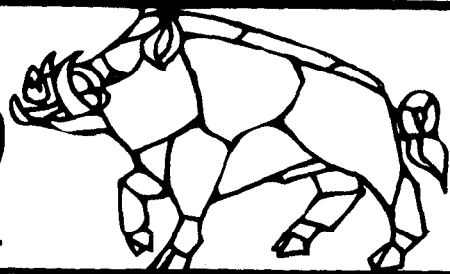


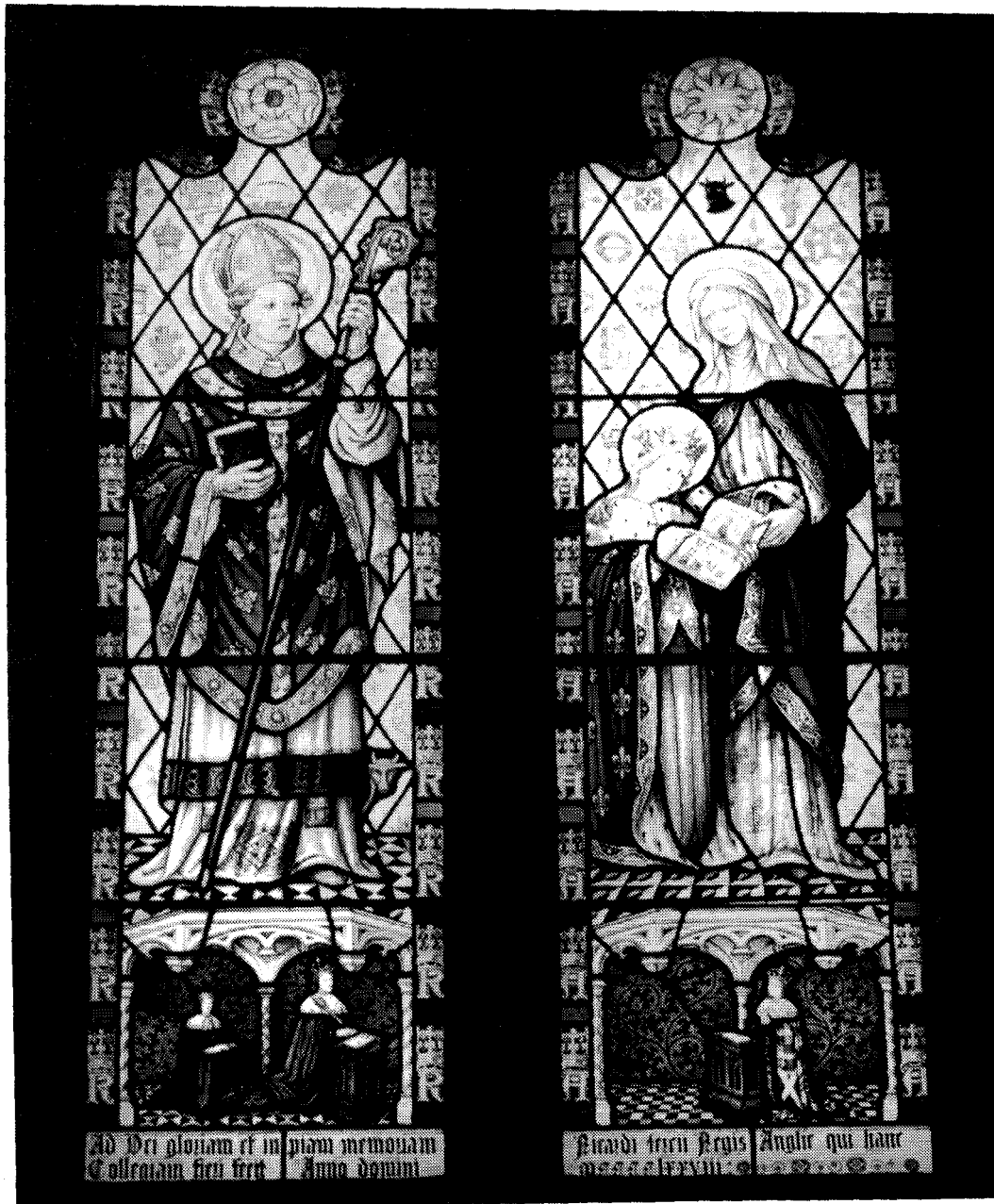
Richardian REGISTER



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Richard III Memorial Window, St. Alkelda's Church, Middleham

In the left light St. Richard of Chichester, with his emblem of an ox. The right light shows St. Anne teaching the virgin to read. At the base, the kneeling figures of Prince Edward, King Richard III, Queen Anne Neville.

The background panes of diamond quarries bear numerous badges of the Houses of York and Neville. The window was unveiled in 1934 by Marjorie Bowen, the first of many memorials dedicated to the king.

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RICHARD III : A KING AMIDST THE TURMOIL OF FIFTEENTH-CENTURY HISTORY

James Edward Gilbert, April 1997

“THE FACTS ARE SKETCHY, THE TALES ARE MANY”¹ —ENGLAND, A COUNTRY IN TURMOIL 1422-1509

Editor's Note: This article is a Senior Thesis, presented to the Department of History of Trinity College in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Bachelor of Arts by Mr. Gilbert. I have taken some *small liberties* in presentation, but not in content. Mr. Gilbert included many references which are well-known to Ricardians: a list of the monarchy of the period, a list of battles, a map of England, etc.

The thesis received Trinity's George B. Cooper Prize for British History.

Mr. Gilbert is presently a student at the University of Southwestern Louisiana in Lafayette, LA.

Richard III, the last of the Plantagenets, had been dead for almost a quarter of a century, slain in battle on the muddy field between Sutton Cheney and Market Bosworth in **1485**. Twenty-four years later, the first of the Tudors was about to join him. Henry VII had ruled England since that day in 1485, ending a period of turbulence that had seen five different kings over the previous twenty-four years. As he lay dying, the king and former earl of Richmond could be sure that his dynasty had been fixed upon the English throne, a place they would hold until his childless granddaughter's death in 1603.² Polydore Vergil was writing his *Anglica Historia*, preserving the Tudor version of English history for posterity. The Yorkist pretenders, Perkin Warbeck and Lambert Simnel were dead, or at least out of the picture, and it seemed that the English population had by one means or another forgotten about the questionable legitimacy of Henry VII's claim to the throne.³

The fifteenth-century began much the same way Henry VII found it when he appeared on the scene eighty-five years later. Even the names were the same: a Henry usurped a Richard.⁴ Things had, however, settled down somewhat. Henry IV lived out his fourteen years on the throne. He brought stability to England through his stern, almost paranoid rule. His oldest son, Henry V, had led the English to their greatest victory in France in nearly seventy years

when he rode over the French at Agincourt in 1415.

Henry V carried on with strong kingship by establishing himself as a general and a leader. But when things seemed to have finally stabilized, this new line found themselves at the bottom of Fortune's wheel. Henry V's reign ended abruptly, when he contracted dysentery and died at thirty-five; too early to ensure his dynasty would endure. Instead of passing on the throne to an adult and a man suitable for rule, his crown was bestowed upon a nine-month old baby and his politically ignorant mother. 1422 marked a critical point in English history, with this infant's accession to the throne as Henry VI.⁵ Henry VI should never have been crowned, regardless of his lineage, for he was in no other way qualified to rule. Throughout his reign, Henry VI was easily influenced and had no real interest in the dealings of the monarchy, leaving the fate of his realm in the hands of whatever noble had his ear at the moment.⁶ When he suffered a mental breakdown in 1453, it only served to bring the fundamental problem of the monarchy into the spotlight. Feuds that had been simmering for years were now brought to a boil with the First Battle of St. Albans and the thirty years of battles and skirmishes that followed.⁷

The next several years saw a tug-of-war between Richard, Duke of York and Queen Margaret for the throne. When it was all over, York was dead, Margaret and Henry were in exile, and York's son, Edward IV wore the crown. For much of the next nine years, Edward struggled with rebels and the threat of invasion, threats that ultimately included his brother Clarence and his uncle Warwick, who had done so much to help him win the crown in **1461**. It was only after 1471, after Warwick and Henry VI were both dead, that Edward could be assured of his throne. His rivals were destroyed, his field was clear, and he was able to briefly instill stability in England.

For all of Edward's accomplishments, his stability was to be short-lived. Following three bad harvests, Edward followed Henry V's example, dying before his son had a chance to grow and develop into an adult heir who could step in and assume his throne.

His successor, Edward V, was a boy of twelve; it would still be at least three years before he could be considered of age to rule England by himself.⁸ Had his father lived another ten, or even five years, the entire landscape of late fifteenth-century English politics and Richard III's reputation might have looked very different. Edward's Vs immediate challenges were quite different from those of Henry VI, however. When Henry became king there had been no other contenders; in 1483 there were. One of these was the young king's uncle, Richard, Duke of Gloucester, who usurped the throne and crowned himself Richard III.⁹ But Richard failed to establish any stability in England. He was constantly beset by rebellion the threat of invasion. Thus, he was unable to establish any degree of normal rule. For two more years the nation languished in a disturbed state where political rivals



Edward IV
Artist
Unknown,
probably of the
Netherlands
school. Copy
from an original
painted before
14 72. Source:
The Royal
Collection

clashed and alternative rulers lurked everywhere.

Even Henry VII's victory at Bosworth did not establish stability. Henry united the Lancastrians and Yorkists in 1485 when he married Elizabeth of York, but there were still many dissidents in the wings, finding sanctuary on the continent. Only after the Battle of Stoke in 1487, and years of pursuing the various Yorkists and pretenders across Europe could Henry settle into any degree of a routine. Like his half-uncle Henry IV, Henry VII was racked by paranoia. He ruled by fear, haunted by the ghosts of York. His iron rule, however, served to provide England with long sought stability, a time to rest assured that there was one rightful king who ruled without opposition or rivals.¹⁰

In 1509, Henry VI had come and gone, as had Edward IV, Edward V, and Richard III. The Lancastrians were dead. The Yorkists were dead. Two of Henry VII's sons were dead.¹¹ One of the pretenders was dead. It was Henry VII's turn. On this final night of life for the first Tudor king, one can only wonder about what he was thinking. Certainly, he had no concerns about his afterlife. His will had been written, and the conditions of it assured that any stay in purgatory he had would be short. He bequeathed

funds to build hospitals, and to cover the costs of ten thousand masses, at twice the normal rate, to be **performed** within three months of his passing. He also "left to every parish and friary church **equipped with only a wooden pyx, a pyx of silver-gilt emblazoned with the royal arms.**"¹²

Yet, as he closed his eyes for the last time, he took his first step out of the minds of society at large. Centuries later, few remember anything more about Henry VII than that he was the father of Henry VIII. He was the founder of a dynasty, an iron-willed and iron-fisted ruler, and a king notorious in his time for his avarice.¹³ Henry VII was the victor at Bosworth, and yet we instead prefer to remember the loser, Richard III, the man who rose and fell in a mere twenty-two months, the man with "the face that launched a thousand novels."¹⁴ Over the last five centuries, largely as a result of the writings of St. **Sir Thomas More** and William Shakespeare, Richard has become known as one of the great villains of English history. Charged with conspiracy, treachery, and several counts of murder, Richard has been singled out for his behavior. We will never know whether or not Richard was guilty of any of these crimes, but this is **unlikely** to stop our speculation. This work will not add to this pyre. Rather, it will consider another aspect: Richard is viewed in popular thought as a monster; savage and unique. Should he be?

Richard's age was one of violence and warfare: he spent parts of his life in sanctuary, in exile, and on the battlefield. His father was a leader in the Wars of the Roses. His brother won the throne for himself in 1461, lost it in 1470, and won it back in 1471. Men were executed for supporting the wrong faction at the **wrong** time; others freely shifted their allegiance to the winning side with little sense of loyalty. Still others died under mysterious circumstances. Dynasties rose and fell: three within a span of just over two centuries.¹⁵ **England** lost its French holdings: Normandy, Maine, and Gascony—all that remained was Calais. The economy was in constant flux and often in a downward spiral, pulling the Crown finances with it. Bad harvests and low prices plagued England throughout the fifteenth-century, combining with the political and social instability to create a nation in turmoil. England needed strong rulers and consistency, and it found little of either during the fifteenth-century.

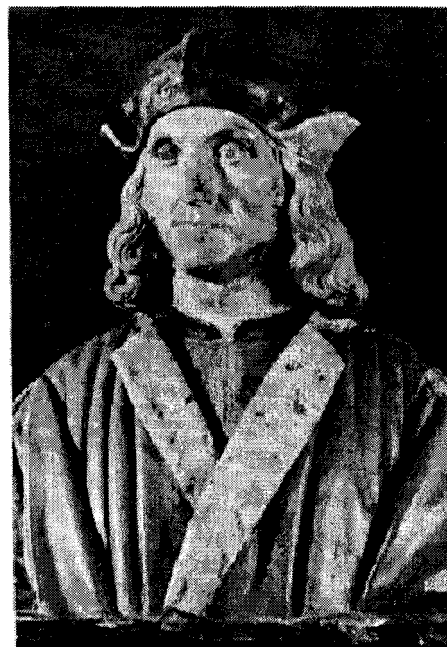
This is not a study that attempts to exonerate Richard III of his crimes. This is not a trial of Richard, but rather one of history and literature: are we guilty of singling Richard out as the king that "we love to hate?" Why does no one remember Henry VI, Edward IV, or Henry VII as wicked people? We shall see how they possessed many of the same traits as Richard, so the answer to the question must lie else-

where. To find this, I will examine how the various monarchs dealt with the issues facing them. Chapter One considers the governance of the country, in an attempt to understand how the various kings handled society. It looks at three specific elements of society: education, communication, and the economy. Chapter Two considers how each of these monarchs dealt with their primary supporters and most dangerous foes: the nobility. Chapter Three focuses on establishing a historical depiction of Richard. What kind of a ruler was he as the Duke of Gloucester and the king of England? How does he compare to his predecessors and successor? Was he extraordinary in any way, and if so, how? The groundwork is then set for Chapter Four, which studies the literary characterizations of Richard and seeks to appreciate the rationale behind it.

This is a work that will put aside the questions of motive and instead tackle the question of literary injustice. I feel that it will provide valuable consideration to an issue that is often overlooked: Richard III as a king of his time. As the work below will reveal, Richard has been unjustly singled out as an unusual historical phenomenon, and will hopefully begin to undo five centuries of unfair castigation.

1. *Sunday in the Park With George*, music and lyrics by Stephen Sondheim and James Lapine.
2. Interestingly enough, Henry was not the earl of Richmond as he claimed to be. The honor had been taken in 1462. The real earl of Richmond did fight at Bosworth; he was also known as Richard III. S.B. Chrimes, *Henry VII*, p. 15.
3. Henry VII's claim to the throne was in the maternal line, always a weak line. His mother, Margaret, was descended from John, duke of Somerset (d. 1444), sixth surviving child of John of Gaunt's second marriage. Thus, Henry was a great-great grandson of Edward III (d. 1377) through his mother. While this would give him a legitimate claim to the throne, it was by no means a significant one. See the Lancaster and York Family Tree for more information.
4. In 1399, Richard II was forced to abdicate by pressure from Henry IV.
5. S.B. Chrimes *Lancastrians, Yorkists & Henry VII*, pp. 52
6. J. L. Watts *Henry VI and the Politics of Kingship*, pp. 365-6, *passim*.
7. e.g. Michael Jones "Somerset, York and the Wars of the Roses" *English Historical Review* 104 pp. 285-307.
8. *CPR1467-77* p. 283 refers to the appointment of administrators of Edward V's (then Prince of Wales) holdings and p. 366 refers to his tutors and councilors until he was fourteen years of age and deemed capable of self-administration.

9. Charles Ross *Richard III* p. 80
10. Chrimes *Henry VII* pp. 298-322
11. The Yorkist pretenders were Lambert Simnel (d. after 1517) and Perkin Warbeck (d. 1499). Each was



Henry VII
Bust by Pietro Torrigiano, circa 1508-9.
Source: The Victoria and Albert Museum.

supported in turn by the Yorkists as the rightful heir to the throne. Simnel was paraded around as Edward, earl of Warwick and was crowned Edward VI in Dublin. Henry VII solved this problem by producing and showing the true Warwick. Ultimately, Simnel and the Yorkists landed in England in 1487. The Yorkist leaders were killed, and Simnel was imprisoned and placed in the royal kitchens. He eventually worked his way up to the post of king's falconer. Warbeck pretended to be Richard, Duke of York, who had disappeared in 1483. Warbeck declared himself Richard IV, and attempted an abortive invasion in 1495. He was captured but escaped to continue his masquerading. He eventually lost favor in Scotland, and on the continent, and was acquired by Henry VII from the Duke of Burgundy in 1497 under promise of his safe conduct. Warbeck tried to escape from the Tower and was caught and summarily executed. For more on the two pretenders see Chrimes *Henry VII*, pp. 69-94.

12. J. R. Lander, *Conflict and Stability in Fifteenth-Century England*, pp. 121.
13. J. R. Lander, *Crown and Nobility, 1450-1509*, 0. 48.
14. A. J. Pollard, *Richard III and the Princes in the Tower*, p. 219n.
15. Harvey, *Jack Cade's Rebellion of 1450*.

A note on Spelling

As there was no set spelling in the fifteenth-century, much of what we read on the subject has varied spellings, especially where proper names are **concerned**. I have taken the liberty of univesalizing all spellings of all proper names, be they in direct or indirect **quotation**, except in the case of direct quotes from **primary sources**.

Listed below are some of the more common occurrences of names that tend to have varied spelling.

Woodville = Woodville, Woodvill, Wydeville, etc. (as in Edward IV's Queen, Elizabeth Woodville)

Rivers = Rivers, Ryvers (as in Anthony, Earl Rivers, Queen Elizabeth's brother)

Neville = Neville, Nevill (as in Richard III's Queen, Anne Neville)

Isabel = **Isabel**, *Isobel*, *Isabelle* (as in **Isabel Neville, Duchess of Clarence**)

Bourchier = Bouchier, Bourghier (as in Thomas Boucher, archbishop of Canterbury)

List of Abbreviations

Arrivall: A historie of the Arrivall of Edward IV in England

BL: British Library

BM: British Museum

CCbR: Calendar of the Charter Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office

CCR: Calendar of the Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office.

CFR: Calendar of the Fine Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office

CPR: Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office



Richard III

Artist Unknown, probably before 1485.

Source: The Royal Collection.

