



Richard III Society, Inc.

Volume XXI No. 2

Summer, 1996

**A  
G  
M  
'96**



**SEPTEMBER 27 - 29, 1996**  
**PHILADELPHIA, PA**  
**1996 ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING**

---

REGISTER STAFF

---

EDITOR: **Carole M. Rike**  
4702 Dryades St. • New Orleans, LA 70115 (504) 897-9673  
FAX (504) 897-0125 • CompuServe: 72406,514  
E-Mail: AOL: CaroleR

RICARDIAN READING EDITOR: **Myrna Smith**  
Rt. 1 Box 232B • Hooks, TX 75561  
(903) 547-6609 • FAX: (903) 547-6866

ARTIST: **Susan Dexter**  
1510 Delaware Avenue • New Castle, PA 16105-2674

---

EXECUTIVE BOARD

---

CHAIRMAN: **Dr. Compton Reeves**  
Dept. of History • Bentley Hall  
Ohio University • Athens, OH 45701-2979  
e-mail: reevesc@ouvaxa.cats.ohiou.edu

VICE CHAIRMAN: **Laura Blanchard**  
2041 Christian St. • Philadelphia, PA 19146 • (215) 095-1445  
FAX (215) 985-1446 • E-Mail: lblanchard@aol.com

SECRETARY: **Judith A. Pimental**  
1248 Regent St. • Alameda, CA 94501 • (510) 421-0487

TREASURER: **Peggy Allen**  
1421 Wisteria • Metairie, LA 70005 (504) 837-0974

MEMBERSHIP CHAIRMAN: **Carole M. Rike**  
P. O. Box 13786 • New Orleans, LA 70185-3786 • (504) 827-0161  
FAX (504) 897-0125

IMMEDIATE PAST CHAIRMAN: **Roxane C. Murph**  
3501 Medina Avenue. Fort Worth, TX 76133 • (817) 923-5056

---

COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN

---

ARCHIVIST: **Jeffrey & Toni Collins**  
P. O. Box 344 • Douglassville, PA 19518-0344 • (610) 385-3119

CHAPTER COORDINATOR: **Cheryl Rothwell**  
6033 Sam Smith Road • Birchwood, TN 37308 • (423) 961-2515  
Fax: 615-961-2519 • e-mail: CIS: 71641,1100

LIBRARIAN: Audio/Visual: **Sandra L. Giesbrecht**  
3575 Douglas • Box 48147 • Victoria BC V8Z 7H5 CANADA  
(604) 744-1109

LIBRARIAN: Fiction: **Mary Miller**  
1577 Killdeer Drive • Naperville, IL 60565-1323 • (708) 778-8843

LIBRARIAN: Research & Non-Fiction: **Helen Maurer**  
24001 Salero Lane • Mission Viejo, CA 92691 • (714) 768-0417

LIBRARIES COORDINATOR: **Melinda K. Knowlton**  
P. O. Box 10 • Chauncey, OH 45719 • e-mail: Fulk@ouvaxa.cats.ohiou.edu

RESEARCH OFFICER: **Sharon D. Michalove**  
309 Gregory Hall • 810 Wright St. • Urbana, IL 61801 • (217) 333-4145

PUBLIC RELATIONS OFFICER: **Margaret Gurowitz**  
27 Horizon Drive • Edison, NJ 08817 • (908) 248-0228

SALES OFFICER: **Wendy Logan**  
371 West Lancaster Avenue • Haverford, PA 19041 • (610) 649-7682

SCHALLEK MEMORIAL/GRAD. FELLOWSHIP: **Laura Blanchard**  
2041 Christian St. • Philadelphia, PA 19146 • (215) 095-1445  
FAX (215) 985-1446 • E-Mail: lblanchard@aol.com

SCHOOLS COORDINATOR: **Anne Vineyard**  
4014 Broken Bow Lane • Garland, TX 75044

TOUR COORDINATOR: **Dale Summers**  
218 Varsity Circle • Arlington, TX 76013 • (817) 274-0052

---



© 1996 *Richard III Society, Inc., American Branch*. No part may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means — mechanical, electrical or photocopying, recording or information storage retrieval — without written permission from the Society. Articles submitted by members remain the property of the author. The Ricardian Register is published four times per year. Subscriptions are available at \$18.00 annually.

The Richard III Society is a non-profit, educational corporation. Dues, grants and contributions are tax-deductible to the extent allowed by law.

Dues are \$30 annually for U.S. Addresses; \$35 for international. Each additional family member is \$5. Members of the American Society are also members of the English Society. Members also receive the English publications. All Society publications and items for sale may be purchased either direct at the U.K. Member's price, or via the U.S. Society when available. Papers may be borrowed from the English Librarian, but books are not sent overseas. When a U.S. Member visits the U.K., all meetings, expeditions and other activities are open, including the AGM, where U.S. Members are welcome to cast a vote.

**Advertise in The Ricardian Register**

Your ad in the Register will reach an audience of demonstrated mail buyers and prime prospects for books relating to the late medieval era, as well as for gift items and other merchandise relating to this period. They are also prospects for lodging, tours and other services related to travel in England on the continent. Classified advertising rates for one-time insertions:

Full Page:	\$100
Half Page:	\$50
Quarter Page:	\$25

For annual rates, pay for only 10 months. Send copy with your remittance payable to Richard III Society, P. O. Box 13786, New Orleans, LA 70185.

**Copy Deadlines:**

Spring	February 25
Summer	May 25
Fall	August 25
Winter	November 25

**Society Internet address:**

<http://www.webcom.com/blanchrd/gateway.html>

Changes of address and dues payments to:

P. O. Box 13786 • New Orleans, LA 70185-3786

---

## EDITORIAL LICENSE

We have dedicated a goodly amount of space to the McKellan version of *Richard III*, when the play toured the states and again when the movie was released in the Fall of 1995. Both the movie and the play were viewed as opportunities to bring our message (an alternative view of Richard III) to a larger audience or perhaps address questions which formed in the minds of those who were intrigued with this Fascist king running amuck through his family and political circles with such glee (or, as Richard himself proclaims, “leaving the world for me to bustle in”).

The play did not come to New Orleans. When the movie was released, my husband agreed to tag along, as he has for so many Ricardian adventures over the years. [Peggy Allen refused to come with me because it was being shown in downtown New Orleans.] However, I was never able to make the time or arrangements work and reconciled myself to waiting for the video, which is how I see every movie anyway. That video is now in release. My rental must have been one of the first in the city, it also turned out to be expensive, as I had to pay a rental for 10 days.

10 days? Did I like this movie so much I kept re-running it? Not on your life. It took me that long to see all of it, in installments of about 15-20 minutes, which was the limit I could tolerate.

My reaction began with a sense of unease, then confusion, and finally developed into full-blown aggravation. I thought it was ugly, *ugly*, ugly. McKellen was too old and so was almost everyone else, except Robert Downey, Jr. as Anthony Woodville and Annette Benning as Elizabeth Woodville. [Benning was stunning in a succession of clinging dresses that must have stimulated many male libidos.] Downey at least had some energy: more than could be said for an elderly, tired

Edward IV and a middle-aged, befuddled Clarence. It was as if McKellan sucked up all the air in the production, so that even veterans like Maggie Smith paled. Yes, there were strokes of brilliance. Yes, it was clever. But none of these characters were engaging, not even Richard. The movie’s only redeeming feature is Shakespeare’s indomitable language. I stand exposed as lacking in artistic appreciation if cleverness — rather than relevance and good taste — is the accepted mode.

This issue’s Ricardian Post (page 25) carries a letter from a fellow member who gently takes us to task for “trashing” Henry VII.

One of the most difficult things to learn to accept when running one’s own business is that employees not only *like* to gripe about the boss: they consider it a *right*. Ricardians, generally, exercise the right to jump on Henry VII for all manner of reasons. Ms. Perry has right on her side, and I believe that our members concur, especially on the principle of a fair judgment of *any* historical character. However, our Society contains many different personalities from many different walks of life — one of its more unique and winning facets.

Certainly romanticism is a large measure of the appeal of Richard III for us non-academics. Henry Tudor, for those who find the personalities of history as fascinating as the events, just isn’t one of those individuals with a great deal of personal charisma. Henry VIII is great fun and most everyone has nothing but respect for Elizabeth I, but her grandfather is best remembered for “Morton’s Fork” — a politician’s sleight of hand unfavorably compared to Richard III’s legislative record by many Ricardians. I personally would much prefer being stranded in history with Dickon!

Carole

### IN THIS ISSUE

<b>1996 AGM</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Machiavelli’s “Battlefield Morality”, Jean Lepley</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>Schallek Scholar Reports: Two Views Of Richard III</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>New Developments on the Richard III Society World Wide Website, Laura Blanchard</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>Scattered Standards, Cheryl Rothwell</b>	<b>18</b>
<b>Ricardian Reading, Myrna Smith</b>	<b>19</b>
<b>Three Schallek Scholars for 96-97, Laura Blanchard</b>	<b>23</b>
<b>Ricardian Post</b>	<b>25</b>
<b>Sales Office Closed, Laura Blanchard</b>	<b>26</b>
<b>Modern Marketing Overwhelms English Trading Mecca Market Bosworth</b>	<b>26</b>
<b>Board Chronicles</b>	<b>27</b>
<b>Chapter Contacts</b>	<b>28</b>

## AGM Update: Mark your calendars; make your reservations

# RIGARDIAN PHILADELPHIA SHERATON SOCIETY HILL HOTEL SEPTEMBER 27-29, 1996

With just three months to go before the 1996 AGM, the excitement is building in the Southeastern Pennsylvania Chapter.

Workshops, lectures, and other events will feature Philadelphia area Ricardian resources. They include:

- a look at the life and work of the Ricardian hometown hero, Paul Murray Kendall, by American Branch chair A. Compton Reeves
- an illustrated lecture on Philadelphia Free Library Lewis Ms. E201, an elaborate genealogy of King Edward IV produced in the early 1460s (see the *Ricardian Register*, Fall 1993)
- an illustrated lecture by American Branch research officer Sharon D. Michalove on Historical Society of Pennsylvania Gratz Ms. 9.25, a letter signed by Richard III appointing an ambassador to France, setting the document in the context of Richard III's foreign policy
- a keynote address by Dr. Michael T. Ryan, head of the Department of Special Collections, University of Pennsylvania Library and president of the Philadelphia Area Consortium of Special Collections Libraries, on the intellectual life of Philadelphia in the nineteenth-century with emphasis on the great collectors of medieval works of art and manuscripts and of Shakespearean resources
- a piece-by-piece demonstration of the arming of a medieval knight, showing the construction and purpose of a full set of Wars of the Roses-style reproduction plate armor

We strongly suggest that Ricardians traveling by air book flights early in the day on Friday and late afternoon/evening flights Sunday, or stay over an extra day or days to explore Philadelphia's rich resources of museums, libraries, historical sites, and shopping (no sales tax on clothing!). We're planning a tour of the extensive medieval galleries at the Philadelphia Museum of Art following our Sunday Schallek fund-raising breakfast this year. We will also try to arrange with the Rare Books Department of the Free Library of Philadelphia a Friday afternoon viewing of Lewis Ms. E201.

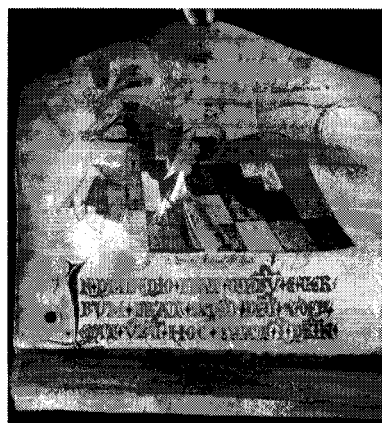
The Schallek raffle this year has three grand prizes:

- *A full set of the works of Sharon Kay Penman, donated by the author* (with some fill-ins by Laura Blanchard and Roxane Murph). In addition to this generous gift of hardbound copies of *The Sunne in Splendour* and two of her other novels, Penman will individually inscribe each volume with a dedication to the winner.
- *A "rose-en-soleil" embroidered pullover, donated by Laura Blanchard.*
- *Original artwork commemorating the 1996 AGM by Susan Dexter, matted and framed.*

A raffle ticket order form will be included in the AGM mailing. As in previous years, you do not need to be present to win the Schallek raffle prizes.

The Sheraton Society Hill, a handsome facility located just a block from Philadelphia's Penn's Landing waterfront area and just three blocks from Independence Hall and the Liberty Bell, has set aside a block of rooms for us at the special rate of \$99 a night. These rooms will be held for us until September 4, or until they are sold out. We will be mailing ACM registration information in late July or early August. In the meantime, to reserve your room, call the hotel directly at 1-215-238-6000, and ask for the *Richard III Society Special Rate*.

Watch our web site (<http://www.webcom.com/blanchrd/agm96/>) for additional AGM information in mid-July, including Philadelphia area maps, links to important resources, and a downloadable registration form. For additional information on Philadelphia and its cultural resources, point your browsers at <http://www.libertynet.org/>.



