred II to the Tudors, including coins of Edward IV and Richard III.*

As we did in 1974, we will assemble *after lunch* at the ESU from 12:30-1. Chairman William Snyder will open the meeting promptly at 1, with introductions and business reports to members; our guests will speak until 3 or so, with a sumptuous English Tea to follow, permitting enough time for coin-viewing and social exchange until dispersal after 4 p.m.

Reservations are a *must* (see attached form) since, for comfort, we must limit attendance to approximately 100 persons on a first-come, first-served basis. The cost to members is \$6.00; guests and non-members \$7.00.

If you plan to attend the Annual General Meeting, please fill in Coupon No. 1 and send it together with payment (payable to Linda B. McLatchie), to Linda B. McLatchie, 9 Weld Street, Apt. 48, Framingham, Mass. 01701 as soon as possible. Members who will be attending the meeting should *not* fill out Coupon No. 2, the ballot proxy, since you will be voting for officers at the meeting. *Members who do not intend to come to the meeting* should fill in Coupon No. 2 and return it to Linda B. McLatchie before October 1, 1975.

—William Hogarth,
Program Chairman

*The coin shown above is a groat issued late in Henry VII's reign, the first coin with a profile portrait of an English monarch.

STUART VAUGHAN, Author/Director

STUART VAUGHAN has been a leader in creating serious professional theatre beyond Broadway. He was the artistic force behind the formative years of the New York Shakespeare Festival. At New York's Phoenix Theatre, he headed New York's first resident company since the 1930's. He founded and headed two regional theatres, the Seattle Repertory Theatre, and Repertory Theatre, New Orleans. His book, *A Possible Theatre* (McGraw-Hill, 1969), was a "professional case history" of his experiences as a theatrical "Johnny Appleseed."

Stuart Vaughan was born in Terre Haute, Indiana, in 1925. He has degrees from Indiana State University and from Indiana University in Bloomington. In 1949-50 Vaughan had a Fulbright Grant to England, enabling him to work with over twenty British repertory theatres, including Stratford-upon-Avon and the Bristol Old Vic. He returned to spend two years as an actor in regional theatres. In 1952 Vaughan went to New York, where he worked on Broadway in *The Millionairess*, *The Strong Are Lonely*, *The Confidential Clerk*, and *The Chalk Garden*, and off-Broadway in *Thieves' Carnival* and *The Clandestine Marriage*. Then came directing in New York, first with Sean O'Casey's *I Knock at the Door* and *Pictures in the Hallway*, both starting off-Broadway and transferring to Broadway houses. In 1956 Joseph Papp asked him to direct the first outdoor productions of the New York Shakespeare Festival, and he continued as artistic director of that theatre for four seasons. *Julius Caesar*, *Macbeth* and *Taming of the Shrew* with Colleen Dewhurst, *Richard III* and *As You Like It* with George C. Scott, *Two Gentlemen of Verona* (1957) and many other productions contributed to Vaughan's receiving both the Vernon Rice and the "Obie" awards for Best Director. In 1958 T. Edward Hambleton asked him to form a resident company at New York's Phoenix Theatre, and until 1963 Vaughan was artistic director there, directing the American premieres of T.S. Eliot's *The Family Reunion* with Lillian Gish and Florence Reed, Graham Greene's *The Power and the Glory* with Fritz Weaver, the long-run *Hamlet* with Donald Madden, *Abe Lincoln in Illinois* with Hal Holbrook, and *The Beaux' Strategem* with June Havoc. In a five-year period Vaughan directed more than thirty major New York productions, the continuous work interrupted only by an eight-month survey of European theatres on a Ford Foundation grant.

In 1963 Vaughan accepted an offer to go to Seattle to set up a repertory theatre in the new playhouse that city had erected for their world's fair. By 1966, the late Canadian critic Nathan Cohen called Vaughan's Seattle theatre "the best non-Shakespearean repertory on the North American continent." In 1966 Vaughan left Seattle for New Orleans to set up the first theatre to be established by Federal funds since the 1930's, Repertory Theatre, New Orleans. He was producing director there till 1969, presenting a distinguished repertory of plays from a new translation of Ibsen's *An Enemy of the People* to Ionesco's *The Bald Soprano* and *The Chairs*. At the end of the 1969 season, Vaughan turned the theatre's reins over to his good friend June Havoc and went back to New York to concentrate on writing.

Spring and summer 1970 found Vaughan again at the helm of the New York Shakespeare Festival, as adaptor and director of *The Wars of the Roses*, a three-play repertory shaped from Shakespeare's plays on *Henry VI* and *Richard III*. The all-night marathon performances of the plays made theatre history, and *The New York Times* hailed the artistic success of the series as "the most important theatrical event of many seasons."

In the fall of 1971, Vaughan's first play, *Assassination 1865*, based on the conspiracy trial which followed the killing of Abraham Lincoln, was produced at Chicago's Goodman Theatre under his direction. Then, drawing on his lifetime involvement with American Indian history, music and dance, he began writing *Ghost Dance*, which he had completed early in 1973. This second work, again under Vaughan's direction, was the premiere production that fall of the new Lederer Theatre of the Trinity Square Repertory Company in Providence, Rhode Island. In the spring of 1974, Vaughan directed the first university theatre production of *Ghost Dance* at The Ohio State University.

In the meantime, The Dramatic Publishing Company had published the acting edition of *Ghost Dance* and enthusiastically commissioned its author to develop a new theatre work about Richard III. Drawing on his almost limitless Shakespearean background—with Alfred Rothschild and Oscar P. Campbell, Vaughan had been co-editor of the "Bantam Shakespeare" paperback series, he produced *The Royal Game*, which he first presented in May of 1974 at The New Dramatists in New York. His two subsequent writing projects have found him collaborating with his wife, Anne Thompson, on new adaptations of Carlo Goldoni's *The Servant of Two Masters* and George de Porto-Riche's comedy *Amoureuse*, the former having its premiere professional production this summer under the aegis of the California Actors Theatre in Los Gatos.

In 1973, Vaughan founded and is Producing Director of The New Globe Theatre which presented its premiere production of *Twelfth Night* off-Broadway in December of 1974. In addition to his operation of The New Globe Theatre and his duties as chairman of the Executive Committee of The New Dramatists, and between his writing and directorial assignments, Vaughan has been Visiting Professor of Theatre at Harvard, the University of Kansas, Oakland University, The Ohio State University and the University of Georgia. This summer, he directed the new thriller *Come and Be Killed*, starring June Havoc and Signe Hasso, in pre-Broadway performances at Beverly and Stockbridge, Massachusetts. He is presently Associate Artistic Director of Manhattan's distinguished CSC Repertory Company where his immediate projects include works by Shakespeare and Chekov.

DONALD MADDEN, Actor

DONALD MADDEN has spent the summer of 1975 starring as Leontes in *The Winter's Tale* at the American Shakespeare Theater at Stratford, Connecticut. As in past performances, he won the highest praise as that rarity, an American classical actor. Clive Barnes said in *The New York Times* "he must have the most mellifluous voice on the American stage." Mr. Madden was born in New York on November 5, 1933 and attended CCNY. He made his Broadway debut in 1958 in *Look Back in Anger* followed by *First Impressions* (the musical version of *Pride and Prejudice*), *Step On A Crack*, *One By One*, *White Lies* and *Black Comedy*. Off-Broadway his *Julius Caesar* won a Theatre World Award and he appeared in *Lysistrata*, *Pictures in a Hallway*, *Henry IV*, *She Stoops to Conquer*, *The Octaroon*, *Hamlet* (directed by Stuart Vaughan), *Ceremony of Innocence*, as *Richard III* in *The Wars of the Roses* (Mr. Vaughan again), followed by his co-starring in the 70-71 season with Claire Bloom in the Ibsen double bill of *A Doll's House* and *Hedda Gabler*. He was featured in the film version of *1776* and has appeared frequently on television.

COUPON NUMBER 1 (To be filled out by members attending the 1975 AGM)

Please reserve _____ places at the 1975 Annual General Meeting of the Richard III Society, Inc. as follows:

_____ members at \$6.00 = \$ _____
_____ non-members at \$7.00 = \$ _____
Total enclosed \$ _____

[Please make all checks and money orders payable to LINDA B. McLATCHIE.]

Your name _____

Address _____

City _____ State, Zip _____

Please list names of other members who will be in your party.

1. _____
2. _____

Please list names of non-members who will be in your party.

1. _____
2. _____

Please complete this form and return, with payment to

Linda B. McLatchie
9 Weld Street, Apt. 48
Framingham, Massachusetts 01701

If you are attending the AGM, do not fill out Coupon No. 2, as you will be voting in person at the meeting.

Return this form promptly. Attendance is limited to 100 persons.

COUPON NUMBER 2 (To be filled out only by members *not* attending the 1975 AGM)

I hereby authorize my proxy to vote for the following candidates for office at the Annual General Meeting of the Richard III Society, Inc. on October 4, 1975, in New York City.

Either check name of nominee or write in your choice of nominee

Chairman (vote for one):

(Space below is for *write-in* candidates)

☐ William H. Snyder

OR ☐ _____

Vice Chairman (vote for one):

☐ William Hogarth

OR ☐ _____

Secretary-Treasurer (vote for one):

☐ Linda B. McLatchie

OR ☐ _____

Librarian (vote for one):

☐ Elizabeth D. Haynes

OR ☐ _____

Editor (vote for one):

☐ Linda B. McLatchie

OR ☐ _____

Corresponding Secretary (vote for one):

☐ Martha Hogarth

OR ☐ _____

Regional Vice-Chairman (vote for *three*):

☐ Sybil S. Ashe

OR ☐ _____

☐ Doris Derickson

OR ☐ _____

☐ Elizabeth Meier

OR ☐ _____

Name _____

Address _____

City, State _____

Please return this form by October 1, 1975, to:

Linda B. McLatchie
9 Weld Street, Apt. 48
Framingham, Mass. 01701



Dues, grants and contributions are tax-deductible to the extent allowed by law.

The Ricardian Register

Newsletter of the Richard III Society, Inc.

EDITOR: Linda B. McLatchie, 9 Weld St., Apt. 48, Framingham, Mass. 01701

Richard III Society, Inc. is a non-profit educational corporation chartered in 1969 under the membership corporation laws of the State of New York.

VOLUME IX — issue 5 — September-October 1975

1975 Annual General Meeting

One hundred and fifteen loyal Ricardians and their guests assembled at the English-Speaking Union in New York on Saturday, October 4, 1975 for the Annual General Meeting of the Richard III Society, Inc. After a brief social hour, when old and new members met and chatted, the business meeting was opened at 1:15 p.m.

Bill Snyder, our Chairman, introduced the officers present and then asked guests outside the Boston-New York-Washington "megalopolis" to introduce themselves. Members from North and South Carolina, Vermont, Tennessee, Michigan and New Hampshire had made the long trip to New York to attend the AGM.

Linda McLatchie presented her report as Secretary-Treasurer (see report elsewhere in this issue). She noted that subscription figures had increased 16% over last year, and that the subscription rate as of October 1, 1975 stood at 550. She also reported that, since payments to England were increased by one-third (from \$3.75/subscription to \$5.00/subscription), various economies were being instituted so that the treasury would not be depleted.

As Editor, Mrs. McLatchie stated that *The Ricardian Register* was now typeset, no longer typewritten. Also, the Naughton Award Program had stimulated a couple of interesting articles; she hoped that the Naughton Award Program would continue to bring forth such articles.

Mr. Snyder then called on Libby Haynes to make her report as Librarian (printed elsewhere in this issue).

As Kneeler Coordinator, Janet Snyder stated that 25 needlepoint kneelers for Sutton Cheney Church have already been completed by American members, and eight were in progress (see full report on kneelers elsewhere in this issue). She displayed samples of some of the colorful needlepoint designs that would soon grace the church.

The Society's Pursuivant, Dr. Helmut Nickel, reported that he had received three heraldic inquiries during the year; he invited members to continue to send queries.

Bill Snyder noted that he had expanded his condensation of Halsted's biography of Richard so as to include excerpts from other authors. Thirteen chapters are now complete, with the remaining chapters to be finished shortly. Since he is quoting various authors, he had to tackle questions of copyright, most of which have been resolved. The entire condensation is being typeset and the resulting book will be offered for sale to members.

Lillian Barker gave an enthusiastic and humorous review of highlights of this year's Ricardian tour to Britain, including the memorial service at Sutton Cheney and Dr. Tudor-Craig's lecture on "Upstairs, Downstairs in the 15th Century." She was particularly impressed by the hospitality displayed by English members.

Betty Schloss presented the slate of officers as adopted by the

Nominating Committee. The following officers were elected for 1975-1976:

Chairman	William H. Snyder
Vice Chairman	William Hogarth
Secretary-Treasurer	Linda B. McLatchie
Librarian	Elizabeth D. Haynes
Editor	Linda B. McLatchie
Corresponding Secretary	Martha Hogarth
Regional Vice-Chairmen	Sybil S. Ashe, Doris Derickson and Elizabeth Meier

Mr. Snyder then turned the meeting over to Bill Hogarth, Program Chairman for the AGM. Mr. Hogarth noted that Dr. Wood was not able to deliver his talk on Ricardian numismatics; however, he would incorporate his researches in an article for publication in either *The Ricardian* or *Ricardian Register*.

Mr. Hogarth then introduced Stuart Vaughan, author of "The Royal Game." Mr. Vaughan and a small group of actors, including Donald Madden and Ann Thompson, read from Act I of this play dealing ostensibly with Henry VII but haunted by Richard's presence. Henry VII and Elizabeth Woodville are portrayed as calculating, emotionless players in the game of politics, with no lasting loyalties to anyone but themselves. Elizabeth of York is naive, not yet stripped of feeling as is her mother; she still retains fond memories for her uncle, Richard.

[Members may purchase this play and read it in its entirety—see advertisement under "Ricardian Bazaar."]

After a rousing round of applause for the players, the meeting was adjourned and members were invited to feast upon the English tea provided by the English-Speaking Union, and generously supplemented by delicacies brought by members Bill Hogarth and Marta Orbach.

Help Us Plan for Next Year's AGM

Due to space limitations at the English-Speaking Union, many members were not able to attend this year's Annual General Meeting. The officers feel that no one should be turned away from a meeting, so a different format is being considered for next year.

We are considering renting a lecture hall for the 1976 AGM; members would be charged a minimal fee to cover rental of the hall. A Refreshment Committee would be organized to handle refreshments, which, hopefully, would be supplied by members attending the meeting.

If you have any suggestions or recommendations for next year's AGM, please send them to the Editor. The AGM is for *your* enjoyment and edification—so help us make the 1976 AGM even better than this year's.

Librarian's Report

Balance forward October 1, 1974	\$ 9.80
Expenditures (10/1/74-9/30/75):	
Postage to members	\$28.02
Xerox, including payment to England for copies of items lost in mail	73.90
Book: Brooke's <i>Fields of Battle in England in the Fifteenth Century</i>	16.00
	<u>117.92</u>
Income (10/1/74-9/30/75):	
Grant from treasury	50.00
Stamps from members to value of	6.40
Gifts of cash	55.00
Payment recovered for insurance on lost parcel	50.40
	<u>161.80</u>

Balance October 1, 1975 \$53.68

207 items were circulated during the year.

The generous gifts of Gloria Cash, Maude French, Juanita Slavin, and Barbara Underwood are most gratefully acknowledged.

Submitted by Libby Haynes, Librarian

Treasurer's Report

Balance on hand 10/1/74	\$1,174
Income (10/1/74-9/30/75):	
Dues	4,318
Donations	321
Interest	126
Sale of Items	1,965
	<u>\$7,904</u>
Expenses (10/1/74-9/30/75):	
Office Supplies	183
Refunds	44
Postage	821
Items for Resale*	2,609
Printing (<i>Register</i>)	428
Other Printing	340
Library Fund	50
Payments to England	1,706
Naughton Award	50
In Memoriam	41
	<u>\$6,272</u>
Balance on hand 9/30/75	\$1,632

Purchase of items for resale were considerably higher than the income from sale of items due to the fact that a large quantity of books and jewelry were put in stock during the year.

Submitted by Linda B. McLatchie, Secretary-Treasurer

Needlepointers Reach Half-Way Mark

After the first needlepoint kneeler cover was presented to Sutton Cheney Church in August, 1970, Vicar Boston purchased 50 foam rubber kneeling cushions on faith that in time they would be covered.

The American ladies have undertaken to supply needlepoint covers in Ricardian designs for the cushions, and on September 4, 1975, Mrs. Boston wrote:

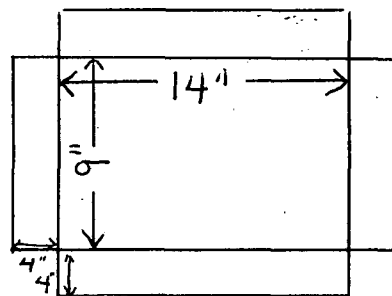
"Several American visitors have called on us this year and we now have 25 kneelers either in church or available for making up

Once more, very many thanks for the wonderful work you are doing with the kneelers—they are very much appreciated and admired by the many visitors of our church."

This brings the number of needlepoint covers to one-half the number desired.* Grateful thanks go to the industrious and devoted ladies who are adding this touch of beauty to the furnishings of the little church which has become a memorial to Richard III.

Members of the Society are so rich in artistic talent that no one cared to buy a hand painted canvas of the Falcon of the Plantagenets displayed at the annual meeting! If, however, anyone who was not able to attend the meeting does wish to contact an artist who will skillfully paint a canvas from an illustration, for approximately \$20, write me at the address below for the name and address of the artist. Anyone interested in a prepared canvas should also watch *The Ricardian Register* for notice of a board needlepoint kit.

For the information of new members, the dimensions of the kneeling cushions are 9" x 14" (top), with 4" sides. A canvas marked for a kneeler will look like the sketch below:



ALL NEEDLEPOINTERS: Please let me know when you start a new cover and give a one line description of the designs and colors. Please do not put any of this valuable work in the mail. We are very much indebted to the Ricardians who made room in their luggage to carry the covers to Sutton Cheney this summer and we plan to ask for the same kind of safe conduct next summer.

Janet B. Snyder
Kneeler Coordinator
4110 Woodbine Street
Chevy Chase, Maryland 20015

*Two more completed covers, and a third if finished, were to go to Sutton Cheney with a traveling Ricardian later in September. Four more are known to be in progress, bringing the prospective total to 32.

Society Loses Valued Member

Member Rex Stout, creator of Nero Wolfe, died on October 27, 1975. The Society placed this notice in the "Deaths" column of the *New York Times* on Wednesday, October 29:

STOUT, REX. The officers and members of the Richard III Society, Inc. record their sorrow at the passing of their valued fellow—Ricardian Rex Stout, champion of Richard III, among his many other passionate interests.

William Hogarth, Vice Chairman

Stout's advocacy of Richard III appeared in several of his books, and some years ago he composed the text of our In Memoriam notice in *The New York Times*. His most recent Nero Wolfe novel, "A Family Affair," published this year, also contains an amusing reference:

An unsympathetic character quotes Thomas More to Wolfe, and Archie, Wolfe's assistant, says, "Wolfe didn't like people who quoted authors at him, especially Thomas More, because of what he had done to Richard III."

Mr. Stout's health did not permit him to attend our Annual General Meeting in recent years, although a note to Bill Hogarth indicated his regret at his inability to do so.

"Middleman" Is Selected

Andrea Van Sant will be serving as the "middleman" for the Society. As the Editor cannot stock all items that are offered for sale from Britain, Miss Van Sant will handle all orders for these unstocked items from American members.

Write to Miss Van Sant if you wish her to order any items for you. She will inform you of the cost of these items based on prevailing exchange rates, postage, handling, and other costs.

If you would like to place any orders, contact Andrea Van Sant, 4124 Farndale Road, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19154.

Ricardian Tour to Britain

The 1975 Ricardian tour to Britain for the American Branch consisted of 12 U.S. members and friends, 1 Canadian member and the tour organizer . . . all prepared to see and enjoy the sites on the travel program associated with Richard in the 15th century.

After a week in London seeking old friends and making new ones, a very lovely visit with Jeremy Potter and Margaret at their London home, getting together at the Waldorf Hotel for a lecture by Pamela Tudor-Craig along with many of the London membership plus night and day activities in London highlights, theatres, pubs and wherever we had time to go; all of us assembled at 7:30 a.m. on Sunday, the 17th of August for the trip to Fotheringhay to take our own peek of the Memorial Window and Castle site before continuing onward to Sutton Cheney and our seats at the Memorial Service.

The 17th had arrived with the very best of English weather and all of us were in the best form for the next few days. Major Roy Battcock again was with us to guide; and at Bosworth, Patrick Bacon and Gwen greeted us, Phyllis Hester met us and Jeremy Potter introduced us to Rev. Boston, Hunter Claire and other dignitaries of the day. Our tireless coach driver, Alun Beeden, always managed to get us in and out of everywhere on the tour with the best of ease and as is usually the case, ended up better informed on the life of Richard. We lunched with a picnic at Bosworth and followed Major Battcock around the perimeter of the battlefield which provides vivid views of the 22-foot banner for Richard and the

smaller one for Henry VII. The location has been very much improved from the days of the unfriendly farmer's claim on the area, and not in the least bit spoiled. We all hope that it manages to keep this unchanged appearance and attractiveness.