The Complete Peerage: Cokayne, George E., *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom*. (2nd edition)

EHD: English Historical Documents, Vol. IV

Ms.: Manuscript

PRO: Public Record Office

Foedra: Foedra, Conventiones, Literae...at Acta Publica









Rotuli Parliamentorum: ut et Petitiones, et Placita un Parliament0








Richard III: Shakespeare's The Tragedy of Richard III

MAJOR BATTLES OF THE WARS OF THE ROSES

(dates in **bold indicate a Yorkist victory**; italics indicate *Lancastrian victory*).

Significant **casualties** listed at end of each entry (bold: **Yorkist**, italics: *Lancastrian*)

-  **1455** First Battle of St. Albans (5/22) — **Edmund Beaufort, Earl of Somerset slain**
-  1459 Battle of Blore Heath (9/23)
-  1459 Battle of Ludford (10/11-12)
-  1460 Battle of Northampton (7/10)
-  **1460** Battle of Wakefield (12/30) — Richard of York and Edmund of **Rutland** slain
-  **1461** Battle of Mortimers Cross (2/2)
-  **1461** Second Battle of St. Albans (2/17)
-  **1461** Battle of Towton (3/29)

-  1463 Battle of Hedgecly Moore (approximately 4/25)
-  **1464** Battle of Hexham (5/15)
-  3469 Battle of Edgecote (7/26) (Warwick's rebels vs. Pembroke) Pembroke executed
-  1471 Battle of Barnet (4/14) — **Warwick the King-maker slain**
-  1471 Battle of Tewkesbury (5/4) — **Edward Prince of Wales** (son of Henry VI) **slain**
-  **1485** Battle of Bosworth (8/22) — **Richard III slain**
-  1487 Battle of Stoke

SETTING THE STAGE

—KINGSHIP AND SOCIETY IN FIFTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND

O, reform it altogether. And let those that play your downs speak no more than is set down for them for there be of them that will themselves laugh, to set on some quantity of barren spectators to laugh too; thought, in the mean time, some necessary question of the play be then to be considered: that's villainous, and shows a most pitiful ambition in the fool that uses it.

—Hamlet III.2 ll. 42-50.

While much attention is paid to the great successes and failures of the various kings, little notice is taken of the routine activity. Much like today's society, when the news only reports happenings that are out of the ordinary, chroniclers of the period tended to only record the unusual; day-to-day affairs were taken for granted.¹ However, much like today, the majority of the kings' reigns were routine, and they adopted policies and approaches to various situations. I will examine how Henry VI, Edward IV, and Henry VII dealt with education, communication and the roads, and the grain/wool trade.

The fifteenth-century saw dramatic improvements in education, but not without critical junctures and problems. Schools were changing. While the actual number of country grammar schools is in itself a subject of differing opinion, it increased over the fifteenth-century. This can best be seen by the efforts of William Byngham. In 1439, Byngham, a London rector, established the first teacher training college, Godshouse (later called Christ's College), at Cambridge.² To him, the paucity of schoolmasters was appalling, and he felt the need to rectify the situation.³

The crown had little or no involvement in developing these grammar schools. Elementary education was of little concern to the English monarchy in the fifteenth-century. The royal involvement tended to be limited to the granting of licenses for others to found schools.⁴ The "unparalleled expansion of grammar school education" was supported solely by various families or communities.⁵ The Hungerford family founded Heytesbury school in the 1430s.⁶ In Ipswich, a grammar school was founded in 1477 with no mention of royal aid.⁷ Most of these elementary schools were for the commoners, many of whom could not afford to send their children to better schools. Literacy mattered little to the crown at the time; word of mouth was still the best way to transmit information among the people.⁸ It was only when the king was asked to become involved that he would do so. For example, in 1447 Parliament ordered the creation of four new grammar schools in the London area.⁹ If no one asked, the king did not get involved; this was

universal policy. Only when students were preparing for higher education that would place them in the service of the crown or Church did England's kings invest time or expense.

At the university level, the number of students was declining steadily through the beginning of the century. Oxford and Cambridge, already centuries old and well-established, faced a crisis with plummeting enrollment:

Towards the middle of the century there was such a sharp decline in the number of scholars that it was feared that the university [Oxford] might disintegrate. In 14 . 35 [Humphrey] the Duke of Gloucester received a letter in which he was warned that it was i-educed to the greatest misery.' Lectures had ceased and 'a complete ruin of education' was imminent. In 1456-7 only twenty-seven scholars took the Master of Arts degree.¹⁰

Rashdall estimated that only one third of those who pursued university educations completed a Bachelor of Arts degree, and less than half of those proceeded to complete a Master of Arts degree.¹¹

Sir John Fortescue, arguably the greatest political writer of the century would lead us to believe that those who did pursue studies were not doing so to better themselves for the good of England.¹² Rather, they were only looking out for their own interests:

Hence it comes about that there is scarcely a man learned in the laws to be found in the realms, who is not noble or sprung of noble lineage. So thy care more for their nobility and for the preservation of their honour and reputation than other of like estate.¹³

This shortage of both total students and unselfishly motivated individuals was no doubt alarming to the crown, who invested funds in the university system. For example, in May 1484, Richard III visited Cambridge and:

On this occasion hefounded a number of scholarships, bestowed many privileges, and gave £300 towards the completion of King's College Chapel-begun by Henry VI.¹⁴

The English monarchy followed a precedent of generosity to universities that was followed by Henry VI, Edward IV, and Henry VII.¹⁵ Henry V had made foundations in France, and his son followed by founding Eton College, and by creating ten new colleges at Oxford and Cambridge.¹⁶ Edward IV was not so gen-

crous, but he did found a free lectureship at Oxford in 1481, and a college at Caister. He also made other small grants to educational institutions.¹⁷ Also, as with grammar schools, kings would grant licenses to others for college foundations.

Regardless of the political instability of the century, the colleges were not forgotten by the crown. They received privileges and funding, despite the drop in enrollment.¹⁸ Tax breaks and grants from customs or other sources of royal revenue were common.¹⁹ The crown must have been concerned by the reduced attendance of such well-funded institutions. Scholarships were available to defray attendance costs, and the monarchy built new and advanced buildings for the schools.²⁰ In all likelihood, it was the loss of young men in the Wars of the Roses and economic problems forcing men to work rather than further their education.

One must question the motive behind the crown's magnanimity. Most historians argue that Henry VI was genuinely interested in being a patron of education, an interest not shared by Edward IV or Henry VII.²¹ Rather, universally, there were two major reasons to support education. One was to ensure efficient and capable workers. It is probable that a number of valuable men in the service of the Crown had already attended the universities, and the kings were repaying the schools for the service they received.²² Both laymen and the clergy attended the colleges, and graduates in both often worked for the king in some way or other.²³ The crown no doubt saw fit to continue to improve the universities in an attempt to provide themselves with even more competent individuals in the future.²⁴ The monarchy thought of this generosity as investing in its future.

The other motive was equally self-interested: to show religiosity in order to reduce time spent in purgatory. Since many students entered the clergy after completing their studies, the crown was funding religion. In this pre-Reformation era, helping the Church (especially financially) was viewed as a way to hasten the journey to Paradise.²⁵ For the monarchy, supporting education was beneficial in both life and death. It is hardly surprising that the monarchy would be generous.

Despite these obvious advantages, the monarchy did nothing to encourage increased enrollment or fund the lower-level schools that would prepare students for advancement unless specifically asked. Perhaps tradition dictated that funding elementary education and encouraging academic enrollment were not seen as jobs for the monarch. The new scholarships and the promise of employment should have attracted larger numbers of students. The mystery grows more perplexing with the advent of the printing press and the large number of endowments and improvements made to the existing facilities.²⁶

Education and learning had produced some significant achievements, no doubt to some extent courtesy of the donations of the monarchy. Learning had created breakthroughs in medicine and other areas: leprosy, a disease that had plagued England for centuries, was all but eradicated by the close of the fifteenth-century.²⁷ Throughout Europe, other scientific breakthroughs were taking place: the printing press, the astrolabe, and the use of gunpowder being among the most significant.

While the monarchy failed to provide support for elementary education, it was generous toward craftsmen and artisans. The fifteenth-century is regarded by historians as a significant point for English music and architecture. Henry IV's court was renowned for its music, and much of the continent viewed England as an important musical center by the 1450s.²⁸ Edward IV insured a continuation of the tradition when he founded the king's minstrels in 1469.²⁹ In addition to music, embroidery and alabaster sculpture were high points of English artistic achievement.³⁰ In these and other artistic pursuits, the government worked to control quality of produced goods. Regulations were established, and men were hired to insure the maintenance of them. In 1432, the government, responding to public opinion against outrageous prices set price controls for the wax-chandlers.³¹ 1477 brought a Parliamentary act setting guidelines for tile making. And Henry VI appointed Richard Lounde and William Veysy to inspect beer brewers in 1441. Clearly, the crown listened to its public and kept its artisans in line while simultaneously supporting them.³²

Despite its patronage, the crown did not fund of training for any artisans. The apprentice system remained largely in force through the time, and the monarchy had no involvement with it. This is evident for different reasons. First, there were no trade schools established at the time; there was no other place for craftsmen to learn their trades.³³ With the rise of the guild system in England, any contact between the monarch and the individual worker was indirect at best unless the worker was performing a specific task for the king. Guilds took responsibility for their individual workers, so any control the government would have over workers was established for the guilds to follow.³⁴ The monarchs of the time were content to act as patrons, and encourage activity. Aside from that, they maintained a laissez-faire attitude, as the system tended to work well without their intervention. As they were never asked to intervene, they left things the way they were.

Another element of education to consider is the issue of literacy. Edward IV founded the royal library, and Henry VII raised it to a status of renown.³⁵ Even before that, the monarchy and nobility were avid book fans. John, Duke of Bedford and Humphrey,

Duke of Gloucester, the two regents during Henry VI's minority, had well-known collections.³⁶ John owned the famous Valois collection that he had purchased for what Lander describes as "a knock-down price," and Humphrey's library was comprised of more than five hundred books.³⁷ In addition, the first public libraries appeared, though, like grammar schools, the monarchy had little involvement with them.³⁸

Despite the obvious royal market, fifteenth-century England suffered a dry spell in literature; with the exception of Fortescue's *The Governance of England* (circa 1470), almost no great work has emerged.³⁹ With fewer students emerging, despite the rise in literacy, it is clear that much of the deficit of literature amounts to a lack of writers. With no great writers, there can be no great literature.⁴⁰ This fact is even more glaring considering that in the final quarter of the century William Caxton brought his printing press and translating skills to Westminster, forever revolutionizing a largely non-literate society.⁴¹ Caxton produced almost one hundred folio-form books, the majority of them written in English. He translated twenty other works, and worked fanatically to produce material for his countrymen to read and improve themselves with. Chaucer, Aesop, Cicero, Malory, and others found their way into his press and out into England.⁴² He was supported by Richard III, and Henry VII; the crown had a great interest in the large-scale production of books.⁴³ The reason for this are self-centered: they sought to expand their collections, and there may also have been an interest in making books available to a larger proportion of the population, as in the public libraries. Students learned from books, and could better serve the crown if they knew more. Printing also allowed for the first widespread use of written propaganda; a tactic Edward IV employed in the 1470s with *A Historie of the Arrivall of King Edward IV*, the official Yorkist account of Edward's reclaiming his throne in 1471.⁴⁴ Handbooks for government inspectors could also be produced in large numbers quickly and cheaply.⁴⁵

In an age where appearances were important, the monarchs of the late fifteenth-century saw much to gain by supporting education. There were practical and spiritual gains, and it gave them the opportunity to show off as being cultured.⁴⁶ Fifteenth-century England was also a time of shifting languages as English began to emerge as the primary language of government and business. Spoken French had begun to dissipate in the fourteenth-century among the lower classes, and the upper classes soon followed suit. The first regal use of English came during the reign of Henry V. By the early 1420's, chroniclers and admin-

istrators had also begun writing in English. However, this was a gradual shift, and communication and education were both clearly affected by it.⁴⁷ Henry VI, Edward IV, Richard III, and Henry VII all were content to follow along the lines of moving towards an all-English-speaking government; under Richard III, parliamentary proceedings were recorded in English for the first time.⁴⁸

Communication was another issue facing the crown in the fifteenth-century. The monarchy needed to know what was going on in its realm, and needed to be able to contact allies quickly. Measures were in fact developed, and precedents established.⁴⁹ The actions of Henry VI, Edward IV, and Henry VII followed these precedents.⁵⁰ Kings made large numbers of appointments and commissions to examine the realm and report back with information. This was standard procedure.⁵¹ In some cases, the king would order a commission *de wallis et fossatis* (of walls and ditches) to survey the assigned region and report back to the king on what they found.⁵² Commissions of enquiry about specific circumstances were also a common practice.⁵³ Each of the kings also appointed keepers, clerks, and surveyors of various areas: rivers, forests, etc.⁵⁴

Despite the measures taken to meet them, a number of elementary problems were evident:

Expecting an invasion from Ireland, Henry VII hurriedly sent a special messenger to ascertain whether of not the Cheshire ports were capable of accommodating large ships. Judges dealt with cases without copies of the statutes before them until Edward IV, realizing the great advantage of better information, began printing the statutes. Their session publication followed under Richard III.⁵⁵

These were basic pieces of information, and yet despite all the commissions and appointments, Henry VII still lacked the necessary information. To understand the situation, we must consider the possible modes of transport. In the fifteenth-century, travel involved one of three routes: the roads, the rivers, and the sea.

The road system was, as Harrison states "ancient and extensive."⁵⁶ Previous kings had extended and maintained them, realizing their obvious importance in communication.⁵⁷ Bridges were of solid construction, often made of stone, and the majority of bridges existing even today were in place by 1530. The Crown had a clear interest in seeing that roads were made and could be traveled by messengers bearing important information, or armies coming to support their king.⁵⁸ Messengers and others on horseback could

move quickly. On a reliable horse, a rider could average forty miles a day on good roads. However, some roads were in need of repair. Traveling depended largely on weather. Rain made roads muddy. Snow, sleet, and rain in winter also caused problems especially on roads over heavy clay soil which was miry almost year-round.⁵⁹ Hibbert presents examples of rapid travel:

The Mayor of Exeter, riding in 1447 from his house to London, a distance of 170 miles, allowed himself 4 to 5 days for the journey; and a merchant with packhorses traveling from York to London, 200 miles, would expect to take five days. Riders on their own could travel even faster.. . in 1494 Bishop Redman regularly covered fifty miles a day; and a messenger, riding by night as well as by day, could manage sixty. Even a cumbersome household could cover thirty miles a day in the summer, as the Countess of Leicester's did when she was in a hurry to reach the safety of Dover Castle in 1265, though in winter an average of 15 miles a day was rarely exceeded by parties such as hers.⁶⁰

The messenger was of the utmost importance to the Crown. He was the only way for the monarch to know what was going on in his kingdom among both the commoners and the nobility. Budgeting for messengers was included in the royal expenditure; they were a significant and expected expense.⁶¹ It is doubtless that the majority of messengers traveled by horse, as rivers were not always navigable, and sea travel was impossible in landlocked regions of the kingdom; either one could take more time than a man on horseback if the winds were unfavorable.

Communication by ship was an obvious necessity considering England's geographical situation. Ambassadors and councilors, much like messengers were also a necessary expense of government.⁶² The king needed to maintain diplomatic relations with the other magnates of Europe; he needed to send ambassadors to represent him.⁶³ As a result, the king needed to rely on sea transport as well as inland transport to communicate and maintain diplomatic relations.

The roads remained largely unpaved because paving proved to be slow and expensive, and was done only in cities and towns, where materials and labor were readily accessible. In 1483, for example, Edward IV granted the town of Beverley the right to take customs on several different types of goods in order to defray the cost of paving the roads.⁶⁴ Here again, the king was a participant, at least indirectly; he did no work, but took an interest in what was going on, and offered privileges to assist the citizens. At different times throughout their reigns, Henry VI, Edward IV, and Henry VII all made provisions for the paving of roads, as well as the repair and building of new roads,

bridges, and quays. In 1451 Henry VI granted lands, rents, and possessions to the chaplain of Maydenhith "for the repair and maintenance of the bridge [over the Thames] and other premises."⁶⁵ In 1461, Edward IV granted three men pontage for six years "for the repair of the bridge across the Thames at Stanys and the causeway from thence to Egham."⁶⁶ In 1489, Henry VII appointed a surveyor of highway repairs between Gloucester and Lanthony Priory, **granting** him all privileges necessary to accomplish the task.⁶⁷ The monarchs took an interest in the upkeep of the means of transportation.⁶⁸ Across the realm, the kings granted funds and support to keep roads and rivers clear and make travel as easy as possible.⁶⁹

These conditions could clearly slow down a messenger who might be bringing urgent news. The monarchy saw to this by maintaining roads and bridges where possible, and the road system itself had been devised with the sense to establish alternative routes for travelers to pursue. Though the monarchs of the fifteenth-century may have not had much to do with creating the roads or bridges of their era, they realized their importance as a communication tool, and made sure that they were properly maintained.⁷⁰

Bridges and roads also possessed strategic importance; something vital in the Wars of the Roses. The bridge across the Severn near Shrewsbury was the gateway to Wales. During "Buckingham's Rebellion" of October 1483 when Richard III's forces held the bridge, it kept the duke of Buckingham from **joining** the rest of the rebellion and led to its collapse.⁷¹ With the constant threat of uprisings, bridges and roads played key strategic roles in cutting off enemies and controlling regions of the realm. It is hardly surprising that kings would take an interest and an active role in seeing to their upkeep.

The Crown had another motive for maintaining the roads: purveyance.