**Free Library of  
Philadelphia:  
Equestrian  
Portrait of  
King Edward IV**

# MACHIAVELLI'S "BATTLEFIELD MORALITY" AND THE CAREER OF RICHARD III

Jean Lepley

It would be hard to find two more vilified Renaissance figures than Richard III of England and Niccolo Machiavelli of Florence. No matter that few Englishmen had read *The Prince*, which was not translated into English until 1640. They knew all about the dreadful book from Gentillet's *Anti-Machiavel* (1576), while on the Tudor stage, reinforcing their fascination with Italy as the home of art and immorality, were a spate of references to the "devilish Machiavel" and spell-binding representations of brilliant, Italianate evil: Barabas, Mephistopheles, Iago. And, of course, Richard III. But Richard was an English king, and Englishmen are supposed to be honest, upright fellows. He is therefore carefully painted by Tudor writers as an affront to every rule of nature: "it is for truth reported," says Thomas More, "that the duchess his mother had so much ado in her travail, that she could not be delivered of him uncut; and that he came into the world with the feet foreward... and (as fame runneth) also not untoothed."<sup>1</sup> Fame also runs to the withered arm and "crook back" exploited with devastating effect by Shakespeare, though contemporary accounts mention no such deformities. Indeed Shakespeare borrows the whole "natural" explanation for the moral perversity of his protagonist ("Deformed, unfinished, sent before my time") and, with Richard's famous soliloquy in the earlier play, makes explicit an inevitable comparison between the two archvillains of the day:

Why, *I can smile, and murder whiles I smile. . .*  
can *add colors to the chameleon,*  
*Change shapes with Proteus for advantages,*  
*And set the murderous Machiavel to school.*  
*Can I do this and cannot get a crown?*  
*Tut, were it further off, I'd pluck it down.*  
— (*Henry VI, III, ii, 182*)

Power at any price. The art of tyranny. Is that what Richard III practiced and (thirty years later) Machiavelli preached? We now know, of course, that the popular picture of both men is flawed. Scholars have long recognized it as curiously at odds with the evidence: of Richard's tested loyalty to his brother Edward, his loyal following among the men of York and the reforms enacted during his brief reign; of Machiavelli's tested devotion to the republican cause in Florence and his clear concern, as expressed in volumes of other writings, for enduring "good Law;" and

of both men's contemporary reputations as conscientious and honest public servants. On Richard's side, they have pointed out the bias of Tudor historians, anxious to bolster Henry VII's weak claim to the English throne by blackening his defeated rival's name (for Thomas More another motive has been suggested: "that he took up and intensified the current legends about the monster Richard as a means of launching a discreet attack on the unscrupulous rulers of his own day").<sup>2</sup> And they have noted how Machiavelli became a secular devil-symbol for religious reformers as well as Tudor dramatists — a denunciation of his "teachings" becoming a commonplace among the Church princes who perhaps best embodied them.

Yet myth in both cases clings to shreds of ugly fact. Richard did, however legally, seize the throne; men were summarily executed; the "little princes" were never seen again — and Kendall's scholarly conjecture that Buckingham ordered the killing (more plausible than Markham's 19th-century effort, revived in Josephine Tey's *Daughter of Time* to fasten it on Henry VII) still leaves Richard ultimately responsible; as Kendall says, "it was inevitable that the moment Richard assumed the throne, there should be fears expressed for the future safety of the princes." People knew that deposed royalty (or rivals for the crown) had a way of dying suddenly, as people also abhorred the hand that shed the princely blood. In *The Prince*, Machiavelli applauds it. That is, he paints Cesare Borgia (whose "good government" for the lawless Romagna began, we are told, with murdering the rival Orsini clan) as a man of *wirtu* — apparently a model of the armed reformer who "must not mind incurring the scandal of those vices, without which it would be difficult to save the state."<sup>4</sup> Or as Machiavelli goes on to explain the whole concept of "well-used" cruelties:



Niccolo Machiavelli

**A prince, therefore, must not mind incurring the charge of cruelty for the purpose of keeping his subjects united and faithful; for, with a very few examples, he will be more merciful [pietoso] than those who from excess of tenderness [pieta] allow disorders to arise, from whence spring bloodshed and rapine; for these as a rule injure the whole community, while the executions carried out by the prince injure only individuals.** (M., 60)

How true that titled heads have a way of making it into the history books, while the nameless victims of civil disorder do not! Machiavelli would seem to espouse an ethic of government here (as Defoe will later espouse one of economics — an ethic of good book-keeping). But ... "only individuals"? And is "saving the state" an ultimate moral justification? Macauley concludes his essay on the Glencoe massacre with the comment that most men will do far worse deeds for their country than they will ever allow themselves to do for private gain. For a "higher cause" (like the 1000-year Reich?) they will avert their eyes from atrocities that, after all, hurt "only individuals" (and "inferior" ones at that). Clearly, Machiavelli treads on dangerous moral ground here.

That it is dangerous ground he admits in the more reflective Discourses, where the good and the weak are shown going down before the strong and the unscrupulous, and the dilemma of finding a "good prince" willing to employ the necessary "wicked means" to establish his rule is frankly faced. It will be "exceedingly rare" that such a man be found, says Machiavelli (171) who admits no such difficulties in a book whose 26 short chapters were written quickly — "in a white heat" it is commonly said — and at a time when the author's *patria* by all accounts presented a critical case. "Leaderless, lawless, defeated, despoiled, lacerated, laid low," as he says in a fervent final chapter ("Exhortation to Liberate Italy from the Barbarians") that some critics have dismissed as "irrelevant." **The Prince** in their view is merely "technical," but I hear in its cool prose a moral imperative: that Italy's would-be "redeemer" should survive in a wicked world — survive and govern, as former rulers of the Romagna (weak men, "who had rather despoiled their subjects than governed them ... so that the whole province was prey to robbery, assault and every sort of disorder": M. 27) failed to do, indeed as the republic of Florence itself (whose temporizing, apparently more humane policies allowed much of the province to be destroyed) failed too.

Civil disorder for Machiavelli (like bankruptcy for Defoe) is clearly more than a technical failure. Say rather a failure of responsibility, a failure to meet our obligation to others. For if tyranny is an evil to be

strenuously avoided (as Machiavelli's repeated warnings suggest), so too is the permission to many tyrannies that he equates with weak government. Did bitter experience reinforce the linkage of power and ethics already implicit in the Italian *virtu* that has given his translators so much trouble — *virtu*, with its secondary Latin root in military valor? In **any** case, the weakness of "good men" in dangerous times is a subject of deep concern for the author of *The Prince*. While still considering a republic, ideally, to be the strongest form of government, in 1513, with the Florentine republic dead and the fallen Italian states prey to pillaging mercenaries, he can see no alternative to foreign oppression but the rule of a native prince. With both "wicked advice" and advice that can seem touchingly idealistic (he puts great faith, for instance, in a people's army, and none in the future of firearms!), Machiavelli would guide the "good prince" (uno **prudente et virtuoso**) — one who must, occasionally, tread dangerous moral ground.

---

---

Second-guessing history is a futile task.  
It seems a bit late in the day to observe  
that, in the end, Richard III's  
preoccupation with personal honor lost  
15th-century England a government  
of rare enlightenment.

---

---

I find it both dangerous and instructive. For *The Prince* can be read as a key to the "villainy" of Richard III, putting the usurpation in place not as an inexplicable break in the pattern of Richard's life but as a continuation of that pattern. A pattern of virtue, or better yet, of *virtu* — the muscular Italian word reminding us of what even Richard's worst detractors have never denied, his courage on the field of battle, and reminding us too of the cornerstone role that decisive action plays in a primal, "battlefield morality." I call the true subject of *The Prince* by that name, though, as we shall see, simple battlefield action itself may well be an escape from the more complex, morally difficult action that Machiavelli advocates. Yet it is here where he teaches ruthlessness so coolly and reasonably that he most disturbs us, here where he espouses an extension of the old-fashioned military virtue: more foresighted, more imaginative and not restricted to the physical battlefield, yet still concerned with a threat to the life of the patria. Clearly, it is not enough that a hoped for "redeemer" should see

into “the real truth of the matter” (*verita effettuale della cosa*). Without the will to act — t’he courage, perhaps, to make painful decisions that most of us would rather not have to make? — that insight will be of little use.

To be sure, the stick figures of Machiavelli’s political “lessons” (like the figure of Borgia in the lesson of *virtu* triumphing over fickle *fortuna*) display no human emotion at all — let alone pain — and so are easily associated with figures of historic inhumanity like Hitler. The careful reader, however, will note that Machiavelli gives the prince a strong motive for dealing, as a rule, fairly and honestly with his subjects. We are told that “the friendship of the people” is his true “fortress” against adversity; and if ruthless action is sometimes necessary, Machiavelli’s test for “well-used” or “compassionate cruelty” (*pietosa crudelta*) is simple: it should diminish over time. Increasing cruelties (and, by the same token, increasing deceptions?) are said to be “ill-used”; by inference they are a sign of failed government, and if Hitler fancied himself as Germany’s “redeemer,” Machiavelli would assuredly have judged him more harshly.

I submit that a better association is with Churchill’s decision at the beginning of World War II to bomb the French fleet at Oran — a decision one can applaud while questioning Churchill’s view that the “gallant French,” to a man, also applauded it. In fact, a France-German documentary film (*The Sorrow and the Pity*) shows French outrage over this “ruthless perfidy,” for had not Herr Hitler promised, and had not the French admiral Darlan added his personal assurances, that those ships would never be turned against England? On the same film, Anthony Eden, who had watched French sailors on shore leave only days before, speaks of the anguish he felt at the impending attack, and yet he did not see that England had any other choice if she meant to survive the Nazi onslaught. Perhaps (as Darlan has always maintained) the French would have scuttled their ships sooner than turn them over to the Germans; perhaps England did not have to bomb French sailors ... but what responsible leader could trust his country’s life to the will of a defeated ally and the word of a glib-tongued enemy?

Call it courage, or call it “ruthlessness and determination, combined with exceptional ability to conceive and carry through a plan of action” (as the *Cambridge Italian Dictionary* strives to produce a special meaning for Machiavelli’s use of the word *virtu*), most of us feel no qualms when we recognize the quality in Churchill and in the context of World War II. But “cruelty for the purpose of keeping the subjects united and faithful” sounds like putting down the locals, a notion to which we are much less receptive than to repelling foreign hordes. So we prefer to think of the

Lincoln “who freed the slaves” rather than the truer picture of a Lincoln who was willing to go to any lengths to preserve the Union, a Lincoln who resisted countless appeals to pardon Union deserters — farmboys, perhaps, sickened with killing, who only wanted to get home and help with the harvest, but who when caught were shot lest the desertions spread. Lincoln wanted the Union to survive as fiercely as Churchill wanted England to survive, and to the internal threat he responded as vigorously and, yes, as ruthlessly as to any intruder. Yet we believe him a compassionate man, and surely the cost of his “compassionate ruthlessness” shows in his later portraits. We call him, too, a man of courage, dimly sensing the terrible choices he faced. Can we not recognize in *The Prince* a call for similar moral courage?

Some commentators have effectively done so. While not focusing exclusively on the point of courage, J.H. Whitfield<sup>6</sup> goes far to show *The Prince* as Machiavelli’s answer to an otherwise insoluble problem involving the degraded Italian *patria* and hence “the honor and glory of the Italian people,” to see a large “dose of goodness” in it end even in its “excesses” to find something very different from the proverbial Machiavellian cynicism. For Whitfield, *necessita* is the key word, occurring 76 times in 26 short chapters, and with the same emphasis on necessitous times Neal Wood<sup>7</sup> refers to the “battlefield conditions” under which Machiavelli’s “men of *virtu*” arise, triumphing “in circumstances of extreme danger, hardship and chance” — conditions to which *The Prince* itself is a passionate response.

The passion comes through in a rhetoric that mirrors the violence of the battlefield — in dramatic contrasts, in striving for a sharp, unambiguous solution to any problem and in a proclivity for pushing any argument to, and even beyond, its logical conclusion. Machiavelli “is carried away by his enthusiasm for the lesson,” says Whitfield (82); and so in Chapter VII we find the lesson of *virtu* versus *fortuna* — of a ruler actively preparing for adversity instead of waiting for it to overwhelm him — while in the very next chapter *virtu* is contrasted with *vilta* (“villainy”) and the tyrant Agathocles roundly condemned for the same murderous “security measures” that Borgia was applauded for taking! Moreover, in this rhetoric of confrontation at any cost, we find Borgia depicted as more coldly calculating than he appears, in fact, to have been. In Chapter VII, for instance, Machiavelli implies that Borgia deliberately set Remirro de Orco up as a scapegoat, though according to Whitfield (81), “in the case of Remirro ... the facts were suggested already by Alvisi: that his erring in the administration of the Romagna was ... his own fault ... and that in the severity of his punishment we must look to Cesare Borgia’s firm intention for Romagna that it be

## Machiavelli's "Battlefield Morality" (continued)

governed in the future with justice and integrity." Thus Atkinsons refers to Machiavelli's "fictive creation" of Borgia, intended, it would seem, not to engage our sympathy but to win an argument. To "load" a perverse morality tale (More's fictive creation of Richard III serves a more conventional one!) in which the man who, in life, was Florence's and hence Machiavelli's arch-enemy turns into a model of applaudable "badness," governing well where conventional virtue fails to govern at all.