Our time in York was highlighted by a get-together with the Leeds people at the "King's Arms," the local pub with Richard's portrait and crest flying over the door. Located on the river, it is a very cheerful place for English and Americans to discuss just what the city may have been like 500 years before. Our visit in Edinburgh was fun, and our arrival in Carlisle enjoyed, too. All of us were amazed at the awaiting message at the Gloucester Arms in Penrith on August 22nd from the Tyne Tees TV station requesting us to contact them and send two tour members to Newcastle for an interview! It turned out that a very interested Peter Moth wanted to tell his 6:00 p.m. audience what two American visitors of the Richard III Society were doing in the North on that day. It was fun and, hopefully, the local Society Branch will end up with an overflow for their '76 membership.

From Carlisle, our pace quickened . . . overnight in Shrewsbury, a quick visit to Tewkesbury where Geoffrey Wheeler, Elizabeth Nokes and Ann Smith surprised us at the Abbey, a picnic lunch by the river at Minster Lovell, and arriving in Windsor in time to see the magnificent exhibit of the 500th celebration of St. George's Chapel. The 25th of August arrived and so did our London airport transfer bus taking us to the 1:00 p.m. British Airways flight to New York. A busy, but happy tour filled with meetings, visiting and good times together. We all are very grateful for the hospitality the English membership extended and hope that at some time not too far in the future that we on this side can offer our hand in the same way to Ricardians visiting here.

Betty Schloss
Tour Coordinator

Dr. Tudor-Craig's Special Lecture

On August 12, U.S. Ricardian tour members and London members got together to hear Dr. Pamela Tudor-Craig's special lecture, entitled "Upstairs, Downstairs in Richard III's England." Dr. Tudor-Craig, as members undoubtedly recall, was the organizer of the 1973 National Portrait Gallery exhibit on Richard III.

Dr. Tudor-Craig certainly did her homework well and her talk was further enhanced by lovely slides of the numerous castles and great manor homes built and established in early England. Many of these had fallen into great disrepair by the time of the fifteenth century and consequently, repairs and rebuilding were done by Edward IV, Richard III and the following Tudors. The great halls and better rooms were established and refurbished in the upper regions, and study of the many now ruined edifices do prove there was an upstairs and downstairs. Also, since Richard was a lover of light, he had great solars constructed on the upper floors. In spite of his and others' improvements, these fortified homes were dreadfully cold, drafty, and uncomfortable.

In conclusion, Dr. Tudor-Craig humorously pointed out that she felt her studies "shed some light on why Richard III stayed at the BLUE BOAR—if he did!"

Betty Meier
Regional Vice-Chairman

Western Regional Vice-Chairman's Report

I would like to offer some suggestions for all members in the Society:

(1) Every member should check his or her own local library facilities to see if there are some basic books available on Richard III, and if not, see how they can be acquired or presented, and perhaps locally publicized. I have done this in a limited manner in Tucson.

(2) Think of other bright ideas to expand publicity concerning our aims.

We would be happy to greet any Ricardians in the Tucson area and show them our slides of Ricardian interest from our trips to England or share suggestions and information.

Doris Derickson (Mrs. Philip G.)
445 Via Golondrina
Tucson, Arizona 85716
Tel.: (602) 326-1179

Report from Chicago Chapter

The Chicago Chapter of the Richard III Society met on July 12th, first visiting the Renaissance Faire and then gathering for dinner at the Rustic Manor in Gurnee, Illinois. Twenty members were present. The group decided that in the future we will have four meetings a year, in October, January, April, and July. Dues will be collectible in October, and chapter officers will also be elected at that time. If you wish you may mail your dues directly to Shirley Neal, 107 West Sheridan Place, Lake Bluff, Illinois 60044. They are \$3.00. Four people volunteered to help plan activities for future meetings. All members' ideas will be appreciated.

The traditional In Memoriam notices were placed in three Chicago newspapers on August 22nd. These notices appeared in *Chicago Tribune*, *Chicago Daily News*, and *Chicago Sun-Times*.

Our next meeting was at the Atlantic Fish and Chips Restaurant on Sunday, October 5th. We chose a date closest to Richard's birthday. After drinks and dinner, Don Jennings, Barbara Stein and Beth Argall showed selected slides of Ricardian sites in England.

Yvonne Shea
P.O. Box 359
Glencoe, Illinois 60022

Research Note

The statue on the Old Market Hall in Shrewsbury is referred to as a "contemporary figure of Richard, Duke of York" (Richard's father) in both the Pitkin Pictorial, "Richard III," and the Society's *Ricardian Britain*, as well as in guidebooks to Shrewsbury itself. Since the style of armor (and the hairstyle) of this statue did not seem to agree with other illustrations of 15th-century armor, but seemed to be of an earlier period, I sent the photograph from the Pitkin Pictorial to Dr. Helmut Nickel, Curator of Arms and Armor at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. I received the following reply:

"As far as we can see from your photograph of a knightly statue from Shrewsbury, England, the armor worn by this statue is of the period 1350-75. For this reason it is unlikely that this statue would represent Richard, Third Duke of York (1411-1460)."

There goes another "contemporary likeness"!

Carol E. Parker

White Boar Badge of Richard III

Sometimes it takes the observations of a "disinterested" third party to shed light on a debatable problem. Thus it was during the past Ricardian tour when, upon reaching Carlisle and visiting the lovely Cathedral there, our non-Ricardian member, Mary Grosse, discovered what I consider an excellent reason for Richard's choosing the white boar as his badge.

Located in the north decorated aisle of this Cathedral are carefully restored very early paintings showing the legend of St. Anthony, St. Cuthbert and St. Augustine, copied from a medieval manuscript formerly in Durham. The story of St. Anthony tells of how, when he went into the wilderness, he commanded the animals to accompany him. However, all ran away except the white boar who loyally stayed with him for twenty-four years. Since people in those days often had patron saints and since the boar showed such loyalty, I feel that Mary has made a most exciting and interesting "find" and one which certainly is a very logical one. What do you think?

Betty Meier
Regional Vice-Chairman

Plantagenet and Tudor England Symposium Held in Canada

From October 31 to November 2, an interdisciplinary symposium on Tudor and Plantagenet England was held at St. Francis Xavier University in Nova Scotia, in conjunction with Theatre Antigonish's production of "Richard III." Theatre Antigonish's choice of Richard III as its 1975-76 season's Shakespearean production was not simply a happy accident. Instead, this play provides the ideal focus for a much broader presentation which spanned two entire days: an interdisciplinary symposium on Plantagenet and Tudor England.

These two epochs provide us with a wealth of material. During fifteen hours, participants examined the arts and architecture of the period; church and state; children in Plantagenet and Tudor society; social customs; economic trends and political life; philosophical, medical, social, and scientific advances; the occult; the effects of the Renaissance on England; the Crusades and world exploration; the monarchy; Machiavelli and his image in literature; the Tower of London, its place in literature and in history; Richard III, the real versus the fictionalized man; and the discrepancies in the Wars of the Roses.

St. Francis Xavier University and Theatre Antigonish tried to create a memorable *happening* which was highlighted by the live performances of music, dance, drama, and poetry readings, dueling displays, a Tudor banquet and a Falstavian pub.

Guest lecturers, artists, and dignitaries were invited to participate in the presentations to project the strongest impact for this symposium which, through its golf-course format, enveloped the entire campus of St. Francis Xavier University.

James Colbeck
President
Theatre Antigonish

Hanham's New Book Stirs Controversy

The following is a book review of Alison Hanham's *Richard III and His Early Historians 1483-1535* by G.R. Elton, appearing in TLS, October 10, 1975. (The book is published by Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press; 230 pp.)

Among the minor mysteries of English history are the passions aroused by King Richard III. His Friends have incorporated themselves in America; in England, the Fellowship of the White Boar (the spelling needs watching) stands ever ready to repel attacks upon his memory. Yet his is the second shortest reign since the Conquest (the shortest he created himself when he dethroned his nephew), and it is chiefly memorable for the acceleration of death in high places: the mortality rate of the upper classes improved even upon the achievements of the previous thirty years. At first sight, there is certainly some evidence to support Shakespeare's picture of the man determined to be a villain. Ah yes, say his Friends, but that is only at first sight, a sight created by the despicable "Tudor historians," abjectly endeavouring to boost the new dynasty. Richard III was a shining hero, beloved of his people and miserably traduced at the orders of Henry VII. This version was started by Sir George Buck in the 17th century and given currency by Horace Walpole who wanted to tilt at the solemnity of historians; it owes its present popularity, such as it is, to Josephine Tey's *Daughter of Time* in which her Inspector Grant investigated the death of the princes in the Tower. For years I could not address any group anywhere without somebody asking my opinion of that exasperating book, a fate which, I admit, did not dispose me to regard Richard III with special favor.

This mini-debate has lately concentrated on the disappearance of Edward IV's sons; that the bad reputation of Richard III was created by Tudor propaganda has been generally taken for granted even by those who thought him guilty of his crimes. This is the issue that Alison Hanham set herself to investigate in *Richard III and His Early Historians 1483-1535* and she has beyond doubt settled it against the Friends and Fellows. Her book consists in effect of a series of research papers, each followed by an "excursus" which deals with even more severely technical aspects of the evidence. It thus does not make for easy reading, even though Dr. Hanham does her best to lighten the discourse and in her footnotes relaxes most engagingly. But easy or not, it must be read. A brief summary of Richard's usurpation and reign is followed by a discussion of the pitifully small documentary evidence which, so far as it goes, supports the traditional story of a deliberate plot carried out with much skill and ruthlessness. Then we turn to the historians. Dr. Hanham's most telling point is that the best accounts of those events, firmly hostile to Richard, are in fact contemporary, written before Bosworth by men who had no idea that York would give way to Tudor.

First there is the report, based on good information, of an Italian visitor, Domenico Mancini, which was published by C.A.J. Armstrong in 1936 and should have ended the debate if such matters of faith were ever amenable to the weight of reason. Perhaps even more significant is the so-called "continuator" of the Crowland Chronicle, an addition to a monastic chronicle which is here convincingly shown to be copied from a contemporary report by a high official—most probably John Russell, bishop of Lincoln, who was chancellor for two years from June 1483. After a careful look at the minor chronicles (mostly those of London) we arrive at the most substantial chapters, which analyse the contributions of Polydore Vergil and Thomas More. By way of a bonus, Dr. Hanham provides an excursus on the complex problem of the various versions in which More's book survived; an analysis which supersedes Richard Sylvester's discussion in his edition of the work in the Yale University Press's *Complete Works of St. Thomas*

More. She satisfactorily settles the stemma of the printed and manuscript survivals, clarifies the operation of More's mind, and, incidentally, restores faith in Richard Grafton's self-avowed editorial probity.

The results of the investigations can be simply stated. Richard III was accused of his crimes (usurpation and murders, though the fate of the princes remained uncertain) by pre-Tudor writers who spoke from good knowledge; Polydore made no attempt to blacken his memory; Henry VII never showed the slightest desire to employ propaganda against his predecessor whose doings were perfectly well known to contemporaries; and More wrote not history but a prose drama that mixed a subtle morality play with satirical parody of historians. This last section is the book's outstanding triumph. Dr. Hanham dissects More's purposes and achievement with a beautiful precision and an extraordinary sensitivity, to add a really new dimension to our understanding of the man, quite apart from putting an end to all attempts to use him as an "authority" on the reign of Richard III. No doubt there will be debate over an interpretation which depends in part on an empathetic grasp of that complex and disturbing mind, but there can be no arguing with her demonstration that the mass of particular detail in More's *Richard III*, usually thought to prove him possessed of exceptional knowledge, is in fact the product of his concrete imagination, serves the purposes of a poetic transmutation of the subject matter, and thus positively detracts from his trustworthiness as a chronicler. This chapter, sober but lively and delightful, is one of the most exciting contributions to More studies to appear for a long time.

Dr. Hanham has written a most impressive work of historiographical investigation, demonstrating what can be done with far from promising material and for a period in which independent documentary material by which the historians can be controlled is exceedingly meagre. Though the nature of her problems and her evidence have compelled her to test the reader's powers of concentration, and though she makes things no easier by the determined compression of large parts of her arguments, she also lavishly rewards anyone prepared to undertake that little labour. Her scholarship draws on the techniques of the historian, the bibliographer and the literary critic, unobtrusively cutting across the disciplines in a manner which impresses far more than the usual methodological exhortations to do so have ever done. And Richard III is back where he belongs: in the gallery of quite determined villains.

Rebuttal

On October 24, 1975, the following Letters to the Editor were published in TLS.

Sir.—It is unfortunate that G.R. Elton has allowed the popularity of Josephine Tey's *Daughter of Time* to prejudice him against Richard III, but proper of him to admit it. If as a result he chooses to devote space in his review of Alison Hanham's *Richard III and His Early Historians 1483-1535* to abusing the Richard III Society and its American branch, the Richard III Society, Inc., he might at least show a little scholarship by getting their names right. (The Fellowship of the White Boar became the Richard III Society as long ago as 1959.) Perhaps he was too busy inventing views for the society in order to deride them. In fact, with nearly 2,000 (unsolicited) members, views within the society are apt to be divergent.

Not least among the minor mysteries surrounding Richard III is his posthumous flair for bringing out the worst in professional historians. No one need take my word for this: read almost any

Rebuttal (Continued)

historian of the subject on the work of almost any other historian of the subject. Dr. Hanham, for one, is a great exposé of the howlers of others. Her supreme coup is the discovery that More's *Richard III* is ironical, a parody of historical writing, and that generations of historians have been taking seriously what More wrote as a joke.

Her book is certainly important, but the deductions to be drawn from it are not entirely what your reviewer would have your readers suppose. While conceding that Dr. Hanham has put an end to the ridiculous pretence that More was an authority on the reign of Richard III, he fails to point the moral. Shakespeare rests on More, and Richard III's popular ill-repute rests on Shakespeare. Bang—finally—goes the legend of the Murder of the Princes in the Tower, zealously perpetuated by so many schoolteachers, Beef-eaters and authors of *Great Events in Our Island Story*, not to mention the odd historian. Anti-Ricardians will now have to face unflinchingly the hard fact that Shakespeare was a writer of fiction, not a dramatizer of saintly truth.

With More a lost leader, they should also explain what is so special about Richard III's alleged villainy when compared with that of, say, Henry IV, Edward IV and Henry VII—to name but three usurping regicides—or numerous other bloodstained 15th-century toughies who somehow fail to send these historians into the strange contortions of moral posturing reserved exclusively for Richard III, perhaps the bravest and certainly, by birth and blood, the most English of our Kings.

Let us hope that Dr. Hanham is at work on a second volume. An interested audience awaits *Richard III and His Later Historians 1536-1975*.

JEREMY POTTER
Chairman, Richard III Society

Sir,—I hoped for a vigorous letter from an informed source about G.R. Elton's review, but as only a mild one has appeared (R. Newman's letter, October 17), I make bold to express the coarse voice of the general public. What we learn from the review is first that no evidence is any longer offered for the belief that Richard killed the Princes in the Tower. What every history book, however brief, always told the children is now admitted to be wrong. It is insinuated instead that this does not matter because the man did a lot of other bad things, not mentioned. We learn, secondly, that the life of Richard III by Sir Thomas More, or partly in his handwriting, contains a lot of lies; but this does not matter because the effect of them is artistic. Goodness, how sad!

WILLIAM EMPSON
[Poet and author of *Seven Types of Ambiguity*]

Synopsis of Earlier Hanham Article

Readers might be interested to read this synopsis of "Richard III, Lord Hastings and the historians," by Alison Hanham, *English Historical Review*, Vol. LXXXVII, No. CCCXLIII, April 1972, pp. 233-248.

All early histories have placed the execution of William, Lord Hastings, on Friday, June 13, 1483. However, contemporary evidence shows that he was arrested (and immediately executed) one week later, on June 20, 1483.

In two other chronological points (Richard's accession and the

surrender of the Duke of York from sanctuary) a choice must be made between the Croyland Chronicle on the one hand, and the accounts of Vergil, More, Fabian, and *The Great Chronicle of London* on the other. (1) The Croyland Chronicle gives June 26 as the date of Richard's accession; the others say or imply June 19 or 20. Croyland is undoubtedly right, being supported by the official documents of the reign. (2) Croyland places the surrender of the Duke of York from sanctuary at Westminster on the Monday following Hastings' execution on June 13, e.g., June 16. The other sources place York's leaving sanctuary at some time before the execution. Croyland is again right in dating the surrender June 16. On the other hand, the *sequence* given in the other sources is strongly supported by probability.

Modern historians have attempted to choose one tradition or the other *in toto* and have accepted the authority of Croyland, thus creating considerable difficulties for themselves (in particular, trying to explain why Hastings' arrest should come so long before Richard's deposition of his nephews and why the king's brother would have been surrendered *after* Hastings' execution).

The initial mistake in placing Hastings' arrest and execution on June 13 is itself an error and also a source of error which the Tudor historians overcame in two different ways, each solution introducing its own further distortion. Croyland knew that Richard took the throne on June 26 and that York left sanctuary on June 16. An execution supposedly taking place on June 13 must have preceded these two events, so he puts them in chronological order by transposing his chronology. Other chroniclers knew that York left sanctuary before the execution and that only five days elapsed between execution and accession, and to accommodate a June 13 execution they put all subsequent events a week too early and produced an incorrect accession date of June 19 or 20.

Besides these theoretical arguments, there is firm contemporary evidence that Hastings did not die on June 13 but on June 20. A June 15, 1483 entry in the London mercers' company records concerns a conversation pertaining to mercantile matters that a servant of Hastings overheard between Hastings, Bishop Russell, and Dr. Morton; the mercers resolved to send to Morton to test the truth of the report. Are we to believe that the London mercers did not know that Morton was in prison and that Hastings, their acknowledged patron, was dead? Further, the entry of June 20 in the mercers' book records that on that day the mayor sent urgent new instructions for the careful keeping of the watch.

Friday, June 20 is also the date given in the only strictly contemporary description of the execution: the letter from Simon Stallworth to Sir William Stonor. The letter, written on June 21, describes the execution as taking place on "Fryday last," and the deliverance of the Duke of York on "Monday last." Various explanations, some rather lame, have been put forth to explain that "Fryday last" actually meant June 13. But the letter has a great feeling of urgency and was written while Stallworth was ill; would a sick man impart news in so urgent a tone if it had happened a full eight days before? And if "Monday last" refers to June 16, consistency would impel us to interpret "Fryday last" as June 20.

Mancini and all the Tudor accounts, with the exception of the Croyland Chronicle, make it clear that Hastings died very shortly before Richard's claims to the throne were openly stated (on June 22) and after the seizure of the Duke of York (on June 16). Recent research has shown that the only dissenting chronicle, Croyland, a late 17th-century printed transcript of a manuscript that was itself derivative, poses certain important problems of authorship and transmission, and contains clear evidence of textual confusion. Recognition that June 13 is an error enables us to explain the serious disagreements between Croyland and the other sources and to accept Mancini's chronology.

Earlier Hanham Article (Continued)

If Hastings was executed on June 20, the sequence of events becomes more comprehensible: (1) on June 16 the queen mother, convinced of Richard's honorable intentions, surrenders her son, so that he might attend his brother's coronation; (2) on June 20, Hastings, Morton, and Rotherham, who expressed their firm loyalty to Edward V, are put out of the way; (3) at some point plans for the coronation are suddenly abandoned and Richard's claims are put forth in sermons on June 22.

Where did the persistent error of dating Hastings' death on June 13 arise? In October 1484 in the various inquisitions on Hastings' land, the jurors all stated the date of his death to be June 13, 1483. As the error was admitted to official records very early, one must posit some official countenance by the government of Richard III. It is possible that there was some spontaneous confusion about the exact sequence and dating of the bewildering events that had crowded fast upon the king's accession; accidental misdating of events is common enough in chronicles of that period.

However, there is also a case for deliberate falsification. Richard's actions from late April until his accession show remarkably good generalship. Elaborate measures were taken to insure that the public drew the desired conclusions, i.e., that Richard's security and life were being threatened by hostile forces. Hastings seems to have been executed in order to get him out of the way

before Richard's future plans matured. When the news of his execution spread, Londoners seized arms in panic, and were quietened by the mayor and by a proclamation giving the official explanation of the incident, i.e., that there was a "plot" against Richard and that he was merely defending himself against treachery. Rumors created fear and confusion, which were sufficient to paralyze opposition; and the possibility of disorder underlined the need for strong government. Amid all these alarms and rumors Richard seems to have been extremely successful in obscuring the real nature of what was happening from everyone except the council and their circle. The ordinary man in the street does not appear to have suspected the truth, i.e., that Richard's ambitions were set on the crown, and that Hastings, Morton, and Rotherham had to be disposed of, since they were loyal to Edward V.