Purveyance was a practice employed by English monarchs for centuries—supplies would be amassed from the people to feed and clothe their campaigning armies, or that would be used to supply for the royal household when it was on a progress.⁷² The burden of the task rested on the shoulders of the county sheriffs to provide the necessary supplies, or on other appointed **individuals**.⁷³ Sheriffs were given basic guidelines, but were largely left to their own devices in carrying out this duty, which consisted of obtaining the supplies and delivering them, usually to the ports nearest the army or household. Sheriffs established depots along routes to collect goods before delivery, usually near water transport-ports or sites on navigable **rivers**.⁷⁴ The first step of delivery consisted of getting goods to the depot, from the villages, usually by land. **Sheriffs** used royal funds or credit to cover expenses.⁷⁵ In the case of nonperishable items like wine or fish, which were bought in bulk and delivered

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inland from the ports, there was no collection, just transport as could be arranged.⁷⁶

The Crown knew that the roads needed to be maintained for purveyance to work without becoming prohibitively expensive. They would ensure that the supplies could reach their armies or household within a reasonable time and at a reasonable price. Roads were clearly in acceptable condition, and if they weren't, as demonstrated above, the crown gave grants to repair or improve them. Masschael reports that the ratio of land transport to river transport to sea transport was 8:4:1.⁷⁷ It is certain that the ratio would be much more disparate if the roads were not extant and in usable condition most of the time.⁷⁸

For purveyance, military support, and communication, the crown saw a need for tending to the road system during the fifteenth-century. With well-maintained roads, the government received important messages sooner, reinforcements more quickly, and could better supply campaigning troops because more money could be spent on supplies and less on the cost of transport. The crown was less directly interested in, travel by farmers and merchants, but this was also a necessary element of the economy. The road system and its conditions had a direct correlation with the economics of domestic trade, especially in a realm where ninety percent of the people earned their income from agriculture.⁷⁹ As the various regions of England developed at different rates, in some cases sellers would have to travel great distances to reach markets for their products. The best producers were not always in close proximity to the best markets. For example, Norfolk agriculture developed better and more quickly than Oxford or Hampshire, yet had no direct means of water transport to London or Southampton, the two major markets and ports in the region. To sell what one produced required traveling several miles, by river or road, to the market.⁸⁰ In many cases, it was the only way to make a living.

England mainly traded both domestically and internationally in grain, wool, and cloth. We must now ask what happened in fifteenth-century England with regards to the trade of these three items, both home and abroad, and what effect did the crown have on the trade of these goods? In some regions, the soil worked for and against farmers.⁸¹ It served farmers well as it was rich; they could produce grain for human consumption and grass to feed sheep. As discussed previously though, this was a hindrance in travel, especially as the region had no suitable river transport. For farmers and traders in the region transporting goods was often difficult; it was less profitable to move certain items, such as grain, which had a low value to carriage cost ratio. In the 1450s, Londoners

paid 150% more for Oxford wheat than Oxford residents would; Oxford was only fifty miles from London.⁸²

Wool did not suffer the same fate, as it had a higher value. Wool was readily sold domestically and internationally both in its raw form and as cloth. This advantage created an imbalance between grain and wool farming, as did the export trade. The increased profit margin over grain was augmented by the increase of available pasture versus the rising cost of labor. Wool yields were also far more consistent and required less work than arable farming.⁸³ For all these reasons the number of grain farmers declined sharply. As a result, the possibility of a grain surplus disappeared, and England found herself banking almost exclusively on her wool and cloth trade.⁸⁴

The government was not oblivious to this imbalance. Parliament passed an Act in 1437 to encourage grain farming. Grain could be exported freely if wheat's market price was below 6s. 8 d. per quarter. It had little effect, as England's grain trade rapidly disappeared, to a point where production was at a level to allow solely for English subsistence. The situation worsened in wartime, when the demand for grain increased. In 1481, "the high price and scarcity of grain following on the bad harvest made it difficult to victual the troops in the north."⁸⁵ Edward IV and Henry VII knew that steps had to be taken to keep the grain in England at all costs, as the English and their armies needed it.

To do this, both kings banned grain exports. Edward did so particularly in cases of military activity, as he did in December, 1474 while preparing for his invasion of France.⁸⁶ In 1491, Parliament passed an act forbidding the export of grain without a license.⁸⁷ Yet to protect English arable farming interests, in 1463 Edward IV passed an act prohibiting the import of

any wheat, ye, or barley, which is not of the growing of this land or.. of Ireland or of Wales at any time when the quarter of wheat does not exceed the price of six shillings and eightpence, the quarter of ye four shillings, and the quarter of barley three shillings. ..upon pain of forfeiture.⁸⁸

Despite its protectionist measures, the crown did nothing to influence domestic trade. They allowed farmers to raise what they liked. No quotas or bonuses were established to encourage domestic grain trading.

In international trade, Edward IV had one unique facet: he engaged in the wool export business, personally sending sacks of wool to Calais for export across the continent.⁸⁹ In 1463-4 in particular, Edward hired

men to transport his wool and sell it for him.⁹⁰ As a personal investor with his own funds at stake, Edward took a very serious interest in the international wool trade; he had an extra incentive.

Personal business aside, the crown had at least one major motive to push exports: customs. As long as there was a market for wool and cloth, customs duties could fill the royal coffers.⁹¹

[customs revenue] *regularly provided from one-third to one-half of the royal revenue in the latter part of the fourteenth-century and sometimes even more.. far more valuable than the hereditary revenues of the Crown.*⁹²

This became even more significant when Parliament granted the king income from the subsidy on wool and/or tonnage and poundage, as Henry VII's did in 1485.⁹³ Little had changed from the previous century. Henry VI, Edward IV, and Henry VII stepped into a complex and elaborate customs system; proof that their predecessors realized the value of customs revenue. With large amounts of money coming in, as Table 3 below indicates, the crown wanted to make sure they received all the funds they were entitled to. The system incorporated was one of checks and balances. In each port, a Collector and Controller were appointed (with deputies in larger ports). The Collector handled daily customs activity. The Controller kept his own records to check against the Collector's. Searchers were appointed to examine suspicious ships in and out of port. And Surveyors supervised all customs activity of their region.⁹⁴ In addition to the normal machinery, kings also appointed commissions of enquiry to inspect certain situations.⁹⁵ While smuggling was a problem, there were strict measures of punishment; its affect on the trade was limited, largely because of the efficient customs system and the low customs duties on all items except wool.⁹⁶

While the customs system may have run efficiently during the reigns of Edward IV and Henry VII, it remains to be seen if the crown realized that it was very risky. To trade in one popular export was extremely profitable, but if there was no demand for that one commodity, England would be left without anything to trade. Henry VI had been unable to do anything to resolve the situation, and as we shall see, it set off a disastrous chain reaction.⁹⁸ Edward IV and Henry VII sought to combat this by promoting grain in the hopes it might achieve a level that would enable its export, but to no avail. Instead they employed other possibilities. We must consider the problems that arose, and then turn to seeing how they handled diplomatic relations in an attempt to keep English exports in foreign markets.

During the middle of the century, a number of problems arose that would affect trade, and thereby customs.⁹⁹ The first of these was a problem with the sheep, whose fleece weights had dropped over the previous quarter century.¹⁰⁰ As a result, the same number of sheep was producing only two-thirds the weight of wool they had fifty years earlier. The reduced weight led to a lower price per fleece:

*The lowest returns per fleece were received in the early thirteenth-century, and the second quarter of the fifteenth-century (when a fleece fetched on/y 3s. 2d.). Indeed, the year 1453 saw the miserable level of 1s. 4d. per fleece as wool prices collapsed and wool yields were very low.*¹⁰¹

Sheep farmers stood to take a tremendous loss on their investment. Some turned to selling sheep and lambs as meat, rather than as sources of wool, but the majority were caught in the thumbscrews of wool farming, and the mid-fifteenth-century was financially devastating to them.¹⁰²

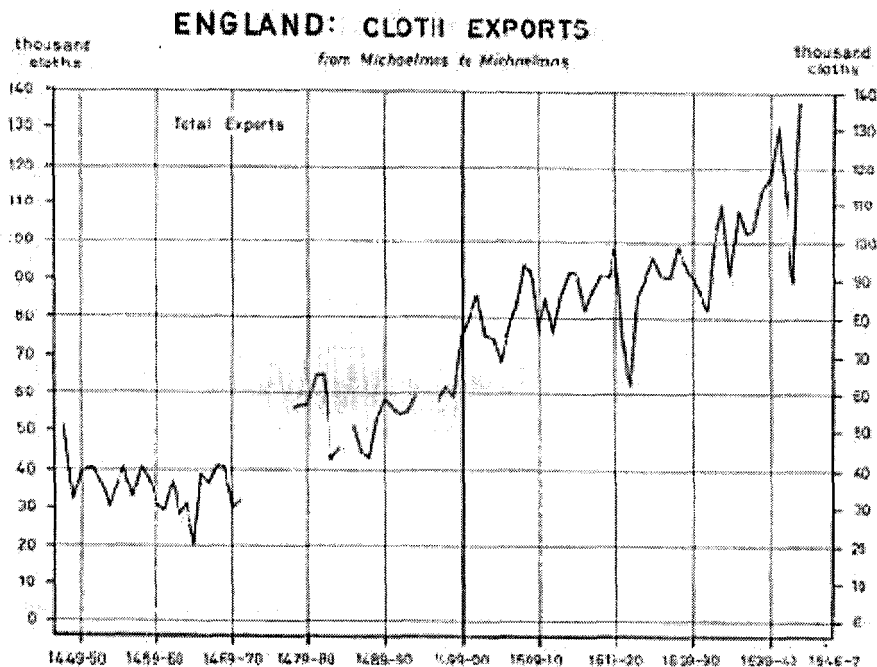
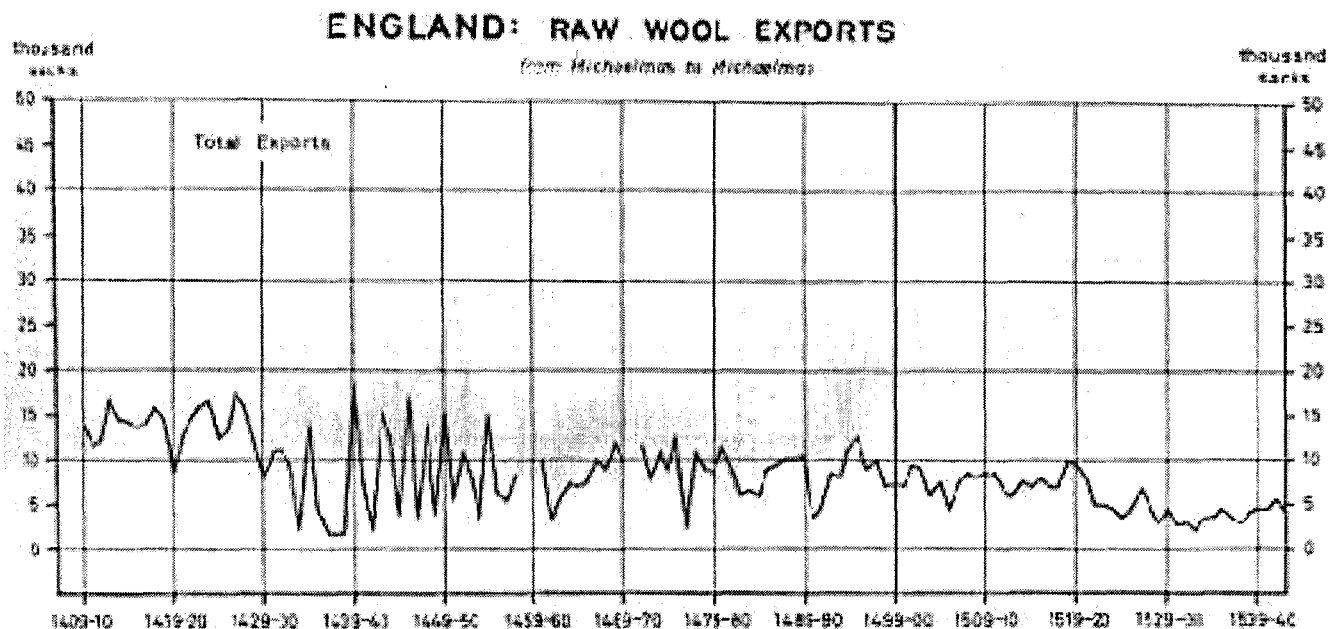
To make matters worse, England found herself trapped in a number of trading inconsistencies. Over

Table 3.
Customs and Subsidies, Michaelmas 1430 to Michaelmas 1433⁹⁷

Source of income	1430-1	1431-2	1432-3
wool custom and parva custuma	67,780 3 s. 1.5 d.	66,996 16s. .75d.	£6,048 0s. 8d.
subsidy on wool	320,151 13s. 3.25d.	£1 6,808 7s. 9.25d.	614,259 2s 3.25d.
tonnageandpoundage	66,920 14s. 5d.	86,998 17s. 10d.	\$6,203 1s. 0d.
TOTAL	934,852 10 s. 9.75d.	£30,804 1 s. 8.25d.	626,510 4s. 5.25d.

Source: *Rotuli Parliamentorum* vol. IV p. 432 reprinted in *EHD* p. 519

Figure 2.
Raw Wool Exports 1409-1540 and Cloth Exports 1449-1547



Source: *Carus-Wilson and Coleman England's Export Trade* pp. 123 (wool) and 139 (cloth). All measurements are by thousand sacks. Each vertical bar represents a ten year period, with the thick bar denoting the year 1500. All years are marked from Michaelmas (Sept. 29) to Michaelmas.

much of the century, trade was conducted in a number of regions throughout Europe for a number of goods, but England traded back almost exclusively in wool and cloth. Trade was strong early in the century, but the mid-fifteenth-century brought economic crisis. As international trade depended on international relations, the political climate of the time was a significant factor. England's relations with Burgundy soured in the late 1440s, and as a result, Holland, Brabant, and Flanders had closed their ports to woolen cloth.¹⁰³ Exports with the German Hanse collapsed in 1449, despite the already tremendous inconsistency in trading rights between the two lands.¹⁰⁴ Figure 2 shows the fluctuation of wool and drop in cloth exports. The results were predictable: in 1448-9, cloth exports fell to half the average of the previous year. Matters improved slightly over the next two years, to about two-thirds of the 1448-9 output. After the low point in the middle of the century, the last thirty years resulted in a major trading boom, levels of trade reaching new heights.¹⁰⁵ But during the 1450s, the English had no markets for its goods; the home market was already saturated.¹⁰⁶

The crown noticed the problems and took steps to change the situation as its income dwindled. Henry VI closed English ports to Holland, Brabant, and Flanders. Henry's measures, were, however, largely ineffectual.¹⁰⁷ Edward IV passed several protectionist acts of Parliament.¹⁰⁸ He and Henry VII also investigated and engaged in new markets. Edward encouraged trade with the Barbary coast of North Africa; Henry VII established relations with Denmark and Florence in the 1490s.¹⁰⁹ Both kings were fairly successful in insuring that trade continued despite

changes in the political climate by paying close attention to the conditions and activity in trade.¹¹⁰

Unlike Edward, Henry VII also juxtaposed the relationship between trade and diplomacy; he stopped trade to strike diplomatic blows. In both 1493 and 1496 he severed English trade with Burgundy because the duchess was assisting Henry's rivals.¹¹¹ Both times trade was suspended for nearly three years.¹¹² He was unique in this behavior; no king in the previous century had done anything like this.

However, the monarchy failed to change a critical policy: the taxing on cloth and wool was uneven. Wool was taxed much more heavily, and as a result, what exporting there was taking place consisted almost entirely of lightly-taxed cloth.¹¹³ As the graphs below show, there was a marked fall in wool exports paralleled by a rise in cloth exports. The customs revenue was reduced to about four-sevenths of its peak income.¹¹⁴

As an island nation with limited resources, England naturally relied on its international trade for necessities and luxury items such as wine. Table 4 illustrates the import and export of major commodities.

The drop in trading mid-century affected the crown and its subjects. Nothing Henry VI did changed the fact that there was a point when trade nearly bottomed out, when everyone felt the sting of the situation.¹¹⁵ With one spoke pulled from the wheel of regional economy, the rest of the region was adversely affected. This was true especially in more prosperous regions, such as Sussex and Kent, where according to Hopcroft:

Table 4.
Exports and Imports of Dutiable Commodities in the Later Fifteenth-Century

Years	Exports of Wool (sacks)	Exports of Broadcloths	Imports of Wine (tons)	Exports and imports of various merchandise (in £)
1446-48	7,654	53,699	11,000	121,795
1448-50	8,412	35,078	9,432	91,456
1450-53	7,660	38,928	7,424	91,001
1453-56	9,290	37,738	6,826	82,533
1456-59	7,664	35,059	4,072	59,089
1459-62	4,976	31,933	4,190	65,503
1462-65	7,044	25,855	7,074	57,449
1465-69	9,316	39,664	5,492	93,942
1469-71	7,811	27,610	3,411	53,421
1471-76	9,091	43,129	4,729	115,475
1476-79	7,502	51,889	6,887	120,333
1479-82	9,784	62,586	6,927	179,340

Annual averages in 3-year periods except 1446-48, 1448-50, and 1469-71 (Z-year periods), 1465-69 (4-year period), and 1471-76 (5-year period).
Source: Ross, Edward IV p. 369 from M. M. Postan and E. E. Rich (ed.)

*this prosperity was sustained by flourishing textile industries, as well as a large variety of nonagricultural occupations, for example, brewing, salt making, fishing, shipping, tanning, baking, carpentry, and tilling.*¹¹⁶

Without the wool trade, the textile industries could not survive. The collapse of the major industry created a domino effect, damaging to everyone in the region. Reduced trade lowered income and purchasing power: a downward spiral.¹¹⁷

The results of this situation are predictable: national unrest that ultimately culminated in rebellion. In 1450 Jack Cade and a number of people rebelled in Kent, frustrated with the inability of Henry VI to rule capably.¹¹⁸ In fact, Harvey is quick to point out that:

*Among the counties to experience these satellite troubles during the summer Wiltshire stands out as that which saw the most orchestrated and sustained attacks on people and property. The reason for this is likely to have been, in part, that West Wiltshire and the area around Salisbury together formed one of the most intensive cloth-producing districts in England, and as a consequence was one of the parts of the country to experience most keenly the depression of the industry. It is striking how many of the indicted for the rising here were men connected with the textile trade.*¹¹⁹

Cade's men issued an eloquent and complex Bill of Complaint citing problems with the government.¹²⁰ It had failed to protect their interests, both in trade and in local governance. It cost England her holdings in France and killed international trade.¹²¹

Henry VI responded by attacking the rebels, who dispersed and fled. Within the span of one week (July 6-13, 1450), Cade was captured, pardoned, almost immediately arrested again, and executed. He was then posthumously attainted.¹²³ The show of unrest, however, was only just beginning. Subsequent uprisings demanding the same policies as Cade's occurred over the next year, and throughout the 1450s,

king."¹²⁴ As have seen universally, the monarchs tended to only involve themselves in situations that precedent dictated required their attention, or when they had a personal

interest for one reason or another. Each of the monarchs handled situations differently, operating or manipulating the system as they saw fit. By and large, Edward IV and Henry VII were far more successful than Henry VI, and as a result, they enjoyed a stability that Henry VI never experienced.

We have now considered the approaches of the various monarchs to elements of society. But society was only one group that kings had to work with. The other, the nobility, remains to be discussed. In the next chapter, we shall see just how effectively the crown worked with the nobles.