Now the conditions that provoked ***The Prince*** are not far from the political conditions of 15th-century England, when royal ineptitude — "weak government" is an entirely inadequate term! — cost the nation so much bloodshed. Of course, England had the advantage over the fragmented Italian states in that she was one nation — a nation, however, with a frequent surfeit of would-be kings. And Richard III was born under a particularly dark cloud: the monarchy of half-witted Henry VI, tellingly presented in Kendall's 1955 biography. First, as Machiavelli might gloss Kendall, is shown the irresponsibility of retiring, otherworldly "virtue." Thus Kendall describes Henry as more monk than king:

***He was apathetic prisoner of his darkening mind, his feeble will and his good intentions. His greatest pleasure was in prayer. His favorite companions were priests ... Because he sat upon a throne, his virtues had become rods to scourge his country ... Of the wretched state of his realm Henry was only dimly aware. All would be well, he was sure, if only men would trust and love as he did. (Kendall, 19)***

"His virtues had become rods . . ." So Machiavelli talks at the close of Chapter XV of "some things which seem virtues ..." Credulity, loyalty, trust, generosity: these virtues in Henry, even while he was still considered sane, meant that he allowed his ministers to transgress against justice and to embezzle lands and monies until the Crown was hopelessly enmired in debt. After his marriage he is described as the "humble vassal" of Margaret of Anjou, his promises of reform canceled time and again by her imperial will. Margaret, it seemed, was possessed of a great hunger for power, but no interest in England or in government (she encouraged instead what Machiavelli would term the "despoilers"). And she nursed such unrelenting enmity toward Richard of York — presumably for owning as good a title to the throne as her husband — that a man whom Kendall describes as largely free of the besetting contemporary sins of greed and overweening ambition was virtually hounded into rebellion.

The future Richard III was born into this cradle of violence. Feckless kingship had allowed it to fester unchecked; and by Richard's birth it had become a duel to the death between Margaret of Anjou and his father, Richard of York. Over a Christmas truce, when Richard was eight, his father, his brother Edmund and his uncle were slain, their heads carried to the city of York and impaled on Micklegate Bar; Richard and his brother George were hastily dispatched to Burgundy, and recalled from exile only after 18-year-old Edward had led an outnumbered army to what Kendall (45) calls "one of the bloodiest victories ever won on English soil." Thus Richard learned early "the bitterness of civil strife, the fragility of power and the sting of injustice" (Kendall, 46), i.e., the same "knowledge of evil" that fuels ***The Prince***. But where Machiavelli was driven to write, and under the guise of an objective treatise on princecraft to return again and again to the "armed reformer," Richard, the youngest and puniest son of the house of York ("Richard liveth yet," reported one versifier) was driven to act. In the "monster king" legend, of course, that drive to action is a sinister will to selfish power but Kendall describes it rather differently.

***The sickly child who had become a thin, under-sized lad drove himself to grow strong, to wield weapons skillfully. Fiercely, grimly, he worked at the trade of war. His vitality was forced inward to feed his will. He could not afford to take life as it came; he must prepare himself to serve his magnificent brother Edward. (K., 82)***





Clearly, it was not for love of fighting that Richard, who later shunned tournaments and “games” of war, would practice hours on end with sword and battle axe until his right arm and shoulder, it is conjectured, grew somewhat larger than his left. And it was not for natural talent. Kendall underscores Richard’s “fragility” when, of the care-shadowed face he says that it suggests the whole man, a frail body compelled to the service of a powerful will. (K.,177)

Machiavelli would call it *virtu*, and I think (had he turned his attention to England) he would have found his theory, of *necessita* as the mother of *virtu* remarkably enriched by Richard’s case. For Richard’s fierce resolve evidently sprang as much from his own inner needs — the desire to measure up to his healthy, handsome and (in the case of Edward and Edmund, at least) heroic older brothers — as from the necessities of times. After all, George lived through the same storm-tossed years, and they bred no such resolve in him. Three years older than Richard, “strong, big for his age, handsome, charming and spoiled” (K., 20), he was also the brother who turned traitor at the drop of a hint, incorrigibly susceptible to the lure of a better deal, and pleading with golden eloquence for forgiveness when it came to a real fight. Yet Richard, who had fled England with Edward, and commanded the crucial right flank in the battle that gave it back to him, apparently bore no grudge against the brother who had endangered both their lives. (Thus the one fact in More’s famous insinuation that Richard hastened his brother’s death is that he spoke against it.) And Kendall does wonder why, after so many transgressions and so many pardons, the amiable Duke of Clarence could not win one more. His suggested explanation — that George committed the fatal error of blabbing a king’s secret — casts no discredit on Richard; it only strengthens his legal claim to the throne he is said to have usurped.

Usurpation. The ugly word lies at the heart of the controversy over Richard III, but when Kendall describes the events surrounding the ruthless act, it begins to seem not only lawful (by the laws of the day, of course) but an ethical response to a dangerously unstable political situation. A response to “battlefield conditions.” Kendall does not use that phrase, but he speaks of problems of state assuming a “military shape.” Thus on the treason of Lord Hastings and the suspicious speed (in Tudor eyes) with which it was quelled, Kendall has this to say:

Hastings was creating a formidable conspiracy ... to delay until the plot was consummated or driven unto the open might easily be fatal. Again, a problem of state assumed a military shape in Richard’s eyes. One sudden stroke at Stony Stratford had undone the Woodvilles without jarring the web of peace and order. Was not the same strategy called for here, in a

situation strikingly similar, a strategy condoned *by* the lawfulness of *the* power ***it reserved and the evil of disorder it averted?*** If, suddenly appropriating the king, Hasting’s party sought to govern in his name, Richard must either lose his protectorship and perhaps his life, or conduct a civil war to regain Edward V, as his father had been forced to conduct a civil war in order to approach Henry VI. (K., 244; my italics)

Of the “usurpation” itself Kendall comments, “At the cost of four men’s lives, without employing military force, he had mounted the throne by a title of inheritance and the election of the Lords and Commons of the realm” (K., 266). Of course, the cost was higher. As Kendall points out, Richard’s assumption of power “contained the deaths of the Princes within it;” though he argues convincingly for Buckingham as instigator and perhaps even perpetrator of the deed, yet the ultimate responsibility, he says, must lie with the man who took the throne:

***It must be remembered that, in purely political terms, the dismissing of a king from his throne is but the first step to dismissing him from the world. A deposed monarch has nowhere to fall but into the grave, as in English history alone, the usurpations of Mortimer and Isabella, of Henry IV and of Henry VII and the triumph of the Roundheads, abundantly testify.*** (K., 495)

Kendall calls the murder of the Princes “a grievous wrong,” yet his earlier comment is still valid. So used are we to the Shakespearean picture that it comes as a distinct surprise to realize how relatively bloodless Richard’s takeover was and how much possible bloodshed it may indeed have averted. For the perils of a minority reign, with the queen mother and her numerous kinsmen awaiting “only the opportunity to stir up strife in the King’s name” (K.,168), and the Lancastrians still eager and ready to make capital of any strife in the House of York, can hardly be overestimated. The queen’s kinsmen had already tried to thwart Richard’s lawful Protectorship; and the fate of the previous Duke of Gloucester, once Henry VI’s Protector and (it is commonly believed) murdered by Queen Margaret’s cohorts, cannot have escaped his attention. The problem indeed possessed “a military shape,” and that 12-year-old Edward was a “frail youth of scholarly bent” did nothing to ease men’s minds.

Some commentators have treated the dreaded minority reign as if it threatened only Richard. A.R. Myers, for instance, says that its perils and responsibilities “aroused in his nature the elements of fear, ambition and impulsive ruthlessness which led him further and further along the path of immediate expediency at the expense of duty and honor” (Myers,

520). He speaks as if civil war might not be a tragedy for the whole country, as if it might not be the path of duty to put a man rather than a boy upon the English throne.

But what had happened to Richard's resolve to serve his brother Edward? *Loyaulte me lie* was Richard's chosen motto; had he then abandoned it? Perhaps not. On Machiavelli's notion of "compassionate ruthlessness," Atkinson remarks that it is not so much a matter of compassion versus ruthlessness as it is of compassion for whom — a few noblemen or the common people? And Kendall suggests, in a similar vein, that Richard indeed wrestled with the problem of just where his true loyalty lay.

***The sermon at Paul's Cross, the appeal to the citizens, the thronging of the three estates to Bayard's Castle, the ceremony of Richard's seating himself in the marble chair of King's Bench. Thus did Richard seek to identify himself with the authentic tradition of his House; thus did he hope to regain the brother he had lost to Dame Elizabeth Grey, Hastings, and Mistress Shore, and to redefine his loyalties to the Edward he had worshipped as a boy by divorcing him from the monarch who had fathered a Woodville child. Was it not possible for him to set aside Edward's heir and yet be truer to Edward than Edward had been to himself? (K., 270)***

There had been no conflict before; in serving Edward, he had served England: quelling rebellion or establishing just and honest government in the North, far from the intrigues and scandals of Edward's court. But now, with a minority rule looming and with Bishop Stillingworth's disclosure of an earlier precontract between Edward and the Lady Eleanor Butler — a "pretext," in a sense, yet lawful and believable enough that Henry VII later sought to destroy all knowledge of it — we see Richard, for the first time, in conflict with himself. Young Edward might not have much going for him, but he was Edward IV's son; and according to Kendall, even Polydore Vergil, creator of the official Tudor portrait of Richard III, admits that Richard hesitated to set his nephew aside; that this step was more considered and perhaps even tortured than "impulsive."

***"notwithstanding that many of his friends urged him to utter himself plainly and to dispatch at once that which remained, yet, doings might easily be disliked, his desire was that the people might earnestly be dealt with, and the whole matter referred to the determination of others." (K., 269)***

That Richard was persuaded to take this action for England's good as much as his own is suggested by the accomplishments of his brief reign: legal reforms, incentives for trade and for shipbuilding, land use laws, the Council of the North, the Court of Requests (as it was later called) ... If he had succeeded Edward IV in order to "redeem his brother's rule, to return it to its true track from which it had been deflected by the greed and vanity of the Woodville court" (K., 270), then only the justice and goodness of his own rule would prove, in Richard's mind, that he had acted rightly. Machiavelli would remind us, however, that the new prince faces dangers which merit alone cannot withstand — that in addition to winning the friendship of the people he had better secure some more immediate bases of power. The tragedy of Richard III would seem to be that having **taken** the throne, to the doom of Edward's sons but to the very possible well-being of the English people, he refused to employ equal ruthlessness in holding it. Or as Kendall says, "he certainly ignored (the fact) that it would be easier for a monarch to keep the throne by the uses of power than by the merits of his rule."

It has been long acknowledged that what brought Richard to defeat and death on Bosworth Field was not his mythical "unpopularity" but rather the defection of a few noblemen; ironically, some of the very reforms enacted for the relief of the common people were resented by the nobility and may thus have contributed to his downfall. Richard labored to win the allegiance of the Stanleys and the House of Percy with friendship and favors, but he did not compel it. And so we encounter the puzzling spectacle of Lord Stanley, with a history of wavering loyalties and a wife who was both mother to Henry Tudor and a proven conspirator, receiving permission to return to his estates on the eve of Henry's invasion. Until then, Richard had prudently kept Lord Stanley at his side (and asking for Stanley's son in return was an entirely inadequate gesture of continuing prudence). It was, says Kendall, as if he wanted Bosworth Field to be a test of men's allegiance to him, of their uncoerced love and loyalty. Would he have so grievously imperiled his brother Edward's realm? (Or his own, while his son yet lived?)

Imprudently too, Richard acquiesced in Percy, Earl of Northumberland's excuse on the eve of battle, that his men "were much wearied, their horses likewise, from the speed with which they had come south" (in fact, the Earl had been reluctant to engage any real support for his King and had not even told the city of York that Richard needed help). Kendall suggests that Richard was "too weary of spirit" to object, though "in acceding to the Earl's request [that his troops stay in the rear], he must have realized that many a man

beneath the Percy standard had no idea of his lord's treachery and would have followed the King with a will." Noting that Northumberland could have been "quietly put into custody," Kendall notes, too, an earlier opportunity that Richard did not take to cut "the very pith of Henry Tudor's strength" when Elizabeth Woodville sent her daughters forth from sanctuary. Richard could easily — and prudently — have married them off; and without the projected marriage to a daughter of Edward IV, it is doubtful that Henry Tudor could ever have mustered support for his invasion, doubtful that the battle of Bosworth Field need ever have taken place.

Richard's great courage on the field of battle is legendary. As Kendall tells it, he almost succeeded in a desperate drive at the head of his Household to attack Henry Tudor himself, felling one of Henry's mighty bodyguards and felling Henry's standard-bearer ... before Sir William Stanley's cavalry cut him down. This is the stirring spirit that risks all for a single chance at victory, that relies on personal prowess and freely chosen fellowship. I applaud it, and yet, on sober reflection, I cannot but feel that the hope of personal combat solving all — of battle, 'Kendall says, "as the trial of loyalty and the answer to betrayal, the fulfillment of [Richard's] reign and the registry of Heaven's judgment" — conceals indeed a great weariness of spirit; that it conceals the failure of a more extended and sustained political courage.