The execution of Hastings is the one date that is firmly fixed by the chroniclers. It would seem to follow that someone had carefully established a date for that one particular incident. Since the date so established was false, the object must have been to conceal the real date. The most obvious significance of the true date (June 20) is that it reveals the existence of a powerful opposition to Richard's plans. We are left with the question: was it Richard, rather than Tudor historians, who deliberately manipulated history in his own interest?

WELCOME NEW MEMBERS

Aarseth Family
72 Weber Avenue
Malverne, N.Y. 11565

Martin Adams
27 Burlington Road
Murray Hill, N.J. 07974

Mark Paul Alessio
32-54 84th Street
Jackson Heights, N.Y. 11370

Peggy G. Allen
1421 Wisteria Drive
Metairie, La. 70005

Nancy Andrews
302 W. 12th Street
New York, N.Y. 10014

Mrs. Ivy E. Benedykt
8051 Black River Road
Watertown, N.Y. 13601

Stephanie F. Bennighof
207 Atherton Hall
University Park, Pa. 16802

Dorothy E. Burke
805 11th Street
Davis, Calif. 95616

Patricia Anne Butler
2106 Parnell Avenue
Los Angeles, Calif. 90025

Shirley Clark
1668 Austin Avenue
Los Altos, Calif. 94022

Mrs. Claudine M. Coleman
1,000 River Reach Drive
Fort Lauderdale, Fla.

Jon Coopersmith
9201 Fox Meadow Lane
Potomac, Md. 20857

Robin Dorfman
319 Park Avenue
Leonia, N.J. 07605

David L. Friedland
9418 Westchester Lane
Omaha, Neb. 68127

Mrs. Thomas S. Gallagher
R.D. #2
Stoystown, Penna.

Mark J. Golden
1800 Jefferson Park Ave.
Charlottesville, Va. 22903

Mrs. Mary Z. Gray
2705 Emmet Road
Silver Spring, Md. 20902

Dr. & Mrs. Joel S. Greenberger
Blueberry Lane
Lincoln, Mass.

Janet Gross
2306 W. Sunnyside Avenue
Chicago, Ill. 60625

Edmund A. Hamburger
21607 Rambla Vista
Malibu, Calif. 90265

M.J. Harmon
1835 Berdan Avenue
Toledo, Ohio 43613

Mrs. Arthur E. Harrell
1072 Jewell Avenue
Pacific Grove, Calif. 93950

William Hatchett
461 South Highland
Memphis, Tenn. 38117

Virginia Ann Heyerdahl
3311 Belleview Avenue
Cheverly, Md. 20785

Richard Hildebrand
900 West End Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10025

Richard L. Hill
225 West 106th Street
New York, N.Y. 10025

Deborah Kaback
85 4th Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10003

Mrs. Mary E. Kane
32 Kent Street
Tewksbury, Mass. 01876

Guy F. Kelly
16 Park Avenue
Vero Beach, Fla.

Sarajane T. Kelsey
641 Middle Street
Middletown, Conn. 06457

Alice N. Longfellow
724 So. St. Asaph Street
Alexandria, Va. 22314

Mrs. J. Longo
Route 376
Wappingers Falls, N.Y. 12590

Lynne E. McBee
5043 Dierker Road
Columbus, Ohio 43220

Catherine McGuire
2806 Pond Place
Bronx, N.Y. 10458

Mr. & Mrs. Michael J. McMullen
407 Highland Avenue
Grove City, Penna. 16127

George F. Maida, Jr.
80-36 Langdale Street
New Hyde Park, N.Y. 11040

Miss Rita T. Mallahy
193 Pearl Hill Road
Fitchburg, Mass. 01420

Hazel Rowena Mills
Route 1, Box 1395
Owasso, Okla. 74055

Roark M. Mitzell
132 Lafayette Street
York, Penna. 17403

Mr. & Mrs. William L. Moran
2510 N. Columbus Street
Arlington, Va. 22207

Mary E.A. Moriarty
500 S. Washington St.
New Ulm, Minn. 56073

Joseph C. Naughton
Rear 605 4th Street
Windber, Penna. 15963

Carol Pixton
6135 Wayne Avenue
Philadelphia, Penna. 19144

Julia C. Walworth
3768 Lowell Road
Cleveland Heights, Ohio 44121

Shirley Rettig
604 Princess Street
Alexandria, Va. 22314

Ronald Salomon
37 The Boulevard
Sea Cliff, N.Y. 11579

Mrs. James H. Seeley
100 Hampton Roads Avenue
Hampton, Va. 23661

Fred Shelley
3016 Homewood Parkway
Kensington, Md. 20795

Rev. George J. Soberisk
98 Summer Street
Portsmouth, N.H. 03801

William A. Stein
61 Doan Avenue North
Painesville, Ohio 44077

Rita L. Steitz
375 N. Ash Avenue
Wood Dale, Ill. 60191

William Stevens
377 Keene Street
Duxbury, Mass. 02332

Mrs. M.R. Vick
4N360 Church Road
Bensenville, Ill. 60106

Ricardian Bazaar — Shop Early

Small Enamelled Boar Pin

On Richard's birthday, the Richard III Society received a beautiful, and profit-making, present from Mrs. Sybil Ashe. Mrs. Ashe has donated a 5/8" round die, in the familiar gold and enamelled boar design. The following items are available from this die:

Pin	\$3.75
Tie-tack	\$3.75
Lapel pin	\$3.75
Charm	\$3.75
Alligator-clip tie clasp	\$3.75
Screw-back earrings	\$7.50
Earrings for pierced ears	\$8.50

Edward IV's French Expedition of 1475

The Editor has received a large supply of *Edward IV's French Expedition of 1475*, edited by Francis Pierrepont Barnard. This is a reprint of the 1925 edition. The book describes the composition and payment of the army, heraldic badges of the leaders of each contingent, and includes biographical sketches of some of the lesser known soldiers and diplomats. 162 pp. hardback.

Price per copy: \$16.00, including handling and postage.

Kingmaker

Joan Taylor brings to members' attention a new game now available in the U.S. It is called "Kingmaker" and is a multi-player, quasi-historical, diplomatic simulation of the Wars of the Roses. Not only does it contain a stunning physical production, it also forces players to think as if they were medieval barons, grasping, mercenary, and merciless, always seeking to expand their spheres of influence through any possible means.

"Kingmaker" is available for \$12.00 from Simulations Publications, Inc., 44 East 23rd Street, New York, New York 10010.

Twelve Knights of Christmas

The Society's Pursuivant, Helmut Nickel, Curator of Arms and Armor of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, has designed an entertaining Christmas card—5½ feet of decoration—and a delightful keepsake for Christmases to come. Silkscreened in 8 color, with special envelope. Folded size 5½ x 7½, open 66 x 7½.

Price: \$2.95, plus \$1.25 shipping, plus 8% tax in New York City, applicable tax elsewhere in New York State, tax-free elsewhere. Cards may be ordered from Metropolitan Museum of Art, Box 255, Gracie Station, New York, New York 10028.

The Royal Game

Members who attended the Annual General Meeting in New York will be especially interested to know that Bill Hogarth has arranged to obtain copies of the full acting script of "The Royal Game" . . . extracts from which made the meeting one of the best-attended and most popular in years. The publisher has provided copies at a substantial discount to members: only \$1.50 per book, postpaid. Order from Mr. Hogarth (checks payable to William Hogarth), Box 217, Sea Cliff, New York, 11579.

Isolde Wigram and The Royal Game Cassette

Available at cost from Bill Hogarth: A 2-hour cassette tape containing the address of Isolde Wigram to the Annual General Meeting of October 5, 1974 and the reading of "The Royal Game" excerpts from Act I at this year's AGM.

Price: \$3.75, postpaid. Checks payable to William Hogarth, Box 217, Sea Cliff, New York 11579.

Miniature Figures

Kirk Miniature Figures produce metal figures of particular interest to Ricardians: plated mounted figures, plated foot figures, and smaller painted and unpainted figures. Try making your own Bosworth Field diorama!

Write for a price list to: Kirk Miniature Figures, 3 Wynfield Road, Western Park, Leicester, England.

Coming Soon . . .

Ricardian scarves . . . full-color posters of NPG Richard III portrait . . . Richard III groat pendant . . . white rose carved ivory earrings . . . Warwick bookmark . . . Great Seal print . . . and more.

Panel from Twelve Knights of Christmas





Dues, grants and contributions are tax-deductible to the extent allowed by law.

The Ricardian Register

Newsletter of the Richard III Society, Inc.

EDITOR: Linda B. McLatchie, 9 Weld St., Apt. 48, Framingham, Mass. 01701

Richard III Society, Inc. is a non-profit educational corporation chartered in 1969 under the membership corporation laws of the State of New York.

VOLUME X — issue 1 — January-February 1976

Kendall's biography in paperback

Paul Murray Kendall's *Richard the Third* is considered by many to be the definitive modern biography of Richard—balanced and well-researched. Kendall has for several years been out-of-print in the U.S.; however, the book is available in paperback from an English publisher, Cardinal.

The Editor has obtained a shipment of Kendall's *Richard the Third*. The price per copy, including postage and handling, is \$4.00.

Ricardian Activities at Scarborough Castle

Members visiting Britain this summer or fall may be interested in some of the activities planned by the Scarborough Castle Committee. The Committee hopes to re-enact various historic events connected with Scarborough Castle. Most important to members is "Richard III Week," Saturday, September 25 to Saturday, October 2. Among the activities scheduled are:

Sunday, June 27: Medieval Tournament (including Jousting, Falconry, and Morris Dancing) and re-enactment at Scarborough Castle of the Battle of Barnet (1471)—a decisive event in Richard III's military career.

Saturday, September 25: (morning) Town Procession and Presentation of Richard's Charter to the Town; (afternoon) Town Race on foot to start at Richard III House, the seven mile course to include The Castle Headland.

Sunday, September 26: Medieval Tournament and re-enactment at Scarborough Castle of the Battle of Bosworth Field (1485).

Monday, September 27: (morning) Opening of Richard III Exhibition at Londesborough Lodge, The Crescent and Richard III Society Display at Richard III House. (evening) Plantagenet Wine Tasting at Richard III House with talks on Richard III and Plantagenet Wines.

Tuesday, September 28: (evening) "Music for a Plantagenet Court" at St. Mary's Church.

Wednesday, September 29: (morning) Brewers' Town Procession and opening of Scarborough Fair at Sandside (Quay Street Car Park rear of Richard III House). The Fair consisting of tents in Plantagenet style arranged around a dais, will include offerings of mulled ale and mead. Entertainment at the Fair on the dais will include medieval playlets by Alan Ayckbourn's Company and Morris Dancing. (evening) Scarborough Fair Brewers' Reception at Richard III House with medieval music and Flamborough Sword Dance.

Thursday, September 30: (daytime) Scarborough Fair. (evening) Richard III Lecture at Richard III House to be given by Jeremy

Potter, Managing Director of T.V. Times and Chairman of Richard III Society.

Friday, October 1: (daytime) Scarborough Fair. (evening) Medieval Banquet and Dance at Scarborough Castle.

Saturday, October 2: (morning) Scarborough Fair. (noon) Departure of Scarborough Fair and Town Procession.

For further information, contact Scarborough Castle Committee, 50 Albemarle Crescent, Scarborough, England.

Meeting of New England Chapter

On October 25, 1975, about 40 members of the New England Chapter met at the Holiday Inn, Newton, Mass. Program co-chairmen James Brennan and Ken Wilson hosted the meeting.

After the buffet dinner, Col. Fred Steele of Vermont gave a brief recap of the Annual General Meeting that had taken place in New York a few weeks previously.

Sybil Ashe, Regional Vice-Chairman for New England, discussed the highlights of Richard's reign and accomplishments. She urged members to contribute to clearing Richard's name: by speaking to high school groups; by suggesting to librarians that the library add revisionist titles to its holdings.

Mr. Brennan suggested that the New England Chapter pay dues for the running of meetings and the issuance of a news bulletin. After discussion, the amount of five dollars was agreed upon, and Mrs. Ashe volunteered to be treasurer for the Chapter.

Nancy Fletcher was named recording secretary, and Dr. Johansson agreed to be host of the next meeting, to be held in the spring.

Nancy J. Fletcher
Tolland, Connecticut

Rey's defense of Richard

When I was in Edinburgh in May I looked through the card catalogue of the National Library, and I found a book on Richard of which I had never heard: "Essais Historiques et Critiques sur Richard III, Roi Angleterre" by Jean Rey, membre Societe Royale des Antiquaires de France, published in Paris in 1818. As it might be of interest to others in the Society, I made a summary of the notes I took in the library.

The author starts with a list of his sources, of which the English writers are familiar: More, Polydore Virgile, Comines, Hall, Grafton, Shakespeare, Bacon, Hollingshed and Stow. Later in the text he refers to the Croyland Chronicle, Buck, Walpole, Rous (the only author he did not read in the original, but only as cited by Walpole), Buchanan and Carte. He also lists Duchesne, *Histoire d'Angleterre*; Biondi, *Guerre des deux Roses*; Habington, *History of Edward IV*; Im-Hoff, *Notitia*; Rapinde Thoiras, *Histoire d'Angleterre*; Prévot, *Histoire de Marguerite d'Anjou*; Hume, *Histoire d'Angleterre*; Marsollier, *Vie de Henri VII*; Millot, *Histoire d'Angleterre*; Delarrey, *Histoire d'Angleterre*; Anquetil, *Précis Historique*; le Prince d'Orleans, *Révolutions d'Angleterre*; Rymer, *Acta Publica*; Voltaire, *Essai sur les Moeurs*. This strikes me as a solid bibliography for 1818.

Rey then opens with a list of all Richard's traditional crimes, including the poisoning of Edward IV "par l'effet d'un breuvage empoisonné," and he questions the reliability of the Tudor writers, "des plumes vendues aux successeurs de ce prince qui auraient eu besoin de recourir à de semblables manoeuvres pour colorer leur usurpation." He adds that "Richard eut un tort. . . Il fut vaincu."

He goes on to ask why he should rake the cold ashes of a prince in whom no one is interested, and who had no important descendants, why call up the ghost of a tyrant. He answers: "C'est parceque la recherche de la verité est un devoir toujours doux à remplir; c'est parceque la morale ne peut que gagner au retablissement d'une reputation injustement ternie."

He then takes up each accusation and answers it. Many of the answers are the ones generally accepted by our Society, but some are perhaps of interest. He calls the Abbé Prévot, the champion of Marguerite of Anjou, the most extreme of Richard's detractors. The abbé accuses Richard of first murdering Henry VI and then of throwing the body into the cell where Marguerite is imprisoned. Rey concludes: "Henry VI aura certainement péri d'une toute autre manière que par la main faible et malhabile du duc de Gloucester enfant." As Richard had just fought effectively at Barnet and Tewksbury, Rey's adjectives here seem ill-chosen.

In discussing Jane Shore, he remarks that if she actually was kept in prison for years, the responsibility after 1485 was that of the Tudors. He also quotes Richard's letter on her proposed marriage to Lynom.

Richard "n'a point accusé sa mère d'adultère" just when he was looking for popular support for his coronation. The charge would also have bastardized his three living sisters. "Richard n'était ni inconséquent, ni malhabile." Rey then quotes Richard's letter to his mother in 1484 and points out that it was not written for publication.

As for the princes, he states that the Wardrobe accounts list clothing for Lord Edward, son of the late king, between April 1483 and February 1484. He also argues that the act of parliament which declared them bastards assumed that they were alive, because it referred to Edward IV's "progeny," not just to his daughters. He also asks why Henry did not make a more specific accusation than spilling of infants' blood.

He gives More's account of the murder of the princes, then that of the bones found in the 17th century and buried in the Abbey, and a third account by Maurice, Prince of Orange, who in 1625 wrote that

2 skeletons were found in the tower during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. She ordered the room sealed, with the bones inside. Rey holds all the stories to be false. Then Northcote, presumably about the time Rey was writing, painted a popular picture of the murder of the boys. Rey concludes "Les plus forts argumens ne seront que glace, et viendront toujours échouer contre les brillantes erreurs consacrées par de semblables génies."

Finally Rey sums up his view of Richard's character, first giving a line from Polydore Virgile as he translated it from the Latin: "Richard était doué de beaucoup d'esprit, et d'un jugement très sain." Rey continues, "Peu des princes, dans le cours d'un règne aussi borné, et rempli d'aussi grandes dissensions, ont fait ou préparé autant que Richard des établissemens utiles. Polydore Virgile et Bacon lui rendent cet honorable témoignage. Ils conviennent que sa morte prématurée l'empêcha seule d'y mettre la dernière main. La bien des peuples fut de principal but vers lequel tendirent ses plus constans efforts. Il voulut que la justice fût rendue dans toute sa plénitude à tous ses sujets indistinctement, et si l'on a égard aux temps où il vivait, on sentira ce que cette vue nouvelle alors avait d'élévé."

"Richard possédait toutes les belles qualités qui font les grands princes. Cette verité perce encore à travers les innombrables calomnies, sous lesquelles les écrivains du parti vainqueur ont été contraints de l'accabler. Sans doute il eut des torts. . . Mais puisqu'il avait de l'esprit, il est vraisemblable que s'il avait joui d'une longue et tranquille possession, il aurait fait oublier ses erreurs par un gouvernement sage et modéré."

He concludes: "Quant à nous, notre tâche est remplie. . . Si nous avons supporter la conviction dans l'esprit des hommes éclairés et sages, sur lesquels la juste et la vraie conservent toujours leur empire, et qui ne se laissent ni entraîner par l'habitude d'anciens préjugés, ne éblouir par l'éclat de noms imposans, de ces hommes, en un mot, chez qui repose essentiellement le feu sacré de la morale publique, et dont tout écrivain doit par conséquent ambitionner les honorables suffrages."

I found Jean Rey listed in the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale* depuis *Les Temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours*, vol. 42, Paris 1863. He was an industrialist and a writer, born in Montpellier in 1773. He died in Paris in 1849. He served in the army in 1795 and 1801, married the daughter of a banker, and set up a small business in cashmere shawls. He became one of the biggest commercial men in France, and had time to return to his studies. He received the Legion of Honor in 1823, was a member of the general council of manufacturers, and on the central jury of the industrial exposition of 1827, but lost his fortune through unhappy investments in 1837 and was reduced to a modest existence. He belonged to many learned societies, and published, besides his first book in 1818, a history of shawls in 1823, and a two volume history of the flags and insignia of the French monarch in 1837. He also wrote a history of the captivity of Francis I in 1837. There is a tribute to him in *L'Annuaire de la Société des Antiquaires de France*, 1850, by Cartier, which I have not found. Perhaps other Ricardians may know of Jean Rey. I would like to know more about him.

Edie Newman
Hamden, Connecticut

The Battle of the Bath

Carol Parker brings to members' attention the following light-hearted exchange, which is reprinted from the Canadian Branch's publication, *RIII*.

From John Russell's *Book of Nurture* edited by Edith Rickert:

A Bath—1460

If your lord wishes to bathe and wash his body clean, hang sheets round the roof, every one full of flowers and sweet green herbs, and have five or six sponges to sit or lean upon, and see that you have one big sponge to sit upon, and a sheet over so that he may bathe there for a while, and have a sponge also for under his feet, if there be any to spare, and always be careful that the door is shut. Have a basin full of hot fresh herbs and wash his body with a soft sponge, rinse him with fair rose-water and throw it over him; the let him go to bed; but see that the bed be sweet and nice; and first put on his socks and slippers that he may go near the fire and stand on his foot-sheet, wipe him dry with a clean cloth and take him to bed to cure his troubles.

The Making of a Medicinal Bath

Boil together hollyhock, mallow, wall pellitory and brown fennel, danewort, St. John's wort, centaury, ribwort and camomile, heyhove, heyriiff, herb-benet, bresewort, smallage, water speedwell, scabious, bugloss and wild flax which is good for aches—boil withy leaves and green oats together with them and throw them into a vessel and put your lord over it and let him endure it for a while as hot as he can, being covered over and closed on every side; and whatever disease, grievance or pain ye be vexed with, this medicine shall surely make you whole, as men say.

The Description of A Bath of 1460 has brought about some correspondence between two Canadian members. These letters follow.

Sundaye

Esteemed Ladye and Goodlie Soule:

Verily my kinsman and I thanke ye for thy goode letter and enclosures, the latter of which I have never seene the lyke unto. I hasteneth to prepaire the bathe listeth therein and as well the wondrous medication—hathing latelie terrible the ague and the palsie and hath hadde manye a yeare, which hath muchlye vexed me.

So, I preparethe in the bathe chamber sheets around the rooffe, full of floweres and sweete herbes, and placeth six sponges to lean upon, and one to sit upon, and one for undere my feete and another to washe myselfe by and a phial of rose-water. But alack and alas, and a pox upon it—Here was but no roome for ye bloodie bathe water. So I abandoned it and will waite until my nexte yeare's bath and use

a biggere tubbe.