Editor's Note: To be continued in the Fall Issue.

Footnotes:

1. I will not be discussing Edward V here or later, as he never actually independently reigned.
2. License: **CPR 1446-52** p. 103; Charter: Ms. of Ring's College Cambridge published by A. F. Leach in **Educations Charters** pp. 402-3, reproduced in **EHD** p. 894.
3. Lander, **Conflict and Stability** pp. 141-2.
4. e.g. see above n. 2; Godshall was founded with royal permission.
5. J. R. Lander, **Government and Community: England, 1450-1509** p. 132.
6. Michael A. Hicks, **Richard III and His Rivals: Magnates and Their Motives in the Wars of the Roses** pp. 125-6 provides full details of the circumstances of the founding of the school and hospital of Heytesbury. See also Chaps. 4-6, and 9 for more on the Hungerford family.
7. Ipswich Court Book, B. A. Add. Ms. 30158, f. 34 reprinted in **EHD** p. 920; for another example see the charter of Sevenoaks Grammar School in 1432: P.C.C. 3 Luffenham, 16 in Leach **Educational Charters** p. 398, reprinted in **EHD** p. 913.
8. Giles St. Aubyn, 1483: **The Year of the Three Kings** p. 145; see below p. 17 for a discussion of literacy in England.
9. **Rotuli Parliamentorum** vol. V p. 137 reprinted in **EHD** p. 914.
10. Christopher Hibbert, **The English: A Social History 1066-1945**, p. 128 from V. H. Green, **A History of Oxford University**, pp. 20, 31; H. Rashdall, **Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages** vol. II pp. 393, 614.
11. Lander, **Government and Community** p. 131.
12. Sir John Fortescue (d. 1479), a lawyer and politician, served Henry VI from the early 1440s, when he was appointed Chief Justice of the King's Bench. He was loyal to Henry VI until 1471, when he made his peace with Edward IV and spent the rest of his life in faithful service. His best-known work is *The*

- Governance of England.** See below, n.12 and p. 17 for more on **Governance**.
13. Sir John Fortescue, *De Laudibus Legum Anglie* (The Governance of England), (ed. and transl. by S. B. Chrimes) p. 114 reprinted in *EHD* p. 491.
 14. Desmond Seward. *Richard III: England's Black Legend* p. 154.
 15. Ross, *Richard III* p. 129.
 16. Watts, *Henry VI and the Politics of Kingship* p. 168 from Jeremy Catto "Religious Change Under Henry V" in G. L. Harris (ed.) *Henry V: The Practice of Kingship* pp. 106-7, 110-1; Lander, *Government and Community* p. 158; St. Aubyn *1483* p. 173; Eton College charter: *Rotuli Parliamentorum* vol. V p. 45 reprinted in *EHD* p. 918.
 17. Lectureship: Charles Ross, *Edward IV* p. 270 from R. Chandler, *Life of William Waynflete* pp. 150-1; H. Anstey, *Epistolae Academiae Oxon* vol. 36 pp. 478-9; Caister: "letter from Edward IV to John Paston, Esquire, September 10, 1464" in J. O. Halliwell, *Letters of the Kings of England* vol. I pp. 13 1-2; Ross asserts Edward IV "had no wish to be remembered by posterity as a patron of learning," Edward IV p. 268.
 18. e.g. Edward IV gave the chancellor of Oxford the power to order the roads paved; BM, Cottonian Ms., Faustina C. VIII, ff. 73-6 reprinted in *EHD* p. 879.
 19. e.g. Henry VI: *CPR 1446-52* p. 519, Edward IV: *CCR 1461-8* p. 378, Henry VII: *CPR 1485-94* p. 34.
 20. St. Aubyn, *1483* p. 173 refers specifically to the chapel at Eton.
 21. e.g. Ross, *Edward IV* p. 268-9, *Richard III* p. 129; however, Watts disagrees with the conventional notion; he feels Henry VI had no real interest in education, especially in the cases of the founding of Eton and Ring's Colleges. His argument: *Henry VI and the Politics of Kingship* pp. 167-71.
 22. Lander, *Government and Community* p. 160 discusses some the subjects taught at the universities.
 23. Ross, *Edward IV* p. 318 provides an in-depth discussion of Edward IV's dealings with the educated men of his government; See below pp. 74, 81 for a discussion of Richard III and his preference for educated servants.
 24. Consider for example a letter from Edward IV to Earl Rivers and John Russell, bishop of Rochester in 1473 regarding the education of his son Edward, Prince of Wales; he expected that "the sons of noble lords and gentlemen being in the household with our said son, arise at a convenient hour, and hear their mass, and be virtuously brought up and taught in grammar, music, or other training exercises of humanity", Halliwell *Letters of the Kings of England* vol. I p. 140, Ross, *Edward IV* p. 8.
 25. A classic literary example of this Pre-Reformation notion of buying salvation can be seen in Geoffrey Chaucer's Pardoner in *The Canterbury Tales*, written nearly a century earlier. Though his relics are largely counterfeit, people would buy them with assurance that their purchases would reduce the length of their stay in purgatory: Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Complete Poetry and Prose of Geoffrey Chaucer* ed. by John H. Fisher p. 22.
 26. G. M. Trevelyan, *English Social History* p. 74.
 27. Hibbert, *The English* p. 160 from E E Cartwright, *A Social History of Medicine* p. 29.
 28. Lander, *Conflict and Stability* p. 157.
 29. Document establishing the king's minstrels: *Rymer Foedera*, vol. V, ii, p. 169 from Patent Roll 9 Edward IV Pt 1, m. 17 reprinted in *EHD* p. 1201.
 30. Ross *Edward IV* p. 270; Lander *Conflict and Stability* pp. 13, 157.
 31. L. F. Salzman, *English Industries of the Middle Ages* pp. 176 from and *Statutes, II Henry VI*; wax chandlers had been charging as much as 2 s. per pound for images; the wax cost only 6 d. per pound; the 1432 regulation permitted them to only charge 3 d. per pound over the market price for wax.
 32. Salzman, *English Industries* pp. 176 (tile), 296 (brewing), from *Statutes 17, Edward IV, Patent 19 Henry VI* pt 1. m.10 respectively.
 33. Salzman, *English Industries* pp. 235, 340-3.
 34. Salzman, *English Industries* pp. 113, 348.
 35. Edward founds library: Ross, *Edward IV* p. 264 from G. E Warner and J. F. Gibson *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal King's Collections in the British Museum* vol. 1 pp. xi-ii; Henry VII makes famous: Lander *Conflict and Stability* p. 144, Chrimes *Henry VII* p. 307.
 36. John (d. 1435) and Humphrey (d. 1447) were Henry VI's paternal uncles. John tended to Henry's affairs in France while Humphrey saw to matters in England.
 37. Lander, *Conflict and Stability* pp. 144-5.
 38. The guidelines of a public library: *Register of John Carpenter, Bishop of Worcester* (Worcester RO), f.197b transl. and reprinted in *EHD* p. 836. The king is not mentioned except as a means of dating.
 39. For more on **Governance of England** see Gillingham "Introduction: Interpreting Richard III" in John Gillingham (ed.) *Richard III: A Medieval Kingship*, boxes on pp. 4-5, 6-7.
 40. Lander, *Conflict and Stability* p. 13.
 41. William Caxton (d. 1491) brought printing to England. The printing press had been invented in Germany in 1453 by Gutenberg. Caxton's contributions to English literature are discussed above.
 42. Trevelyan, *English Social History* pp. 80-1.
 43. Ross, *Edward IV* p. 267 argues that, contrary to popular belief, Edward IV was not a major patron of Caxton; he never directly commissioned any works.
 44. *The Arrivall*, a heavily biased account, was distributed throughout England, and was translated into other languages for distribution in Europe: Ross, *Edward IV* p. 162n and J. R. Lander, *Limitations of English*

A King Amidst The Turmoil of Fifteenth-Century History

- Monarchy in the Later Middle Ages** (1986 Goodman Lectures) p. 46 from R. F. Green **Poets and Princepleasers: Literature and the English Court in the Late Middle Ages** pp. 169-71.
45. i.e. quality inspectors see above p. 15 and customs inspectors see below p. 28; Lander **Conflict and Stability** p. 166.
 46. The importance of appearances in late medieval society: e.g. Ross **Edward IV** p. 258.
 47. Lander, **Conflict and Stability** p. 147.
 48. Ross, **Richard III** p. 188.
 49. Rosemary Horrox, **Richard III: A Study of Service** p. 254; One example of this was Edward's grant to the mayor and citizens of the city of York of the position of commissioners of the local rivers [essentially the Humber and tributaries] "pursuant to the statutes...made before the time of Edward I [1272-1307]" **CPR 1461-7** p. 223.
 50. There seems to have been little innovation during the fifteenth-century, Perhaps the only one of significance was one that Edward devised and Richard III used: a postal system; see below p.94.
 51. Edwards and Hindle "Inland Water Transportation" pp. 12-4.
 52. Examples abound in the various volumes of the **Calendar Patent Rolls**. e.g.: **CPR 1461-7** p. 35.
 53. e.g. In 1427, John Martyn and John Cottesmore were to "enquire by sworn inquest...whether a dyke has been set up across the king's high road between the towns of Chuddelegh and Aysskerston [in Devon]...and whether the trees and underwood growing near the said road have been cut down and placed across it, as has been reported" **CPR 1422-9** p. 468.
 54. Examples abound in the **Calendar Patent Rolls**. e.g. Alexander Cely was granted the offices of clerk of the admiralty, conservator, and searcher of the Severn river from the sign called "le Marke" of Silly to Worcester Bridge: **CPR 1461-7** p. 86.
 55. Lander, **Conflict and Stability** p. 166; Lander, **Limitations** pp. 23-4 and the notes therein.
 56. D. F. Harrison "Bridges and Economic Development 1300-1800," **Economic History Review** 45 p. 254 from Stenton "The Road System of Medieval England," **Economic History Review** 7 p.21, Taylor "Roads and Tracks of Britain," **Economic History Review** 32 p. 110, and Willard "Inland Transportation in the Fourteenth-Century," **Speculum** 1 pp. 364-8.
 57. Edwards and Hindle, "Inland Water Transportation" p. 13 from C. T. Flower, "Public Works in Medieval Law," **Selden Society** 40 p. xvi.
 58. Harrison "Bridges and Economic Development" pp. 240-261.
 59. Lander, **Conflict and Stability** pp. 29, 37, cites the Midlands as an example.
 60. Hibbert, **The English** pp. 67-8 from H. S. Bennett, **The Pastons and Their England** **Studies in an Age of Transition** p. 155; Margaret Wade Labarge, **A Baronial Household of the 13th-Century** p. 157; see also Lander **Conflict and Stability** p. 29 and St. Aubyn 1483 p. 99.
 61. e.g. In 1433, Lord Cromwell's Estimates of Royal Revenue and Expenditure allotted £200 annually to pay messengers: **Rotuli Parliamentorum** vol. IV p. 432 reprinted in **EHD** p. 521.
 62. e.g. £2,636 13s. 4d. allotted in 1433: **Rotuli Parliamentorum** vol. IV p. 432 reprinted in **EHD** p. 521.
 63. An in-depth study of English ambassadors would be irrelevant in this context. See, e.g., C. S. L. Davies "Bishop John Morton, the Holy See and the Accession of Henry VII," **English Historical Review** 102 pp. 2-30, S. J. Gunn "The Courtiers of Henry VII" in **English Historical Review** 108 pp. 23-49, and Cynthia J. Neville "Keeping the Peace on the Northern Marches in the Later Middle Ages," **English Historical Review** 109 pp. 1-25.
 64. **CCbR 1429-1516** pp. 255-6.
 65. **CPR 1446-52** p. 576; see also pp. 36,231 for further examples.
 66. **CPR 1461-7** p. 12; also p. 287, **CCbR 1429-1516** pp. 163-4, 228-9 for more. Also, a commission of enquiry into bridge repairs in Cambridge: **CPR 1476-85** p. 112, and ordinances requiring Leicester streets in to be kept clean and unblocked: **Hall Book** p. 229 reprinted in **EHD** p. 577.
 67. **CPR 1485-94** p. 298.
 68. In 1469, an anonymous continuator of the Croyland Chronicle observed that Edward IV praised "in high terms of commendation the plan of the stone bridge," **Croyland Chronicle** p. 445.
 69. **The Calendar of Patent and Charter Rolls**, while useful, only record activity with royal involvement. However, other building went on; towns constructed new wharfs and bridges without royal funding; Hibbert, **The English** p. 98. An example of a bridge built without royal assistance in 1479, **University of York, Bartsch Institute of Historical Research, Register of Archbishop Laurence Booth** RI 20/167b transl. by A. R. Myers and reprinted in **EHD** pp. 724-5. An example of repairs not funded by the crown in, 1457-8 **Records of the Borough of Nottingham** ed. by W. H. Stevenson vol. 2 pp. 220-1 reprinted in **EHD** p. 1218. Why the kings did nothing in these cases is uncertain. Unfortunately, it is impossible to determine what percentage of roads and bridges received royal attention.
 70. Harrison "Bridges and Economic Development" p.254.
 71. For more on this see below p. 86.
 72. A progress was a tour of the realm traditionally conducted by monarchs.

73. CPR 1467-77 p. 529 states the appointment of Robert Waryngton to purvey victuals for Edward IV's invasion of France in 1475.
74. Rosemary Hopcroft "The Social Origins of Agrarian Change in Late Medieval England.", *American Journal of Sociology* 99 p. 1570; Edwards and Hindle, "Inland Water Transportation" p. 12.
75. James Masschaele "Transport Costs in Medieval England" *Economic History Review* 46 pp. 266-7 from Farmer "Marketing the Produce of the Countryside, 1200-1500" in E. Miller (ed.) *History of England and Wales* vol. III, 1348-1500 pp. 347-56.
76. Fish could be salted and preserved and would keep for months; it was deemed nonperishable. C. J. Given-Wilson "Purveyance for the Royal Household 1362-1413" *London University Institute of Historical Research Bulletin* 56 p. 149.
77. The king did make other arrangements; e.g. in 1480 Edward IV granted Robert Scopeham "ferry and toll (*batillagium*) with boats" across the Thames "with all profits, rewards, eatables and drinkables" on the condition that "nothing shall be taken for the conveyance of the king's household (*familie*) or the horses, animals and things of the king and his household" CPR 1476-85 p. 171.
78. Masschaele "Transport Costs in Medieval England" p. 273.
79. Seward, *England's Black Legend* p. 24.
80. Hopcroft "Social Origins" p. 1570.
81. e.g. the Midlands, known for heavy clay soil; see above p. 20n.
82. Lander *Conflict and Stability* pp. 29, 37.
83. M. J. Stephenson "Wool Yields in the Medieval Economy" *Economic History Review* 41 pp. 375, Lander, *Government and Community* p. 16, Seward, *England's Black Legend* pp. 24-S; Consistency: Stephenson shows that between two East Wiltshire manors between 1211 and 1451 there was a 21% difference in grain yields, and only a 1% difference in wool.
84. Lander, *Conflict and Stability* pp. 36-7.
85. Ross, *Edward IV* p. 287 from A. Raine (ed.) *York Civic Records* vol. I pp. 52-3; R. Somerville *History of the Duchy of Lancaster* vol. I p. 252; C. L. Scofield, *The Life and Reign of Edward the Fourth* vol. II pp. 334-9.
86. Ross, *Edward IV* p. 218.
87. Lander, *Conflict and Stability* pp. 36-7.
88. Statutes of the Realm vol. 2 p. 395 reprinted in *EHD* p. 1041, discussed in Ross *Edward IV* p. 360.
89. *Croyland Chronicle* p. 474; Ross *Edward IV* p. 351.
90. PRO, Warrants for Issues, E404/72/3/50 and PRO, Exchequer, K.R., Customs Accounts (E122), Box 73, No. 36, reprinted in *EHD* pp. 291, 1024-5 respectively, detail Edward's investing. The first is a list of ships and merchants carrying his wool, the other is a listing of men acting as his agents.
91. Wool and cloth were not the only items exported (Seward adds hides, tin, lead, and carved alabaster; *England? Black Legend* p. 25 and various sources allude to mining activity, which would suggest other possible mining exports; see below p. 87 and CPR 1446-52 p. 467) However, the overwhelming focus of English export trade was in wool, wool-fells (sheepskins with the wool still on them), and cloth. Customs on other items were "derisively low" (Lander, *Government and Community* p. 103), and the most frequent exports were wool and cloth, they will be the exports discussed here.
92. E. M. Cants-Wilson and O. Coleman, *England's Export Trade 127.5-1547* p. 25.
93. Henry VII was only the second king (Richard III was the first) to receive customs revenue in the first parliament of his reign; both Richard II (d. 1399) and Henry V (d. 1422) had received subsidy grants from their parliaments: Chimes *Henry VII* p. 195 from *Rotuli Parliamentorum* vol. VI pp. 268-70.
94. Carus-Wilson and Coleman, *England's Export Trade* pp. 23-4 from N.S.B. Gras *The Early English Customs System* pp. 94-100. For examples of appointments see CPR 1422-9 p. 521, CPR 1476-85 p. 233.
95. e.g. CPR 1461-7 p. 530.
96. Example of a caught smuggler: P.R.O. Exchequer, K.R., Memoranda Rolls, 18 Henry VI, Records of Easter Term, m. 12d. reprinted in *EHD* p. 1037; punishments included forfeiture; half to the king, half to the arresters; *Select Cases Before the King's Council* ed. by I. S. Leadam and J. F. Baldwin p. 103 reprinted in *EHD* pp. 1020-I; discussion regarding smuggling and its marginal role see Carus-Wilson and Coleman *England? Export Trade* pp. 21-3.
97. Michaelmas was celebrated September 29.
98. See below pp. 33-4.
99. Trevelyan *English Social History* p. 63; Salzman, *English Industries* p. 23 l.
100. Stephenson "Wool Yields" especially Table 3 p. 378 from the Winchester Account Rolls, PRO, Eccl. Comm pp. 159, 270, 444 for a more in-depth breakdown of these fleece weights.
101. Stephenson "Wool Yields" p. 387.
102. Mavis Mate "Pastoral Farming in South-East England in the Fifteenth-Century" *Economic History Review* 40 p. 526 raises the notion of the farmers selling lambs rather than wool.
103. Harvey *Jack Cade* pp. 54-5; Ross *Edward IV* p. 361; Mate "Pastoral Farming" p. 527; Patent Rolls of 15 Henry VI, m. 1 in Rymer *Foedera* vol. V pp. 39, 72 reprinted in *EHD* pp. 1035-7; included were an unreciprocated tax-break for Hansards in England that, as well as other trading restrictions.
104. Ross *Edward IV* p. 366.