"If he could have prolonged his reign to 20 years instead of two, he might have overlaid with success and good deeds the memory of his path to the throne," writes A.R. Myers, marveling at what Richard *did* accomplish — and might have gone on to accomplish "had he been granted time. .." (Myers, 520) Time is not simply "granted," though. At least, in part, it is a function of our own actions or inactions. Having made a decision that effectively doomed his

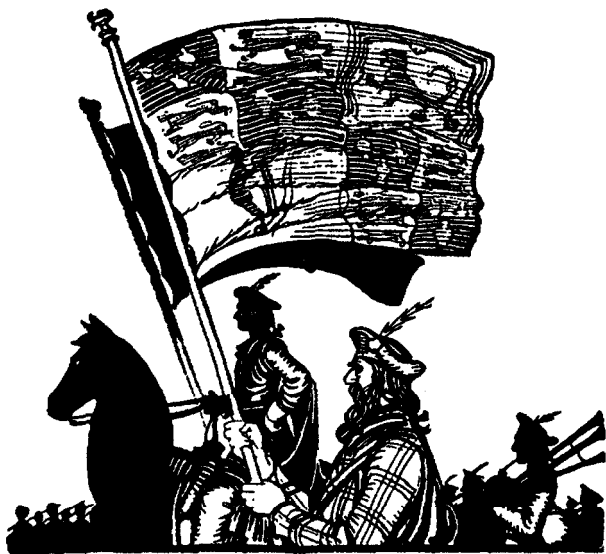
nephews, says Kendall, Richard "lacked the sustained and purposive ruthlessness which, though it would not have enhanced the happiness nor probably even the tranquility of the realm, would doubtless have assured his grip upon it." (K., 384) But if Richard wielded power with a conscientious — indeed an obsessively conscientious — regard for the well-being of the English people (as both Kendall and Myers suggest), should we not wish him to have assured his grip upon it with the "purposive ruthlessness" that in Henry VII is called political prudence? Is Kendall suggesting that the happiness of the realm was enhanced by Richard's defeat?

Second-guessing history is a futile task. It seems a bit late in the day to observe that, in the end, Richard III's preoccupation with personal honor lost 15th-century England a government of rare enlightenment; but the moral dilemma he faced — the problem that Machiavelli "solved" with outrageous boldness — is, I think, a problem of ongoing moral relevance.

## Notes

- 1 Thomas More, *History of King Richard III*, ed. R. Sylvester (New York: Yale University Press, 1976), p. 8.
- 2 Alec R. Myers, "The Character of Richard III," *History Today* 4 (1954), p. 515. Hereafter cited as Myers.
- 3 Paul Murray Kendall, *Richard the Third* (New York, W.W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1956), p. 428. Hereafter cited as Kendall (or K.).
- 4 Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Prince and the Discourses* (New York, Modern Library, 1940), p. 57. Hereafter cited as Machiavelli (or M.).
- 5 Ernst Cassirer, *The Myth of the State*, rpt. in J-P Baricelli, *Machiavelli? the Prince: Text and Commentary* (Woodbury, New York: Barron's Educational Series, Inc., 1975), p. 300.
- 6 John H. Whitfield, *Machiavelli* (New York, Russell & Russell, 1965). Hereafter cited as Whitfield (or W.).
- 7 Neal Wood, "Machiavelli's Concept of Virtù Reconsidered," *Political Studies*, 15 (1967), p. 161. Hereafter cited as Wood.
- 8 James Atkinson, *The Prince* (Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1956), p. 162.
- 9 In support of this conjecture, I can report that my daughter informed me of her own "lopsided" shoulder development at the close of the MIT women's rugby season, caused, she said, by consistently right-sided pushing.

[Ms. Lepley's article was originally written for a graduate class at the University of Pittsburgh and is based on Kendall's biography of Richard III. Ms. Lepley asserts she is not breaking any new scholastic ground — merely suggesting a connection between two areas of respected literary-historical scholarship.]



## THE ROLE AND STATUS OF HERALDS

Amy Elizabeth Fahey

Since receiving the Schallek Award from the Richard III Society last summer, I have continued my dissertation researches into the role of heralds and heraldry in the later middle ages. The focus of my research and writing in the past several months has been on establishing a better understanding of the status of heralds and their corporate entity, The College of Arms, during the latter half of the fifteenth-century. Toward this end, I have been researching, drafting and revising two chapters, "Printing, Public Display and the Restoration of Chivalry," and "Late Fifteenth-Century Heraldic Literature." Both chapters deal with different aspects of the relationship between heralds, heraldry, and the visual and literary culture of the fifteenth-century.

Several aspects of Richard III's disposition and reign are crucial to an understanding of the role of heralds and heraldry during the latter half of the fifteenth-century. Richard is not alone in exhibiting conflicting attitudes toward chivalry, status, and public display. Rather, Richard's social attitudes are characteristic of a period in which chivalric symbolism and its promoters (chief among which were the heralds) were simultaneously viewed with suspicion and increased regard. Paul Murray Kendall is correct in noting that "elements of this antithesis are symbolized in Richard's founding and incorporation of the Herald's College — the movement towards organization and systematization pointing to the future and the interest in crests, coats of arms and ancestral lineage suggesting a love of the past." This conflicted aspect of both Richard's personality and late fifteenth-century culture is reflected in his attraction to feudalism and his promotion of the interests of the rising middle class.

Indeed, Richard was instrumental in the institutionalization of the heralds' armorial duties, both by granting them a charter of incorporation in 1483/84 and by giving them Coldharbour, one of the most prestigious London houses, as a repository for their books, records, and rolls of arms. This tangible recognition of heraldic authority in armorial matters came at a time when the heralds increasingly viewed themselves as the chief promoters and defenders of chivalry, and lent increased momentum and legitimacy to their literary, armorial, and ceremonial activities. We know, for instance, that heralds played a key role in the coronation proceedings of Richard III and Anne Neville, receiving an unprecedented 100 pounds

"largesse" for their various duties. As the records indicate, no fewer than 18 heralds were involved in the procession, each "with the Kinges cote armour upon them, serving as bold human advertisements of the King's authority." The heralds also fulfilled their ancient Greek duty as "proclaimers", crying the king's style and declaring the challenge to "any man that will saye the contrary why that King Richarde shulde not pretend and have the crowne." BL Harley Manuscript 433 also records several grants and annuities made by Richard III to his trusted heralds, and contains several lists of instructions to heralds to convey sensitive messages about military and domestic matters. Such documents illustrate the range of functions which heralds continued to fulfill even as their armorial and ceremonial duties vastly increased.

The heraldic texts produced during and immediately after Richard's brief reign also indicate the extent to which the monarch helped fuel the interest in lineage, genealogy, and coat armor. The famous Rous Roll, for instance, is one of the most elaborate armorial roll-chronicles from the fifteenth-century, and provides a mythical and historical illustrated genealogy up to Queen Anne Neville, Richard III, and their son Edward, Prince of Wales. Richard also commissioned Caxton's translation of Ramon Lull's *The Book of the Ordre of Chyualry*, in which great emphasis is placed on the significance of a knight's coat armour and the role of heralds in the creation of a knight. By making a careful study of these and related chivalric and heraldic texts, I have been able to define and chronicle the burgeoning responsibilities, erudition, and mythical status surrounding the promotion and production of heraldic imagery in the late fifteenth-century.

In later fifteenth-century literature, the convergence of chivalric attitudes and the ambitions of the rising gentry is exemplified in efforts such as the Grete *Boke* compiled by the scribe William Ebesham for Sir John Paston in 1468. This heraldic miscellany illustrates the profound interest in coats of arms, precedence, ceremony, jousts, and other activities in which the heralds were intimately involved. Many of the items in the Grete *Boke* were originally written and compiled by heralds. Close examination of the contents of manuscripts such as the Grete *Boke*, with careful attention to the rising fortunes of families like the Pastons from middle-class to gentry status in the fifteenth-century.

There are many other texts and treatises to which I have devoted attention in these chapters, from Caxton's edition of Malory to the much-reprinted treatise on hawking, hunting, and heraldry, *The Boke of St. Albans*. All have shed light on the profound imaginative and cultural implications of heraldic practice during the late fifteenth-century.

Of course, the literature and practice of heraldry continued to evolve after Richard's short reign and generous patronage had ended. After only eighteen months of occupation, the heralds were expelled from Coldharbour to make room for Henry VII's mother, Lady Margaret Beaufort. It was not until 1555 under the reign of Mary Tudor that the heralds were given a new charter and a new residence called Derby Place. In the intervening years, the fate of heraldic libraries was probably in the hands of the individual heralds, such as John Writhe, Garter King of Arms, who passed his collection (which reputedly contained much of the college's collection) on to his son, Garter King of Arms Thomas Wriothesley. During the reigns of the early Tudors, the rules for granting and receiving coat armour were increasingly undefined. With Henry VIII's institution of periodic heraldic visitations, in which the heralds would travel from shire to shire to make a written account of arms lawfully and unlawfully held, the heralds became both rigidly bureaucratic and subject to corruption by brib-

ery. It was not until the late sixteenth-century when serious reform efforts were instituted to curb the excessive powers of heralds. The literary reputations of heralds during this period of transition reflects the widespread anxiety and social confusion about status, lineage, genealogy, and coats of arms.

Once I complete the two chapters which deal with the fifteenth-century material, I will then go back and revise earlier chapters written, dealing with late fourteenth-century and early Tudor materials. I hope to submit a completed dissertation manuscript by early spring, and hope to have my doctorate by May of 1997. Such steady progress would not have been possible without the generous support of the Richard III Society and their Schallek Award, and I thank you for your interest in and support of my project.

### Works Cited

- Horrox, Rosemary E., and Hammond, I? W., (eds.), *British Library Harleian Manuscript 433*, 4 vols, Richard III Society, 1979-83.
- Kendall, Paul Murray, *Richard III*, Sphere Books Limited, 1955.
- Sutton, Anne F., and Hammond, P.W., (eds.), *The Coronation of Richard III: the Extant Documents*, St. Martin's Press, 1983.

## PERSONAL KINGSHIP

One of the banes of studying medieval and early modern governments is the frequency with which phrases such as "popular politics," "constitutional thought" and "personal monarchy" appear. While particular authors are able to explain very competently what these things mean when applied to a specific time and place, more often these phrases only serve to mystify the reader. While sounding particularly authoritative and sweeping, the use of such broad terms tends not to give the reader much sense of exactly what is meant. Things like "popular politics" or "personal monarchy" appear to be simple ideas. However, when it comes right down to it, getting a handle on the political mentalité and expression of, say, the late fifteenth-century can be quite difficult.

One of the positive things that came out of my dissertation research into late fifteenth-century government was a clearer understanding of what 'personal monarchy' really means. The term has always troubled me somewhat. It seems simple enough. When a king has absolute authority it would appear

fairly obvious that the king's personal inclinations and preferences will somehow become manifest in how his government is run. The only murky bit is how the king puts his personality into the government.

Edward I, Henry IV and Elizabeth I were all "absolute monarchs" exercising a "personal monarchy" but the scope of each's power was very different and each was constrained by entirely different political situations and assumptions. What of their governments was the result of the king's personality and wishes and what a result of circumstance? The late fifteenth-century, if anything, seems somewhat worse in this respect. Social and political historians tend to emphasize the cult of personality without really explaining its impact on the daily machinery of government which is, indeed, a very difficult thing to do given the state of the records. On the other hand, some administrative historians have chosen to emphasize the continuity of government personnel, and by implication daily government, over several reigns. These historians contend that, despite all of the larger political upheavals, for example of the Wars of the

R. M. Jennens

Roses, government was a fairly constant thing, effectively negating the role of "personal monarchy" as far as the more routine matters of government business were concerned.

In some ways it is really nice to think that there was continuity. It would certainly explain why most people didn't seem to get too upset by all of the factional fighting, and why England in the fifteenth-century didn't degenerate into the half-functioning state of paralysis that France did during the Wars of Religion in the 16th- and 17th-centuries. But the lure of personality in "pre-modern" government remains strong.

How all of this worked together began to become clear as I waded through various sets of council minutes and memoranda of Edward IV, Richard III and Henry VII. My dissertation looks at the role of and effect of the introduction of a large number of common lawyers into the central portions of English government in the late fifteenth-century. Edward IV was the monarch responsible for beginning and establishing this trend. What is interesting about this from the standpoint of personal monarch is that while many of these lawyers served at least two if not three of the late fifteenth-century kings, often in the same or very similar capacities, each king's personality is very distinctly stamped on how the various councils carried out and recorded their business. It doesn't really seem to matter whether the council in question was the royal council, or a council in which the king didn't usually sit such as the Duchy of Lancaster council, the Council of the North, or the council for Wales and the Marches.



The thing that seemed most interesting was that while the business was largely the same in a particular council grouping across all three reigns — the argument for continuity and stability despite political upheaval — how the business was recorded, and one gets a feeling how was carried out, varied remarkably. Take the Duchy of Lancaster, which has the largest number of surviving records, for instance. Under Edward IV the records vary in quality depending on the time of

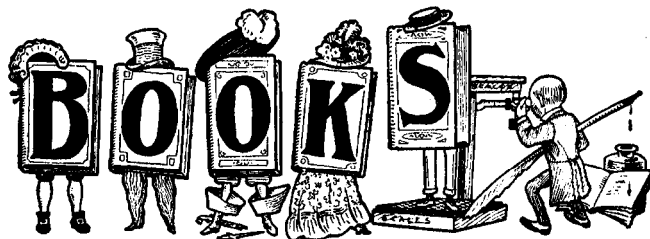
year, whether or not the council was on tour and how important (or annoying) the matter at hand was. The council minutes include general discussions and decisions, delegation of matters to "sub-committees" or to commissions, and oblique references to the king's wishes in certain matters. The really tantalizing material in these minutes is the few surviving draft copies of the minutes which contain much more detail and evidence of actual discussion of specific topics. Over all, however, the general impression is one of a fairly relaxed, though businesslike, atmosphere. Defiance of a conciliar order or a larger political crisis, of course, brought swift and harsh reaction but generally it seems that the council relied on its role as an arbitrator to resolve issues rather than routinely relying on the king's majesty to over-awe recalcitrant subjects. These records also give the impression that the king considered the duchy council, for the most part, competent to deal with matters on its own. At this point it is necessary to remember, though, that half or more of the duchy council also served on the royal council or in the royal households and that the council routinely sat in Westminster. None of these men were likely to be unaware of the king's interests or wishes.