Thereupon, latelie I boiled together the hollyhocks, mallow, wall pellitory, brown-fennel, danewort, Sainte John's wort, centaury, ribwort, chamomile, heyhove (I hadde greate difficultie procuring this butte gotte if from my gude friende Mr. Gerard—he listeth it in his herbale), herb-benet, et al. Trulie butte I sayeth that the concoction was wondrous smellie, butte did not a thing for my ague or my palsie, which I am hathing latelie terrible, and hathe hadde manie a yeare, which hath muchlie vexed me. So, whereupon I did not wishe to waste the brothe, I addeth an oxo cube (a new convention withe wondrous poweres) and hast me a repaste of Stewe, unlyke any that I ever tasteth. So your esteemed and marvellous encloement was not altogethere wasted.

But shoulde you ever heare of another remedie to cure the ague and the palsie—which I am hathing latelie terrible, and hathe hadde manie a yeare, which hath muchly vexed me—I should be verye gladd to hath it from you.

As my feete hathe butte faire dropped off from running around searchinge for herbes, I shalle endeavoure to grow them on my estate, and in addition will plant a genet, butte shalle give no room for a Tudor rose.

Thine humble and Obediente Servante
with mucche affectione and Gude
wishes to thy household.
Raymonde

Tuesdaye

Right Trusty and Well-Beloved Lords of Rayvon,

I have learned to my full great marvel that the Bath which ye did prepare with all diligence and earnest attention was inefficacious. Maybe that ye did not be careful that the door be shut?

Next Sundaye coming I am summoned to a meeting of the Society of our Good King Richard III and there shall enquire if any other remedies be known to the Members which would assist ye in the speedy despatch of your ailments. And, if such intelligence be forthcoming, shall hasten with all speed to your door with these good tidings, if ye be in your Manor then, which I shall ascertain by my trusty intermediary Belle Telle.

I shall communicate to the Members also the good intelligence that no Tudor Rose shall find nurture on your Estate, but only the Plantagenesta, as befits True Englishmen who want no truck with usurpers.

I cannot write more as I am stricken with an ague of merriment since receiving your communication, with consequent severe limitation of my Manual Dexterity. But am heartily mindful of your good advices for the furbishing of my own Estate this summer, and commend me to your Lordships,

With Great Affection
Irene

Welcome New Members

Larry T. Bates
6937 Park Avenue South
Richfield, Minn. 55423

Janet Gilbert
Wells College
Aurora, New York 13026

Joan Kops
229 East 28th Street
New York, New York 10016

Leonard Rubin
69 West 9th Street
New York, New York 10011

Brenda E. Elliot
2510 Lyndell
Joplin, Missouri 64801

Anne C. Graefen
1645 Monroe Lane
Hanover Park, Ill. 60103

Elizabeth Krache
Box 7790 College Station, W&M
Williamsburg, Virginia 23186

Mrs. Virginia B. Sills
725 Colorado Avenue
Baltimore, Maryland 21210

Elizabeth L. Freye
4225 "C" Street
Sacramento, Calif. 95819

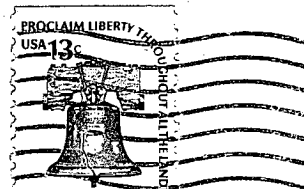
Mrs. Franklin Hoffer
1800 Somerset Avenue
Windber, Pa. 15963

Mary S. Krumbein
63 Fort Hill Road
Huntington, New York 11743

Erle Yahn
419 Spring Avenue
Ellwood City, Pa. 16117

Linda B. McLatchie
Richard III Society, Inc.
9 Weld Street, Apt. 48
Framingham, MA 01701

Mrs. William P. Haynes
4149 25th Street, N.
Arlington, Va. 22207



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VOLUME X — issue 2 — March-April 1976

Increase in Student Dues

The officers have determined that it will be necessary to increase student dues from their present level of \$6.00 to \$8.00. This new rate applies immediately to all new student members and to present student members when they renew their membership in October 1976.

STOP PRESS—Ricardian Britain in stock once again

Just at publication time, the Editor received a new shipment of *Ricardian Britain*. This booklet is an invaluable guide to touring Ricardian sites of Great Britain. It is available at \$2.00 per copy. Order now, in time for your trip to Britain!

Kendall in Paperback

As advertised in the last *Register*, the Editor has in stock copies of Paul Murray Kendall's biography of Richard III. Price: \$4.00.

Mark Jonathan Golden brings to our attention the fact that Norton Publishing has recently issued Kendall's *Richard III* in paperback in the U.S. Their edition, which, according to Golden, is not as attractive as the British edition, sells for \$5.95. So, *take advantage of a great bargain from the Society!*

New Address

As noted in a previous *Register*, Juanita Louis Knapp (*nee* Slavin) extends a cordial invitation to all American Ricardians visiting Britain. Nita and her husband Malcolm have now settled in their new home: Flat 1, 38A Church Trees, Swinegate, Grantham, Lincolnshire NG31 7DY, England. Drop them a line if you plan to travel to England.

Morton's Fork Revisited

Susan Curry, a teacher at Wood Junior College in Mathiston, Mississippi, passes on this humorous anecdote:

"On one of the tests my students took this year was the question, 'What was Morton's Fork?' One of the best answers I got was, 'His tongue.'"

New England Chapter Grows

The "Welcome New Members" section lists many new Ricardians from the New England area. Many of them learned of the Society's existence from an article appearing in the *Boston Sunday Globe's* New England Magazine on March 14, 1976. The article, "To the Rescue of Richard III," was written by member Lisa J. Crowley, and describes the efforts of Regional Vice Chairman Sybil Ashe to rehabilitate Richard's reputation.

Mrs. Ashe recommends that members "go into their public schools—the school libraries and the history departments—and ascertain what material concerning Richard and his times is available there, pro or con. If the preponderance is con, which is likely, they are to alert the librarians to the fact that there exists quite a body of pro-Richard material and request that they put it in the libraries. Then ask permission to read the text used in history courses for that period, and if it tells the same old story, go to the head of the department and to the teacher and point out that there is another view and that it would be wise to incorporate it; and when the time comes to buy a new text, buy a completely different one."

Good advice for all members.

Chicago Chapter Meeting

On January 11th the Chicago Chapter of the Richard III Society met at the Sherwood Forest Restaurant for a social meeting. Many members came in costume and there was a lovely dinner and plenty of good conversation.

We have written for information about the Medieval conference at Western Michigan University in Kalamazoo, Michigan on the weekend of May 1 and are waiting to hear from them.

Yvonne Shea

Ricardian Books from AMS Press

Lois Rosenberg brings to our attention the numerous books of Ricardian interest published by AMS Press. Among them are: *Holinshed's Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland* (6 volume set; \$285.00); *The Reign of Henry VII from Contemporary Sources* (3 volume set, \$42.50); and various Camden Society Publications, including Warkworth's *Chronicle of the First Thirteen Years of the Reign of King Edward the Fourth* (\$10.00) and *Three Books of Polydore Vergil's English History* (\$15.00).

Orders and inquiries should be sent to AMS Press, Inc., 56 East 13th Street, New York, New York 10003.

Wisdom's Looking Glass

The following is an excerpt from "Wisdom's Looking Glass," an article by Alice Longfellow which appeared in *GW Forum*, Volume 6, No. 1, Winter 1976.

History's course is a rocky one; sometimes traveling devious roads and embarking upon strange, muddled detours. And truth is not always the daughter of time. It is necessary for me to know this; to keep me on my toes; to keep me questioning; to keep me doubting; to make me both a cynic and a dreamer; to know that all is not what it appears to be, and that the world creates an abundance of mirages in its dusty, desert places.

And thus we come to another volume on my coffee table, Kendall's *Richard the Third*. For poor Richard's life embodies the ultimate horror story along one of history's muddy detours. Castigated and reviled, Richard's slight frame has been weighted down for five centuries with his epitaph as England's demon-king, twisted in mind, monstrosly formed in body. This last Plantagenet king has stood accused and judged, but never tried, of history's most heinous offences; slayer of his two small nephews; poisoner of his wife; betrayer of his friends; a purveyor of evil, power-mad and cravenly pusillanimous. Only now, nearly five hundred years after his death, is the strangled truth beginning to emerge. Painstaking research of contemporary records of his day suggest a man of such far different character as to boggle the mind. A man who was a loyal, faithful, and steadfast adherent to his brother, King Edward IV. A devoted father to his little son. A loving and adoring husband in a time of ripe licentiousness, whose grief at his young wife's death from consumption came close to unhinging his mind. A leader who inspired great love and loyalty from his friends, many of whom faithfully perished by his

side at Bosworth field; indeed, his greatest weakness as a king might well have been that he forgave too easily in an age that saw forgiveness as weakness, not virtue, and whose magnanimity, when extended to his bitterest enemies, enabled them to betray him again and again. A monarch who concerned himself with justice under the law, who conceived of the right to bail and legislated against the intimidation of juries. A brave, valiant, and courageous soldier (a general before he was twenty-five), whose skill in the martial arts and fame with the battle axe gives the lie to tales of physical deformity. A king for whom there is ample reason not only to absolve him of all but one of the attributed crimes (even the "evidence" for the slaying of his nephews is scantily circumstantial) but about whom there is sufficient evidence to support the statement that had he vanquished the Tudor invader and survived Bosworth field his might well have been a reign of unparalleled administrative brilliance and enlightened beneficence. And therein lies the rub—for it was Henry Tudor who subverted history to his own ends, who dubbed it servant to his crown, and in that guise was ably, if unwittingly, assisted by one of England's great statesman and the world's foremost playwright. It is to Sir Thomas More's *History of Richard the Third* and Shakespeare's play that we rightfully owe our historical prejudice toward this much abused king. It was they who in pandering to the Tudor dynasty dealt English history its greatest disservice. Five centuries have passed before history could throw off the effects of this salacious tampering.

Alice Longfellow
Alexandria, Virginia

Welcome New Members

Vera Smith Barnett
12 North Bowditch St.
Braintree, Mass. 02184

Edmund F. Becker, Jr.
41 Preston Road
Lexington, Mass. 02173

Mr. & Mrs. Mark Bloom
295 Central Park West
New York, New York 10024

Louisa S. Briggs
22 Mayflower Avenue
Duxbury, Mass. 02332

Elizabeth R. Brown
6 Divinity Avenue
Cambridge, Mass. 02138

Barbara A. Bunch
6330 Old Maumee Road
Fort Wayne, Ind. 46803

Mr. & Mrs. Francis Carpenter
273 Franklin Street
Braintree, Mass. 02184

Gerald A. Clute
10054 Kingston Avenue
Huntington Woods, Mich. 48070

Helen Storm Corsa
6 Richland Road
Wellesley, Mass. 02181

Earl Croman
58 Richards Road
Port Washington, N.Y. 11050

Vivienne F. Damon
77 Somerset Avenue
Winthrop, Mass. 02152

Lt. Albert L. Daniels
361-A Chance Street
Fort Devens, Mass. 01433

Jean Demling
119A South Street
Waltham, Mass. 02154

Mary Ellen Diehl
1541 Queen
Fort Worth, Texas 76103

Corinne D'Italia
362 Granite Street
Quincy, Mass. 02169

Rev. W. Robert Fowler
158 Winthrop Street
Winthrop, Mass. 02152

Mr. & Mrs. Leo Giroux, Jr.
112 Pinckney Street
Boston, Mass. 02114

Andrew Hubatsek
141 Burt Street
Norton, Mass. 02766

Brian P. Kelly
60 Doonan Street
Medford, Mass. 02155

Richard N. Kitchen
HQ USAFE Box 8481
A.P.O., N.Y. 09012

Mary A. Kolb
28 Davie Circle
Chapel Hill, N.C. 27514

Gene J. Kubal
308½ South Fairfax St.
Alexandria, Va. 22314

Janice S. Latimer
Route 6, Box 236-B
Baton Rouge, La. 70815

Madelaine G. Levi
84 Peakham Road
Sudbury, Mass. 01776

Marcia Finn Lewis
Thistle Croft, Park St.
Mendon, Mass. 01756

Edward F. Mahony
15 Sumner Road
Wellesley, Mass. 02181

Dolores M. Malenka
30 Bishop Street
Staten Island, N.Y. 10306

Mr. & Mrs. Ivo Meisner
Box 1081
Edgartown, Mass. 02539

Michael D. Ossias
Doubleday & Co., Inc.
245 Park Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10017

Janice H. Patterson
P.O. Box 16132
Phoenix, Ariz. 85011

Sharon B. Purcell
7505 Democracy Blvd.
Bethesda, Md. 20034

The Ristkok Family
16 West 16th Street
New York, N.Y. 10011

Miss Leslie Ross
5479 Top-O-Rahn Court
Centerville, Ohio 45459

Hilary Stoddard
P.O. Box 446
Littleton, Mass. 01460

Patti Lynn Taylor
2008 Pine Lake Village
Lindenwold, N.J. 08021

Richard G. Turner, III
38 Hull Street
Beverly, Mass. 01915

Mrs. John W. Valentine
20 Charles River Square
Boston, Mass. 02114

Brenda Joyce Ward
807 S. Delaware
Tulsa, Okla. 74104

Melinda S. Young
1239 Wellesley Road
Madison, Wisc. 53705



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Volume X — issue 3 — May-June 1976

WE'RE MOVING !!!

As of July 26, 1976, my husband and I will be moving to 534 HUDSON ROAD, SUDBURY, MASSACHUSETTS 01776. Sudbury has many delightful historical attractions, including Longfellow's Wayside Inn, but not the least of which is its Bicentennial Zip code, 01776.

If my communication is a bit spotty during the last few weeks in July and the first few weeks in August, please forgive

me. We will be busily unpacking all my Ricardian paraphernalia and records.

So please make note of our new address:

Linda and Bill McLatchie
534 Hudson Road
Sudbury, Massachusetts 01776

Fotheringhay Window

The American Branch has donated \$200.00 toward the Fotheringhay Window. Chairman Bill Snyder wrote the following letter to Jeremy Potter, Chairman of the English Branch:

"I take great pleasure in having the honor of sending you, on behalf of all members of the American Branch, our enclosed check for \$200.00 as a contribution toward the Fotheringhay Window.

"It is our hope that this contribution, during our Bicentennial Year, will reflect tangibly the close bonds of friendship which exist between our members and members of the parent Society, as well as between the other people of Great Britain and the United States of America.

Cordially yours,
William H. Snyder, Chairman"

Members who are interested in learning more about the Fotheringhay Window may purchase the following items from the Editor (*whose new address appears above!!*):

1. Color print of window (3x5): \$1.00.
2. Black and white print of window (4x6): \$.75.
3. Fotheringhay descriptive booklet: \$1.50.

Please make all checks payable to Richard III Society, Inc.

Kneeler covers need transport

Exactly the same number of needlepoint kneeler covers for Sutton Cheney Church are in progress in the spring of 1976 as were in the spring of 1975: *seven*, with two additional interested inquiries which may become kneelers. At this rate we will reach our goal of fifty covers in less than three years.

Are Ricardians going to England this summer, particularly to Sutton Cheney? Will some few travelers be willing to carry a kneeler cover or two in their luggage and see that they reach Vicar Boston safely?

If so, please notify Mrs. William H. Snyder, 4110 Woodbine Street, Chevy Chase, Maryland 20015, and give date you would need to receive the cover. Your help will be very much appreciated.

Meeting of Chicago Chapter

Mr. and Mrs. Thornton Walbridge graciously offered to host a picnic on their farm in Libertyville on July 18 at 4:00 p.m. Wine and beer were available and guests brought their own picnic supper. The picnic was held at a time and place convenient to King Richard's Renaissance Faire.

Yvonne Shea
Secretary, Chicago Chapter

Nominating Committee

Chairman Bill Snyder has appointed the following persons to serve on this year's Nominating Committee:

Cheshire Frager, Chairperson
Libby Haynes
Martha Hogarth

The Nominating Committee is responsible for making up the slate of nominees for national office in the Society.

Sylvan setting for New England Chapter meeting

The third meeting of the New England Chapter of the Richard III Society, Inc. was called to order by Mrs. Sybil Ashe at 3:30 on June 13 at the Cohasset, Massachusetts home of Dr. and Mrs. John Johansson—al fresco, much to everyone's delight.

Grace Worcester Greene volunteered to take over the Treasurership. Dr. and Mrs. Rosenfield volunteered to take charge of the entertainment for our October meeting; and Dick and Louisa Briggs will handle the matter of refreshments for that meeting. It will be held, in late October, at the Beaver Country Day School in Brookline, Mass. Ann Grayson, who teaches there, secured its use for us—free of charge!

Mrs. Ashe reported on the May meeting of the new Steering Committee for the New England Chapter. Ken Wilson is the chairman of this committee; but because of his late arrival in Cohasset, Ann Grayson, also a committee member, told of the results of that meeting. Other committee members are Sybil Ashe and Adam Tarlin.

After the business meeting, Dan Greene showed slides, with interesting commentary, on 15th century art.

John Johansson and his wife are to be handsomely complimented for the 15th century style dinner, which was delicious and sumptuous.

The possibilities for making our existence more widely known were discussed. We lose potential members because they don't know where or how to contact us.

Needless to say, the meeting was a great success.

Nancy J. Fletcher
Recording Secretary, New England Chapter
Tolland, Connecticut

Hogarth locks horns with Van Horne

The following is an extract from a column by Harriet Van Horne appearing in *The New York Post*, May 12, 1976, and entitled "Shades of Nixon":

"Men who have fallen from grace in a spectacular way always attract fanatical loyalists. Many of these men exceeded the villainy of Richard Nixon by 1000 per cent. Nearly 400 years after his death, admirers of the evil, deformed Richard III celebrate his August birthday and renew their vow to 'clear his good name.'"

"Richard of York (who may have said 'I am not a cock-back,' with nobody believing him—either) is held responsible for the murder of two young princes in the Tower of London. His 20th century subjects, Heaven knows why, say Richard was a brave and good man."

Vice Chairman Bill Hogarth wrote the following letter to the editor in rebuttal (the *Post* ran an edited version of it):

"I must say it is becoming rather tiresome to read and respond to Harriet Van Horne's annual attack on Richard III. Usually she saves it for August, when our Society publishes its *In Memoriam* notice on the anniversary of the King's death (not his birthday as she erroneously puts it in her column of May 12th, "Shades of Nixon"). Only the most moss-covered, poopish historians still believe the old myths about the "hunchbacked monster who killed the Princes in the Tower." That is Shakespeare, who seized on Tudor propaganda to construct a marvelous play. We never quarrel with the genius of Shakespeare. But Shakespeare's narrative is not history.

"Through recent studies of contemporary documents, enlightened modern scholars have accepted at the very least a neutral stance on Richard III; even the lay public, through popular histories, plays, novels and even a popular detective story, have come to see through the legend. We despair of convincing Miss Van Horne of her wrongheadedness, but we trust your readers may have some interest in the truth. Briefly: Henry Tudor, the Earl of Richmond, defeated and killed Richard III on Bosworth Field in 1485. He became Henry VII and, with almost no legitimate claim to the throne, destroyed documents and literally paid to have events rewritten to favor his cause. The two Princes, Richard's nephews, were never a threat to Richard, but were a distinct threat to Henry VII, who is a leading candidate for the role of their murderer. It is also possible that they were never murdered at all. There is also no contemporary record of Richard's deformity; and lastly dear Miss Van Horne, the king was Richard of Gloucester, not York. We firmly believe there is no statute of limitation on countering a lie; just as Miss Van Horne seems to believe there is no end to her need to repeat the lie. Can't we all agree on the villainy of Richard Nixon, and leave Miss Van Horne's favorite *bete-noire*, Richard III, to objective historians?

Respectfully,
William Hogarth, Vice-Chairman
Richard III Society, Inc."

Book Look

THE BROKEN SWORD: A Novel of the Reign of Richard III
by Rhoda Edwards (Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1976)

The Broken Sword (published in England under the title *Some Touch of Pity*) is Rhoda Edwards' first novel, and it is a fine one. Through various narrators, including Queen Anne, Francis Lord Lovell, and Richard himself, the novel depicts Richard's life from early 1483 to his death at Bosworth. Ms. Edwards follows revisionist history pretty faithfully, although there are a few minor half-concessions to traditionalism (for example, Richard's slight hunchback is attributed to a bone broken in combat which healed poorly).

Politics, although set forth with accuracy, takes second place to the core of the story: Richard as a man, husband, lover, father, and friend. Richard is a serious, self-disciplined man, not given to great merriment or frivolity, but with a Northerner's dry and subtle wit. Firm in his leadership, he can also occasionally be self-deprecating. Most affecting is his profound and faithful love for his wife and son.

The chapters narrated by Anne are the most touching. While lacking the lusty voluptuousness of Jarman's writing, these chapters are perhaps more appealing in their description of the intimacy and sensuality that have matured through the years of Richard and Anne's marriage. The most wrenching scene is Richard's final banishment from his wife's consumptive bed.

Ms. Edwards leaves the reader with one rather disconcerting question: What would Richard's reign have been like had he survived Bosworth? After an accelerating pace of treachery and tragedy—Buckingham's rebellion, the death of his son and wife, the betrayal of the Stanleys—we see Richard drained of mercy and compassion. Would Richard's post-Bosworth statecraft have become despotic and harsh merely from the necessity to survive? The reader may draw his or her own conclusions.

In fine, Ms. Edwards has written a novel that deserves to be read by every Ricardian, and one that brings us closer to understanding the varied and sometimes contradictory facets of Richard, the man.