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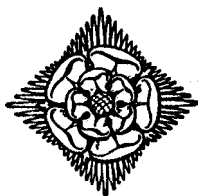
105. Lander *Conflict and Stability* pp. 44-5, 143 and Salzman *English Industries* p. 232.
106. Mavis Mate "The Economic and Social Roots of Medieval Popular Rebellion: Sussex in 1450-I" *Economic History Review* 45 p. 662.
107. Watts *Henry VI and the Politics of Kingship* p. 169 from B. P. Wolffe *Henry VI* pp. 139-45.
108. e.g. acts permitting only English ships to carry English wool and forbidding the import of foreign wool and cloth; *Statutes of the Realm* vol. II pp. 392-4 reprinted in *EHD* pp. 1040-1.
109. Edward: Ross *Edward IV* pp. 352-3; *Henry VII*: Chrimes *Henry VII* pp. 236, 238.
110. Chrimes *Henry VII* pp. 226-7.
111. Margaret, Dowager Duchess of Burgundy (d. 1503) married the Duke of Burgundy in 1468. She was the sister of Edward IV and Richard III, and was a major thorn in Henry VII's side until her death. See below p. 122 for more on Margaret.
112. Chrimes *Henry VII* pp. 232-3 from I? L. Hughes and J. E Larkin *Tudor Royal Proclamations* vol. I p. 35 no. 31 and p. 37 no. 33.
113. Harvey *Jack Cade* pp. 44-5; Chrimes *Henry VII* pp. 227-8; Lander *Conflict and Stability* p. 105; Ross *Edward IV* pp. 356-7.
114. Lander *Government and Community* p. 102.
115. Lander *Conflict and Stability* pp. 44-5.
116. Hopcroft "Social Origins" p. 1564 from B. M. S. Campbell "Population Pressure, Inheritance and the Land Market in a Fourteenth-Century Peasant Community" in R. M. Smith (ed.) *Land, Kinship and Life-Cycle* pp. 119-36; Mate "Kent and Sussex" in E. Miller (ed.) *The Agrarian History of England and Wales* vol. 3 pp. 268-85.
117. John Komlos and Richard Landes "Anachronistic Economics: Grain Storage in Medieval England" *Economic History Review* 44 p. 43.
118. The rebels "were unlikely to have taken the final step without a genuine grievance." Mate "Economic and Social Roots" pp. 670-1.
119. Harvey *Jack Cade* pp. 121-2.
120. "Supporters of Cade were young men, and thus, in 1450, still landless labourers and smallholders, they were by no means the marginals of society." Mate "Economic and Social Roots" p. 675.
121. "The Bills of Complaint 1450" reproduced in Harvey *Jack Cade* pp. 186-91. Harvey includes three documents: that of Cade's rebels, a manifesto, and a second list of complaints, reproduced from (in order) BL Cotton Roll IV 50, Magdalen College, Oxford, Ms. Misc. 306, and Ms. BL Cotton II 23.
122. Cade's (alias John Mortimer) pardon: *CPR 1446-52* p. 328-9, 338 (list of pardoned rebels follows pp. 338-74); commission for his arrest p. 387.
123. An Act of Attainder (discussed in detail below pp. 63-5) meant a forfeiture of life, lands, holdings, and titles. Cade's attainder: *Rotuli Parliamentorum* vol. V p. 224 reprinted in *EHD* pp. 268-9.
124. Lander *Conflict and Stability* p. 49.

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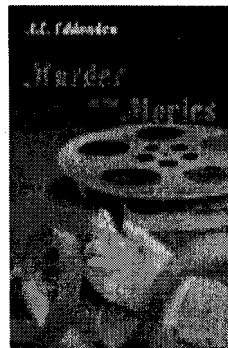
The Story of Mankind (with a cast of thousands)

Ricardian books are a bit scarce at present, so this column is devoted to a miscellany, in no particular order, but just as they came to hand.

Movie, Movie

MURDERATTHEMOVIES - A.E. Eddenden, Academy Chicago Publishers, 363 W. Erie St, Chicago, IL 60610 1996

1939 was a prime year for the cinema, and Inspector Tretheway and Constable Small, of the Fort York, Ontario, police force, see more than 100 of the year's offerings. That may seem fantastic to some, but I can remember going to the movies regularly every weekend, even with several small children in tow.



Someone seems to be making life more difficult for the officers of the law by committing a series of crimes based on the year's popular films, starting with *The Flying Duces* and culminating in the event of the year, *Gone with the Wind*. At first, the crimes are merely pranks and misdemeanors, but they quickly escalate into murder.

What, you may ask, has this to do with Richard III? Well, one of the films that the perp uses as his inspiration is *The Tower of London* — you know, the one with Vincent Price. He is even seen, but not recognized, in a Richard III costume, complete with hump. (We are, of course, talking about the traditional, Shakespearean Richard, even though *Tower* was certainly not Shakespeare.) Would you care to guess the means of the murder and the name of the victim? Right!

There are two other books in the series, *A Good Year for Murder* and *Murder on the Thirteenth*, each dealing, like the one reviewed here, with a series of murders. This doesn't speak too well for the efficiency of the Fort York force, but the characters are all likable folks, and the mysteries are classic puzzles, of the kind that never occur in real life, which is what makes them, so charming.

George Washington Slept Here

THE TWO GEORGES - Richard Dreyfuss and Harry Turtledove, a Tor Book, Tom Doherty Associates, 175 Fifth Ave, NY, NY 10010 1996

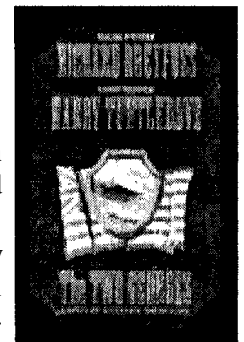
Richard **Dreyfuss**, who gave us an alternate Richard, in *The Goodbye Girl*, here collaborates with Mr. Turtledove to give us alternate history. They create a universe in which the American Revolution never took place (the title refers to a double portrait by Gainsborough of George III and George Washington), nor did any other of the world's major revolutions.

The Civil War never happened; the slaves were freed in 1834, which coincided, in their world, with the invention of the typewriter, which African-Americans (always, called Negroes here) immediately took up, becoming stereotyped as fussy petty bureaucrats, stiff and sobersided. In spite of that early advance, technology seems to have reached the equivalent of only the 1930's in our world, manners and mores are still almost Victorian, violence is rare, and cars run on steam.

Sound like an earthly paradise? Not altogether. Where do you think the steam comes from? Coal, that's where. And the coal comes from the same places it does in our world, which are gigantic slums in theirs, inhabited by the downtrodden and oppressed majority, the Irish, who are the principal supporters of the Sons of Liberty, that seditious group.

There are a number of **unanswered** questions. A character observes that "Jews are thin on the ground in the North American Union," and probably even thinner in Israel, which is controlled by a Pasha. Now in their history the Holocaust really did not happen, along with the two World Wars. (Our hero reads a 'scientific romance' based on the premise of a Germany unified under a madman, and calls it ridiculous. The squabbling little German principalities could never have managed that.)

But most of the Jewish immigrants to this continent came earlier, fleeing the pogroms in Russia and its neighbors, and the Czarist regime seems no more enlightened here than in our history. Where did they go? And where are the other immigrants? There are



Nuevospanolians, but where are the Scandinavians? Where are the Germans — where, in fact, are the Dreyfusses? Where are the Dutch, the Scots, the Scots-Irish, who were all here before the revolution, either the one which happened or the one that didn't happen? The Six Nations and the Cherokees have their own semi-autonomous areas, but where are the Western Indians, the Apaches, the Sioux, etc., etc.? Where are the buffalo?

And I would beg leave to doubt the premise of the authors that the presence of the giga-(beyond mega) power of the British Commonwealth would keep major wars from breaking out. Surely such power would stir up envy and resentment of the other major powers, still absolutist, and without Mutually Assured Destruction — remember, the Bomb has not been invented — they would have little reason to hold back.

No book of this type can, of course, have an answer for every possible question, and it is more important that they simply raise the questions, and make us realize that there was nothing necessarily inevitable about the way things did turn out. Besides, the book is fun to read. People like Sir Martin Luther King, John F. Kennedy (hale and hearty at 70+) and Tricky Dick turn up, in guises you might never expect. Or then again, you might.

The Nun's Story

 **STRONG AS DEATH** - Sharan Newman, A Forge Book, Tom Doherty Associates, Inc. NY, 1996

The title page of this book lists its subject matter as:

- Christian pilgrims and pilgrimages - Spain- Santiago de Compostela - Fiction.
- France - History - Medieval period 987-1515.
- Women detectives - France -Fiction

Ex-novice Catherine, unable to give her husband Edgar a living child, is on her way with him to see if a little pilgrimnige will help.

Correction: there was no such thing as a little pilgrimnige, if you were going abroad. Chaucer made the Pilgrim Way sound like a package tour, only better. In actuality, though they did have occasional diversions, pilgrimages were serious and very risky business, and travelers were advised to make their wills before leaving home. Still, it does arouse comment when these (presumably) pious folk start dropping like flies (of which there are a generous plenty, too). In particular, certain ex-Crusaders are meeting their Maker — although, like the governor of Arkansas, I hardly think it fair to give God the responsibility. First there were four, then three, then ... **Of** the motley group in this assembly, who could have done it? More than one has a motive, more than one hides a mystery.

Ms. Newman is faithful to her period, even in not making the characters more knowledgeable than they could have been. That doesn't mean that they were stupid. Catherine, for example, is literate in Latin as well as French, but thinks that 'algebra' is perhaps 'some way of predicting the future.' She does have a thirst for knowledge that would have been unusual at the time, or at any other time. Throughout the story, the characters swear by such things as "St. Eulalia's cold modesty." If they were that creative in their cussing, they surely differ from people nowadays.

One or two loose ends, not affecting the mystery, are left hanging, perhaps to be picked up in the next book in the series. Now, how is Catherine going to combine detection with motherhood? (Yes, need you have doubted?)

Sons of the Desert

 **MURDER AT THE FEAST OF REJOICING** - Lynda S. Robinson, Ballentine Books, NY, **\$5.95**

The boy pharaoh, Tutankamun, rules, ably served by Lord Meren, his Friend. That is a title, but also a fact. Meren would like to take a little time off from his duties, but things don't work out that way. First his sister throws a party for him, much to his dismay, then ... but let the jacket blurb describe it:

*Beautiful Anhai, Meren's cousin-in-law, falls victim to murder — an act of violence as inscrutable as the sphinx. True, she had myriad lovers and a scorpion tongue, but why was her body arranged so meticulously, as if for sleep. The most dreadful possibility is that the crime has to do with Lord Meren's awesome undercover mission for the pharaoh, for which his fast of *jic'in gy* in part a cover. This mission cannot, must not, fail. Ruthlessly stripping bare the deepest secrets of the nest of cobras who are his nearest relatives, Meren finds the thread that leads to the truth and the unmasking of a shocking crime in the court of the living god. ..*

Ms. Robinson writes knowledgeably of her period, as she should. She is an anthropologist, archeologist, Longhorn alum, romance writer, and the author of several other Lord Meren mysteries: **Murder At The Place Of Anubis**, **Murder At God's Gate**, and the upcoming **Eater Of Souls**.

The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly

 **DEATH AT RAINY MOUNTAIN** - Mardi Oakley Medawar, St. Martin's Press, NY, **1996**

Civil war threatens to tear the nation apart, as strong leaders vie to lead their people. A man is accused of murder, which may be just the tinder to set off this


volatile situation. His friend, a healer, sets out to clear his name and restore him to the arms of his true love.

Sound familiar? But in this case, the place is not 12th-century Shrewsbury but 19th-century Oklahoma Territory, and the Nation is the Kiowa Nation. The civil war is not that between the followers of Maud and Stephen, nor even between the Gray Jackets and the Blue Jackets, but between rival factions of the Kiowas. The healer, like Brother Cadfael, follows his own counsel, his own sensible methods of healing, and his own heart, but he is not celibate. Tay-bodal does not have to go far afield to find rough equivalents to Prior Robert and Abbot Heribert. It would be a mistake, however, to count this as merely an adaptation of the Cadfael formula to another setting. Although intended, the author says, simply as entertainment, this book should be on the list of every scholar and aficionado of the Early West. The Kiowas are depicted not as Noble Red Men, or Ignorant Savages, but as ordinary human beings, playing politics, playing games, flirting. (One minor point: the characters frequently punctuate their remarks by slamming doors. Tents do have doors, or door flaps, but such a gesture would seem to be lacking in impact.)

The whites who figure in the novel are treated fairly. Tay-bodal becomes the friend of Army doctor Harrison O'Kelly, whom he calls Haw-wee-sun, the Kiowa language not having the letter 'r'. "... he never did tell me what thing or purpose a Haw-wee-sun was ... I can only assume a Haw-wee-sun must be something either truly exceptional or highly embarrassing, for I never knew another white man who was called that." Unfortunately, not all of the reciprocal misunderstandings of each other's culture are as amusing and harmless as that. But all these troubles are still in the future as the book ends in the traditional way, with a wedding.

Ms. Medawar is a Eastern Band Cherokee from North Carolina, but she qualifies herself to write about the Kiowas and Caucasians of a century ago the same way Ellis Peters did about the English and Welsh of eight centuries ago: by research. It may even be that, being neither Kiowa nor white, she has a special, dispassionate (though compassionate) point of view.

Without a Clue

 **THE QUEEN'S MAN** - Sharon Kay Penman, A Marian Wood Book, Henry Holt & Company, NY, 1996

Sharon Kay Penman's historical novels have delighted enthusiasts of the middle ages since 1982 when *The Sunne in Splendour* gave such a sympathetic picture of Richard III. She completed her fifth novel, *When Christ and His Saints Slept*, in 1995, the first book of a trilogy which covers the era of the Empress Maud and ends with

the death of King Richard I. Before tackling Book II, the story of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine, Penman decided to try her hand at a mystery.



The Queen's Man, a mere 287 pages in length, is a departure from her usual lengthy novels, but here again she brings her fictitious characters to life as she has the historical figures from the past.

The queen is (our old friend) Eleanor of Aquitaine who, in 1193 is serving as regent for her crusading son, King Richard I.

All over the country, people are talking about the fact that Richard has not been heard from for several months. If Richard is dead, the throne should go to Prince John, of course, and Eleanor fears that the worst may have happened.

We first meet Eleanor when a young man brings her a bloody letter — for her eyes only. Justin de Quincy tells the queen of his attempt to save a **man** from brigands on the road from Winchester. He is only partially successful, for the victim, an affluent goldsmith, dies after exacting a promise from Justin to deliver this letter to Queen Eleanor.

Eleanor ponders the letter which tells her Richard was shipwrecked but is still alive and being held prisoner in Austria. She is relieved that her son lives, but concerned that the death of the messenger bodes ill. Who killed Gervase Fitz Randolph and, more importantly, who paid him to commit murder?

"Go back to Winchester," she tells Justin, "and find out who is behind this crime. Then bring your findings to no one but me."

Justin finds no fewer than eleven possible suspects who might have paid this murderer to kill the goldsmith — members of Gervase's family who might well have wished him out of the way, Gervase's beautiful paramour, the under-sheriff who also loves the goldsmith's mistress and with whom Justin must work closely, an elegant temptress with noble friends who are more than suspicious and even the ubiquitous Prince John, whose evil charms the reader will find really quite ingratiating.

We visit a Lazar House with Justin, who finds a valuable informant in an observant leper called Job. Penman fills us in on the harsh treatment of lepers in the 12th-century. Justin sees for himself how prisoners are treated in the Fleet Street Gaol and is present at the lose/lose situation for those undergoing trial by ordeal. The descriptions of medieval London fall naturally within the story and are fascinating in themselves.

Justin is attacked, injured and brought back to health in the arms of a beautiful noblewoman whom

bestotted by her.

The criminal who did the actual killing of Gervase Fitz Randolph is revealed and a wonderful scheme is concocted to apprehend him. Who paid him to murder the goldsmith? Was it someone with a personal grudge or was there a darker secret?

Perhaps the proof positive of the superb writing of this story is the fact that the book was nominated by the Mystery Writers of America for an Edgar as the **Kay-Fin Mystery**. Sharon opens new worlds to us through her knowledge and affection for the old worlds of the middle

What a fine story this is! The characters quickly become real to the reader as they are drawn in depth and with great understanding of human nature. The many suspense-filled incidents are believable and exciting. Indeed, the ending of this mystery strongly suggests that there will be other stories of Justin de Quincy to follow.

Helen Curé

📖 **SHERLOCK HOLMES IN ORBIT** - Mike Resnick and Martin H. Greenberg, Eds, Daw Books, NY, pb.

Holmes in the past, the present, the future, and in computers. Holmes meets such as Lewis Carroll, Fu Manchu, and the Time Traveler in these short stories. But I wonder—has no one thought of sending the Great Detective back to the **15th-century** to solve the Great Mystery? And if not, why not? And if not, why **don't you** do it?

📖 **THE WRITERS GUIDE TO EVERYDAY LIFE IN RENAISSANCE ENGLAND** - Kathy Lynn Emerson, Writers' Digest Books, an imprint of F & W Publications, Cincinnati, 1996

If you are moved by the dearth of Ricardian novels to write one of your own, look into this series of Writers' Guides, covering nearly all periods, and available either from your local bookstore or from the publisher (their address is 1507 Dana Ave, Cincinnati, OH, 45207, Ph. (800)289-0963, and the books, as of last year, are \$18.99 each. They cover such things as clothing, household furnishings, bathing habits, but also education, attitudes — even if you have no intention of writing a book, this would make a better textbook of the times than many textbooks.

And if you do decide to write one, you can give it an air of verisimilitude by throwing around references to Dead Spaniard gowns (that's a color!), knights of the post, pottles. There are signs that Ms. Emerson is

one of the Right Sort, for she writes that "... Henry VII ... **systematically** eliminated any rival who appeared." I don't necessarily agree with that, that is, I don't think that there was any well-thought-out system to it. But the statement does indicate that her heart is in the right place.

(At last, a Ricardian book!) The Jewel in the Crown

📖 **THE LODESTAR** - Pamela Belle, St. Martin's Press, NY, 1987

Perhaps the reason I liked this book so much has less to do with the style, authenticity, and character development, though these elements are well done, than it has to do with the portrait of Richard and the fate of his nephews, both of which follow my own line of reasoning.