The situation under Richard III is somewhat different. There are vastly fewer surviving records for his short reign than for his brother's relatively long one. This makes any generalization somewhat less sure, but there are striking differences between duchy minutes for the two reigns. The first thing one notices is the continuity of personnel. Records for both Edward IV and Richard III list members present and they are much the same. The similarities end there. The minutes for Richard III are uniformly neat and orderly in appearance, unlike the previous reign's. The minutes also take on an aura much like that of a modern court report with notes, and occasionally verbatim, of what both sides in a dispute said to the council and in response to each other. Council decisions are brusquely stated and penalties for noncompliance usually outlined. The really interesting thing is, that where drafts for these minutes survive, the only thing that substantially differs between the draft and the official minutes is how neat the records appear. The drafts are, in appearance, much more like the minutes of Edward IV's reign with occasional slips of penmanship or organization. But, the content of these records is almost identical to the final copy — there is no sense of the camaraderie or argument that can be found in the drafts from Edward IV's reign. It is all business, and serious business at that.

There is fairly strong contrast again when the records for Henry VII's reign begin. In some ways the records for his reign are the most frustrating. To begin

with, it is more difficult to ascertain who sat at which sessions, as a record of those present was not kept regularly beyond the first several months of the reign. The other annoying thing, but also fascinating in several respects, is how records for other royal council meetings, particularly the Council Learned at Law, appear mixed in with duchy records. Particularly as the reign progresses there is a real blurring between the business of the different councils. No doubt this could be attributed to Henry VII's ever-increasing reliance on a small core group of men, all the same, it is interesting to see it in action. Duchy minutes for Henry VII's reign also let in another light onto how his government functioned. Unlike those for Edward IV when royal decrees or letters were barely mentioned except by inference or oblique comment, or those for Richard III where a distinct impression of a hovering royal interest resides, the minutes for Henry VII's reign are liberally sprinkled with copies of royal letters, decrees, verbal messages, records of royal visits to the council chamber and the like. There is a sense that Henry VII felt a need or desire to participate personally in every decision. This becomes unpleasantly clear towards the end of the reign when the minutes cease to resemble records of discussions and merely become lists of who owed what to the king, legal action to be taken, punishment to be administered and only very rarely an acknowledgment that a particular royal course of action had not achieved the desired results.

"Personal monarchy", it becomes somewhat clearer, had as much to do with managerial style, assumptions and understandings shared by the ruling and personal chemistry as it did with any direct interference or direction from the king, even at the highest levels. This seems to be particularly true for the Yorkist kings, while markedly less so for Henry VII, who seemed to rely far more on active interference in daily activities. What it comes down to in the end is the historian's perception of personalities and attitudes.



## NEW PENMAN OFFERING FOR MEDIEVAL MYSTERY MAVENS

Many long-term Ricardians foster a special place in their hearts for Sharon Kay Penman, author of several excellent novels about Richard and the Yorkist era. Her most recent novel was *When Christ and His Saints Slept*.

Due to be released in November, 1996 is Ms. Penman's latest, *The Queen's Man*, a medieval mystery featuring Justin de Quincy. This is the first of a planned series.

Eleanor of Aquitaine sits on England's throne. At seventy, she has outlived the husband who once imprisoned her, but she may have also outlived her favored son, Richard Lionheart. Bent on keeping her youngest son, John, from seizing the crown, Eleanor anxiously awaits news of Richard.

Published by Henry Hot, the book will retail for \$25.00. We'll all be looking forward to Myrna Smith's review!

## THE HOURS OF RICHARD III Now AVAILABLE IN PAPERBACK

Alan Sutton Publishing has announced the release of a paperback version of *The Hours of Richard III* by Anne Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs.

Many Ricardians have sighed over this volume at the AGM sales table, but at \$43.00 the hardbound volume was beyond their price range. At \$22.95 list, this book with its full-page, full-color illustrations of several pages from Richard's book of hours, is within the price range of many more Ricardians.

Alan Sutton has also reissued *The Trial of Richard III* and *The Betrayal of Richard III*. Although the Sales Office is closed for mail order sales, these titles will be available in limited quantity at the AGM.

NEW DEVELOPMENTS ON THE  
RICHARD III SOCIETY WORLD WIDE WEB SITE

Laura Blanchard

One of the Society's original aims is "to circulate all relevant historical information to members of the Society, the media and all educational organizations." The growth of the World Wide Web offers us opportunities to do so in ways our founders never dreamed of.

**McKellen Film Section.** To correspond with the release of the new film version of Shakespeare's *Richard III*, we added an extensive set of pages including plot summaries, cast lists, biographies of principal players, production notes and an interview with Sir Ian McKellen. The materials were very kindly supplied by Mayfair Entertainment International.

As a result of this coverage, MGM built a link from their site to ours, and during the height of interest in the film we were averaging between 1,000 and 1,500 file requests a day.

**Travel Section Manager Wanted.** Although we established a Ricardian travel section, with information on Ricardian tours and the promise of more to come, this section could really use a project manager — someone with a knowledge of Ricardian Britain and a flair for writing and design. Ideally, this person could simply take the section and run with it, but if you're willing to work on the content, I'll work on the technology or find someone to help you—just contact me.

**Honors and Awards.** The Society's site won a coveted Point Communications "Top 5% of the Web" award in January, and was featured as a "Top Ten Web Site" by America Online for the week of February 19. AOL also built a link from its film section to our site. We're listed as "related Internet resources" from the *Britannica Online* entry on Richard III. And, while it is not a formal award, we're pleased that the Folger Shakespeare Library has requested that we provide them with a copy of our Web site on disk for their archives.

**More Online Resources.** When we started the site, it was intended to be a source of information on the Society, an "electronic storefront." As it evolves, it is growing into a significant resource for students and teachers. Over the past six months, new source material on the site has included:

- ***The Ballad of Bosworth Field.*** All 175 stanzas of this sixteenth-century poem which some historians think is based on an eyewitness account. The list of nobles who fought on Richard's side goes on for

pages. Extensively annotated with convenient hypertext references.

- ***Bosworth Field, prima y sources.*** Michael Bennett kindly gave us permission to use his excerpts of contemporary and Tudor accounts of the battle, some based on his own translations.
- ***The Arrival of Edward IV.*** A refreshing change of pace from all that nasty *Lancastrian* propaganda—a frankly Yorkist-biased chronicle.

**Online Hypertext Edition of Shakespeare's *Richard III*.**

This resource is still under construction, and probably will be for years. Nancy Laney from the Pacific Northwestern Chapter created a digital edition of the play and carefully combed Charles Ross's *Richard III* for the relevant historical background. Act I has been prepared and placed on the site. Hypertext links take the reader from Shakespeare's play to the actual historical background at various places in the Act. Ross's biography is traditionalist in tone, of course. We chose it so that our historical source would be above any suspicion of pro-Richard bias, and it makes an effective contrast to the play despite its traditional tone. Later we plan to add links to Shakespeare's chronicle sources and, ultimately, to performance history.

Many students have difficulty locating some of this material in their local libraries, and may not have ready access to a good interlibrary loan program. Some of these materials are only available to those who can make personal visits to special collections libraries and have the credentials to gain access to the documents once they get there. Our work in putting primary source materials on the Web levels the playing field for these students — and for Ricardians, as well. We've been getting three or four thank-you notes a week from students who say they've benefited from the materials on our site. The three source works cited above were prepared for the World Wide Web by Judie Gall, whose willingness to keyboard overwhelming quantities of Middle English knows no bounds. We have other volunteers at work on Walpole's *Historic Doubts* and on More's *History of King Richard III*. We hope that eventually we will have every relevant public domain source on our Web site so that theoretically a user could access all the relevant source documents with just a few mouse clicks.

The Richard III Society Web site is gaining wide acceptance in the scholarly community. Many English

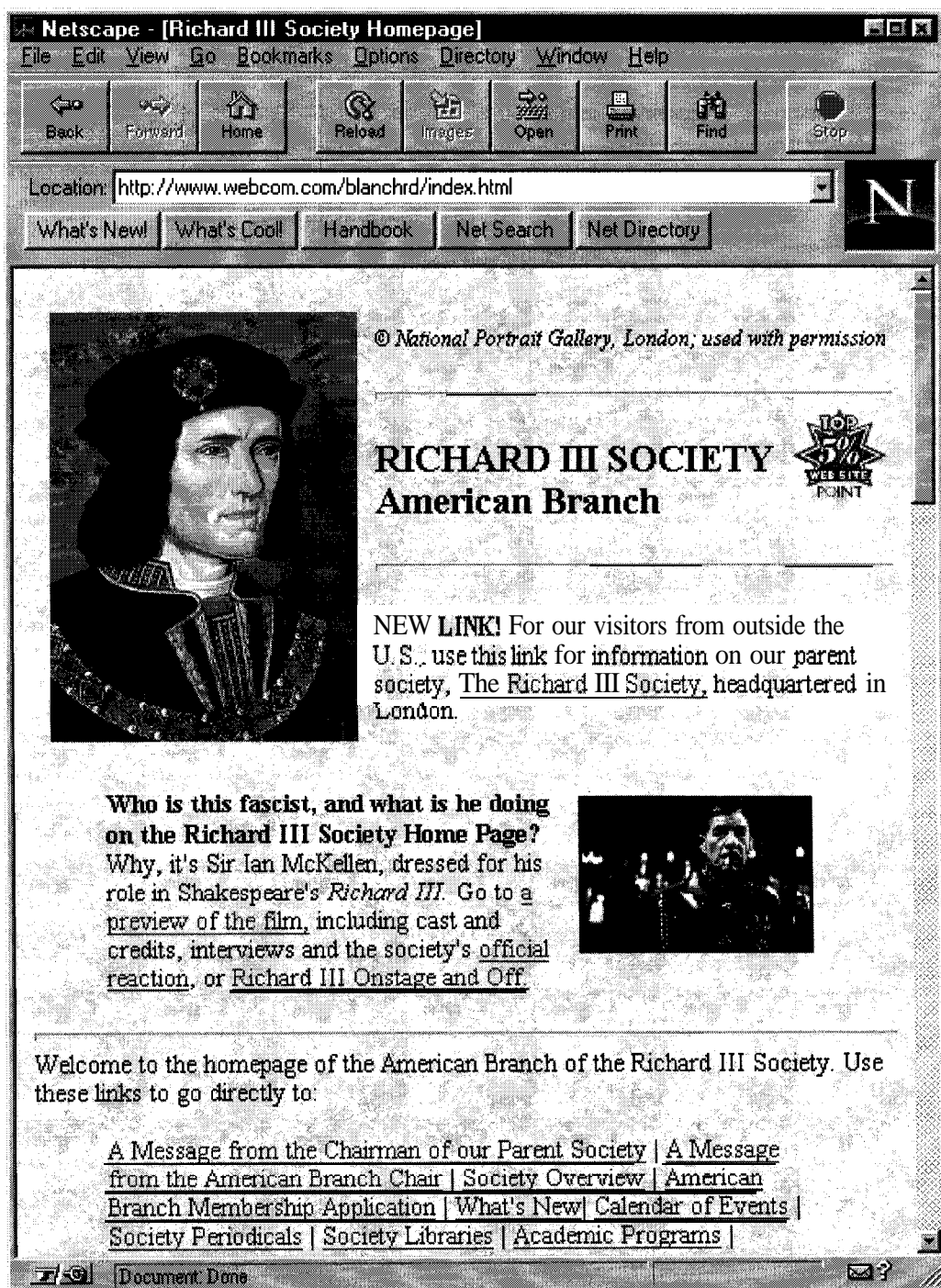


literature professors are building links to our site from their syllabi on Shakespeare's history plays. We're also listed in The Labyrinth, the interdisciplinary resource for medieval studies at Georgetown University; ORB, the online reference book for medieval studies from the University of Kansas; and Carnegie Mellon University's Electronic Text directory. Our site is visited daily by between 100 and 150 individual "surfers." Cyberspace continues to be a frontier, though, ever

expanding and with plenty of opportunity for any member who'd like to help spin the World Wide Ricardian Web. Just let me know what piece of the property you'd like to claim.

You can reach the Richard III Society on the World Wide Web at:

<http://www.webcom.com/blanchrd/gateway.html>



*The Society's Homepage on the Web*

# SCATTERED STANDARDS

## (CHAPTER NEWS & UPDATES)



### Illinois Chapter

The chapter is busy planning the 1997 AGM. Discussions on the theme for AGM are underway with a proposal for a mystery theme getting strong consideration. A mystery dinner, possibly on the theme of what happened to the princes is a possibility.

Six workshops are planned, two each at the three morning sessions.

The chapter held a successful exhibit at the Downers Grove Library earlier this year. Former president Mary Miller reported the exhibit may have brought in new members. Future exhibits at local libraries and bookstores are under consideration.

The English Ricardian carried an article on the Illinois chapter's observance of Bosworth Day last August at the Episcopal Cathedral of St. James. The chapter can provide information on this memorial service to other chapters upon request.

*Janice Weiner, President*

### Michigan Chapter

The Seventh Annual Coronation Banquet will be held July 6th. The speaker will be Larry Irwin who will discuss Lord Francis Lovell.

The chapter has held a series of programs studying the life of Richard. In January Dianne Batch discussed the events following Richard's coronation and leading up to his death. In April Eileen Prinsen discussed Bosworth Field and the events of August 23, 1485.