L.B.McL.

"King Richard III" a poem by Anestis Ghanotakis

My thoughts go to the battlefield of Bosworth
Where the valiant Richard lost his life and kingdom,
A long time ago.
Oh, the defamation and the distortion of the facts!
Oh, the lies! The endless lies, which did not hesitate to falsify
even his physical image.
Who will clear Richard of the stain of Shakespeare's Muse?

There was no contemporary accusation against him,
That he murdered his brother's children.
There was no reason for him to resort to so hideous a crime.
If there was one from whom he might have felt guilt to take the
throne,
That one was Warwick, son of his older brother,
And rightfully next in succession.

Innumerable were the potential heirs to the throne,
Offspring of the House of York;
But Richard failed not in his care of them,
Generous and providing for his kin as he was.

Hig right to the throne was solemnly confirmed
By Parliamentary action and public acclaim,
Despite malicious innuendo after his death.
And publicly did he proclaim Warwick heir to that throne,
After his own son's death.

Brave, virtuous and wise was he,
Nor was he wanting in statesmanship;
And at twenty-three, a general.
With perseverance he accepted the blows of Fate
When She twice knocked in less than two years;
His own son and his wife he buried in that brief span.
He did what best he could for England—
Amidst conspiracy on every hand.
He brought, at last, peace with Scotland.
He fought hard for peace with France;
And if he failed, it was through the machinations
Of Henry Tudor and the offspring of the House of Lancaster.

Such graces were not innate
In the one later known as Henry the Seventh—
Adventurer, son of an ambitious mother,
No public place of consequence had he secured
Until his enthronement.

And then, unscrupulously he stained the name of Richard
Who had fought to valiant death.
He, the irreverent, dared to accuse Richard of tyranny;
But even so, never for a time did he publicly dare
To throw against him the charge of murder of the royal children.

From the throne, this one whose rights had been distant,
Henry the Seventh, gradually exterminated the House of York.
None escaped his murderous clutch.

My thoughts go to Richard the Third, the ill-fated son of York's
dynasty.
The merciless blows of life.
The unceasing opposition and enmity against him,
Henry Tudor's and Morton's conspiracy,
Woodville's invasion, aided by the French foe;
The heroic death at Bosworth.
The defamation, the calumnies, the endless lies, even after he was
gone.
The distortion of his image—hunched of back with withered
hand was he described,
An awful and grotesque creature to behold, so did his enemies
say—
But truth is that handsome and noble was he to look upon,
And a stately stature did he bear.

But relying on false accusations, and with credulousness inde-
scribable,
The Saintly More and the historian Oliphant
Transmitted an erroneous tale to Shakespeare,
And blackened the reputation of the noble Richard for centuries
to come.

(translated from Greek; from *Poems 1962-1973* (Book
II) by Anestis Ghanotakis, to be published)

Mr. Ghanotakis, a new member from Arlington, Mass., was
born in Addis Abbaba, Ethiopia. He received his M.A. from
Boston University and is currently writing his Ph.D. thesis at that
university. He has received several fellowships and is the
recipient of the D.A.R. Americanism medal for his community
activities and artistic work. Mr. Ghanotakis' poems, written in
demotic Greek, have historical themes as one of their main sub-
jects.

Welcome New Members

William A. Brown
The Madeira School
Greenway, Va. 22067

Corinne T. Chauvin
60 Quinapoxet Lane
Worcester, Mass. 01606

Mrs. Mary E. Harris
1410 Betty Lane
Las Vegas, Nevada 89110

Katy McGowan
5207 Riverdale Avenue
Yonkers, N.Y. 10705

George O'Toole
18912 Smoothstone Way
Gaithersburg, Md. 20760

Mrs. Ilene Ponte
35 Chesterbrook Road
Waltham, Mass. 02154

George F. Skinner
25 LaSalle Road
Needham, Mass. 02194

Stuart M. Bumpas
3701 Turtle Creek Blvd.
Dallas, Texas 75219

Ms. Nancy E.A. Franzen
20 Old Wood Road
Framingham, Mass. 01701

Rebecca V. Hudson
2831 Oxford Drive
Springfield, Ohio 45506

Eugene McManus
17 Wedgewood Road
Stow, Mass. 01775

Capt. Gail F. Patterson
HQ USAFE/INOIW, Box 8359
A.P.O., New York 09012

Alice B. Robinson
1 Leighton Road
Wellesley, Mass. 02181

Lesley Smith
491 Pleasant Street
Malden, Mass. 02148

Edward S. Weil
190 Hawthorne Avenue
Glencoe, Ill. 60022

Mrs. Jay Cerf
35 Hawthorn Street
Cambridge, Mass. 02138

Anestis J. Ghanotakis
6 Carl Road
Arlington, Mass. 02174

Laura Kwaan
347 Jeffery Lane
Northfield, Ill. 60093

Elizabeth Mellett
125 Browne Street
Brookline, Mass. 02146

David G. Pietrantonio
11 Maine Avenue
Natick, Mass. 01760

Barbara N. Saintsing
200 Maple Avenue
Falls Church, Va. 22046

Edward Soga
89 So. Central Avenue
Valley Stream, N.Y. 11580



Dues, grants and contributions are tax-deductible to the extent allowed by law.

The Ricardian Register

Newsletter of the Richard III Society, Inc.

EDITOR: Linda B. McLatchie, 534 Hudson Road, Sudbury, Mass. 01776

Richard III Society, Inc. is a non-profit educational corporation chartered in 1969 under the membership corporation laws of the State of New York.

Volume X — issue 4 — July-August 1976

DUES ARE DUE!

Dues for the year 1976-1977 are due by October 15, 1976. The dues structure is as follows:

Regular	\$10.00
Family	\$10.00
Student	\$ 8.00

And if you wish to make a donation to the Society, just add it on to your check for dues.

Remember: All dues and donations are tax-deductible to the extent allowed by law.

Please fill out the attached Membership Renewal Form and mail it, with payment (payable to Richard III Society, Inc.), to Linda B. McLatchie. A pre-addressed envelope is enclosed for your convenience.

Please note: **ALL MEMBERSHIP CARDS AND DUES RECEIPTS WILL BE MAILED WITH THE NEXT REGISTER.**

Annual General Meeting

This year's Annual General Meeting will be held at the English Speaking Union, 16 East 69th Street, New York City, on Saturday, October 2, Richard's birthday.

Bill Hatchett will present his slide program on "Bosworth Field," the result of much research and several trips to the battle site. As of press time, Program Chairman Bill Hogarth is still arranging the balance of the program, but he promises an exciting meeting.

Following the meeting, we will be served an English tea, and members will have a chance to chat with old friends and make new ones.

(Ed.—A full report of the meeting, including the reports of the officers, will appear in the next *Register*.)

Ricardian books

Ricardians might be interested to know that Yale University Press (92A Yale Station, New Haven, Conn. 06520) has two versions of Thomas More's *History of King Richard III*, both edited by Richard S. Sylvester: (1) *The History . . . and Selections from the English and Latin Poems* (cloth, 192 pp., \$12.50; paper Y-290, \$3.95) and (2) *Volume II of the Complete Works* (cloth, 312 pp., \$22.50).

Susan Curry
Wood Junior College
Mathiston, Miss.

Search your library

Regional Vice Chairman Doris Derickson has the following suggestion for all members who wish to further the goals of the Society: "That each member in our widespread fellowship personally see what can be done to improve library material in his own community, and publicize it if possible. With as many areas of the country and small towns represented, this should help to spread the word, and is a positive action in which all can participate."

Knapps' hospitality noted

To all Ricardians:

If you are planning a trip to England, make sure you visit Nita and Malcolm Knapp in Grantham. I wrote to them after their cordial invitation appeared in an earlier *Register*, and two friends and I spent a wonderful day and evening with them as their guests. Besides showing us Roman and Saxon ruins, and Lincoln Cathedral (where the best copy of the Magna Carta is located), they took us to The Angel and Royal Hotel in Grantham, the highlight of the day. The upper room, now a dining room, has been known for centuries as the King's Room, or La Chambre du Roi. As you all know, in this room on October 19, 1483, King Richard III wrote in his own hand a letter to the Lord Chancellor bidding him send the Great Seal so that he could proclaim the treachery of the Duke of Buckingham. It was certainly quite a thrill to stand in a room in which Richard actually stood and to read a facsimile of the letter there. I want to encourage all Ricardians who will be traveling to England to contact them: Mr. and Mrs. Malcolm Knapp, Flat 1, 38A Church Trees, Swinegate, Grantham, NG31 6RL, Lincolnshire, England. Sincere thanks to them for such a *memorable* experience from "The Adventurous Three."

Lynne McBee
Bobbie Otto
Bob Rushing

Be patient, please!

Vice Chairman Bill Hogarth asks that all members who sent a stamped envelope for his Ricardian book list be patient. The books are still being catalogued and everyone will eventually get a list. Members who attend the Annual General Meeting will see a small sampling of the many books to be included in the catalogue.

Officers

Chairman	William H. Snyder 4110 Woodbine Street Chevy Chase, MD 20015
Vice Chairman	William Hogarth 207 Carpenter Avenue Sea Cliff, NY 11579
Secretary-Treasurer, Editor	Linda B. McLatchie 534 Hudson Road Sudbury, MA 01776
Librarian	Libby Haynes 4149 25th Street, N. Arlington, VA 22207
Pursuivant	Helmut Nickel 401 East 86th Street New York, NY 10021
Regional Vice Chairmen	Mrs. Sybil S. Ashe 229 South Street Medfield, MA 02052 Doris Derickson 445 Via Golondrina Tucson, Arizona 85716 Betty Meier 1809 Gladys Avenue Grand Haven, Michigan 49417

Chicago Chapter meeting

Our fall get-together will be a belated birthday dinner for Richard on Saturday, October 9 at the Como Inn Restaurant, 546 North Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago. We'll meet for cocktails in the bar at 6:30, then to dinner at 7:30 in a room reserved especially for us. We'll be ordering from their regular menu (which is extensive—so come with a big appetite).

I'd like your help in planning activities for the coming year. Perhaps you can bring one or two ideas with you.

Please RSVP to me at 835-4493.

Yvonne Shea

Richard III Society Seminar

During a six-week summer holiday in Britain, I had the privilege of attending the Richard III Society Seminar at Leicester University. The lectures were interesting, the accommodations good, the discussions meaningful, and the fellowship congenial. I thought that other Ricardians might be interested in the following brief summary of the talks and descriptions of the other events of the weekend.

About seventy Ricardians arrived at Gilbert Murray Hall, Leicester University, on Friday night, August 20, for a cold buffet supper and informal discussion. These gentlemen and ladies were from various parts of Britain, with a few from North America, united by their interest in the activities of the Richard III Society.

Welcome New Members

Mrs. Marjorie Wood Fay
204 E. Joppa Road
Towson, Maryland 21204

Amy Glendinning
43 Center Street
Ballard Vale, Mass. 01810

Constance D. Hopkins
1025 Suber Street
Columbia, South Carolina 29205

Sheridan Lord
Box 374
Sagaponack, New York 11962

Sheryl Nichin
1117 W. Wolfram
Chicago, Illinois 60657

Beth A. Rogers
8435 Natalie Lane
Canoga Park, California 91304

Edgar B. Smith, M.D.
UNM School of Medicine
Albuquerque, New Mexico 87106

Linda Felch
12 Wells Street
Bellows Falls, Vermont 05101

Sharry Hamasaki
2940 Sycamore Street
Alexandria, Virginia 22305

Carol L. Karlson
40 Shornecliffe Road
Newton, Mass. 02158

Richard P. McArthur
235 West 22nd Street
New York, New York 10011

Ruth A. Portnoy
20 Tain Drive
Great Neck, New York 11021

Suzanne Scriven
126 Ilehamwood Drive
DeKalb, Illinois 60115

Carole J. Stevens
710 Champeix Lane
Creve Coeur, Missouri 63141

Lewis B. Frosch
P.O. Box 134
Thomson, Illinois 61285

Melanie K. Hardcastle
360 Vernon Street
Oakland, California 94610

Pamela & Arnold Loeb
2390 Pine Grove Court
Yorktown Heights, New York 10598

Joan Mahan
545 Colusa Avenue
El Cerrito, California 94530

Beverly A. Reppert
16751 Gilchrist
Detroit, Michigan 48235

Michael T. Shutterly
69 Park Drive
Boston, Mass. 02215

Esther Trosow
1131 Alta Loma Road
Los Angeles, California 90069

On Saturday morning, August 21, following a brief opening address by Chairman Jeremy Potter, Dr. D.T. Williams of Leicester University spoke on "Crime and the Landed Classes in Fifteenth-Century England." Dr. Williams, a lecturer in the Department of History, is the author of a recent booklet on the Battle of Bosworth Field. He stated that medieval kings could not live up to ideal standards; rather, they reflected the social attitudes of the times. Standards of law enforcement declined in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries because of the weakness of the monarchy, economic conditions, and the violent and lawless social attitudes of the landed gentry.

Many of these gentry were unreliable and dishonest, yet they controlled local politics and law enforcement. They took what they wanted, regardless of the rights of others. Brigands and ruffians were hired out by clergy as well as by laity, and violence was the normal way to get things done. Even if the gentry were indicted, no one dared arrest them. (In fact, servers of writs were sometimes compelled to eat them, wax seal and all.)

The aristocracy set a bad example with their feuds, private warfare, and criminal extortion. The middle classes also had contempt for the law and commended violence. "The law of the mailed fist prevailed over the common law of England" in all too many cases. From about 1470 onwards, however, the social attitudes of the landed classes began to change, under a series of strong kings who tried to enforce the law and to promote justice, and violent conduct was eventually regarded as shameful.

After Dr. Williams' talk, Mr. Terry Pearce, Assistant Field Archeologist at the Leicester Museum, showed slides and described "The Excavation of the Austin Friary, Bow Bridge." This site is of particular interest to Ricardians because Richard III is believed by some to have been buried in this vicinity.

The Austin Friary, founded about 1300, a rebuilding of an older friary, was sold to the Herrick family after the Dissolution of the Monasteries. The friary does not fit the usual plan, and some of the features of the buildings cannot as yet be explained. The church itself has not been located but is probably under St. Augustine Street. Shoes, pieces of sword sheaths, pewter pattens, wooden bowls, tiles, and pieces of tracery have survived, and the site is significant for showing how the Austin Friars lived. The excavations will continue in the coming year.

The next speaker was Mr. J.A. Speares, retired member of the Foreign Service, whose subject was "Secret Diplomacy Between the Plantagenets and the French Courts of Louis XI/Charles VIII." He introduced many novel speculations intended to provoke discussion at the afternoon sessions.

Mr. Speares said that the French hoped to demolish the Plantagenets and to put Henry Tudor on the throne as their puppet. Since the main business of any government is to survive, Richard III must have been preoccupied with consolidating loyalty, thwarting treason, and ensuring the succession. The French game was first to get rid of the Woodvilles and then to disrupt the succession, involving a plot to assassinate the sons of Edward IV. Mancini, whose "intelligence document" was written on French government paper, could have been a "high level spy," for he was in contact with key members of the Council and the princes' doctor. Sir James Tyrell, as Richard's "chief of security," was responsible for the safety of the royal family. Thus he might have been the agent for removing the princes from England. Further details supplied by Mr. Speares added plausibility to Perkin Warbeck's story.

The Society's Research Officer, Mr. Peter Hammond, gave a short talk on "How to Initiate and Practice Research." He advised the potential researcher to understand the background of his period and to keep up with current writings on the subject. The topic of research should not be too broad and should be of personal interest to the researcher. One should read all secondary sources critically, checking all references, and should be aware of the circumstances surrounding the writing of primary sources. The final article should be readable and without bias, making judicious use of footnotes. The conclusions should be based on evidence, not speculation, for the object of research is to discover the truth.

Saturday afternoon consisted of discussion groups and a question-and-answer session. The six working groups dealt with these subjects:

1. Was Perkin Warbeck Richard, Duke of York?
2. Did the Duke of Buckingham cause the murder of "the Princes"?
3. Why did Richard lose the Battle of Bosworth?
4. Was Richard justified in executing Hastings?
5. When, and why, did Richard decide to become King?
6. How far has the Society succeeded in altering the traditional view, legend and myths about Richard?

Only on the final question was there any degree of unanimity among the participants in the seminar. The members of the sixth group reported that the Society has had greater impact in recent years and now has more than 2,700 members.

Following dinner on Saturday evening, President Patrick Bacon, who organized the seminar, gave an address. He spoke in praise of the amateur, who often achieves success because he can specialize narrowly and have true enthusiasm for his subject. The Richard III Society is a notable organization because it is "integrated and tolerant," open to all and willing to listen to many divergent views. Plans have already begun to commemorate the five hundredth anniversary of Richard's reign 1383-1399.

On Sunday morning, the final talk was delivered by poet Alan Smithies, who has just completed a biography of his subject: "Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy." He characterized her as a "child of destiny," practical, thrifty, and resilient, who worked to maintain Burgundy's unity after her husband's death. A patron of the arts, she helped Caxton to start his printing business. A dance was named for her, and she was frequently painted. She was accessible to and interested in her people, who loved her.

Most of the participants in the Seminar then went to Sutton Cheney to join numerous other Ricardians in the annual church service, conducted by the Rev. Teddy Boston. Dr. Williams generously volunteered to guide anyone interested around the battlefield afterwards, explaining his theory of the battle. The tour began on Ambion Hill, where Richard's army assembled, and ended at Sandford near Shenton Station, where Richard is believed to have fallen.

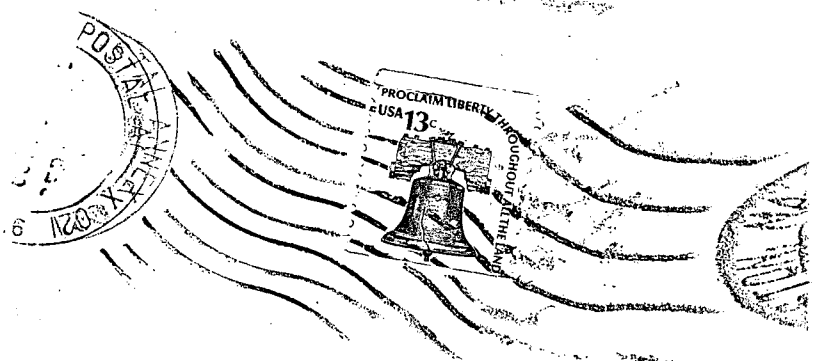
The weekend was an enriching experience for the participants. Congratulations and thanks are due to the organizer, Patrick Bacon, and to Secretary Phyllis Hester, who coordinated the travel arrangements and efficiently solved everyone's problems.

Susan E. Leas
1141 Monroe Drive, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30306

Linda B. McLatchie
Richard III Society, Inc.
534 Hudson Road
Sudbury, Mass. 01776

Mrs. William P. Haynes
4149 25th Street, N.
Arlington, Virginia 22207

F I R S T C L A S S M A I L





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The Ricardian Register

Newsletter of the Richard III Society, Inc.

EDITOR: Linda B. McLatchie, 534 Hudson Road, Sudbury, Mass. 01776

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VOLUME X — issue 5 — September-October 1976

AGM '76

The Annual General Meeting of the Richard III Society was held on Richard's birthday, October 2, at the English-Speaking Union in New York. Over 100 members and their guests attended.

After a half hour of sociability, Chairman Bill Snyder opened the business meeting at 1:10 p.m. He introduced the officers at the head table, including Bill Hogarth, Libby Haynes, and Linda McLatchie. Also present were Corresponding Secretary Martha Hogarth, and Regional Vice Chairmen Sybil Ashe from Massachusetts and Carol Parker from North Carolina. An English member from London and members from states as distant as Missouri, New Mexico, and New Hampshire had made the long journey to attend the meeting.

Mr. Snyder then called on Linda McLatchie to make her report as Secretary-Treasurer and Editor. She noted that the membership figure stood at 625, an increase of 13.5% over the same time last year. Worldwide there are now about 3,700 members. She noted that the treasury had a fairly healthy balance (the Treasurer's Report is printed elsewhere in this *Register*). She stated that since the *Register* is now typeset, printing costs have decreased somewhat, since typesetting consumes less space than typewritten copy.

The Chairman then called on Libby Haynes to report as Librarian. She noted that the balance on hand had increased over last year, due to members' donations of cash and postage (the Librarian's full report is printed elsewhere in this *Register*).

Mr. Snyder then reported on the progress of the needlepoint project for Sutton Cheney. The goal is to make 50 kneelers for the Church. To date 29 have been received by the Church; 3 more have been completed but not yet sent to the Church; and 4 more are in progress; for a total of 36. Jan Snyder, Needlepoint Coordinator, had on display some sample designs for the kneelers.

Mr. Snyder reported that his condensation of Halsted is almost complete, subject to a final rewrite. He hoped that it would be published soon, possibly next summer.

Greetings were read from the English Branch. The Hon. Secretary Phyllis Hester and her daughter Susan Drozdowski sent best wishes for a good meeting.