The main character, Christopher Heron, is an ambitious, landless, young man, kin to the Earl of Northumberland through a bastard line. When Christie establishes himself as one of the most trusted followers of Richard, Duke of Gloucester, the reader wonders if he survives Bosworth, and if so, how such survival is accomplished. Christie serves Richard well, is rewarded with a heiress and her estate, captures the lady's reluctant heart, survives torture at the hands of his brother-in-law, and lives with the potential for happiness, thanks to the treason of his mother-in-law.

Richard is as Ricardians would expect. Lacking the famous Plantagenet charm, he is moderate, somewhat reserved, just, firm, dutiful and loyal. In his private court, he is warm and affectionate with Anne and Ned. He sets out for London in 1483 with grave misgivings about his own fate and therefore the fate of his wife and child. But the safety of the realm, the possibility of facing renewed civil war, takes precedence. He is manipulated by Buckingham and devastated by Anne's death.

In contrast, Edward V is presented as a delicate, effeminate child, high-strung, nervous, insecure, altogether inappropriate for the throne. The two boys are smuggled, in disguise, out of the Tower and taken to the country estate of James Tyrell, where they remain until young Edward's death. **Dickon**, a most promising child, is then taken out of the country under an assumed identity, thus setting up the appearance of **Perkin Warbeck**. Christie does not face the dilemma of choosing between the established king, to whom he now owes his life and lands, and the "true blood of the White Rose" in this volume.

Ms. Belle's preface is most interesting. The fate of the sons of Edward IV is based on a tradition still held in the Tyrell family. She acknowledges the assistance of many members of the Richard III Society, and cites

The Ricardian as a source. The book is well crafted and includes credible scenes of both country and court life. It covers two years only, and its 532 pages are packed with detail. It makes enjoyable reading.

— Dale Summers, **TX**

Michael Bongiornio reports that he has met a man who claims direct descent from James Tyrell. He is, however, a believer in the conventional story, so not all of the Tyrells appear to give credence to the family tradition.

Finally, a few words about the way some of the membership are getting all het up if anybody dares to say a good word about Henry Tudor. I know it is hard for many of us to forgive him for being responsible for Richard's death, but consider a parallel case. There is, in England, a Henry VI society. If we were to go to them in good faith, offering to share research in order to better understand the continuity between his reign and that of Edward IV and Richard III, would we want them to figuratively throw rotten tomatoes at

us? They would be justified, as Richard certainly helped to depose Henry VI, and was, at least, an accessory after the fact in his death. Or are we afraid that finding any virtue, or even any interest, in Henry Tudor means taking it away from Richard, as if historical interest were a strictly limited resource?

Besides, I have a personal interest in this matter. I have written to Valerie Perry, who has tentatively agreed to send some reviews for this column. I don't want anybody to scare off a potential contributor, and I hate to quash any enthusiasm that is not actually harmful to humanity.

I would rather harness that enthusiasm in some way, as well as the enthusiasm of all those who have sent off impassioned defenses of Richard (who really was not attacked). ***If you can find the time, energy, and fire to write these, surely you can write a review.*** (I've tried sweet-talking, I've tried begging, to no avail. Let's see what insults will do!)

HISTORY MUSICAL NOTES

Amanda Belt

Lord Derby thought his tarot cards would never tell him lies,

With a Yorkist Sun in Splendour, thought he'd backed the winning side,

That was on the field at Bosworth back in 1485...

So begins another Blyth Power epic. The song, entitled *Lambert Simnel* is from their latest album "Out from under the King", which includes two tracks of particular interest to Ricardians, but a plethora of material of interest to anyone with a love of history and an interest in music. This is the fourteenth album from a little known British band who are so totally original in their approach to music that they have defied categorization, and have ultimately been dismissed by the traditional music press. "That's why the scribes, creeps, the pharisees say they don't like my band." (The Thin Red Line-Alnwick & Tyne CD)

Various referred to under such nebulous headings as "medieval, anarchistic folk-punk" and "hippy idealists," they have distanced themselves from record companies and have formed their own cottage industry playing pubs and festivals on a regular basis and selling their own CDs. "If anything, being without influence or direction is something I've equated with

folk music. Traditional music couldn't have influences because there was no press or radio or media. They were just playing or singing what they knew the best they could and that's all I've ever done." (J. Porter, Folk Roots, June 1997) Joseph Porter, the vocalist and lyric master of Blyth Power has written around 116 songs covering such remarkably diverse subjects as the Trojan Wars, The Crusades, St. Augustine, The Peasants Revolt, World War II and the Conservative Party.

This latest album takes us across the desert "On God's Orders" (which includes clever use of Dylan Thomas' "Do Not Go Gentle Unto that Good (K)night", through the Wars of the Roses adventure "Lord Clay Cross", a tale of thwarted ambition and double dealing. Then on to Jane Austen and her interfering heroine "Emma;" a bitter ballad about how Katherine Parr might have felt about Henry VIII's death, and an epic on Napoleon called "Battle of Nations" with clever fusion of past with contemporary issues. They may not be the "Spice Boys"(thankfully), but they are intriguing and original.

Blyth Power may be contacted at: PO Box 255, Harrogate, N Yorkshire. HG15ZL, UK Tel/ Fax (0)1274 495905 For those with access to the internet, they have a page at www.mono.org/~cabbage/blyth.html



RICARDIAN POST

May 14, 1997

Britain's Dramatic Royal Art London, Associated Press

Dear Carole:

My **Register** arrived yesterday and I've really enjoyed this issue. From time to time I think someone, and I'm sure many have done this, should take a moment to thank you for all the hard work you put into everything you do.

I've enclosed a few items for the **Ricardian Register**. Do with them what you will.

Jacqueline Bloomquist
California

What's wrong with this? From the NTC Pocket References - Dictionary of British History

SIMNEL, Lambert c. 1475-c.1525. *English imposter, a joiner's son who under the influence of an Oxford priest claimed to be Prince Edward, one of the Princes in the Tower. Henry VII discovered the plot and released THE REAL EDWARD for one day to show him to the public. Simnel had a keen following and was crowned as Edward VI in Dublin in 1487.*

and. ...

I do think that Ms. Perry should form a Henry VII Society. She would have no trouble attracting followers. I'm sure that A. Hanham, A. L. Rowse and Desmond Seward would be eager to join. Collecting dues would be no problem: she could set "Morton's Fork" in motion and clean up. A Henry VII AGM could be held at Market Bosworth and Alison Weir could be the guest speaker. There might even be a Henry VII tour — say, a red rose for Henry — beginning in Wales, going to Brittany and Paris, and then back to Milford-Haven. That should include just about everything and, oh yes, they might even try to find a city that loved Henry VII as much as the City of York loved Richard III!

(Editor's Note: Did you get her name, Myrna??? Also, Jackie sent a clipping which included the following piece of Ricardian trivia:)

Queen Elizabeth II put portraits of her family and ancestors on public view yesterday at Buckingham Palace and revealed some oddities in the huge royal art collection.

Scientific detection shows that portraits of three kings of the Middle Ages, whose lives spanned 98 years — Henry V, Henry VI and Richard III — are all painted on wood from the same tree cut down in the century after they were dead.

Hi all -

My husband and I returned from our Ricardian trip last Monday, and had a great time in spite of unusual June rain. We made it before the British Airways strike, thank goodness.

There were six of us in a van with a very good Lancashire driver/guide, whom we enjoyed very much, but didn't necessarily convert to Yorkist leanings. We stayed in lovely guest houses, lunched in interesting pubs, and saw some beautiful gardens, as well as castles and cathedrals.

It was fascinating to meet and talk to English Ricardians — Vi Roberts and a very good guide at Tewkesbury Abbey, who gave us a tour emphasizing the battle; lunch with John Audley and Moira Habberjam and her husband at Middleham; an excellent tour of Bosworth Battlefield with Pauline (don't know her last name); Juliet Wilson at Fotheringhay. We even saw Henry VII's birthplace at Pembroke Castle, and the Stony Stratford inn where Richard met the princes, as well as beautiful Minster Lovell on the river Windrush.

As a bonus, we found the pub in Wales where my husband's great-great grandfather was the innkeeper in the 1800's, had a very satisfying visit with his cousin Ann near Swansea, and went to an exciting production of "Henry V" at the new Globe (I heartily recommend it!) It's good to be home, but it will be even more interesting to read the **Ricardians**, having "been there, done that"!

Lois Griffiths,
Monmouth, Maine

HASTINGS THE TOPIC OF STUDY FOR 1997-98 SCHALLEK SCHOLAR

Laura Blanchard

After reviewing the applications received this year, the Selection Committee has awarded a William B. Schallek Memorial Fellowship Award for the 1997-98 academic year to one candidate. 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.

This year's candidate is studying a new dimension of a character of great interest to Ricardians: William Lord Hastings.

**Theron Westervelt
Fitzwilliam College, Cambridge
Edward IV's Governance of England,
with special reference to William Lord
Hastings, 1471-83**

"The reign of Edward IV provides the historian with many aspects to study. It occupies an interesting position as the last reign of any appreciable length in medieval England. The reign can be studied as the result of the changes and growth in government over the Middle Ages. Alternatively, these years can be studied as the forerunner to the government of early modern England under the Tudors. Or, indeed, leaving aside the rather artificial divide between medieval and early modern, it can be studied with a view toward how this reign fits in the steady flow of the development of government in England.

"William Lord Hastings stands as one of the most important men during the reign of Edward IV. The king's friend, he served as chamberlain, councilor, captain of Calais, and steward of Tutbury. Edward IV, at least once freed from Lancastrian distractions in his second reign, did not employ people who failed to serve him well, nor did he reward them. This year, with my M.Phil., I am investigating how the Woodvilles fit into Edward IV's scheme for governing England. Hastings provides an even better example of how Edward IV sought to run his country. Hastings served at many different levels of Edward's government; on the council, in the household, in Calais, in the counties. By studying what Hastings did for the government in each of these areas, we can come to a better comprehension of what Edward IV's system of

government was like and how it compares to those before and after it. As a central figure in Edward IV's government, Hastings provides a key to understanding it.

"Hastings has been, and remains, a character only partially illuminated, mostly hidden in shadow. General studies on the reigns of Edward IV and Richard III leave a one-dimensional picture of Edward IV's best friend, his close companion and the man who would not abandon Edward's sons. Work specifically dedicated to Hastings, such as Professor Dunham's pioneering book, tend to concentrate on his specific relations with the structures in the localities and are more interested in illuminating bastard feudalism. Recent works which deal with Hastings, most notably by Ian Rowney, Michael Hicks, Susan Wright, and Christine Carpenter, concern themselves with Hastings' position within the local gentry power structure. What none of these works do is give us a broad picture of this man of many offices and duties, the man who was aptly portrayed in Ian McKellen's recent film of *Richard III* as Edward IV's prime minister. There is no way the Yorkists and their world can be open to us until we come to a better understanding of this man William Lord Hastings.

"The actual mechanics of the rule of the Yorkist kings has been a long neglected subject. The rehabilitation of Edward IV's rule has occurred at a time when historians have been less interested in governance than in politics and personalities. With the re-emergence of a more 'constitutional' type of history for the period and a growing interest in the linkage between center and localities, most notably in the works of John Watts, Helen Castor, and Christine Carpenter, now seems the ideal time to look again at Yorkist government, especially through the career of someone who was a key figure both at the center and in the provinces."

Thanks are due to the members of the Selection Committee for their time in considering the applications: Lorraine C. Attreed, Barbara A. Hanawalt, Morris G. McGee, Shelley A. Sinclair, and Charles T. Wood.

Thanks are also due to the many generous donors who make this award program possible, and especially to Maryloo Schallek.

RICHARD III IN CHICAGO
ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING:
OCTOBER 3-5, 1997

May Miller

With October just around the corner, the Illinois Chapter Members are gearing up their efforts to prepare for the Annual General Meeting in Chicago, October 3-5.

Six workshops, lectures and a mystery dinner presentation are part of the plans for the weekend. The plans at this stage include the following:

- Workshops covering topics as diverse as Yorkist women, historical mysteries, medieval cooking and heraldry.
- A keynote address by Jeff Nigro, lecturer at the world-renowned Art Institute of Chicago. His topic is ***Rejection and Reality: Netherlandish Art in the 15th Century***. The fifteenth-century was one of the richest and most innovative periods in European art, and one of its greatest centers was in the Low Countries. The glittering court of the Dukes of Burgundy became a model for courts all over Europe, particularly that of the House of York. This slide lecture will examine some of the great achievements of this brilliant era, with particular emphasis on relevant works in the collection of the art.
- A banquet Saturday evening at which the main entertainment will be an investigation of the "Mystery of the Princes." The chief suspects and witnesses of the events of 1483 will be present for questioning as we attempt to solve what happened to the Princes. Costumes are not required for banquet attendees but they are certainly appropriate attire.
- A benefit breakfast Sunday morning for the Fiction Library. Roxane Murph, past chairman of the Society and Ricardian fiction expert extraordinaire, will talk about the best and the worst of Ricardian books.

The Schallek raffle prize tickets can be ordered with the registration form, whether or not you plan to come to the AGM. Tickets will also be available for sale at the AGM. You do not need to be present to win raffle prizes.

If you would like to donate a raffle prize, contact Mary Miller.

The Courtyard by Marriott in downtown Chicago is conveniently situated close to the "Miracle Mile"



shopping district on Michigan Avenue and several excellent restaurants. It is a short cab ride to the great Chicago museums, including the Art Institute, The Field Museum and the Shedd Aquarium. A pool and fitness center are available for guest use. The Courtyard has set aside a block of rooms at the special rate of \$120 a night.

These rooms will be held for us until September 12. AGM information will be mailed out in late July. It will include information for those members who would like assistance in finding a roommate.

Maps and information about Chicago will be sent to those who request it with their registration.

We recommend that Ricardians plan to spend an extra day or two in Chicago. Fall is a beautiful time in the Windy City for shopping, walking and sightseeing. We look forward to welcoming you to Chicago.

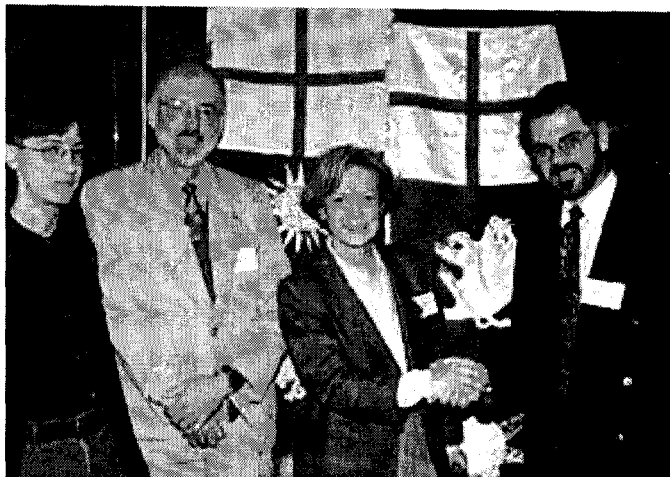
AGM Chairman: Mary Miller
1577 Killdeer
Naperville, IL 60565-1325
708 778-8843



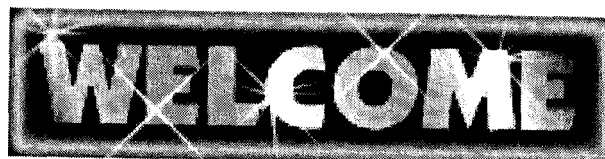
**SECOND FIFTEENTH-CENTURY
STUDIES CONFERENCE
MAY 3-6, 1998**

The American Branch of the Richard III Society is planning its second conference on fifteenth-century England to be held on the campus of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign May **3-6, 1998**. This conference will be scheduled to coordinate with the International Medieval Congress in Kalamazoo, Michigan for the convenience of those who plan to attend both conferences.

The conference is being co-sponsored by the Department of History, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and the Department of History, Ohio University. The conference is planned as a working conference with consecutive rather than concurrent sessions in order to facilitate discussion among the participants. Each session will consist of two papers and a response. Joel Rosenthal of the State University of New York at Stony Brook will give the keynote address. The papers ~~will be published~~ in a proceedings volume. For those interested in participating, please send a proposal of no more than 300 words plus a short vita by September 15, 1997 to: *Sharon D. Michalove, Assistant to the Chair, Department of History, Adjunct Assistant Professor, Department of Educational Policy Studies, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 309 Gregory Hall, 810 South Wright Street, Urbana, Illinois 61801, e-mail: mlove@uiuc.edu, fax: 217-333-2297 telephone: 217-333-4145*



Speakers at the Society's session on 15th-century English History at the 32nd International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, MI, May, 1997. From left, Kathleen Kennedy, Univ. of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, American Branch Chairman Compton Reeves, Ohio University, Virginia K. Henderson, Emory University & Montgomery L. Bohna, University of Rochester.



Jo Ann Muramoto
Thomas Robbins
Evelyn G. Neumann
Barry K. Mills
Carol-Ann Nicholson
Carol A. Anhminding
Linda Henry
Robert and Constance Jansen
Harold Arthur Sanders, Jr.
William M. Shapiro
Deborah Solomon
Susanne Trainer
Siobhan Kennard Wallace
Sue Earle McLane
Thomas D. Motes
Chalmers W. Poston
Stuart B. Silverman
Jane-Vett Rogers
Ed Dooley
Marian G. Roberts
Cathleen Russ
E. M. Thompson
Mel Crisp
Pamela Green
Julie Re Louis
Everett Duncan
Laura Dobbs
Susan E. Leal
Dixie K. Feiner
Amanda Jane Belt & Peter L. Woollett
Florence S. Graving
Barbara L. Palys
Larry Barrentine
Shari Perkins
Janice L. Pearson
Bethany A. Wilkins
Linda Henry
Marianne G. Pittorino
Mary Celeste Tuinman
Phoebe S. Spinrad
Sheila Cress
Kathleen Spaltro
Donald H. Haight
Melanie Madeira
Richard Popp
Juan Vadell
Thomas D. Willshire, Sarah Hunt & Henry Willshire
Dr. Joseph Arnold
Beth Berry
Stephanie Bronder Fagan
Ann Sweeney

→ Julie Re Louis Everett Duncan

*Three Justices of the U.S. Supreme Court find Richard III Not Guilty
Following Mock Trial Oral Argument Held at the U. S. Supreme Court*

**NOT GUILTY—AGAIN!
TRIAL TO BE BROADCAST ON C-SPAN**

Jeanne Trahan Faubell

On June 4, 1997, the Lawyers' Committee for the Shakespeare Theater in Washington, D.C. sponsored a mock trial before three Justices of the U.S. Supreme Court and a large number of members of the Washington, D.C. Bar. Following oral arguments, Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist and Associate Justices Ruth Bader Ginsberg and Stephen G. Breyer, in a 3-0 decision, rules that the prosecution had not met the burden of proof that "it was more likely than not" that the Princes in the Tower had been murdered; that the bones found in 1674 in the Tower were those of the Princes; and that Richard III had ordered or was complicitous in their deaths.