Under consideration is a memorial service for Richard to be held in August.

Kenneth Shepherd, editor of Michigan's Ragged Staff, reports 50 newsletters are sent out, 97% to Michigan residents. Only seven members live outside the metro Detroit area.

*Kenneth Shepherd, Editor*

### Ohio Chapter

Plans are underway for the chapter's 10th anniversary meeting in July. One of the events will be a raffle for a statue of King Arthur. As of April the chapter had 35 paid members.

A group from the chapter attended the Ian McKellan movie, Richard III, in Columbus and passed out Society pamphlets. Dr. Compton Reeves had sug-

gested any comments made should be positive about the movie, but stress the inaccuracy of the history.

The chapter planned to staff a booth at Renfare at Ohio State University in May. The theme of the annual fare was the War of the Roses. Members presented information on Richard III and offered bookmarks and t-shirts for sale. A raffle for a statue of a knight in armor was also held.

The April meeting was held at an English tea shop in Fairborn. Following the official meeting John Moosmiller presented a slide show of important places in Richard's life plus scenes from his tours of the countryside in 1483-85. This was followed by a three course high tea.

Dr. Reeves reported on his trip to Bosworth via tour bus with the English branch last August 20 at the January meeting. Being the only non-Brit in the group was quite an experience. The tour included the memorial service at Sutton Cheney church and visits to the Bosworth Battlefield Center and to the Sutton Cheney Village Hall for refreshments.

He also reported on the Annual General Meeting from September 29 to October 1 in Seattle. He said the Northwest chapter did itself proud with music, stories and workshops on the theatrical side of Richard III, the Tower of London and Richard and the Worldwide Web.

Pat Coles presented a program on brass rubbings. It was an entertaining, hands-on experience, with a choice of subjects — knights and ladies, St. George and the dragon, the Virgin and Child — to reproduce on black paper using copper, silver or gold wax.

*Janet Harris, Secreta y*





*Someday my prince will come. . .*

📖 *The Grimaldis of Monaco* - Anne Edwards, William Morrow & Co, NY, 1992

What have the Grimaldis to do with us, or we with them? Well, they came to power as *Ducs de Monaco* (becoming princes by the expedient of declaring themselves so) at about the same time the Plantagenets did, and they are still doing business in the same location. How did they do it? Simple, really. In 1454, Jean de Grimaldi decreed that, if there were no sons, the principality would pass to the eldest daughter, providing her husband changed his name to Grimaldi. In 1487, Lambert (!?) Grimaldi amended this to exclude those members of the family who had 'entered religion', and subsequent legislation allowed for adopted sons or daughters to succeed. If England had had this provision, there would have been no question about Elizabeth of York inheriting her father's title, **Henry Tudor** would have adopted her name (Su-u-re he would!) and the Plantagenets would still be around.

In fact, the question seldom came up in Monaco. The first ruling princess, in the 17th-century, not only ruled in her own name, but barred her husband from the country. She might have gotten away with it, but she died of smallpox within a year of her accession. Her widower, feeling hard done by, tried to get his 8-year-old son to abdicate in his favor, but the *Mona-gasques* were having none of that. The second such princess willingly — maybe even eagerly — abdicated in favor of her son, the current incumbent.

In spite of this early experiment in feminism, or at least Lucy Stoneism, the historic Grimaldis were hardly progressive thinkers. They fell with the Bourbons at the time of the French Revolution, were restored with the Bourbons, and almost made the Bourbons look like liberals. Prince Ranier III remains the sole absolute monarch in Europe. He probably could not get away with ordering a beheading, but he can order the suspension of Parliament, and has on occasion. To his credit, he is not an absentee landlord, as many of his predecessors were, most of them preferring to live at the French court rather than on their rocky and infinitesimal lands. It wasn't until the mid-nineteenth-century that a canny Grimaldi wife had the brainstorm of establishing a spa-cum-casino. Prior to this, the princes could only relieve some of the financial burden on the citizens by marrying for money, which they did, with the predictable result that nei-

## RICARDIAN READING

*Myrna Smith*

ther spouse felt the necessity of fidelity. The author subtitles her book: "The centuries of scandal, the years of Grace." Reading about the prince who hung his wife's lovers in *effigy*, or the American-born princess (no, her name was Alice) who took up with a man much younger and a head shorter than she was, or the mother-of-the-groom who brought her jewel-thief lover to the wedding of the century, you can certainly see why.

As the subtitle suggests, the book concerns itself mostly with the later Grimaldis, because they are naturally better documented and, no doubt, of more interest to the reader. As for the "years of Grace", no doubt she will be beatified, because only a saint could have put up with her in-laws! In this cynical world, with marriages breaking up on all sides, it is pleasing to report that Grace and Ranier did live reasonably happily ever after.

The illustrations, naturally, favor the more recent family members, but the genealogical tables go back to the 12th-century. They are written in French, but are not difficult to figure out. Surprisingly, the family tree of the Kellys of Philadelphia is omitted. — m.s.

*Midpleasures and palaces tho' I may roam . . .*

📖 *Pleasures and Pastimes In Medieval England* - Compton Reeves, Alan Sutton Publishing Ltd, Stroud, Gloucestershire, 1995

This delightful volume is a window on the medieval mind and creates a more complete picture of medieval life for the ordinary people as well as for the wealthy and noble households. It is a broad survey rather than an in-depth study of a narrow topic. It is a scholarly work solidly based in primary sources, and the style is fresh and quite readable. There are well-chosen illustrations, from drawings to misericord carvings, as well as quotations from period writings.

Art and music were created for communication, for the teaching of unlettered masses, and were mainly used by the Church with little credit going to the individual artist. Many pastimes from medieval times are still popular and recognizable in modern activities such as board and card games. The queens in the four suits of cards are supposed to represent Elizabeth of York holding a white rose. Soccer began in the 13th-century. Golf, skating, horse racing, hunting and fishing have received improvements in technology but are

basically the same. Geoffrey Chaucer was a bird-watcher, and nurseries existed in early medieval times to supply the needs of gardeners.

Medieval people kept pets and the modern English person's love of animals grew out of that tenderness for pets. But the fondness for animals was not so developed that bear, bull and boar baitings were not popular amusements.

Manners and matters of honor are given interesting treatment, as are drama, style of dress and ornamentation, heraldry and medicine. This is a highly informative, interesting, and valuable book.

☒ Cromwell Films: 'Campaigns in *History: The Wars of the Roses, Blood, Treachery and Cold Steel*' 1994

This video starts with Bosworth, showing Richard's violent death, and then moves backward to Agincourt and Henry V. The usurpation of Henry IV and the murder of Richard II are not included. Toward the middle of the film the Plantagenet genealogy is shown, but the strong Yorkist claim to the throne is de-emphasized. Explanations are given by Dr. David Chandler, head of the Department of War Studies at Sandhurst, and the film is ironically narrated by Brian Blessed, who played Richard IV in the *Blackadder* series.

The battle scenes are vivid and gory. An actor clad in medieval garments reads eye-witness accounts of the first Battle of St. Albans and Tewkesbury. Shades of Shakespeare, there is a white boar flag at Towton! The presentation of Richard's ascending the throne is well-balanced and Shakespeare is called "a Tudor propagandist" and therefore an untrustworthy source. "Gradually the white rose claimants died out" is an inaccurate statement, ignoring as it does the political murders committed by Henry VII and Henry VIII. Blessed does point out that the "execution" of Margaret de la Pole in 1541 was due to her descent from George, Duke of Clarence.

The film ends with the statement that the struggle between the red and white roses goes on today, but more humanely, on the cricket field. This statement is not further explained. The video is accompanied by the appropriate volume of *A Short History of The English People*, by John Richard Green. This was published in 1892, an era when historical standards were less well-defined than they are now, an era when Richard is usually depicted as More's monster. Though Green does not doubt that Richard murdered his nephews, he presents an image of an enlightened and courageous monarch. His picture of Henry VII is less attractive. His chief aim was the accumulation of treasure, which he accomplished by "a host of petty extortions", and his policy was "steady in the direction of despotism."

— Dale Summers, TX

*Be it ever so bumble. ....*

☒ *The Proud Villains* - Valerie Anand-SMP, NY, 1990  
*The Ruthless Yeomen* - SMP, 1991  
*Women Of Ashdon* - SMP, 1992  
 all in the "Bridges over Time" series.

Where most multi-generational sagas draw on the middle class, at the lowest, for their characters, Ms. Anand reminds us that 'the short and simple annals of the poor' are neither so short or so simple. There is no reason they could not have emotional lives as rich and complicated as any of their "betters", and in Anand's hands they are as skillfully drawn.

The saga starts some twenty years before the Norman Conquest, when the progenitor of the family, who is, in fact, a Norman knight, is captured at the battle of Gildenford. This battle, incidentally, is the pivotal event of the author's debut novel, *Gildenford* (Scribner's, NY, 1977). He is sold as a slave to a Danish family in Yorkshire. Although they work alongside their thralls in the fields, they nevertheless consider that they have the right to do anything they want with 'their people', and they are not at all prepared to listen to Ivon de Clairmont's claim that he is a free man. In time Sir Ivon ceases to insist, because after 1066 he no longer wants to be a Norman. As the years pass, his offspring by a thrall-woman, under a variety of names — family names were not yet used for peasants — take several steps up: first to serfdom, then to freedom, finally to gentlemanly pursuits and a degree of wealth. (Maybe not finally. There's a hint of more to come in the last-mentioned book.) Several themes recur during the series, including a brooch with a stylized bridge, hence the series title.

The books are jam-packed with incident, but not at the expense of character. Aside from their own dramas, the characters get involved on occasion with the larger events of their times (e.g. the Peasant's Revolt, the religious disputes of Elizabeth's reign), or at least discuss them (Magna Carta). Alongside the tragedy is hilarious comedy, sometimes inextricably mixed with it. The bull that gets loose at rent-time, for example, is good for a belly-laugh, but when he dashes into a stream and drowns, it's a tragedy for all concerned — including the bull.

Though her sympathies are clearly with the common folk, Anand does not darken the gentlefolk. Their motivations are understandable, and even the kings and queens, when they appear, are delineated as recognizable human beings. There are only a few deep-dyed villains, who are spread throughout the classes. And, yes, she is pro-Richard, though not anti-Tudor. — m.s.

*There's no place like home*

📖 **The Living American House - George Ordish,**  
William Morrow & Co., NY, 1981. Illustrated by  
Clarke Hutton

If you are a fan of multi-generational sagas, here is one with a difference, in which the non-human parties are just as important as the others, if not more so. There are three interconnected volumes: **The Living House** and **The Living Garden**, which have an English setting, and this one, which concerns itself with the American branch of the same (human) family. Neither history (though historical events do impinge on it) nor natural history — the subtitle calls it “an ecological history” — none of the books goes back before the mid-sixteenth century. They are nonetheless most interesting. Learn what happened when the moths got into the wine cellar “suffering a fate akin to that of the noble Duke of Clarence;” how to get rid of mice if you don’t have a cat; the real truth about cats and dogs; and more than you probably ever wanted to know about a variety of creepy-crawlies. And if you share the tastes of Geoffrey Chaucer (see above), there is a lively section on birds. Try the library, inter-library loans, or used book shops for these. — m.s.

*A spoonful of sugar  
Makes the medicine go down. . .*

📖 **Medicine & Society In Later Medieval England**  
-Carole Rawcliffe (Alan Sutton Publishing Ltd,  
Stroud, Gloucester, 1995)

Carole Rawcliffe came to an interest in medicine through researching legal history, and through having the writing of this book coincide with “the only sustained illnesses of my adult life ... a little goes a long way.” Finding myself in complete agreement, I thus feel qualified to review this book, but will always be glad to hear from any Gentle Readers who have had medical experience — on either end of the stethoscope.

Actually, “interest in, and knowledge about, medicine extended far beyond a narrow group of university-trained practitioners”, and Ms. Rawcliffe discusses the attitudes of the people toward illness. Even though folks often regarded sickness as a punishment from God, or a gift from God, (to build up their spiritual muscles, as it were) this didn’t mean that they did not want to be cured. The author covers theory (the four humours) as well as practice (the difference between physicians and surgeons); treatments — if not cures — including the occult; and the position of women healers, who might be surgeons as well as midwives. She devotes a couple of chapters to a judicious survey of female practitioners.

The end result of their efforts? Rawcliffe cites research that shows life spans were “about 29 1/2 years for women, a year fewer for men.” (Shouldn’t that be “less”?) Childbirth and war took a toll of

course, although most women survived the former and most men the latter. In fact a substantial number of soldiers bore the scars of former battles. The death rates, high even by Third World standards today, resulted largely from high infant mortality and repeated epidemic diseases, rather than simple medical incompetence. There was much that the hopeful healers of the fifteenth-century didn’t know, but this was often because the technology to know did not yet exist. They were doing the best they could with what they had.

This is a handsome book, well researched, well illustrated, a worthy companion to the Reeves’ book, as it was offered by the History Book Club; but it can stand on its own as well. — m.s.

*Oh, the Hatfields and the Coys  
They was rugged mountain boys. ....  
Feudin’, a-fussin’ and a-fightin’  
Sometimes it gets to be excitin’*

📖 **Reluctant Rebel** - Mills & Boon, London, 1993.  
252 pg.