Cheshire Frager, as Chairman of the Nominating Committee, reported on the results of the mail proxy vote for officers. Mr. Snyder then called for additional nominations from the floor. When none was offered, the slate of candidates was elected:

William H. Snyder	Chairman
William Hogarth	Vice Chairman
Linda B. McLatchie	Secretary-Treasurer
Elizabeth D. Haynes	Librarian
Linda B. McLatchie	Editor
Martha Hogarth	Corresponding Secretary
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	Derickson, Martha MacBride, Elizabeth
	Meier, Carol E. Parker

Mr. Snyder then turned the meeting over to Bill Hogarth, the Program Chairman. Mr. Hogarth introduced the program speaker, Bill Hatchett. Mr. Hatchett, who teaches at the Memphis University School, presented a slide show on the Battle of Bosworth. His recreation of the battle was based on research and his annual visits to the site of the battle. He has also built a scaled diorama recreating the scene. His slide commentary (and humorous addendum) are printed elsewhere in this *Register*.

After the slide presentation, there were questions and discussion, including a lengthy discussion on the resting place of Richard's bones. Following this, members were served English tea and had a chance for fellowship with friends, old and new.

Linda B. McLatchie

[Ed. Note: Bill Hatchett's son Larry observed at the AGM: "Have you noticed that neither Ford or Carter has mentioned Richard III? Obviously they're risking losing a large special interest vote." However, we had as a guest Frank Zeidler, the Socialist-Democratic candidate for President—he mentioned Richard III!]

Tey in large print

For those members with seeing difficulty, member Mary McKittrick brings to our attention that *Tey's Daughter of Time* is published in a large type edition by Franklin Watts, 575 Lexington Avenue, New York, New York 10022.

North Carolina chapter starts up

Any members interested in getting together for a regional meeting or a medieval dinner should contact me at the address below:

Carol Parker
818 Old Pittsboro Road
Chapel Hill, N.C. 27514

Wood's speech on the "Little Princes"

An address entitled "Who Killed the Little Princes in the Tower" given by Charles T. Wood, Professor of History, Dartmouth College, at University of Vermont on April 26, 1976, is available to members. Members may disagree with his conclusion that Richard "had sufficient motive" to order the Princes' deaths, but they will certainly find the speech stimulating and peppered with scholarly wit.

Please send a #10 stamped, self-addressed envelope to the Editor. A donation of \$.50 in stamps would be appreciated.

Books in time for Christmas

The Editor has in stock two new reprints of Ricardian interest:

- (1) *Richard III up to Shakespeare* by George Bosworth Churchill: This classic study has long been out of print. The author examines the nature of the raw material available to Shakespeare when he wrote "Richard III." The book studies Richard in the chronicles, poetry and drama. Price: \$16.00.
- (2) *York Records of the Fifteenth Century* (extracts from the Municipal Records of the City of York), by R. Davies.: This book throws light on many important and dramatic events during the latter part of Edward IV's reign and all of Richard's reign. Price: \$14.00.

Supplies are limited, so order soon.

Greeting cards for sale

New designs in greeting cards will be available soon, hopefully in late November. The following designs are available, at \$.45 per card:

- (1) Sons of York (Richard, George, Edward), showing heraldic arms of the 3 brothers as they would have appeared in 1471. Also depicted is a suit of German Gothic-style armor.
- (2) Dukes of Bourbon and Brittany, showing two French Peers engaged in combat with swords.
- (3) Heraldic arms of Queen Anne Neville, showing her paternal arms impaling the Royal Arms.

All cards are thermographed (raised print) on white plate sunk card, with deckled edge.

Treasurer's Report

Expenses (Oct. 1, 1975 to Sept. 30, 1976)

Payments to England	\$2,955.00
Donation to Fotheringhay Window	200.00
In Memoriam notices	53.94
Postage	1,100.05
Register printing	233.85
Other printing	274.22
Purchase of items for resale	1,233.34
Office Supplies	220.62
Miscellaneous, including refunds	33.20
	<u>\$6,304.22</u>

Income (Oct. 1, 1975 to Sept. 30, 1976)

Balance on hand 10/1/75	\$1,631.79
Dues	5,412.00
Donations	580.00
Sale of Ricardian items	1,470.45
Interest	171.56
	<u>\$9,265.80</u>

Balance on hand 9/30/76 \$2,961.58

Librarian's Report

Balance Forward, October 1, 1975	\$53.58
Postage	\$21.32
Xerox	2.10
	<u>23.42</u>
	30.16
Gifts of cash and stamps	<u>33.65</u>
	<u>\$63.91</u>

We wish to thank Miss Maude D. French and Miss Anna Dwyer for their generous gifts of cash to the library fund.

339 items circulated during the year.

Additions to the Library:

Non-fiction:

The Secular Spirit (catalog of exhibit on life and art at the end of the Middle Ages), Metropolitan Museum of Art

To the King's Taste (recipes from the time of Richard II), Metropolitan Museum of Art

Fiction:

Bride of the Thirteenth Summer (Margaret Beaufort) by Iris Davies

The Broken Sword (Richard III) by Rhoda Edwards

Winter's Rose (Cecily Neville) by Eleanor Fairburn

Set Her on a Throne (Anne Neville) by Jan Westcott

Play:

The Royal Game by Stuart Vaughan

Welcome New Members

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Rt. 3, Box 316R
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West Roxbury, Mass. 02132

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12 Bellguzzle Lane
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Hildegard F. Grindrod
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1754 So. Fountain Avenue
Springfield, Ohio 45506

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Linda B. McLatchie
534 Hudson Road
Sudbury, MA 01776

Betty Meier
1809 Gladys Avenue
Grand Haven, Michigan 49417

Librarian

Libby Haynes
4149 25th Street, N.
Arlington, VA 22207

Carol E. Parker
818 Old Pittsboro Road
Chapel Hill, NC 27514

Pursuivant

Helmut Nickel
401 East 86th Street
New York, NY 10021

Martha MacBride
1800 Rockwood Drive
Sacramento, CA 95825

Corresponding Secretary

Martha Hogarth
207 Carpenter Avenue
Sea Cliff, NY 11579

"Bosworth Field: August 22, 1485" — narrative of Bill Hatchett's slide show

In 1485, the King of England was Richard III, descended from the Plantagenet family, one of the most famous of whom had been, centuries before, the almost legendary Richard the Lion Heart.

Richard III was a younger son of the Duke of York, who had made several unsuccessful attempts in his time to gain the crown of England, rightfully his, from the powerful family of Lancaster. The Yorkist emblem of a white rose, and the Lancastrian of a red rose, gives us our somewhat romantic title for years of vicious fighting, the Wars of the Roses.

This was the family stronghold, the fortified city of York. Richard's father had failed in his efforts, and had lost his life. But finally, Richard's older brother Edward had fought his way to the throne, and had been followed there by Richard.

Richard was a good king. Some of his more beautiful building projects are still in evidence, such as the chapel of King's College, at Cambridge University, certainly one of the high points of medieval Gothic architecture.

In law, especially in a reform of parliament, he made some remarkable achievements. Here in Westminster Hall, about all that Richard would recognize of the parliament buildings of his day, he even gave us one of our most cherished rights in any democracy, the right to trial by jury. And yet, Richard's memory, even now, is clouded by one particular event, or alleged event, which was rumored by his Lancastrian enemies. Supposedly, the episode took place in the Tower of London.

It's a beautiful castle today, but in the Middle Ages it was a rather grim fortress—a royal residence, true, but also a royal prison. Certainly the forbidding exterior walls do look as if they might conceal all sorts of mysteries within.

Richard is not particularly associated with this building, the so-called White Tower, which gives us the name, the Tower of London, but rather with this small square tower, there on the left, known to this day as the Bloody Tower. In this very room, according to Richard's enemies, Richard had had smothered to death in their bed his two little nephews, sons of his late brother, because he feared their claim to the throne—a highly doubtful motive, since Parliament had already proclaimed the boys illegitimate. But, tourists still come to look, and weep, over the cruel fate of the Two Little Princes, murdered by the traditional wicked uncle of fairy tales.

But, the propaganda worked well enough at the time. Landing on the western coast of England, at Milford Haven, was a long-time enemy of Richard's, Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, coming from exile in France with a claim to the throne that *would* have been laughable—his grandfather, a Welsh landowner, had married, or at least lived with, the widow of an earlier king—would have been laughable, that is, except that Henry had an army, and he marched it inland, along the route marked here in red, cutting across Wales in order to gather still more troops. By the time he reached Shrewsbury, he had perhaps five or six thousand men, including many vengeful Lancastrians, and stayed for a while in this structure, still preserved. Richard was in Nottingham, in the north, when he got word of Henry's invasion—a medieval Nottingham long since vanished except for a few memories such as this inn, the Trip to Jerusalem, oldest in England, opened in 1189.

Promptly, Richard sent commands to all parts of his kingdom for his armies to gather, and marched south, to intercept his enemy. Down through Sherwood Forest they went, partly without roads at all, partly over what were little more than tracks at the time.

Henry's prize objective, of course, was London, in the southeastern corner of your map, and he was already starting to bear south. The armies were destined to collide near a little village named Market Bosworth, not much then, and not much now, but enough to give its name to a historic and tragic battle, the Battle of Bosworth Field.

Richard at first quartered his men in Leicester—something of the medieval town still remains—and then set out, across Bow Bridge, of which this is a nineteenth century replacement, over the River Soar, now marked with a plaque which relates Richard's crossing the river at this point at the head of his army.

In the evening, Richard came to a tiny village named Sutton Cheney, and at this church he attended what were to be his last services. It's a remarkably preserved medieval church in that nearly all the exterior fabric has been untouched, except by time. Inside is the altar where Richard took his last communion, and memorials to Richard, erected by a group known in America as the Richard the Third Society and in England as the Brotherhood of the Boar, from Richard's emblem, the white boar.

The principal plaque reads: "Remember before God Richard III, King of England, and those who fell at Bosworth Field, having kept faith, 22nd August, 1485." At the bottom of the plaque, the white roses of York.

Viewing the terrain, Richard realized, as any good general would, that his immediate mission was to "take the high ground." There was a steep hill just to the west, Ambion Hill, protected on the south by what was, five hundred years ago, an impenetrable marsh, guaranteeing, if Richard could protect the north, that Henry's army, known to be nearby, could approach from one direction only, the west. Promptly, Richard placed his forces—first of all, shown here in black, atop the hill, with Richard in command of the northern flank, and his most trusted officer, the Duke of Norfolk, in command of the southern flank. (To simplify the maps, I am showing only those forces which took major parts in the fighting.) To the north, shown in red, there had arrived, near Market Bosworth, the armies of Sir William Stanley and his brother, Lord Thomas Stanley, giving Richard a large numerical superiority over Henry. However, the Stanleys were doubtful in their loyalty; but, Richard had to trust them, and trust them he did. It was the only mistake he made.

Richard put his standard at the very top of the hill, and as you climb that hill today, and get higher and higher, you realize, indeed, Richard's excellent observation point, and that with the marsh to the south, and the Stanleys to the north, Henry, if he chose to make a fight of it, would have to come from the west—and, not just by accident on Richard's part, would have the sun in his men's eyes on the morning of the battle.

The top of the hill is fairly flat, and Richard had plenty of time to organize his forces, pitch his tents for the night, and plan for the battle he expected the next day. He was probably quite content that at last he would be able to meet his enemies man to man. This was on a Sunday, by the way, so Richard had no fear whatever of a surprise attack. Men did not begin a battle, in those days, on the Sabbath.

A memorial now marks the location of Richard's own tent,

near a spring which is still called "King Richard's Well." The Latin inscription reads, in part: "Richard Third, King of England, slaked his thirst with water drawn from this well when engaged in most bitter and furious battle with Henry, Earl of Richmond, and before being deprived of both his life and his sceptre."

What did the men look like, who fought for Richard, and for Henry? Well, we can get a good idea of their armor from effigies, on tombs such as this one at Gloucester—or, even more beautifully executed, this one, at Canterbury, each joint wonderfully constructed for freedom of action, much of the finest armor being imported from Germany and Italy. A fully armored knight—and don't forget, his horse had to be armored too—was indeed a formidable opponent.

Keeping watch the next morning, Richard was not disappointed. Henry Tudor had arrived. The main force of his army, to the south, was commanded by the Earl of Oxford; Henry, who was not an experienced battle commander, stationed himself to the north, and slightly to the rear, with a comparatively small body of men. The first move of the battle was instigated by Richard, determined to go at once on the offensive. Without hesitation, he ordered Norfolk to attack down the hill, break Oxford's army, and leave nothing left to do but mop up the lesser force of Henry.

From the air, Norfolk's attack down the southwestern slope of the hill would have looked something like this. Notice the Stanleys, in red, on the north, waiting, noncommittal, and Henry Tudor in the upper left. Unfortunately, however, Norfolk's attack ended in tragedy and stalemate, when Norfolk was killed, and Oxford's troops did not break. The second move was Henry's. With a small bodyguard, he started toward the Stanleys—Lord Stanley was, after all, Henry's stepfather—hoping that he could convince the Stanleys to fight for him, instead of for their rightful king.

Richard, from his vantage point on the hill, saw the movement. It took place at just about where the buildings are located today, in the distance. Henry's battleflag, the red dragon of Wales, was unmistakable, and Richard immediately realized that his enemy was making one of the most fatal moves possible during combat—breaking away, with a much smaller force, from the main strength of his army.

Quickly and brilliantly, Richard ordered an attack directly down the northwestern slope of the hill, to be led by Richard himself, and intended to cut off and destroy Henry before he could reach the Stanleys to communicate with them. Henry's death, Richard knew, would almost certainly end it all.

Here is the slope down which Richard charged as it looks today, and here is the attack as it must have looked, seen from the point of departure. From Henry's startled viewpoint, with Richard and a thousand superb horsemen charging directly towards him, it must have been a terrifying spectacle indeed, looking not unlike what our small-scale model can represent here.

I'm standing at just the spot where Richard, leading the charge, is located in the model. Seen from the south, the attack would have looked something like this—the last great charge of an English king at the head of his troops into battle. But *again* notice, in the background, the forces in red, the Stanleys, holding their positions, watching. Richard was no fool—he knew the doubtful loyalty of the Stanleys, and he knew that his charge would take him directly across their front, a risky business, if they chose treason instead of honor.

From just about midway to the horizon, in this particular photograph, where the Stanleys were positioned, they chose

treason, and the trap was sprung. Striking viciously at Richard's unprotected right, the Stanleys quickly destroyed Richard's detachment. The king himself, though begged to do so, refused to flee, and, fighting with incredible bravery against overwhelming odds, shouting "Treason, treason," hurled himself directly towards Henry, killing Henry's standard bearer in the impetus of his charge and, some say, actually crossing swords with Henry himself, before being crushed down by literally hundreds of horse and foot soldiers, and stabbed to death. He was the last King of England to die in battle.

Richard died at a spot which is now a nicely kept little field, with a stone marker at the place of his death. We know that this is the spot because, not long after the battle, Henry, in a proclamation, said that Richard, who "termed himself" King of England, was slain "near a brook at a place men call Sandeford"—and this little brook, forded by a road in the background, was, in the Middle Ages, near a sand pit.

Just outside this area, known today as "Richard's Field," there is a wooden sign which reads: "You may use this little field for rest and quietness, even picnic on it, but please treat it with the respect due to a brave king who died, sword in hand." The marker itself reads: "Richard, the last Plantagenet king of England, was slain here, 22nd August, 1485." But surely his finest epitaph is the entry which can still be read in the Minute Book of the City of York: "King Richard, late lawfully reigning over us, through great treason, with many other lords and nobility . . . was piteously slain and murdered, to the great heaviness of this city."

Richard's bleeding body was stripped naked, thrown across a pack horse, and carried into Leicester over the same bridge across which he had led his army the day before. After being exposed to public view for two days, Richard's body was finally claimed by the Franciscan Friars of Greyfriars Monastery, and buried there.

Today, only a few foundation walls of the monastery remain; and so, in an irony of history, the dust of King Richard the Third, the last Plantagenet, lies somewhere—no one knows where—beneath the pavement of what is, today, just a parking lot in Leicester.

There are, in a small museum in Leicester, a few relics of Bosworth Field—a broken sword, a broken lance, little else; and Henry Tudor, as King Henry the Seventh, turned out to be a great king. His son was the famous Henry the Eighth, and his daughter, the illustrious Queen Elizabeth the First. Under the Tudors, exploration flourished, particularly of the New World; England became a supreme power and began laying the foundations of her empire; and, of course, there came a masterful age of literature, with men like Kyd, Spenser, Marlowe, Shakespeare. The world, indeed, did change at Bosworth Field.

But somehow, I prefer to stand on Bosworth Field in the evening, and imagine the ground as it was on August the 21st, 1485, the day *before* the battle, and look at the spot where a brave, and good, and rightful King of England raised his battleflag of the white boar and the white rose, and watched, in what was truly the twilight of the Plantagenets, the last evening he was ever to see, gather upon him.

Richard the Third was only thirty-two years old when he died. His motto was: "Loyaulte me lie"—Loyalty binds me.

It is fitting that Richard's Great Seal, which he used, shows, on one side, Richard in full armor, on horseback, charging against his enemies.

"Bosworth Field" — questions raised at AGM

May I take this opportunity to thank the Society in print for the cordial welcome my son and I received at the recent AGM in New York, and for the pleasant compliments given me on my Bosworth Field slide presentation.

Because friendly disagreements are the best, indeed the only way that we shall ever get at anything approaching the truth about a number of details, the debates after the slide show were particularly enjoyable and helpful, even though I was badly caught with my sources down.

May I now suggest:

1. To the lady who gave the opinion that Richard was buried in Leicester's church of St. Mary-in-the-Newarke: my research shows that the body was indeed publicly displayed there for a couple of days, but was then buried in the friary church, where the parking lot now is, as the slides showed. Perhaps the most convincing reason for so believing is the fact that St. Mary's was a Lancastrian foundation. (Sources: "The Grey Friars, Leicester," Audrey Strange, in *The Ricardian*, Vol. III, No. 50, September, 1975, pp. 3-7, with sources; *Richard III*, G.W.O. Woodward, Pitkin "Pride of Britain" series, p. 22; *Richard III*, Anthony Cheetham [London: Wiedenfeld and Nicolson, 1972], p. 195.)

2. To the gentleman who suggested that a model of the battle should not show the mounted knights carrying shields, because shields were not used in battle in 1485: one of Richard III's own Great Seals, to be seen (sometimes) in the Public Records Office, London, shows the king in full armor, on horseback, in battle, carrying a shield. Many other contemporary sources and illustrations demonstrate the same conclusion.

3. To the lady who doubted my statement on the tape narration that Richard made his final charge with a thousand knights: I think that she is probably right, and am changing the narration to "hundreds." My various sources gave anywhere from fifty to fifteen hundred—each extreme being absurd—and the "middle ground" I tried to strike was just too high.

4. To the lady who objected to my omitting any reference to Henry Tudor's Lancastrian blood: my thanks, and that, too, is now being included in the new narration (a teaspoonful, from the female line, and with at least two illegitimacies in the pedigree).

5. To the gentlemen who asked for my sources for the statement that Henry Tudor was moving toward the Stanleys when Richard launched his charge: *The Battle of Bosworth*, D.T. Williams (Leicester University Press, 1973), pp. 17-18 (probably the most authoritative account yet written); "Battlefield of Bosworth," Edward Turner, pamphlet produced by the Leicestershire County Council, May, 1974; map, pp. 10-11, clearly showing Henry's movement (as does the map on the back endpaper of Williams's booklet); old map sold at the Battlefield Centre several years ago, and new map sold this past summer, both also clearly showing the movement.

6. And finally, to the young lady in the tea-line who, rightfully, raised a pleasant objection to my statement before the program that studying both sides of a historical argument is the best way to teach a young *man* to think for himself: my apologies again, with a repetition of my feeble excuse that I have been for twenty years immured in a boys' school.

William Hatchett
Memphis University School

Richard III Society

AMERICAN BRANCH
FELLOWSHIP OF THE WHITE BOAR



Summer tour arrangements to England: August 12 through 27, 1977

Confirmed seats are offered on Arthur Frommer's ADVANCE BOOKING CHARTER flight for \$339.00 per person (includes departure taxes). A savings of nearly \$200.00 per person over regular airfares! Air, only can be booked. ABC air arrangements must be booked not later than April 15, 1977.

Itinerary for special Ricardian tour: (included breakfast daily & some meals)

August 12th, Saturday: arrival in London and transfer directly to St. Georges Hotel, Langham Place, W.1, for accommodation (a good first class hotel) Afternoon tea & orientation meeting with Major Battcock.

August 13th, Sunday: special Ricardian sightseeing with Major Battcock

August 14th, Tuesday through August 19th, Friday: accommodation at London hotel and meetings with London members will be planned as well as city sightseeing especially interesting for American Ricardians.

August 20th, Saturday: departure via exclusive tour motorcoach with Major Roy Battcock for sightseeing on route to Leicester for accommodation at the Post House motel.

August 21st, Sunday: annual Memorial service at noon and afternoon touring the Bosworth Field area. Picnic lunch will be provided.