Chief counsel for the Crown was James Fitzpatrick, of the law firm of Arnold & Porter, who also represented the prosecution in the earlier mock trial at Indiana University School of Law. Chief counsel for the defense (Richard III) was Stephen F. Black, of the law firm of Wilmer, Cutler & Pickering. Arguments were similar to those of the earlier mock trial at Indiana, with focus on the "more likely than not" standard of proof and on questions of Richard's character. Justice Breyer seemed to be of the opinion that the Duke of Buckingham was the culpable party. *(This report is based upon a telephone conversation between Richard III Society Fiction Librarian Jeanne Trahan Faubell and Mr. Black, and upon Summaries of the Arguments sent to Ms. Faubell, who was not able to attend the trial.)*

For the prosecution:

1. Richard III had a clear and strong motive to kill the Princes since they had a better claim to the throne and because the chances of his surviving the Protectorate were dubious.
Richard had the opportunity to have his nephews killed since he controlled access to the Tower and he had already executed their defenders (Rivers et al.)
3. Contemporary sources (Mancini, Guillaume de Rochefort, and the Croyland Chronicle) offer reliable confirmation of Richard's guilt, and Sir Thomas More used sources directly involved in the struggle with Richard III.
4. The forensic evidence supports Richard's guilt.
5. By contrast, none of the other suspects proffered by the Plantagenets (sic) had the combination of motive and opportunity that reveal Richard to more likely than not be responsible for the Princes' deaths.

Illegitimacy of the defense arguments:

1. In overview, the evidence of Richard's guilt is, at best, inconclusive. Further, there are other plausible explanations for the disappearance of the Princes.
2. Contrary to Tudor propaganda, Richard was a highly regarded leader, an enlightened king, and loyal to his family.
3. Elizabeth Woodville's conduct is hopelessly inconsistent with Richard's guilt.
4. Once crowned, Richard had no motive to kill the Princes: in 1483, while the Princes were alive, Lords and Commons of England reviewed charges of their illegitimacy and asked Richard to take the throne, and Parliament reaffirmed his title in the Titulus Regius. Further, he would have eliminated his nephew Warwick who was attainted but not illegitimate. Surely, Richard realized the princes were more a problem for his rivals Tudor and Buckingham.
5. The absence of surviving reports of the existence of the princes after mid-1483 is not persuasive evidence that they were not alive.
6. The contemporary chronicles and Tudor "historians" provide no convincing evidence against Richard and basically report rumors.
7. The forensic evidence is inconclusive.
8. There are other plausible explanations for the disappearance of the Princes: both Henry Tudor and Buckingham had motive and opportunity to murder the Princes.

The Lawyer's Committee mock trial appeared to have been a great educational vehicle for informing a number of people familiar primarily with the Shakespeare play (as subscribers to The Shakespeare Theater) of the ambiguity of the historical record. According to Mr. Black, many audience members were unaware of the other aspects of Richard's character and accomplishments and of the considerable questions concerning his presumed guilt. The three Supreme Court Justices appeared to have greatly enjoyed their participating in the debate and exploration of the historical ambiguities related to Richard III's character and possible actions. We can only hope that the exercise will encourage audience members to further investigate the historical period on their own.

The trial is scheduled to be broadcast by C-SPAN on a future date.

RICHARD III :
A STUDY IN HISTORIOGRAPHICAL CONTROVERSY

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The following paper is being considered for the 1997 McGovern Award for Research at the University of Wisconsin, where Ms. Kosir, a trained sociologist, is currently pursuing a double major in history and Renaissance literature on the Milwaukee campus, preparing for graduate studies in medieval history. It is also on our website under Richard III Onstage and Off and is a featured link by Discovery Channel Online. We are grateful to Judie C. Gall for working directly with Ms. Kosir in the preparation of this paper for online presentation.

The controversy surrounding Richard III still endures five hundred years after the end of his reign, lasting two hundred and fifty times longer than the length of his brief reign. The two sides of the debate offer very different portraits of Richard indeed. Ricardians, as advocates of Richard III are known, feel that Richard can best be described using his motto, Loyaulte me lie (Loyalty binds me). His supporters do, however, acknowledge his faults, and see him as having been thrust into a position of power that was far beyond his capabilities after England had been subjected to nearly one hundred years of factional fighting amongst the nobility. Richard's detractors, on the other hand, paint a very different picture of the short-reigning monarch, far more in keeping with the Tudor image of Richard III. For them, Richard is a misshapen, evil man, who is the personification of divine retribution, resulting from a usurped crown nearly one hundred years prior to his reign and over fifty years before his birth. England was being visited with the sins of Richard III because of the tragedy of Richard II. Not surprisingly, no English monarch has been named Richard since the death of Richard III, August 22, 1485. The previous two Richards also met with untimely deaths and had reputations that have often been called into question.

It is the last of the Richards, however, who continues to provoke heated debate. How can two such differing images of the same man possibly coexist? If Richard III can be considered an historical figure, which he undoubtedly is, a good historian should be able to go back to the records of his time — public documents, correspondence, household accounts, and other primary sources — and piece together a snapshot of the man in his time. Modern historians would argue that this is certainly possible. By analyzing Richard III's acts of Parliament, his communications with friends and family, and his expenditures for public and private purposes, a diligent historian would be

able to distinguish between Richard, the man, Richard III, the king, and Dickon, the friend and family man. Other than the often arduous task of translating Middle English into modern English, this would seem to be an easy task, if access to the records was obtained.

Just as this would be a relatively easy task in 1996, it would have been a much easier task in 1496, eleven years after Richard's untimely death. Historians could have interviewed people who had been alive during Richard's lifetime and, perhaps, even had personal knowledge of Richard, in all his roles. Then why, if the task of researching him would have been relatively simple for even a modern historian, are there such disparate representations of Richard? History, prior to the beginning of the eighteenth century, was not the objective, neutral, and scientific study that we in the twentieth century like to believe it is. History was often used and studied to teach moral lessons. It fulfilled a dual purpose; it was for people to learn about and to learn from. Consequently, to make history more palatable, or to make a stronger moral statement, bits of fiction were often sprinkled into the descriptions of actual events, in an effort to insure that all those who partook of that history, either in written or oral form, had no doubt as to the moral of the story. A good example of history as a moral lesson occurs in *The Mirror for Magistrates*, a collection of poems "written" by historical English villains who pleaded with readers not to make the mistakes they had. The tragic poem "written" by Richard Plantagenet, Duke of Gloucester (his title before becoming Richard III) incorporates many of the evil deeds attributed to Richard by his early detractors⁽¹⁾. As more ghosts of villains confessed their foul deeds, an updated edition of *Mirror* was issued. Since Richard's poem did not appear in the 1599 edition, printed a full seventy-four years after Richard's death, it is unlikely that the spirit of Richard was moved to confess his heinous deeds a mere four years later than the second edition. *Mirror* is transparent fiction to a twentieth-century observer, having been "ghost written" long after the deaths of the villainous autobiographers; nonetheless, it qualified as history under the broad umbrella of the Middle Ages' definition of history. It was a guideline for future members of the nobility not to make the same mistakes as their predecessors. Unbeknownst to its publishers, *Mirror* would also serve to provide a source of material for one of the greatest writers the world has even known.

Modern historical fiction writers, in general, do endless research to capture the period about which they are writing as it really was. But Shakespeare, who is by far the person most responsible for Richard's reputation, felt no such compunction. In order to create dramatic tension, Shakespeare used poetic license to collapse time, bring characters back from exile, and transform three-year-old Richard into a middle-aged soldier. If playgoers accepted Shakespeare's history plays as dramatic fiction, which for the most part, they are, there would be no problem. For centuries, however, the English have learned their history through Shakespeare's plays. The Duke of Marlborough once said that Shakespeare was the only history he ever read. That, perhaps, is the tragedy, as Norrie Epstein suggests in her book, *The Friendly Shakespeare*. "In some cases, Shakespeare's fictional accounts of people and events have become more real than actual history. More people know Richard III as the hunchback villain of Shakespeare's play than the real Richard, who by all accounts was a rather nice man." (2)

Shakespeare, who created a depiction of Richard that has lasted for four hundred years, likely made use of the above-mentioned fictional *Mirror*, as it covered the same time period as his two tetralogies of history plays, from *Richard II* to *Richard III*. (3) But, since truth is often stranger than fiction, at least the truth of Richard's early historians, Shakespeare made use of non-fiction historians as well. Sources that would have been available to him are: Richard Grafton, and more notably, Raphael Holinshed. (4) Shakespeare used Edward Halle as well, since Holinshed was often a mere rewording of Halle, who, in turn, relied heavily on St. Thomas More, Holinshed remained Shakespeare's primary source (5). For an example of the plagiaristic tendencies common to early historians, compare the descriptions of Richard found in Grafton (translated from Middle English by this researcher):

Richard duke of Gloucester, the third son of which we must now entreat, was in wit and courage equal with the others; but in beauty and lineaments of nature far underneath them both: for he was little of stature, ill-featured of limbs, crook-backed, the left shoulder much higher than the right, bard favored of visage.. (6)

with Holinshed from *Shakespeare's Holinshed* by Richard Hosley:

Richard, the third son of whom we now entreat, was in wit and courage equal with either of them, in body and prowess [moral good, probity] far under them both; little of stature, ill-featured of limbs, crook-backed,

his left shoulder much higher than the right..., bard favored of visage... (7)

The descriptions are remarkably similar, perhaps differing only in their translation from Middle English to modern English. Grafton was published in 1543 and Holinshed in 1587. The obvious lateral use of one text to inform the other does not allow for progress in the study of history. Before moving away from Shakespeare, for a closer look at the early historians of Richard III, it may be beneficial to look at his play, *Richard III*.

Theater historian, Alice I. Perry Wood, in her exploration of Shakespeare's *Richard III*, provides an interesting insight. After the initial popularity of *Richard III*, from the reign of Elizabeth I to Charles I, it was rarely staged again until the eighteenth century (8). Wood offers several suggestions, some more logical and reasonable than others, for the decline in popularity of the English chronicle plays, of which *Richard III* was one. But perhaps the most likely reason had to do with the growing economic distance between the court and the populace (9). To realize a profit at the theater, producers needed to present plays that would be widely accepted and engage the emotions of the audience. Elizabethans were able to gloat over the fall of the House of York, and more specifically Richard III, but as memories faded and time passed, Richard and the Wars of the Roses dissolved into the medieval past.

Elise Lathrop analyzes the stage upon which Shakespeare set his plays. Lathrop acts as historian in her treatment of *Richard III*, and questions the reality of Shakespeare's time sequences, places, and characters (10). Although many of her comments about Shakespeare's collapsing of time for dramatic effect are not specific to *Richard III*, she does focus on the physical appearance of Richard. Lathrop cites the description of Richard given by Rous, who, as will be shown, bowed to the power of the Tudors in the final edition of his book on Richard's life, but suggests that Richard did have thick shoulders, even if he wasn't deformed (11). Lathrop, like many other historians seems to forget that Richard was a great soldier and had practiced at the lists from the time he was a small child, perhaps handling a sword much too heavy for him in an effort to emulate his much idolized older brother, Edward. This continual practice would cause excessive muscular development in his sword arm, when compared to his shield arm.

In her description of Richard's possible involvement in the execution of his brother, Clarence, Lathrop remains on the fence. While she allows that Richard and Edward IV both had good reasons to

want Clarence dispatched, as did Edward's consort, Queen Elizabeth, Lathrop is careful not to assign guilt ⁽¹²⁾. Clarence's atrocious behavior toward Edward IV, Richard, and his sister-in-law, Anne (later to become Richard's wife, as well), could scarcely have won him any supporters.

Even if Shakespeare had wanted to be scrupulously accurate because it would advance the cause of dramatic effect, his sources would not have allowed him to do so. To gain a more accurate understanding of the sources Shakespeare used, it is necessary to trace their sources, the most eminent being St. Thomas More. Much of the historical weight given to St. Thomas More's history of Richard III arises not from More's investigative skills or his thoroughness of subject, but from his reputation as a man of intelligence, wit, and piety. Until his opposition to Henry VIII's plan to divorce his wife warranted More's execution, leading to his eventual canonization, St. Thomas More was simply Sir Thomas More. He was a man of considerable intellect, yes, but he also had a creative streak. Since's More's *The History of King Richard III* was the forerunner of Halle, Holinshed, and Grafton (Shakespeare's primary sources), it is imperative to evaluate his intentions, or at least as closely as modern historians can interpret those intentions.

In Alison Hanham's book, *Richard III and His Ear/y Historians*, she titles her chapter on the work of More, "Sir Thomas More's Satirical Drama." She suggests that the Richard III in More's work is a literary figure and not an historical one ⁽¹³⁾. An argument for this theory can be found in the way More inserts first-hand dialog throughout his work. More's *History* can almost be read as a play rather than as a serious non-fiction work ⁽¹⁴⁾. From the second paragraph on page 70 of *History* to the top of page 77 [in Hanham's work], the entirety is in quotes. At first blush, if the book happened to be opened at that point, it would seem that quotations marks might have been a convention of the times. However, many portions of the book are not set off by quotation marks, so it can only be assumed that More intended these and other passages to be read as conversations. Whether or not More actually expected the reader to believe that he was witness to all the conversations he included, only More himself can know.

Hanham also argues that More's work is a satirical commentary on historians, both of his day and of the past, and that his use of such phrases as, "as wise men say," and "it is for truth reported" are designed as a signal to the reader that what is about to follow is not at all likely to be true, or that the wise men may, in fact, not be all that wise ⁽¹⁵⁾. A commonly quoted passage from More's *History* serves as a good example:

Some *wise men also ween that this drift covertly*

conveyed, lacked not in helping forth his brother Clarence to his death, which he resisted openly, howbeit somewhat (as men deemed) more faintly than he that were heartily minded to his wealth [welfare]. And they that deem thus think that he long time in King Edward's life forethought to be king in case that the king his brother (whose life he looked that evil diet should shorten), should happen to decease (as indeed he did) his children were young. And they deem that for this intent he was glad of his brother's death, the Duke of Clarence, whose life must needs have hindered him so intending; whether the same Duke of Clarence had kept him true to his nephew, the young king, or enterprised to be king himself. But of all this point is there no certainty, and whoso divineth upon conjectures may as well shoot too far as too short. ⁽¹⁶⁾

Out of this entire passage there is only one idea that is not couched in with the conjecture of which More speaks, and the reader has to hunt to find it; that Richard openly resisted the death of his brother Clarence ⁽¹⁷⁾. But as More suggests, if one is to make a guess about the truth, it might as well be the wildest guess possible.

More's description of Richard III and the manner of his birth lend credence to Hanham's suggestion that More would not hesitate to alter history to suit his literary purposes ⁽¹⁸⁾. Richard's appearance, according to More, was hunchbacked, ill-favored, and short, while at his birth, "as the fame runneth," was two years in the making and required that his mother be cut ⁽¹⁹⁾. Since More was used as the basis for many future historians, his rather scant details of Richard's supposed deformity were quickly enhanced, and finally given full flower in Shakespeare's play.

While the problematic aspects of More's *History* lie not in literary intent or even in historical accuracy (when it is viewed as a satire), they do arise from the uses made of More's work. Historians for generations have clung to the saintly Sir Thomas More as the last word on Richard III, but they have been clinging to a straw man. Even Hanham, who acknowledges that More's *History* is not to be taken too literally, and is far closer to the traditional camp than the revisionist camp where Richard is concerned, agrees that, "It was thus the least authentic of the early accounts of Richard that had the greatest influence on subsequent opinion. . ." ⁽²⁰⁾. More cannot be either credited or blamed for the renown which his work has achieved. He left *History* unfinished, and presumably, to his knowledge, unpublished. More's brother-in-law, William Rastell, put the finishing touches on *History* and then submitted it for publication thirty years later. Rastell admits, quite honestly, in the forward to *History*, that the published work may contain more or less than More intended ⁽²¹⁾.

Richard III: A Study in Historiographical Controversy

Shakespeare, like More, perhaps never intended his works to be published. In Elizabethan England, plays were not considered literature. They were comparable to the screenplays of today. Other than blockbuster hits, rarely is the screenplay of a film ever published in a printed form for consumption by the public. While Shakespeare hints in *Julius Caesar* that his plays, on stage, will endure for generations:

"How many ages hence Shall this our lofty scene be acted over In states unborn and accents yet unknown!"
III, i. (22)

he would not have predicted the legacy of his plays. In general, there is much more credibility attached to the printed word than to what is merely heard. There is a responsibility that accompanies the printed word that does not accompany the heard word. In a court of law, almost any document has more evidential value than does hearsay. For Shakespeare, drama was art, a representation of reality, not reality itself, even if the plot was of a historical nature. Modern readers can distinguish between fiction and non-fiction much more readily with the help of the Dewey Decimal system. In libraries that employ it, a reader knows that if a book has a numerical code it is non-fiction, but if it has only an alphabetical code, it is fiction. There was not so clear cut a distinction during either More's or Shakespeare's time.

One of More's chief sources, Polydore Vergil, not wholly supportive of Richard III's rise to the throne, is more of a contemporary of Richard. He was the paid chronicler of Richard's successor, Henry VII. Vergil, in no way implicates Richard in Clarence's death. He does refer to the prophecy that someone with the initial G will keep Edward IV's children from the throne, and since the Duke of Clarence's name is George, Edward considers him a likely candidate⁽²³⁾. Since the Renaissance was a particularly superstitious age, a prophecy of that sort would certainly be grounds for a treason trial. As a number of authors after him have done, Vergil adapts the results of the situation to fit the prophecy, by suggesting that G stood not for George, but for Gloucester⁽²⁴⁾. Although Edward, according to Vergil, bemoans the fact that no one pleaded for Clarence, Richard is nowhere mentioned specifically, other than in the prophecy⁽²⁵⁾.