In this case it is the Hatfields and the Tarvins, on opposite sides during the Wars of the Roses. Our Juliet, Isabel Hatfield, does not wind up at the altar with young James Tarvin, however. Rather she is charmed away by Adam Westlake, part-time peddler, full-time Yorkist spy and die-hard, in the confused days after Bosworth. Isabel wishes her menfolk would just drop the matter and stay at home, but she is drawn into the plotting, against her wishes, and finds herself, at the end of the book, in Margaret of York’s court. There she meets “Richard of York” -who is not otherwise named, but must be the person later known as Per-kin Warbeck.

A good porch-swing and beach-blanket read, because it doesn’t pretend to be anything but a romance-cum-adventure. And it hews strictly to the conventional Ricardian line. — m.s.

*I married the widow who lives next door  
She'd been married seven times before ...  
Hennery the Eighth, I am, I am*

📖 **Kathryn In The Court Of Six Queens** -Anne Merton  
Abbey, Bantam Books, NY, 1989-454 pg. pb.

Ms. Abbey is a writer of “occult” novels, as well as historical fiction, and the two are amalgamated in this story, e.g. and to wit:

*“... For centuries before the first de Gael came to England there had existed a family whose sole purpose was to guard the god-path running like a seam of emerald green magic through the heart of the country. Then the de Gael acquired the priesthood and one day, without meaning to, the Divine Kingship. For exactly four hundred and forty-one years the de Gaels had been tying to shove the responsibility off on the*

*blood-kings Of England, and now there were these damned Tudors to deal with."*

The Tudors are damned mostly because they decline to act as human sacrifices. Richard III is praised mostly because of the way he met his death. And the de Gaels are hardly an advertisement for the Old Ways. Our hero's grandfather makes a Devil's bargain with Henry VII, but to fulfill it must kill his own son, as well as one of the princes. He takes the other into his household, but does away with him (it is implied) when he is no longer useful. Not until he has begotten a son, though, so our hero, John de Gael, is the legitimate king of England. Does he sacrifice himself? Not so you'd notice. The heroine is Kathryn Chase, fictional daughter of a fictional daughter of the real Thomas Howard, and also granddaughter, on her father's side (and the wrong side of the blanket) of Edward IV. She is beautiful and learned, not only in the usual arts, but also in what she would no doubt say was 'white magic.' In truth, she is a match for her grandfather-in-law, disposing of her children, both born and unborn, at her convenience. Well, that may be stating it a bit high — she *does* have a few qualms about killing one of her grown sons, and he was threatening her. And when she miscarries spontaneously, she is grief-stricken. But when another character has a miscarriage, Kathryn's concern is to get some of the blood to use in a spell. Given that coldness, and their egoism, neither of the leading characters — nor most of the supporting cast — are the kind of people most of us would care to associate with, and they're arrogant into the bargain.

The book follows John and Kathryn's adventures and love story, while they are each married to somebody else — more than one somebody else. Only in the last few pages are they finally married to each other, in the very nick of time. Ms. Abbey refers to the birth of "Jack de Gael, future 'Black Pope' of the Jesuits," which indicates, taken with the quotation above, that this too is part of a series or saga. Be warned. — m.s.

📖 *The Lion Invincible* - Carol Wembsy - Scott, London, Futura Publications, 1988

The last of a trilogy on the Earls of Northumbria during the Wars of the Roses, this book concerns itself with the Henry Percy who betrayed Richard III on Bosworth Field. Henry Percy is a child at the end of the second book, *Lion Dormant*. Conceived in the rape of an unwilling wife, odd in behavior, unlovely in appearance, unlovable in character, swarthy, sardonic and sinister

even as a child, he is taken into wardship by Edward IV and placed at Pembroke in the care of the Heberts, along with another Lancastrian child, Henry Tudor.

The character of Edward IV suffers in Wembsy-Scott's hands. Robbed of all honor, intelligence and charm, he is shallow, selfish, greedy, complacent and self-indulgent. He surely was devoted to the pursuit of food and women, but that is not all he was.

Richard endures much more at her hands. Her dedication gives one hope: "To the memory of Richard Plantagenet, King of England: neither saint nor devil but merely human." However, her idea of human is small and petty; he is naive, gauche, self-conscious and insecure. Stiff with honor and principle, he is unrepachable, but these very qualities will be his undoing. They arouse hostility in the queen's party because he cannot be bought. He sincerely loves the North, and all England and his wife and son. But his loyalty to Edward is more habit and lack of imagination. He feels no grief at Edward's death, but a sense of release, of freedom from the domination of his tall brothers. From Richard's first appearance to his last, he nurtures a kernel of envy and resentment against all tall men.

The council scene is straight out of More, minus the withered arm. Hastings, Anthony Woodville and Buckingham are presented as innocent sacrifices to Richard's ambition and insecurity. Richard murders his nephews and considers marrying his niece. In the former he is encouraged by his mother, who hates Elizabeth Woodville more than she loves her grandsons.

Percy's love for his wife and for Richard softens the bitter, cynical outlook which shapes his life. The reader is told that Percy loves Richard, but the emotion is not described in enough detail to make it convincing.

Wembsy-Scott is skillful in shaping prose and developing character. There are some small errors of fact. The Yorkist Duchess of Burgundy is called Mary rather than Margaret. Barnard Castle is placed on the Thames. I suppose that puts Baynard's Castle in County Durham! The author has a clear, moving and picturesque style.

-Dale Summers

### *Please, please me ...*

I must add my usual coda: more reviews, please. It isn't that Dale and I mind doing them — it's a pleasure. But you Gentle Readers may be getting tired of hearing from us all the time. Well, you've only yourselves to blame. So send your reviews, comments, complaints, anything! All are welcome.

## THREE SCHALLEK SCHOLARS FOR 1996-97 ACADEMIC YEAR

After reviewing the seven applications received this year, the Selection Committee has approved three candidates to receive the William B. Schallek Memorial Graduate Fellowship Award for the 1996-97 academic year. These awards, in the amount of \$500 or more, are given to students engaged in dissertation research or writing on a topic relating to the study of late medieval English history and culture, with preference given to topics closest to the time of Richard III.

The three scholars whose work is described below help to set Yorkist-era England firmly in a cultural continuum, in contrast to the picture of the time as a chaotic aberration proffered by the Tudor chroniclers.

### **Anna Dronzek, University of Minnesota.**

*Manners, Models, and Morals: Conduct Books for Women in Late Medieval England.*

"It has become a commonplace among scholars that women in the Middle Ages were bombarded with messages telling them to be chaste, silent, and obedient. It is less clear how women themselves reacted to these messages. One source for these ideals is conduct books, didactic texts that set out explicitly to teach women how to behave in a range of circumstances, from love affairs to the town market to their own households. These books, surviving in the greatest numbers in England from the second half of the fifteenth-century, provide the historian with an opportunity to examine the ways in which the Middle Ages constructed gender roles for both men and women. My dissertation will analyze the role conduct books for women played in late medieval English culture, with particular attention to the historical realities of women's lives.

"People generally have no problem identifying their gender, but the process by which past cultures created and assigned gender roles remains largely mysterious. It is this process I hope to make clearer in my dissertation. Some scholars have described conduct books as predictable, dull, and monotonous in their anti-feminism, but to push this conclusion no further is to leave unexplored what conduct books reveal about how late medieval England constructed gender. Clarifying this process adds significantly to our knowledge of the cultural context of Richard III's reign. Moreover, conduct books attempted — successfully or not — to impose social control, intending to sustain a hierarchy of gender and class. Such cultural underpinnings were crucial to maintaining the patriarchal structure of late medieval Europe, and consequently influenced much of western civilization and

provided the not-so-distant roots of attitudes toward women today. Understanding these cultural underpinnings will allow historians to define more clearly what patriarchy is and how it functions in a society. It is also important to understand how and to what extent conduct book ideals circulated throughout society; such an understanding can provide a model for the way ideology functions in a specific historical contexts, and may lend insight into the manner in which ideals for women circulate in other societies, including our own."



### **John Dwyer, University of Colorado.**

*Local Control in the Age of Reformation:  
Hereford, 1475-1620.*

"I am intensely interested in how 'modern society' came into being. Society looked very different than it does today just a few hundred years ago. How did we get from there to here? I have chosen what I believe to be one of the watershed events on the way to modernization — the Protestant Reformation in Europe.

"Historians often describe changes brought about by the Reformation without having adequately studied the time just prior to the Reformation. Too often historians confidently assert that the economic, political, or religious climate of the sixteenth century brought about fundamental and radical changes in English society. Yet, the more we explore the poorer records of the fifteenth-century, the more historians are discovering the same patterns already occurring in Lancastrian and Yorkist England. My dissertation seeks to bring to life the religious, social, economic, and political lives of people living between the late fifteenth-century and the early seventeenth-century in the city of Hereford. The central question is: why did governments seek to increase their control over their communities, including their fellow townspeople, during the fifteenth- and sixteenth-centuries. Was religion a central cause as many historians have asserted? Because Hereford was a conservative town religiously and politically, I have been able to question the role of religion in bringing about change. Hereford has thus far exhibited the same concerns for control that are characteristic of so-called 'Puritan' cities but it did so before the Reformation. Here is a striking example of why historians need to pay more attention to the fifteenth-century.

"The culture and society of the Welsh Marches has been a meagerly investigated area of England in the fifteenth- and sixteenth-centuries. The research I am undertaking will add a great deal to our knowledge about customs, language, politics, the economy, and even naming practices in one of the larger towns along the Welsh border. Clearly Hereford was heavily influenced by both English and Welsh practices in many areas. My dissertation will show that, although Hereford was religiously conservative, it was socially progressive in its concerns about morality of the community even in the fifteenth-century."



**Matthew B. Goldie, City University of New York**  
*Fifteenth-Century Language and Language Play.*

"While many present-day critics and historians argue that the fifteenth-century exhibits a greater conservatism in its writing than did the fourteenth, I argue that the questions raised by such contemporary issues as an anxiety of influence about fourteenth-century literary precedents, the issues surrounding heretical writing and the problems of the kingship lead to a preoccupation with the sign. This does not close down experimentation but instead generates more texts about the very process of composition and about the authority of texts in the vernacular.

"In plays like *Mankind*, the Digby *Mary Magdalen* (c. 1510), and the N-Town plays of *The Trial of Mary and Joseph* and *Christ and the Doctors* (1468- c. 1500), Latin and aureate English are used (and misused) to lead the main protagonist to good and bad ends. Not only is an examination of character and morality occurring, but language itself is under scrutiny. If the same words are used to lead a character to good and bad ends, then where does the truth reside in language? In a closely related field, sermon literature of the period also explores the problem of operating in a world of two (or more) authoritative languages. What guarantees do composers, readers and listeners have that the words will signify correctly within a moralized sign system and, therefore, that the audience will be led in the correct direction?"

"The poetry of Thomas Hoccleve, John Lydgate, and the Scottish poets also explore such issues. Their writings return again and again to a concept embodied in a word that appears often in their verse ... the word 'feyning.' Most simply, this can mean 'to make,' but it can also mean dissembling in deed or word. Even poets' translations reveal an ambivalence about the ability to transcribe received words truthfully and effectively. Gavin Douglas, in the Prologue to his

*Aeneid*, struggles to decide whether to translate for the sentence or 'To follow alanerly Virgilis wordis,' whether to write in Latin, French, English or Scottish, and where the truth may reside in writing that contains a mix of languages.

"The writings of the great women mystics, Julian of Norwich and Margery Kempe, explore several problems concerning language. First, they question the ability of language to equal internal emotions. How does one write an account of emotions when such an important part of one's experience seems extra-linguistic? On the other hand, because they are women who are called upon to authorize their experiences, language is necessary. Margery Kempe in particular explicitly relies on strategic readings of texts to support her claims for orthodoxy."

Goldie hopes to be able "to teach a still-neglected an extraordinarily playful and rich century of English and Scottish writing here in the United States. I intend to show students that literature does not end with Chaucer and jump to Spencer or Shakespeare but that there are significant and important writers in the mid- and late-fifteenth-century."



The William B. Schallek Memorial Graduate Fellowship Awards are supported by an endowment fund begun in 1978 by William Schallek and named for him after his death.

The fund is supplemented by additional contributions by his widow, Maryloo Schallek, and by other generous Ricardians. Contributions to the Schallek Fund are fully tax-deductible; please consider making a gift to the endowment or for the 1997-98 awards program when renewing your dues this fall.

As always, our thanks are due to the five members of our Selection Committee who give generously of their time to evaluate the applications:

**Lorraine C. Attreed,**

Holy Cross College;

**Barbara A. Hanawalt,**

University of Minnesota

Morris G. McGee,

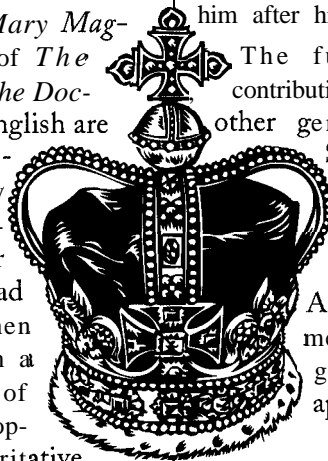
Montclair State University (emeritus)

**Shelley A. Sinclair,**

University of Wisconsin-Lacrosse

**Charles T. Wood,**

Dartmouth College







# RICARDIAN POST

George M. Strauss  
7 Country Club Drive  
Manchester, NH 031028813

Gentlemen:

A question addressed to "Ask the Globe" (cf. enclosed copy) prompted me to re-read Josephine Tey's *The Daughter of Time*, with which you are doubtlessly familiar.

I would be most interested in learning how you feel about the reasoning and the conclusions arrived at in that fascinating little volume.