August 22nd, Monday: departure from Leicester to Grantham for lunch at the Angel & Royal. Get together with Malcolm & Nita Knapp and arrive at York for accommodation at the Dean Court Hotel, across from the Minster.

August 23rd, Tuesday: full day touring in York with Major Battcock & visiting with local Ricardians...visit to riverside pub.

August 24th, Wednesday: departure from York for visit to Middleham & lunch at Bolton Castle and arrive Hexham for accommodation & dinner at the Inn.

August 25th, Thursday: full day touring the Roman Wall with accommodation at the Inn in Hexham

August 26th, Friday: early morning departure for drive to Ludlow for afternoon visiting and lunch and continue on to Oxford for overnight at the Randolph Hotel

August 27th, Saturday: morning sightseeing in Oxford and afternoon transfer to Heathrow Airport for British Airways charter flight to NYC.

Above tour is \$580.00 per person based on twin bedded accommodation/share
airfare is 339.00 per person (connections to & from NYC available)

TOTAL \$919.00 per person. Single supplement: \$150.00

complete & mail application to MATTITUCK TRAVEL, P.O. Box 1421, Mattituck, New York 11952 Attention: Mrs. Betty Schloss (telephone: 516 298-5151)

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

Name of Roommate, if share _____ single requested ☐ air/only ☐

Deposit enclosed: _____ (air only: \$50 & balance June 1, 1977)
(total program: \$100 per person) full itinerary & air info will be mailed.



Dues, grants and contributions are tax-deductible to the extent allowed by law.

The Ricardian Register

Newsletter of the Richard III Society, Inc.

EDITOR: Linda B. McLatchie, 534 Hudson Road, Sudbury, Mass. 01776

Richard III Society, Inc. is a non-profit educational corporation chartered in 1969 under the membership corporation laws of the State of New York.

VOLUME X — issue 6 — November-December 1976

Ricardian Tour to Britain — 1977

The Tour of England for American Branch trippers in August 1977 is completely planned. Reservations for the air arrangements are required immediately, since we are holding 30 seats on Arthur Frommer (\$5-a-day tour company) on their Advance Booking Charter flight now approved from the U.S.A. Departure will be from Kennedy Airport on a British Airways 747 Friday, August 12th, and returning Saturday, August 27th. A \$50 deposit is required to hold a seat with exact name by March 1st and final name changes must be completed not later than May 1st on this air arrangement. The fare offers a big savings and compares with charter flight fares . . . \$339 per person including taxes.

On the land tour program it will be all first class, bed and breakfast basis with festivities, lunches at Ricardian sites and carefully planned sightseeing plus free time. Major Battcock will be the guide, Lillian Barker will provide historical references, and I will handle the travel arrangements. It promises to be another interesting Ric-

ardian project: meetings, a get-together in York at the King's Arms, joining Malcolm and Nita Knapp for a day or two, and enjoying England during her 25th Silver Jubilee Year. Major Battcock promises lectures in Leicester on the many theories of Bosworth Field and in Hexham on the Roman Wall. So, again we plan to provide American members a most worthwhile holiday.

For reservations and information, please see the attached itinerary sheet and application.

I look forward to hearing from all of you again.

**Betty Schloss
Mattituck Travel
P.O. Box 1421**

Mattituck, Long Island, New York 11952

[EDITOR'S NOTE: On the attached itinerary sheet, please correct the dates to read as follows: August 13th, Saturday; August 14th, Sunday; August 16th, Tuesday.]

An Invitation from the Knapps

Dear Fellow Ricardians,

Malcolm and I wanted to take this opportunity to thank all those who sent cards and letters wishing us a healthy and happy 1977; as well as those who came to visit us in 1976.

Once again we extend an invitation to contact us if you are planning a trip to England. We hope we can be of some assistance, and also hope you'll visit us in Grantham.

I must say the past ten months have been happily full. I returned to England with the spring (21 March) and hadn't completely unpacked when we were off to visit Croyland Abbey. Malcolm wanted to assure me it was still there! Beautiful, mysterious Croyland, in the equally

lovely Lincolnshire fens. I wonder what the Chronicler would say if he could see its majestic ruins.

Settling into a new way of life here was easy. There were some minor problems but no one thought there wouldn't be. I do confess that I've passed the Angel and Royal so many times in a day that I no longer stand and gawk as I did in the beginning.

After re-reading "Katherine" by Anya Seton, the story has become more alive because I, too, have stood at Kettlethorpe's gateway, struggled up Steep Hill in Lincoln (don't believe the tour books when they say Lincolnshire is a flat, uninteresting county); and heard the sound of carols echo through the magnificent Cathedral.

Our holiday was divided, which we much prefer, in entertaining old and new friends. Most memorable, the Adventurous Three from Ohio whom Libby Haynes so kindly put in touch with us. We hoped we had instilled some interest in our area, enough for a return trip in future. I do think we were successful. In August, our two Oklahomians—their first trip to England and I think for the short time they were with us, we instilled the desire to return. With them we toured Bosworth and attended the annual service at Sutton Cheney.

Our own group of friends here have helped the days fly swiftly by. We formed a Lincolnshire Branch of the Society in October, but prior to that we had gone, via mini bus, on our first group outing—Middleham, picnic lunch at Jervaulx Abbey, supper at Sheriff Hutton. Now our membership has so grown in three months we won't meet in our home on 29 January but very appropriately at the Angel and Royal, where I'll give a slide presentation on Ricardian sites.

Malcolm and I did have some holiday time to ourselves. We went for three days to South Wales, visiting Abergavenny and Raglan Castle. The majority of the time, however, was spent in Hay-on-Wye. For those who love books, this is the town to visit. The whole economy of the town is based on second-hand books. I found there a copy of Jesse's *Richard III*, number 995 of 1000 copies printed, and a copy of *Holinshed*. Another time we lazily drove via Lincoln, Gainsborough, Selby, York, Thirsk to Barnard Castle and Staindrop (to see the splendid Neville tombs), then down through the dales via Richmond, Middleham, Skipton Castles.

I celebrated July 4th visiting Pontefract, Wakefield and Sandal Castle. There have been repeat trips to Fotheringhay and Bosworth. I remember when in the States thinking "how nice it would be to live so near"! Of all the visits to Bosworth the best was on August 11 when three of us left Grantham at 4 a.m. so as to be atop Ambien Hill by sunrise. We were spoiled by that peaceful experience and now avoid Bosworth on noisy Sundays.

The more I settled in the more interested I became in my new home county. We are both active in the Local History Society. I've discovered many places in my "home" county with Ricardian associations and am preparing an article for *Lincolnshire Life* magazine. Malcolm and a friend are co-authoring a series of books on Grantham and its history. And I've given two talks to the Local History group: one on Loosecoat Field while we were on a bus trip through that area, and another on *Richard III* and Lincolnshire at the AGM.

We celebrated Christmas with Malcolm's family and our friends. It was my first English Christmas and a very memorable one. Now, another year has begun. In ten weeks spring will be here and we'll be off again about the countryside in search of history.

We hope some of the Ricardians in America will join us.

Sincerely,
Nita and Malcolm Knapp
Flat 1, 38A Church Trees
Swinegate
Grantham, NG31 6RL
Lincolnshire, England

Chicago Chapter meeting

Happy New Year! Hope you all had a fine holiday season and now look forward to our next get-together.

The Chicago Chapter plans to attend the 2:30 matinee performance of *Richard III* at the Goodman Theater on Sunday, February 20th. After the play we'll have a reserved room at the Italian Village restaurant, 71 West Monroe.

Kingmaker, A War of the Roses board game by Avalon Hill [described in a previous issue of the *Register*] is available for \$6.95. Several toy stores carry it.

Hope to see you in February.

Yvonne Shea
835-4493

Good needlepoint news

With what delight I recently opened a letter from an unfamiliar correspondent and read that Miss Helen Hawes and Miss Celene Idema, both of Grand Rapids, Michigan, had each taken to Sutton Cheney, in spring 1976, a needlepoint kneeler cover worked in a stylized white rose design. These two covers were not included in the report given at the annual meeting. They bring to 31 the number of covers completed and sent to the Church. Thank you, Helen Hawes and Celene Idema.

The minutes of the Annual General Meeting held in London, 2 October 1976, as published in the *Ricardian Bulletin* of December 1976, record: "The Chairman thanked the American ladies for the gift of beautiful kneelers sent for the Church at Sutton Cheney, two of which were on display at the meeting."

Covers in Progress

The following members have kindly let know that they are working on kneeler covers: Jeremyn Davern, Nancy Hamilton, Carol Parker, Miss Mary Parker, Maryloo Schallek (two), Nita Slavin Knapp (England).

If other members have started covers will they please notify me and give a one-line description of their designs and background colors.

Transport

In the hope that some covers will be finished by summer, will Ricardians who plan to go to England this summer or fall, and can make room in their luggage to carry a needlepoint cover, please advise me. If your itinerary does not include Sutton Cheney, arrangements can be made to leave the covers in London with Phyllis Hester, Secretary of the English Society.

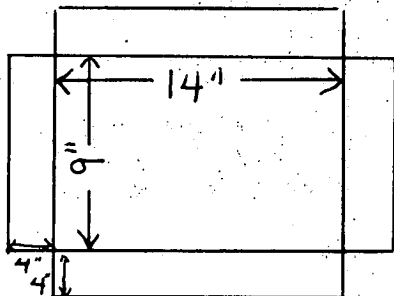
To New Members

About a dozen more needlepoint covers are needed for the kneeling cushions of Sutton Cheney Church. No particular background colors are prescribed although it is recommended that heraldic colors be "clean, strong and harmonious." Any Ricardian design is acceptable for the

kneeling surface and smaller emblems, such as a white rose, a sprig of broom, a little boar, may be added to the "drops" (sides of the cushion). A completion date adds interest, too.

I have on hand a small collection of sketches of designs various members have worked. These may be borrowed by anyone who would like suggestions for designs. They help to get one's thinking started.

A canvas marked for a kneeler will look like this:



Needlepoint Coordinator

Mrs. William H. Snyder
4110 Woodbine Street
Chevy Chase, Md. 20015

"Crime Lab" column on Richard III

In a recent "Crime Lab" column of *Mystery Monthly* (Vol. 1, No. 8, January 1977), member George O'Toole has written an excellent synopsis of the mystery surrounding "Two Missing Persons"—namely the "Little Princes."

The discovery of the skeletons of two children in the Tower of London, and their examination by Professor Wright in 1933, rekindled many of the controversies surrounding Richard III:

"[Some historians] point out that most of the generally held views of Richard are seen through the eyes of Shakespeare and the prejudiced Tudor historians. They argue convincingly that, in general, Richard wasn't anything like the monster he was later painted to be, and that during his brief reign he extended the scope of trial by jury, made laws to protect jurors from intimidation, established the system of bail for prisoners, ordered the laws translated from Latin into English, reformed the tax system, and instituted other progressive measures. As to the specific charge that he had his nephews murdered, the revisionist historians marshal a long and impressive defense; space permits only some of the major points to be presented here.

"Richard really had no motive to seek the children's deaths. The reason young Edward was not crowned

king as planned, in the summer of 1483, was the disclosure by the Bishop of Bath and Wells that the two boys, as well as their five sisters, were illegitimate. The bishop revealed he had married Edward to another woman prior to the king's marriage to the children's mother. The clergyman is said to have produced convincing evidence to back up his charge, although the proof has not survived to the present day. In any case, Edward's romances were known to be many and various, and the report of his bigamy is entirely plausible."

"After the bishop's disclosure, the members of Parliament met and unanimously petitioned Richard to accept the crown. A few months after the coronation, they passed *Titulus Regius*, an act which tied up any loose legal threads that might later be found in Richard's ascent to the throne. Richard's crown was secure from any claim by his nephew; there was no way in which he could benefit from their deaths.

"But who, if not Richard, was behind the murder of the two boys? The revisionists respond by questioning whether there actually was any murder, at least during Richard's reign; they offer some evidence the boys survived their uncle. When Henry took the throne, he had Parliament pass an Act of Attainder, a detailed list of Richard's murders and other crimes. Notably absent from the list of Richard's victims were the two royal princes, names one would expect to find at the top. From this the revisionists plausibly infer that the boys were alive, at least during the first year or so of Henry's reign. What became of them? The revisionists don't have an answer for that, but they point to Henry as one who had a real motive to see them dead.

"When Henry took the throne, he repealed *Titulus Regius*, the act of Parliament that officially declared Edward's children illegitimate. This had the effect of restoring their legitimacy, so Henry could marry the eldest daughter, Elizabeth, and strengthen his own shaky claim to the throne. But it also restored the boys' status as royal princes and heirs to the monarchy, an ambiguous situation that could have proved troublesome for Henry at some later date. Henry had an excellent motive to order the murders; whether he did so will never be known."

Mr. O'Toole also makes mention of the Society and its annual In Memoriam in the *New York Times* and *London Times*, and ends his column by saying:

"Most people simply wonder that anyone can take so seriously a controversy over events almost five hundred years old.

"To the Ricardians, historical truth is holier than myth, and becomes no less precious with age. As William Hogarth, vice-chairman of the Richard III Society puts it, 'We firmly believe there is no statute of limitation on countering a lie.'"

Computerized Genealogies

The computerized genealogies are an outgrowth of my interest in genealogies and my husband Saul's interest in computers. The data (mostly from Burke's #101 at the moment) is entered into the computer through a keyboard terminal. A special heading card gives the family name (I follow the male line only—daughters included but not their issue—to prevent duplication). Each data card consists of: one column showing relationship ("+" means next generation from previous person, i.e., child; "=" means same generation [brother or sister]; "-" means previous generation [uncle or aunt]); 1 column to distinguish children of various marriages (1st, 2nd, etc.); 20 columns for informa-

tion (name, date, title, etc); and finally, from column 30 onward, the reference abbreviations (1 reference per item).

By referring to indentations and punctuation, the computer is able to dissect the information, analyze it, do some error checking (a marriage date should be between the person's birth and death; children generally born before parent's death; etc), and recombine the information to form lists of titles: all Earls of Arundel or Chamberlains of the Household; or it can form genealogical flow charts.

[EDITOR'S NOTE: Sample print-out pages are in the Society's Library, c/o Mrs. William P. Haynes, 4149 25th St. N., Arlington, Virginia 22207.]

Lois Rosenberg
160-07 45 Avenue
Flushing, New York 11358

Officers 1976-1977

Chairman	William H. Snyder 4110 Woodbine Street Chevy Chase, MD 20015	Regional Vice Chairmen	Mrs. Sybil S. Ashe 229 South Street Medfield, MA 02052
Vice Chairman	William Hogarth 207 Carpenter Avenue Sea Cliff, NY 11579		Doris Derickson 445 Via Golondrina Tucson, Arizona 85716
Secretary-Treasurer, Editor	Linda B. McLatchie 534 Hudson Road Sudbury, MA 01776		Betty Meier 1809 Gladys Avenue Grand Haven, Michigan 49417
Librarian	Libby Haynes 4149 25th Street, N. Arlington, VA 22207		Carol E. Parker 818 Old Pittsboro Road Chapel Hill, NC 27514
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Corresponding Secretary	Martha Hogarth 207 Carpenter Avenue Sea Cliff, NY 11579		

Welcome New Members

Laura M. Ahearn
59 Dartmouth Avenue
Needham, MA 02194

Mr. John W. Bodine
525 Jarden Road
Philadelphia, PA 19118

Dorothy Dunn Dempsey
63 Linden Square East
Wellesley, MA 02181

Mary M. Ferrell
4406 Holland
Dallas, TX 75219

Carol S. Griffiths
R.F.D. No. 1, Box 17
Monmouth, ME 04259

Miss Adalyn Jack
2800 Rhonda Way
Sacramento, CA 95821

Ms. Lucia T. Kelly
338 West 19th Street
New York, NY 10011

Michael T. Long
Box 16
Vida, OR 97488

Meredith A. Peterson
1 Old Centre St.
Pembroke, MA 02359

Ernest L. Reynolds
33R Cedar Street
Wellesley Hills, MA 02181

Lawrence J. Vale
1540 N. Lake Shore Drive
Chicago, IL 60610

Lawrence V. Annis
P.O. Box 1336
University, MS 38677

Mrs. Diana Calvert
451 East 14th St.
New York, NY 10009

Robert L. DuRard
126 Clark Drive
San Mateo, CA 94402

Ms. Morel Fry
1505 "E" Street
Lincoln, NB 68508

Barbara Hillier
555 Mayfair Avenue
Oshawa, Ont., Canada

Mary Anne Kandell
1318 9th Street
Santa Monica, CA

Pamela LaRegina
P.O. Box 99
Short Beach, CT 06405

Louise McDowell
2223 Ridge Avenue
Evanston, IL 60201

Mrs. Paul Pickering
5537 D Avenue N.W.
Cedar Rapids, Iowa 52405

Jessica Rosner
2329 N. Cleveland
Chicago, IL 60614

Linda Walker
P.O. Box 3631
Fullerton, CA 92634

Robin F. Beningson
74 Haviland Road
Stamford, CT 06903

Craig S. Conolly
851 E. First
Galesburg, IL 61401

Miss Nancy Erickson
670 Wolcott Hill Road
Wethersfield, CT 06109

Kathleen Godfrey
51 A Crescent Road
Port Washington, NY 11050

Mrs. Myron A. Hofer
161 East 80th Street
New York, NY 10021

Mrs. Janet E. Kearin
22 Bellaire Road
So. Portland, ME 04106

Carol B. LaVine
3021 South Ninth Street
Kansas City, KS 66103

Mrs. Barna W. Peake
4125 Cahaba Road
Birmingham, AL 35243

Cecily S. Rasch
297 Hemlock Trail
Webster, NY 14580

Mr. & Mrs. Joseph Smutney
2505 Ocean Avenue
Bellmore, NY 11710

Mrs. Hester B. Wells
P.O. Box 632
Sierra Madre, CA 91024

The following new members are students in Bill Hatchett's class:

John Malcolm Aste, Jr.
2299 Jefferson Avenue
Memphis, TN 38104

Mark S. Counce
6377 Old Orchard Cove
Memphis, TN 38138

Mr. W.B. Dunavant III
1605 W. Massey Road
Memphis, TN 38138

Eric V. Hunter
5715 Sycamore Grove Lane
Memphis, TN 38117

Conrad McCrary
6960 Westminister Lane
Germantown, TN 38138

John Norfleet
4735 Walnut Grove Road
Memphis, TN 38117

Carey Potter
4328 Amber Lane
Memphis, TN 38111

Timothy D. Sharpe
2289 Kirby Road
Memphis, TN 38138

David S. Walker
243 Lynnfield Street
Memphis, TN 38138

Daniel Brown
4591 Helene
Memphis, TN 38117

Glenn Crosby
6052 River Oaks Cove
Memphis, TN 38138

William T. Howard, Jr.
2758 Central Avenue
Memphis, TN 38111

Vint Lawson
19 So. Ashlawn Road
Memphis, TN 38112

Jack McDonald III
5960 MacInness Avenue
Memphis, TN 38138

Jess Ossorio
1089 Oakridge Drive
Memphis, TN 38111

Albert Sidney Ray
7659 Marvin Road
Millington, TN 38053

John Heriot Stevens
4450 Tall Trees Drive
Memphis, TN 38117

John J. Wrenn
205 S. Belvedere
Memphis, TN 38104

William White Canale
352 Grandview
Memphis, TN 38111

Russell Deaton
2395 Kirby Road
Memphis, TN 38138

Andy Humphries
4250 Belle Meade Cove
Memphis, TN 38117

Jack Leachman
3257 Clarke Road
Memphis, TN 38118

Emmett Marston
5877 Brierfield
Memphis, TN 38138

George Robert Pidgeon, Jr.
441 Goodwyn
Memphis, TN 38111

Joseph H. Schaeffer III
2782 Forest Hill Road
Germantown, TN 38138

Buddy Stimson
6080 River Oaks
Memphis, TN 38138

Dave Wright
479 S. Cherry Road
Memphis, TN 38117



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The Ricardian Register

Newsletter of the Richard III Society, Inc.

EDITOR: Linda B. McLatchie, 534 Hudson Road, Sudbury, Mass. 01776

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VOLUME XI — Issue 1 — January/February 1977

Lorraine Attreed wins Marshall Scholarship

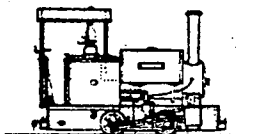
Member Lorraine Attreed of Albuquerque, New Mexico has been awarded a Marshall Scholarship, the highest award an American can win to any British university.

Lorraine graduated last December with an outstanding academic record after majoring in anthropology with a minor in History at the University of New Mexico. For many years Lorraine has been fascinated by the history of Northern England in the 15th century, and has done extensive extra-curricular reading and research on the subject. With the Marshall Scholarship, she will now be able to pursue her study in the city where the Yorkist monarchs held sway. She will work for a degree in medieval history at the University of York.

Since 1954 Marshall Scholarships have been awarded annually by the British Government. The program is open to American graduate students of either sex for two years' study at any British university. This year over 1,100 students applied for the 30 awards.

We wish Lorraine all success in her studies, and look forward to the results of her researches.