Vergil, like More, is sparse on the details of Richard's appearance. Richard, Vergil notes, "was lyttle of stature, deformyd of body, thone showlder higher than thother, a short and soure countenance, which semyed to savor of mischief, and utter evydently craft a n d deceyt"⁽²⁶⁾. What is noteworthy about Vergil's description of Richard is the location that he chooses

for its insertion in his text. Vergil reserves his description of Richard for the final paragraph of his book on Richard III. For over five centuries much has been made of the supposedly deformed body of Richard, and, as Renaissance belief dictated, the deformed soul that must accompany it. For whatever reason, Richard's physical appearance seems to be a trifling afterthought for Vergil.

John Rous, another near-contemporary of Richard and a chantry priest, wrote two histories of Richard III, one in English and one in Latin. Both V.B. Lamb in *Betrayal of Richard III*, and Arthur Kincaid, in an appendix to Sir George Buck's *The History of King Richard III*, note Rous' about face after Richard's death⁽²⁷⁾. The English version portrays Richard as a man not unlike many men of his time, but the Latin version, circulated after Richard's final defeat at Bosworth, presents Richard much as the monster viewed through Shakespeare's play⁽²⁸⁾. Praising Richard in one language while vilifying him in another lends support to the idea that Rous adopted the second, Latin version to please Henry VII.

According to Kincaid, Richard's near-contemporaries, Vergil and More, agreed that one of Richard's shoulders was higher than the other, but don't seem to be able to agree which shoulder it was⁽²⁹⁾. Richard's brother's, Edward IV and Clarence, were known as two of the handsomest men in Europe. Surely, had Richard been as malformed as many of the early historians suggest, more would have been made of it in contemporary sources, such as the *Croyland Chronicle*, Fabyan, and Mancini, but this, however, is not the case. Since both Fabyan and Mancini were fairly hostile to Richard, according to Kincaid, the omission is even more glaring⁽³⁰⁾.

Dominic Mancini, a true contemporary of Richard III, admits in *The Ursurpation of Richard III* that he does not know how Richard ruled England because he left directly after the coronation⁽³¹⁾. Mancini does, however, mention the custom of English kings to stay in the Tower the evening prior to the coronation, and he records that the Archbishop of Canterbury reluctantly crowned Richard⁽³²⁾. In his notes to Mancini's text, Armstrong explains that the Archbishop was not present at the coronation banquet, and likely not even in London⁽³³⁾. A contemporary of Richard's, Mancini may be, but his knowledge of the players in the medieval English court was woefully lacking. Mancini also neglected to mention a custom which was common at the time. English kings, and their consorts, were being anointed during that period in the French fashion, naked from the waist up. Certainly, if Richard had been hiding the gross deformities laid at his feet by later historians, he would have disbanded the prac-

tice as his successor had done. Perhaps it was Henry VII who had something to hide, not Richard III.

Mancini, in fact, makes no observations about Richard's supposed deformities, and Armstrong in the appendix cites a contemporary of Richard III's, Nicholas von Poppelau, a traveler from Silecia, who suggests only that Richard was thinner than himself and frail, but with a "great heart"⁽³⁴⁾ Rous, it seems, is the first and only true contemporary of Richard's to hint at any deformity, and that only after Richard's death and the accession of Henry VII.

In the matter of Clarence's death, Mancini finds the queen and her faction to blame, accusing Richard only of seeking to avenge Clarence's death⁽³⁵⁾. Although Mancini cannot be held accountable for Shakespeare's implication of Richard in the death of Clarence, it is from Mancini that Clarence's having been drowned in a butt of Malmsey wine was first drawn,

Mancini's treatise on Richard's rise to power was written as a communication to Angelo Cato, Archbishop of Vienne, to satisfy Cato's curiosity about the events occurring in England at that time. Just as it is doubtful that More ever intended his work on Richard III to be published, it is equally unlikely that Mancini expected historians to use his work as a resource, as his own hand attests, "...consequently I shall write, that which I think you require, as best I can, and howsoever it may be done . . . and shall be more concerned to please you, then to be remembered as a pattern for authors"⁽³⁶⁾. Mancini then suggests that he should not be held responsible for exact names, dates, etc., only that his work should seem as a model of the man, not the true man, and by doing so he hopes that Cato will understand more of Richard's rise to power than he can actually glean from Mancini's words⁽³⁷⁾. Thus, tracking back, chronologically, from Shakespeare's sources to the contemporary chronicler of Richard's time; there are plagiarists, a satirist, a chantry priest who can't make up his mind, a paid chronicler for Richard's enemy, and a gossip who doesn't want to be held responsible for accuracy. Is it any wonder that the character that Shakespeare created seems larger than life and bears no resemblance to a real flesh and blood man?

Surprisingly, the effort to lighten Richard's black reputation appeared while the Tudors were still in power, albeit from an anonymous writer. This first defense of Richard was published during the early sixteenth century. Considering the political climate at that time, anonymity does not necessarily preclude authenticity or accuracy. This anonymous author, reprinted in *To Prove a Villain* by Taylor Littleton and Robert R. Rea, appears not to have met Richard, because he or she readily accepts the hunchbacked, misshapen, and ill-favored description of Richard.

The author, however, does not see these disabilities as hindrances, but rather as blessings⁽³⁸⁾. While Edward IV and other medieval kings known for their good looks were concerned with preserving those looks, Richard had an opportunity to concentrate on improving his mind.⁽³⁹⁾

The fault, in the black portrayal of Richard III, lies not with the deeds that Richard may, or may not, have done to warrant such an evil reputation, but with historians who seek only to identify those vices and faults, and not the virtues, suggests the anonymous author, "Yet to acknowledge the virtues of the vicious is such a right, that what historian will ~~ign~~ omit them, therein becometh vicious himself"⁽⁴⁰⁾. A similar logic is used for denying Richard's culpability in Clarence's death. If Richard indeed helped Clarence to meet with an early demise, then when Edward IV later repented his decision, blame would certainly have been laid at the doorstep of Richard⁽⁴¹⁾. The loyalty shared between Richard and Edward was as close as between any two brothers, and Edward showed his trust in Richard by naming him protector of his heir, in the event of Edward's death during young Edward's minority. Surely, a man who believed that his brother could be implicated in the murder of a close blood relative would not trust his own son to those murderous hands.

Sir George Buck, the first known published revisionist, is quick to seize upon the language couching More's descriptions of Richard's deformed appearance, "Sir Thomas More himself, speaking of the supposed deformities of King Richard, doth not affirm that certainly he was deformed, but that he rather took it to be but a false speech. For he saith that King Richard was deformed, as the fame ran, and as men of hatred reputed or imputed"⁽⁴²⁾. In this same vein, Buck also suggests that earlier historians were perhaps eager to attribute the faults of those around Richard into Richard himself⁽⁴³⁾, although historians are not alone in painting an opponent with a black brush after a victory or when it seems profitable.

Like More, Buck acquits Richard of the guilt of Clarence's spilt blood, or as Mancini suggests, wine. While he does acknowledge that Vergil might be accurate in depicting that Richard did not speak loudly enough against Clarence's sentence of death, Buck claims that Richard's eventual silence was for another reason altogether. Edward IV, by the time of Clarence's execution in 1478, had had his fill of Clarence's treasonous activities and no voice could sway his decision. While Richard had opposed Edward's decision openly in the past, he knew when his words were no longer having any effect⁽⁴⁴⁾.

The second known historian who attempted a revision of Richard's reputation was Horace Walpole in *Historic Doubts on the Life and Reign of Richard the*

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Third. In a unique book, Walpole, while obviously a Ricardian, plays the devil's advocate.⁽⁴⁵⁾ He often suggests in his book that he cannot prove or disprove Richard's guilt or innocence, but, as his title suggests, he has doubts. In a manner quite often foreign to historians, Walpole admits this in a supplement to *Doubts*. While numerous scholars have been able to poke holes in a number of his theories, Walpole did have the courage of his convictions. That quality, in the history of any field, cannot be considered a bad thing. Walpole, of course, denies Richard's involvement in Clarence's death⁽⁴⁶⁾ and has nothing to say about Richard's possible deformity, other than that it is one of the slurs against Richard. Perhaps of the most significance, regarding Walpole's *Doubts*, is that the entire first printing of 1250 copies sold out by the day after its release⁽⁴⁷⁾. Published one hundred and fifty years after Sir George Buck's attempt to revise Richard's reputation, Walpole's *Doubts* still found a ready and willing audience.

Sir Clements Markham, a late nineteenth-century revisionist, deals so vaguely with Richard's involvement in the execution of Clarence that it is almost a non-issue, particularly in comparison with his other supposed crimes. Markham points out that the charges brought forth in Clarence's attainder, by themselves or added together, would not be enough to warrant death by the will of Edward⁽⁴⁸⁾. If the charges of Clarence's treason against Edward were not sufficient to demand death, numerous though they were, it would take a great leap of faith to fault Richard, who had far less cause to wish Clarence ill.

Markham suggests that the Tudors, in an effort to blacken all aspects of Richard's inner character, seek first to malign his exterior aspects, and that the descriptions of Richard as a deformed man are just so much Tudor propaganda⁽⁴⁹⁾. As was noted earlier, people living during the Middle Ages (and even the Renaissance) equated beauty of the body with purity of the soul, as well as the reverse. To plant the seeds of Richard's villainy takes little more effort than to expose knots in an otherwise healthy tree.

Nigel Balchin, in *The Anatomy of Villainy*, deals with Richard III, with the help of historical data, not from an historical perspective, but from a psychological perspective. Balchin itemized the most significant of Richard's supposed crimes, and one by one deals with the probability, based on both evidence and character analysis, that Richard committed said crimes. Acknowledging the limited availability of contemporary evidence, Balchin suggests that the crimes that Richard is accused of committing were ascribed to him because of a "preconceived idea that he was a monster" (50). While Balchin does not claim to either convict

Richard or to acquit him, he does suggest that there are other alternatives that are equally possible⁽⁵¹⁾. This is something historians, both modern and early, for the most part, fail to do. If historians could place themselves in the role of prosecuting attorneys, where the burden of proof is beyond a reasonable doubt, in their assessment of historical figures, perhaps many of those figures would be located, not in the dock, but on the bench. As to Richard's possible deformity, Balchin makes no judgment, but if Richard were deformed, Balchin does not see it as an impediment, rather merely as fodder for the Shakespearean monster⁽⁵²⁾.

More modern historians, in general, do not fall as easily into pro and anti-Richard groups as do some of the earlier historians. In agreement with the eminent St. Thomas More, James Gairdner, largely a believer in the tyranny and evil of Richard III, acquits Richard of the murder of George, Duke of Clarence⁽⁵³⁾. In a rare historical glimpse into the accuracy of Shakespeare's plays, Gairdner supports the argument that Shakespeare owed his representation of Richard III to St. Thomas More (albeit through Halle and Holinshed), and that although More tended toward exaggeration, Shakespeare embellished even further yet, under the guise of dramatic art⁽⁵⁴⁾. Ironically, Gairdner, writing from the safety of the late nineteenth century, long after the Tudor reign, writes of the ruthlessness of the House of York. He suggests that the Yorkists were, if not bent on eliminating all their rivals, at least guilty of having little patience for them⁽⁵⁵⁾. Gairdner offers no such comments about the early years of the Tudor dynasty, wherein, by the end of the reign of Henry VIII, no members of the House of York were left to survive. Although Gairdner suggests that other writers have commented on both Richard's birth and later physical appearance, he limits his remarks to Richard's placement in the family order, and his infirmity, if it existed, did not deter him in battle⁽⁵⁶⁾.

Sir Charles Oman, a non-partisan (i.e., neither Lancastrian nor Yorkist in sympathy) historian, analyzed Richard in *The History of England from the Accession of Richard II to the Death of Richard III*. Because Oman wrote a political history, no mention of Richard's appearance was included. Regarding culpability in the trial and execution of Clarence, however, Oman is straightforward and clear, "In after years it was reported that Edward had been incited both by the queen and her relatives, and by the Duke of Gloucester, to destroy his brother, but there is ample evidence that he required no urging and that the tragedy was of his own contriving"⁽⁵⁷⁾.

Perhaps the most well-known and widely accepted of Richard's historians is Paul Murray Kendall. In

Kendall's *Richard the Third*, Richard becomes a flesh and blood man. Charles Oman may be unbiased, Polydore Vergil may be the paid chronicler of Richard's successor, and Sir George Buck may be ready to grant Richard sainthood, but in all these characterizations Richard lack a well-rounded, fleshed-out persona. In spite of, or perhaps because of, the biographical nature of Kendall's work, rather than merely historical, no mention is made of Richard's supposed deformity. Kendall merely notes that, as a child, Richard was frail and often sickly⁽⁵⁸⁾. On the subject of Clarence's execution, Kendall provides actual dates in addition to his objection to Richard's involvement. Parliament convened to try Clarence for treason on 16 January 1478, but the sentence of death was not confirmed until February 18th⁽⁵⁹⁾. The protests that most historians allow Richard, at least to some degree, perhaps led to the drawn-out process of sentencing and actual execution.

In an appendix to *Richard the Third*, Kendall suggests a framework with which to view early historians of Richard III, "The forceful moral patterns of Vergil, the vividness of More, the fervor of Halle, and the dramatic exuberance of Shakespeare have endowed the Tudor myth with a vitality that is one of the wonders of the world. What a tribute this is to art; what a misfortune this is to history"⁽⁶⁰⁾. With all due respect to Kendall, it is quite likely that had the early historians not been so utterly malicious and so uniquely convincing, Richard III and his short reign would have slipped into the long dead Middle Ages. Because of their treatment of Richard III, scholars are constantly trying to frame a portrait of the *real* Richard. Maligned as he has been, he is alive and well in the hearts and minds of many historians. The same cannot be said of many other historical figures from the oft berated Middle Ages. Even Shakespeare, perhaps, had a soft spot for Richard III. The most greivous crime that has been laid at the doorstep of Richard is the murder of the Princes in the Tower (not dealt with here because Mancini, Richard's only true contemporary source, left after Richard's coronation) and Shakespeare deals with their murder, but off stage, not on. Ostensibly, this was because the Elizabethan audience was too sensitive to deal with the murder of two such young boys. This was the same audience that wasn't too sensitive to view the suicides of Romeo and Juliet, who were, in fact, not much older than the princes. Could it be that the Bard who depicted Richard as evil incarnate, in actuality had doubts about the commission of such a horrible crime, even by Richard III?

Richard III has been grist for both the literary and history mills for over five hundred years. Such noted personalities as Jane Austin, Sir Francis Bacon, and Charles Dickens have found Richard to be a worthy

topic for their literary efforts. Still, the debate over whether he was a good man or a bad man continues to rage. Unfortunately, as Lamb suggests, the printing press which Richard so heartily supported may prove to be his worst enemy⁽⁶¹⁾. Only time and the zealously of future historians will tell whether Richard as a good man or no, even his bones lying at the bottom of the River Soar can no longer speak in his defense. Richard III is the only crowned English monarch not to have a sanctified burial place, and that includes King John, who virtually gave the monarchy away by signing the Magna Carta. Like all men, Richard III had his faults, but unlike most men, he was an anointed king, thus making his faults available to all who chose to focus on them. Richard deserved better treatment at the hands of both contemporary chroniclers and modern historians. In the case of Richard III, the saying "time heals all wounds" can only be true if further inquiries are made. Continued research and diligent efforts by future historians alone can ensure that a more balanced assessment of Richard III will eventually emerge.

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A NEW PROJECT FOR RICARDIANS: BUILDING A RICARDIAN FAQ

Laura Blanchard

Okay, you may be asking yourself: what the heck is a FAQ and why would I want to build one? FAQ is an acronym for Frequently Asked Questions. On the Internet, most electronic discussion forums have a FAQ—a list of frequently asked questions and their answers. These lists serve two important functions. They help a newcomer up the learning curve quickly by providing basic information on the most popular topics in a subject area. They also spare the more seasoned members of a discussion group the tedium of answering the same questions over and over again.

On our electronic discussion group, we've been kicking around the idea of starting a FAQ section for the Society web site. We also think that it could be adapted to a printed booklet, very handy for new members. Peter Hammond has given us permission to use his "Back to Basics" series as the backbone for many of the FAQs, and is also sending a copy of the parent society's Speakers Notes for additional background.

This project is potentially too much fun to restrict it to the online Ricardians, though, and so we're opening it to all members. The online FAQ section is likely to be heavily used by students, so we want to be mindful of a few issues relating to its use as a teaching tool. We don't want to do the students' homework for them, but we do want to point them toward the tools they'll need to evaluate an issue. Thus, we'll want to represent all points of view, but make the students themselves weigh and sift the evidence to come to conclusions. We'll want to have some of the scholars among our members look over all work (an Editorial Review Board) so that teachers can send their students to the section with confidence. We don't want to go into such detail that a lazy or dishonest student can simply download the FAQ and turn it in as his or her work.

To put it another way, we want to give people a toolkit and an instruction manual, but we want them to build their own projects. Although we want FAQs that would pass muster with scholars, there's no reason ordinary Ricardians can't work on the project.

The beauty of our organization is that the scholars and the "general readers" can complement and support each others' efforts to our mutual benefit. A starter list of FAQs is shown below. As we currently conceive this project, each FAQ would include: ? A brief essay outlin-



Just the FAQs, Ma'am

Here is a starter list of Frequently Asked Questions. Feel free to adopt a FAQ from the list, or to suggest one that you think we've overlooked.

- Who was Richard III?
- Did he really have a hunchback/withered arm?
- Did he really -kill Edward of Lancaster? -kill Henry VI? -plot to get the throne for 20 years? -murder his nephews? -have his wife poisoned?
- Were the princes really illegitimate?
- What kind of a king was Richard?
- Where did Shakespeare get his story?
- Who really killed the princes?
- What about those bones?
- After 500 years, why should anyone care?
- What does the Society do?
- What other organizations might be of interest to Ricardians?
- What are the Top Ten Sites in Ricardian Britain?
- What are the best nonfiction books to read about Richard III?
- What's the best fiction?

ing the various points of view on the topic and the main points to be considered; ? Short excerpts from the contemporary sources that illuminate the question; ? For the Web version, links to the complete online editions where present; ? Visual materials (line drawings, photographs, charts, maps), where available and/or useful; ? A "further reading" list.

Judie Gall has volunteered to act as FAQ Tracker. If you'd like to work on a particular FAQ write her, call her, or e-mail her (Judie C. Gall, 5971 Belmont Avenue, Cincinnati, OH 45224, 513-542-4541, bwgjc@ix.net-com.com). She'll keep a list of who's working on what FAQ and will help put volunteers with questions in touch with volunteers with answers.

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