George **M. Strauss**

264 Sterling Lane  
Bloomington, IL 601081930

Dear Fellow Ricardians:

I have been a member of the Richard III Society long enough to have received two issues of *The Ricardian* and *The Ricardian Register*, both of which have impressed me thoroughly. I was delighted to join and learn all I could about this fascinating man and the equally fascinating times in which he lived.

The Richard III Society has good reason to be proud of the scholarly forum it offers to professionals and amateurs alike, and the Schallek Fellowships are a wonderful aid to struggling graduate students (like myself). But in both the Spring and Summer 1996 mailings, I noticed an element which I had not expected; indeed, I was somewhat surprised to find that a society so dedicated to the vindication of one historic figure should repeatedly attempt the vilification of another: namely, Henry Tudor.

Among many anti-Tudor remarks I found in both mailings, Anne Ayres's comment in "Sutton Heritage Society Lecture: *The Princes in the Tower*" (*Bulletin*, 3/96 p. 9) best illustrates my concern:

*Then someone who shall remain nameless declared herself to be a supporter of Henry Tudor. The shocked "Ooooh!" that arose from the roomful of Yorkists would have done justice to Larry Grayson!*

I understand that a lot of this is said in fun and means very little. (Although the banner headline proclaiming Henry VII's illegitimacy in the *Register* I got (Fall, 1994) made me wonder; isn't the Richard III

Society founded on the belief that simply because a source is "contemporary" doesn't necessarily make it correct? For that matter, isn't it wrong to ascribe Richard's poor reputation entirely to Henry VII, since Mancini and other "contemporaries," writing years before Bosworth, viewed Richard negatively? The true objective is to separate the "reliable" from the "unreliable.") But it was the above quote which got me thinking: several months ago, as I was completing my thesis on Henry VIII (and Shakespeare's version of the same), searching for sources on Henry VIII or the Tudor dynasty in general, I found no organization dedicated to the study of this particular maligned monarch. Indeed, the more I searched, the more frustrated I became.

Several of us have therefore decided to announce the inception of the Tudor Studies Society, which should be on the Net by September 1. Formal organization is a big problem, but we feel that such a society is necessary for the greater study and understanding of the English Renaissance. And while Henry VIII holds the greatest fascination for me, both as a man and a monarch, the period of \*England's development on all levels from 1485 to 1603 merits strong focus.

We would like to extend a personal invitation to all members of the Richard III Society to join TSS. This is based on the supposition — the hope — that there are other members like myself out there, who enjoy the study of history on all levels and need not feel that their loyalties are divided by their range of interests. Certainly it would be much more fun for scholars of the fifteenth- and sixteenth-centuries to debate in an open forum, in which all views may be aired constructively.

In time, TSS hopes to build a literary and AV library, as well as hold meetings and organize excursions. There are many details to be worked out, and we hope to find enough public interest to get TSS off the ground soon.

We look forward to meeting you all!

Valerie L. Perry  
President, Tudor Studies Society

[Ed: I am running these two letters with a return address, with the full expectation that both individuals will receive some polite Ricardian mail!! Space limits the Editor, but see page 3 for my personal response!]

## SALES OFFICE CLOSED SEARCH FOR VOLUNTEER REOPENED

*Laura Blanchard*

The current arrangement for the processing and shipping of sales orders is no longer workable, and we are seeking someone to take on the job. We have always prided ourselves on the volunteer spirit that drives the American Branch, and are hoping that once again a volunteer or volunteer team will emerge to carry out this important Ricardian responsibility.

As many of you may recall from a previous issue of the *Ricardian Register*, I've been handling the shipping since last August, when Dave Macool had to give up the task for health reasons. Because I live in downtown Philadelphia and have no car, the logistics of getting boxes to the post office have posed a real problem. Thus, although Wendy Logan has always been conscientious about processing orders and getting them to me promptly, there has been a lag while I try to find the combination of available time and appropriate weather to get boxes to the post office about a mile away. This task has gone from difficult to almost impossible now that I am working full time. I have lagged as long as two months filling orders, and Ricardians have grown restless (and rightly so).

For years, the Sales Office has functioned as a profit center for the American Branch, with revenues feeding the general fund or the Schallek Fund. Wendy Logan felt, and I concur, that it better furthers our aims to offer Ricardian books to members at a dis-

count from list price — an educated Ricardian is a more valuable resource, in the long run, than money in our institutional coffers.

From my own experience, I can tell you that the volume of orders would not be especially burdensome for someone with the space to arrange the merchandise for relatively easy access and a car to take boxes to the post office. There is a flurry of orders (between 10 and 20) after each issue of the *Register* with a sales office ad, and after that there may be an order or two a week. Although I didn't have the space to try this, I suspect that one small bookcase could hold enough of our regularly-stocked titles to take care of a couple months' worth of orders, and I do know the entire sales office inventory will fit in a 5' x 5' x 5' space.

The Sales Office fills a real Ricardian need, functioning as a single-source mail order bookshop for Ricardian titles and offering other important Ricardian items such as T-shirts, jewelry, mugs, and stationery. It deserves more attention than I have been able to give it, and I hope that one of Richard's many friends can provide this important Ricardian service.

If you would be willing to take on the job, either purely as a volunteer or on a revenue-sharing basis, please contact *Roxane C. Murph*, 3501 *Medina Avenue*, Fort Worth, TX 76133, 817-923-5056.

## MODERN MARKETING OVERWHELMS ENGLISH TRADING MECCA MARKET BOSWORTH

*Sue Leeman, Associated Press Writer*

MARKET BOSWORTH, England. Since before King Richard III lost his kingdom, the one he would have traded for a horse, Britons have gathered at Market Bosworth to trade in livestock, food and conversation.

But look at it now: a handful of sheep huddling in freezing pens, a meager assortment of cattle and a handful of farmers in flat tweed caps. Soon even that will be gone, as the spread of supermarkets, modern hygiene rules and European unity force another pocket of old England to a close.

It was at nearby Bosworth Field in 1485 that Richard III lost his kingdom and his head. That was the spot where, according to Shakespeare. Richard cried in desperation: "A horse! A horse! My kingdom for a horse!"

But after more than five centuries of trading, Market Bosworth is closing down, a casualty of dwindling sales, rising costs and the increasing pressures of European-wide uniformity.

"There are so many rules and regulations that people can't keep up," said auctioneer Richard Goodwin, who blames the strict regulations imposed after Britain signed on to the European Union's Common Agricultural Policy.

Market Bosworth has been overshadowed by the larger, recently refurbished indoor Litchfield market, 20 miles to the northwest. It lost even more sales when a large slaughterhouse in nearby Leicester moved away 18 months ago.

## BOARD CHRONICLES

*January 7, 1996*

Members in attendance were A. Compton Reeves, Laura Blanchard, Carole Rike, Peggy Allen, Roxane Murph and Judy Pimental.

Compton has spoken with Dale Summers regarding the upcoming Ricardian Tour. Compton will tell Dale to go ahead with the Lord Addison tour as recommended. The Board also discussed the possibilities of off-season tours.

**In Memoriam:** The Board noted with sorrow the deaths of Joyce Melhuish of the Parent Society, Alexander Clarke, founder of the Friends of Richard III, the first U.S. organization dedicated to the reassessment of Richard's reign, and American Branch member Eirene Varley. The American Branch will make a gift to the Ricardian Churches Restoration Fund in memory of Joyce.

**Monographs:** Compton Reeves will be in touch with Peter Hammond of the Parent Society regarding possible financial assistance for publication of pending monographs. The Board discussed the importance of going to press with someone who can market the publications as well, in order to encourage serious scholars to consider the Society as a publishing venue.

**Sales Office:** The Board discussed the continuing problems with the Sales Office. Laura will place an ad in the Register for a person to do the storage. New titles will be advertised as well. The Board discussed the possibility of engaging a private enterprise to do the shipping. Wendy Logan is working on the updated sales list.

**McKellen's Richard III:** The Board discussed the McKellen film version of his production of Richard III. Laura noted that the script had been chopped to keep it down to 1.5 hours.

There has been some interest from newspapers. Laura also noted that the film is so far away from the 15th century that little additional damage is likely to be done to Richard's reputation. Compton felt it might encourage viewers to attempt to learn more about Richard. Peggy noted that a New Orleans commentator compared the film to Oliver Stone's movie on Richard Nixon and had said that, "Richard Nixon is not true history, unlike Richard III."

**Research Officer:** Laura reported that Margaret Gurowitz is overburdened with her dual appointment as Research Officer and Publicity Officer. The Board discussed the need to define the requirements of the Research Officer position, such as being a graduate student in medieval history with access to a research library.

**Society Website:** The Board discussed adding information on McKellen and his film to the Society's website, along with the full text of Colley Cibber's version of the play.

**Ricardian Burn-Out:** Roxane Murph noted that there had been problems in the Mid-Atlantic Chapter due to Ricardian Burn-out Syndrome. The Board discussed developing methods to alleviate the problem, which affects members who carry the responsibilities of leadership for too long.

**Member Projects:** Roxane Murph announced she is working on another play for publication. Copies of her recent Bibliography will be available for the Society Research and Fiction Libraries. It was mentioned that Tony Pollard is working on a collection of essays on the Wars of the Roses.

*March 3, 1996*

Members in attendance were Compton Reeves, Laura Blanchard, Peggy Allen and Judy Pimental.

**Opening Remarks:** Compton Reeves told the board that the memorial service for Joyce Melhuish will be held in Fotheringhay Church. Compton mentioned that he would be in England for a period of time, and would be a Visiting Fellow of the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research at the University of York.

**Society Website:** Laura Blanchard reported that the website has been receiving up to **1400** to 1500 inquiries per day in January-February, in the top 5% of the web.

**SpecialTee-Shirt Sales:** Compton reported that the sale of the special tee-shirts developed to encourage inquiries from McKellen filmgoers was an overwhelming success, indicating that American Branch members are willing to stand behind the real Richard.

**Monographs:** Compton reported that he had received e-mail from Peter Hammond that the Parent Society will assist in the publication of the American Branch's proposed monograph.

**Board Elections:** The Board discussed the positions that will need to be filled in the upcoming election. Roxane Murph will form a nominations committee.

**Sales Office:** The Board discussed the fact there there have been no volunteers to date to undertake the management of the Sales Office. There is no sales list included in current new member packets, but a new list is being compiled.

**New Committee Appointments:** The Board discussed possible new appointments to the positions of Research Officer and Monograph Coordinator. Sharon Michalove agreed to the request that she take over as Research Officer. Kelly S. Gritten, a Master's degree candidate who will soon become a Ph.D. student, has agreed to take over the Monograph Coordinator position, where she will work closely with Sharon Michalove.

**SchallekScholarship Fund:** Laura Blanchard reported that the Scholarship Committee expects many applications from qualified candidates. There will be \$2500 available for scholarships this year.

**AGM:** Arrangements are proceeding nicely for the 1996 AGM in Philadelphia. The 1997 AGM will be held in Chicago and the theme may be based upon Chicago's reputation as a city of mysteries.

## CHAPTER CONTACTS

### Illinois

Mary Miller  
1577 Killdeer Drive  
Naperville, IL 60565

### Middle Atlantic

Jeanne Faubell  
22 15 Westmoreland  
Falls Church, VA 22043  
(804) 532-3430

### Michigan Area

Dianne Batch  
9842 Hawthorn Glen Drive  
Groselle, MI 48138  
(313) 675-0181

### New England

Donald D. Donermeyer  
67 Moss Road  
Springfield, MA 01119  
(413) 782-9542

### Northern California

Valerie Fitzalan de Clare  
16666 159th Avenue  
San Leandro, CA 94578  
(510) 276-1213

### Northwest

Yvonne Saddler  
2603 E. Madison Street  
Seattle, WA 98112  
(206) 328-2407

### Ohio

Thomas L. Coles  
817 Madison Avenue  
Lancaster, OH 43130  
(614) 654-4657

### Rocky Mountain

Pam Milavec  
9123 West Arbor Avenue  
Littleton, CO 80123  
(303) 933-1366

### Southeastern Pennsylvania

Laura Blanchard  
303 Vine Street, Suite 106  
Philadelphia, PA 19106-1143  
(215) 574-1570

### Southern California

Karen Vogel  
P. O. Box 3951  
Huntington Beach, CA 92605  
(714) 377-0013

### Southwest

Roxane C. Murph  
3501 Medina Avenue  
Ft. Worth, TX 76133  
(817) 923-5056

- ☐ New  
☐ Renewal

### MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION/RENEWAL

☐ Mr. ☐ Mrs. ☐ Miss

Address: .....

City, State Zip: .....

Country: ..... Phpne: ..... Fax: ..... E-Mail: .....

#### Individual Membership

Individual Membership Non-US  
Family Membership

**\$ 3 0 . 0 0**

\$35.00

\$ .....

#### Contributions:

Schallek Fellowship Awards: \$ .....  
General Fund (publicity; mailings, etc) \$ .....

#### Contributing & Sponsoring Memberships:

Honorary Fotheringay Member \$ 75.00  
Honorary Middleham Member \$180.00  
Honorary Bosworth Member \$300.00  
Plantagenet Angel \$500.00  
Plantagenet Family Member **\$500+** \$ .....

#### Total Enclosed:

\$ .....

**Family Membership \$30 for yourself, plus \$5 for each additional family member residing at same address.**

*Make all checks payable to Richard III Society, Inc.*

*Mail to P. O. Box 13786, New Orleans, LA 70185-3786*