Needlepoint Update



**NEAREST TOWN
MARKET BOSWORTH**

**Cadeby Light Railway
Nuneaton
Warwickshire
January 19, 1977**

"Dear Mrs. Snyder,

"Many thanks for your letter received last week, and the Rector and I wish the members of the Richard III Society and yourself a very Happy New Year.

"The kneelers are progressing very well and to date we have 35, some of which still have to be stitched up. The Mothers' Union meet once a month and at alternate meetings we have a sewing party and sit round the Rectory fire,

have a good chat and stitch away at the kneelers, visualizing the people and places where they have come from . . .

"The Richard III Centre at Sutton Cheney still attracts many visitors and the County Council have made nature walks over the area centering on the Battlefield. Most visitors look in at the Church at Sutton and the names and addresses of our visitors in the visitors' book have to be seen to be believed—from all over the world.

"The annual service in August always coincides with our Traction Engine Rally at Cadeby. The engine owners are given a brass plaque to commemorate the Rally and this year ours had the White Boar engraved on it.

"Best wishes to you from

Audrey and Teddy Boston"

AND A WORD OF THANKS

For all members of the American Society, grateful thanks to Stephanie Bronder, Mildred Peake, Lynden Schmidt, Jennis Taylor and Linda Walker who have offered to make five more needlepoint covers for the kneeling cushions of Sutton Cheney Church. And thanks also to Ivy Benedykt, Toby Friedenberg and Mildred Peake who have offered transportation for covers in May, July and September.

Will anyone going on the Ricardian Tour in August have space to carry a cover—a flat piece of needlepoint approximately 24 inches square? If so, please notify me.

As Needlepoint Coordinator I offer special thanks to all these ladies who are so obliging about sending a description of their designs, so careful about helping me keep track of these valuable pieces and so expressive of their pleasure in their work.

**Janet B. Snyder
4110 Woodbine Street
Chevy Chase, Md. 20015
(Needlepoint Coordinator)**

Chicago Chapter News

The Medieval Institute is sponsoring a conference on medieval studies at Western Michigan University in Kalamazoo, Michigan on May 5-8. Pamphlets and registration material are available.

At the next meeting we will collect dues of \$3 per person for October 1976 to October 1977. You can make them payable to the treasurer, Dinah Kozina, 1352 East Prince Drive, South Holland, Illinois 60473.

Yvonne Shea
Secretary of Chicago Chapter

Jane Austen on Richard III

Linda Troost brings the following excerpt from Jane Austen to our attention. It is from an early essay entitled "The History of England from The Reign of Henry the 4th to The Death of Charles the 1st by a partial, prejudiced and ignorant historian."

"Edward the 5th

"This unfortunate Prince lived so little a while that nobody had him to draw his picture. He was murdered by his Uncle's Contrivance, whose name was Richard the 3rd.

"Richard the 3rd

"The Character of this Prince has been in general very severely treated by Historians, but as he was a *York*, I am rather inclined to suppose him a very respectable Man. It has indeed been confidently asserted that he killed his two Nephews and his Wife, but it has also been declared that he did *not* kill his two Nephews, which I am inclined to believe true; and if this is the case, it may also be affirmed that he did not kill his Wife, for if Perkin Warbeck was really the Duke of York, why might not Lambert Simnel be the Widow of Richard. Whether innocent or guilty, he did not reign long in peace, for Henry Tudor E. of Richmond as great a villain as ever lived, made a great fuss about getting the Crown and having killed the King at the battle of Bosworth, he succeeded to it."

Fabulous Feasts

For the gustatorially inclined, the following book will be of interest: *Fabulous Feasts: Medieval Cookery and Ceremony* by Madeleine Pelner Cosman describes the food and feasting habits of rich and poor folk of the Middle Ages—menus, service, manners, courtly style, even recipes for such excellent dishes as fritours and medieval parsley bread. Members will remember the excellent medieval music program that Dr. Cosman presented at the Annual General Meeting several years ago. Dr. Cosman is the Director of the Institute for Medieval and Renaissance Studies at CCNY and lectures at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Bill Hogarth describes the book as "great," so be prepared to whet your appetite.

Penpals Wanted Down Under

There is a little company of us down under, interested in the 15th Century, and particularly Richard III. If there are any members in the American Society (particularly in the 17-20 age group) who would like to correspond with anyone over here, please send me your address. My associates include an 18-year-old music student, a postgraduate science student in his early 20s, a third year arts student studying Classics and German at a University in NSW, and her mother; I am age 18 and a 1st year music student at Melbourne University.

Sandra McColl
15 White Street
Aphington, Victoria
Australia 3078

Welcome New Members

Linda Osborne Blood
30 East 9th Street
New York, NY 10003

Ellis Burcaw
925 East 'B' Street
Moscow, Idaho 83843

Robert L. Felix
6233 Macon Road
Columbia, SC 29209

Mrs. Lawrence Harvey
129 Arleigh Road
Douglaston, NY 11363

John W. Kirk
RR #1, Box 310
Hudson, IL 61748

Paul M. Lewis
329 Sorin Hall
Notre Dame, Indiana 46556

Thomas J. Marnocha
5539 S. Windermere Street
Littleton, Colorado 80120

Margaret E. Sumner
1541 Lassen Street
Redlands, CA 92373

Diana L. Bolton
2511 Marinette Drive
Springfield, Ohio 45503

Miss Julie D. Campbell
33983 Glenview
Farmington, Mich. 48024

Regina Godfrey
22 Pride's Crossing
New Canaan, CT 06840

Mrs. George E. Hawkins
93 Walnut Road
Glen Cove, NY 11542

Marcel V. Knight
838 Bungalow Court
New Orleans, LA 70119

Lorraine Lindevald
116 Coates Avenue, Box 103
Holbrook, NY 11741

Leatha L. Martin
139 S. Main Street
Albion, NY 14411

Jennis Johnson Taylor
4506 N.E. Mason
Portland, Oregon 97218

Ms. Elinor Travel
77-18 Vleigh Place
Flushing, NY 11367

Barbara Brandes
5233 McKinley Parkway
Hamburg, NY 14075

Gena Cohen
2 Mitchell Lane
Hanover, NH 03755

Rev. Rowan A. Greer
103 Avon Street
New Haven, CT 06511

Dana Holliday
3737 Prestwick Drive
Los Angeles, CA 90027

Thomas R. Lawrence
A-119 Hampton Forest Apts.
Greenville, SC 29615

Scott McLucas
277 Childs Road
Basking Ridge, NJ 07920

Arlene Stavig
2003 12th Street
Anacortes, Washington 98221

Miss Helen Thompson
4946 Bock Street
Las Vegas, Nevada 89119

Officers 1976-1977

Chairman

William H. Snyder
4110 Woodbine Street
Chevy Chase, MD 20015

Regional Vice Chairmen

Mrs. Sybil S. Ashe
229 South Street
Medfield, MA 02052

Vice Chairman

William Hogarth
207 Carpenter Avenue
Sea Cliff, NY 11579

Doris Derickson
445 Via Golondrina
Tucson, Arizona 85716

Secretary-Treasurer, Editor

Linda B. McLatchie
534 Hudson Road
Sudbury, MA 01776

Betty Meier
1809 Gladys Avenue
Grand Haven, Michigan 49417

Librarian

Libby Haynes
4149 25th Street, N.
Arlington, VA 22207

Carol E. Parker
818 Old Pittsboro Road
Chapel Hill, NC 27514

Pursuivant

Helmut Nickel
401 East 86th Street
New York, NY 10021

Martha MacBride
1800 Rockwood Drive
Sacramento, CA 95825

Corresponding Secretary

Martha Hogarth
207 Carpenter Avenue
Sea Cliff, NY 11579



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The Ricardian Register

Newsletter of the Richard III Society, Inc.

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VOLUME XI — issue 2 — March/April 1977

Look for us in The World Almanac

The Richard III Society, Inc. will be listed in the 1978 edition of The World Almanac & Book of Facts. We'll be under "Associations and Societies," so look for us!

Chicago Chapter news

On February 20th, 24 members of the Chicago Chapter of the Richard III Society attended the play *Richard III* at the Goodman Theater, following which they washed away the taste of Tudor propaganda at the Italian Village restaurant. The production was excellent, the dinner convivial and the history deplorable.

On May 1st Bob and I invited area members to our house for a pot luck dinner. Dinah Kozina and Beth Argall showed slides of their recent trip to England, and Bob and I added a few pence worth concerning ours to London.

Yvonne Shea
Secretary, Chicago Chapter
P.O. Box 359
Glencoe, Illinois 60022

Food and Cookery in Medieval Times

[Editor's Note: The following article by Nita Slavin-Knapp was accompanied by a note from Nita:

"The recipes have been tested and are very good. After attending the medieval banquet at the Angel & Royal in Grantham last year, I became very interested in medieval cookery and hence this article, which I enjoyed researching, and which I'd like to share with my fellow Americans in the Society.

"We are looking forward to the visit of the Branch in August. . . . We've made arrangements for the group to see the Bishop's Palace in Lincoln (where Richard III stayed in October 1484) and have a few other surprises too."]

The very first English cookbook was written in the twelfth century by Alexander Neckham, although the oldest usable document is "The Forme of Cury" compiled in the late fourteenth century by the master cooks of Richard II. Prior to this there were no written recipes, the cook's secrets being passed down by word of mouth. We know about the food and feasts of the period by the household accounts of the Kings and great Lords. There are two cookbooks which provide us with recipes from the days of the Lancastrian and Yorkist monarchs—"Kalendare de Potages dyuers" and "Kalendare de Leche Metys." Written in the mid and late 1400's, these books contain bills of fare for several monumental banquets, along with recipes, most of which are French in origin. Other important books were "Liber Cure Cocorum" (1430) and "Boke of Nurture" by John Russell (1450), usher and marshal to Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester.

Early cookbooks included not only recipes, but the "do's and don'ts" of the medieval table: "Do not stuff the mouth with bread or you will look like an ape." "Do not slurp soup." "Do not pat the dog." "Do not spit in the basin when washing your hands [to which is added] especially if a prelate is present." The "Book of the Cooks' Art," written about 1420, begins with a series of practical jokes to be played on the cook. Among these are how to make meat seem raw when it is in fact cooked; how to make meat look as though it is invested with worms (by shredding pieces of gut over it); and how to spoil the cook's stock (by adding soap so it froths over). Perhaps Philip the Good of Burgundy had a copy of this book in his joke room at the Castle of Hesdin!

Cooking equipment was simple. Frying pans and the occasionally used charcoal grill were found only in large houses. The cooking cauldron was made of metal, not earthenware as in earlier times. The pestle and mortar were important as ever but the chief utensil was the meat hook, used to remove the contents from boiling water.

Breakfast consisted of bread, beer or wine, herring or sprats, boiled beef or mutton. Dinner, the principal meal, was eaten between eleven and noon. Supper, much the

same food as breakfast, was eaten at five in the afternoon. At formal banquets there were at least three meat courses followed by three fish courses, and each of these were brought to a close by something sweet: a pastry, sweetmeat or elaborate subtlety, constructed of sugar paste—gorgeous to see but made to be eaten. Cooks vied with one another to make hunting scenes, coat of arms, even the interior of an abbey church with the various altars! Gilding (made with eggs and edible) was often used. The cook's sculpture was designed to flatter an honored guest.

The fork was unknown in the West until after it came into general use in the seventeenth century, a factor which profoundly affected the way in which medieval food was cooked. With only a pointed knife, a spoon and a breadsop as implements, it was difficult to cut food in the bowl. (Flat plates were not used until much later.) Dishes containing meat in an elaborate sauce had to be reduced to a consistency which could be managed with a spoon. Hence a meal would consist of roast meat chunks which could be eaten with the assistance of the fingers, or pates and purees of various kinds.

Drinks were ale, cider, perry, mead or wine. All manner of birds were kept or hunted. Cows, sheep, pigs and poultry were raised. Pork was the basic meat in the medieval diet because it could be obtained fresh all year round and was the best of the salted meats in winter.

Medieval dishes were delightfully spicy and seasoned. Cinnamon, pepper, ginger, cloves, garlic and vinegar were some of the spices used to improve the flavor of meat or fish not perfectly fresh or that had lost its savor in being salted or pickled. Ale was widely used in cooking as well as almond milk. The medieval English people were very visual about their food. They loved strange shapes and particularly enjoyed dishes of unusual colors. Medieval cooks used saffron for its brilliant yellow, or the reddish hue of powdered sandalwood along with green spinach or parsley juice to color soups in stripes or give marbled effects.

Medieval farmers produced wheat, barley, oats, rye and beans. The manors and abbeys had herb gardens and vineyards. Plums, apples, cherries, onions, cabbage, turnips, parsnips, leeks and garlic were grown. Master Ion Gardener, who wrote an early gardening book in 1440, mentions radishes, spinach and lettuce. Imported fruits were available for those who could afford to buy them. Dates and figs were popular. Edward I's Queen, Eleanor, sent often to the docks to buy oranges from Italian and Spanish merchant ships.

Few houses had their own ovens. Because it was difficult to keep meat fresh, and only the big houses had hearths large enough for roasting, cookshops were opened where baked meats, puddings and pies were prepared for the common man. A customer could buy a hot dish or bring his own joint to be cooked. Prices for these services were regulated by law. Baking was a professional skill like milling. Since bread was the staff of life, the price was controlled by law. It was made in every house in medieval times, but more often baked in communal ovens.

There were ponds for raising fish and sea fish were purchased. Oysters and mussels were plentiful. Fish was eaten when and where caught because of freshness, otherwise it was salted. Medieval cooks were very imaginative in preparing fish. There were recipes for braised fish, spiced fish and a sauce for salted fish.

Eggs were used in every way possible. Omelettes, fritters, and pancakes were among the medieval egg dishes. A giant fried egg made with a number of whites centered with several yolks was known as "Towres." Eggs from gulls, plovers and quail were considered delicacies and almost always eaten hard boiled. Fruit, especially apples, were a part of the usual medieval cookery. The medieval custom of cooking fruit with spices survives to this day.

Whale, porpoise, seal, sturgeon, swan, crane, heron and peacock all appear in the fifteenth century cookbook. Whale was served on royal tables and also that of the Lord Mayor of London, roasted on a spit or boiled with peas. Tongue and tail were favored parts! Porpoise, cooked and carried in whole, was carved and eaten with mustard. Henry VII thought porpoise a good dish to serve a visiting ambassador. The skin of the peacock was carefully peeled back, the bird roasted and then the skin and feathers were pulled back over the body so that the entire feathered bird, with tail feathers spread open, was carried into the room.

In 1470 George Neville, brother of Warwick the Kingmaker, was made Archbishop of York and he made a great feast in which an enormous amount of food was consumed. (200 peacocks, 80 fat oxen, 1056 hot venison pasties, 4000 cold custards, 8 seals, 4 porpoise and 104 tuns of wine to name a few.) The Earl of Warwick was steward of the feast, the Earl of Bedford treasurer and Lord Hastings comptroller. There were 1000 servants to attend, 62 cooks and 515 kitchens used! The feast exceeded all feasts at that time and was thought more befitting a King than an Archbishop. It is said George Neville did it to show the public how hospitable he could be! This feast must have cost an enormous sum and one wonders how long it took to catch, kill, cook and eat the food. In contrast is the feast held by the Wax Chandlers Company in 1478. They had two loins of mutton, a loin of beef, leg of mutton, one pig, one capon, one dozen pigeons, one hundred eggs, a goose and a gallon of red wine. The total cost of this feast was only seven shillings.

For those not planning a banquet as elaborate as the Archbishop's, the following are some medieval recipes which have been brought down to present-day equivalents.

SOUP IN THREE COLORS (Serves 4-6) Although potatoes were unknown to the medieval world, potato soup is the best basis for this colorful soup.

Divide 2 pints of creamy, blended potato soup into three portions. Leave the first portion white and chill. Infuse the second portion with 1/8 teaspoon saffron, over low heat, until brightly colored. Strain and chill. Infuse the third portion with chopped spinach or parsley, over low heat, straining when it has turned green. Chill. When ready

to serve, put some soup of each color in each individual bowl making a pattern with the three colors and keeping them as distinct as possible.

PORK IN WHITE WINE (Serves 4, circa 1380) Note: Chicken, preferably white meat, can be substituted.

Dice 1 pound precooked pork into pieces about $\frac{3}{4}$ inch square. Peel and chop 3 onions. Put the $\frac{1}{2}$ pint dry white wine and 1 tablespoon vinegar into a frying pan and simmer the pork and onions in this for about 5 minutes. Add $\frac{1}{4}$ teaspoon ginger, 1 tablespoon sugar and $\frac{1}{2}$ teaspoon cinnamon and simmer for a further 5 minutes, stirring gently. Add salt to taste.

A DISH OF BEANS (Circa 1400)

Boil 1 pound french beans in $\frac{1}{2}$ pint water in medium saucepan until soft. Mix in a bowl 1 ounce white bread-crumbs; $\frac{1}{2}$ teaspoon pepper; $1\frac{1}{2}$ teaspoon ground caraway seed; $\frac{1}{2}$ pint brown ale; 3 tablespoons vinegar and a pinch of saffron. Put in a small saucepan and bring just to the boil. Drain beans and pour the sauce over them before serving.

DOUCETTES (Serves 4, circa 1480) This is one of the few recipes that specifically requires an oven, apart from pies and pastries which were made by bakers and do not appear in early cookbooks.

Make up pastry for small pie cases and bake the empty pie cases until just brown. (Fill pie cases with baking beans on silver foil to prevent them from rising.) Warm 1 tablespoon milk and stir in a pinch of saffron. Strain $\frac{1}{4}$ pint double cream and 3 egg yolks through a sieve and add 4 ounces icing sugar and the milk. Beat well. Make sure that the custard is smooth. Fill the pie cases with the mixture and bake until it rises (5-10 minutes at 350 degrees).

FOR FURTHER READING AND RECIPES:

Seven Centuries of English Cooking, Maxine McKendry, London, 1973.

Cooking and Recipes from Rome to the Renaissance, Richard Barber, 1973.

Two Fifteenth Century Cookery Books, Thomas Austin, ed., published for the Early English Text Society by Oxford University Press, London, 1888, repr. 1964, from Harleian MS 279 and 4016 with additional extracts from Ashmale MS 1439, Laud MS 553 and Douce MS 55.

Juanita Slavin-Knapp
38A Church Trees, Swinegate
Grantham NG31 6RL, Lincolnshire
England

Book Look

The Dragon and the Rose by Roberta Gellis
Playboy Press, 1977

There is nothing really the matter with this book, but it is hard to accept Henry Tudor as a hero. He is, of course, the Dragon; Elizabeth of York is the Rose.

The novel follows Henry from his birth to his planning the coronation of his Queen, covering the "dangerous years" and the "bright years" of his life. Still to come would be the "dark years." Even in his youth he is shown as sly, crafty, parsimonious, suspicious of everyone else's motives, and incapable of loyalty or love.

Facts are accurate. Richard, of course, comes off badly, since the story is told from Henry's point of view. Elizabeth remembers him as wise, kind, and good. Poor Elizabeth! She tries to please Henry, but he cannot accept that she wants only his affection, not political power.

Review by Libby Haynes

Welcome New Members

Edith S. Dickinson
1269 Pembroke Lane
Topeka, Kansas 66604

Mrs. Harold S. Edwards
770 Ramirez Road
Marysville, Calif. 95901

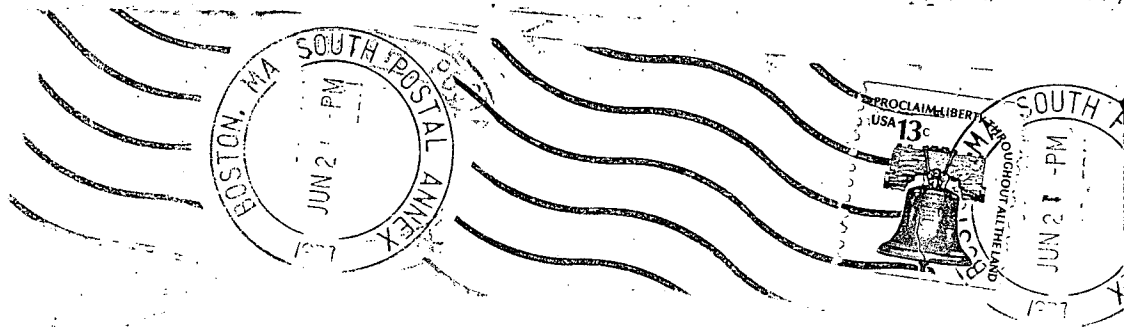
Kathleen Maynard
462 3rd Avenue
San Francisco, Calif. 94118

Miss Terry Nolan
7 Lawrence Road
Weston, Mass. 02193

Susan Pashaian
45-39 171st Place
Flushing, N.Y. 11358

Mr. Claude Ronne
9 Pond Road
Orleans, Mass.

Drs. Joanne & Robert Simpson
P.O. Drawer 5508
Charlottesville, Va. 22903



Mrs. William P. Haynes
4149 25th Street, N.
Arlington, VA 22207