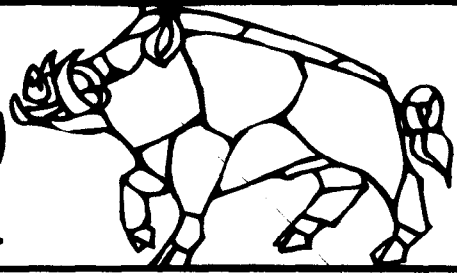


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EDITORIAL LICENSE

Carole Rike

This issue brings the final section of James Gilbert's thesis on Richard III. Part I was in our Summer, 1997 issue and Part II in our Fall, 1997 issue. We skipped during the Iron Roses issue, and ran Part III in the Spring, 1998 issue.

Mr. Gilbert's thesis received Trinity College's George B. Cooper Prize for British History. I have found throughout his footnotes as interesting as the text and hope you have enjoyed it as well.

In the past, we have had a guideline which now warrants a second look: we did not reprint materials from anyone other than members. Jim Gilbert was not a member, nor were several of the professionals in the Winter, 1997 issue. If, in the past, I have told you that one must be a member to be published, I would like to rescind that edict.

We still follow the practice of not printing fiction or plays. How do you, the members, feel about that?

Like Myrna Smith, our Reading Editor, I am looking for contributions. Poor Myrna must have to choose her recreational reading in order to fill her column currently — or find a way to relate the subject to 15th century England. Myrna and I have recently been working on acquiring review copies of books. Perhaps this will serve as an incentive to some of you, although we would ask that you consider donating such books to one of our libraries.

If you would be willing to participate in another "theme" issue (such as Iron Roses), we are looking for long or short articles on Friends of Richard. I don't recall that we have ever printed anything on Catsby or Ratsby; Love11 has been covered many years ago by Helen Maurer. My scope would include contemporary friends, as well as some of the shapers of the Society. And it seems to me that the City of York would be a friend of Richard as well.

If you would like to become involved in the *Register*, please let me know. Even if you don't want to write, we can always find something for you to do. The lovely serendipity of e-mail means that we can share files and do all sorts of exciting things. If you don't have an e-mail connection, the post office is still open for business.

I would also like to edit an issue on battles of the period. To that end, I have obtained an article on *Towton*, graciously provided by Geoffrey Richardson, everyone's favorite Yorkshireman. So what about *Tewkesbury*? *Bosworth*?

What about you?

THE MYSTERIOUS CASE OF THE WHITE BOAR:

RICHARD III AND HIS TUDOR LITERARY CHARACTERIZATION

James G. Gilbert

*In his return homeward whomsoever be met, be saluted. For a mind that knoweth itself guilty is in a manner dejected to a servile flattery.*¹

*Even so, lord Jesus Christ, son of the living God, deign to free me, your servant King Richard, from every tribulation, sorrow and trouble in which I am placed and from the ploys of my enemies, and deign to send Michael the Archangel to my aid against them, and deign, lord Jesus Christ, to bring to nothing their evil plans that they are making or wish to make against me...*²

Two of the Tudor literary geniuses, Sir Thomas More and William Shakespeare, became chroniclers of the life of Richard III charting his rise to power and subsequent downfall for our popular understanding of the Wars of the Roses over the last four and a half centuries.³ This is true despite the fact that More's *History of King Richard III* remains unfinished, and Shakespeare wrote his historical plays for the entertainment of his audience. Consequently, Richard has taken a place among the most infamous of villains. Ian McKellen's production of Shakespeare's play has transposed the story into the 1930s, thinly disguising Richard as representative of Adolf Hitler.⁴ Even today, there is good reason to see Richard as "the most persistently vilified king of all English kings."⁵

Growing up in the dynasty that had usurped the throne, the Tudor chroniclers viewed history quite differently from those who came before. It has often been said that history is written by the victors, and the Tudors reigned victorious from 1485. Given the circumstances of living under a lineage that had a questionable claim to the throne at best, the Tudors wanted the assurance of being recognized as the rightful leaders. The Tudors could feel a sense of legitimacy by not discussing their questionable lineage and by indicating the faults of the previous dynasty — that the previous rulers had been wicked or incompetent or both.

While the overwhelming majority of this abuse was naturally focused on Richard III, because Henry VII had directly wrested power from him, the Tudor chroniclers were quick to accuse other prominent Yorkists of various treasons, or at the very least complete ineptitude. John Stow and Edward Hall, as well

as Elizabeth I's chaplain, William Darell, all accused Richard, Duke of York (Richard III's father) of inciting Jack Cade's rebellion of 1450, an obviously treasonable offense.⁶ Harvey denounces the situation: the Tudors had taken rumor and recorded it as fact.⁷ They were no different in their discussions of Richard III. To the present day, not one of the crimes he has been accused of has been effectively proven beyond a reasonable doubt.* Yet as one chronicler read another's work before writing his own, a cyclical pattern developed.⁹ Accounts recorded rumor as fact. This was the case with Shakespeare, who is known to have owned (and almost certainly read) the work of Ralph Holinshed.¹⁰ Holinshed learned from Hall. Hall learned from More and Polydore Vergil. It was with this information that Shakespeare could create "an object-lesson in villainy and tyranny" and present it to large audiences.¹¹

To understand how More's history and Shakespeare's play illustrate Richard, it is necessary to compile a description of his various features: his body, his mind, and his soul. How did they picture him (or at least present him)? Richard's body, mind, and soul all complement one another. All three can be described by one word: twisted.

More and Shakespeare share very similar physical depictions of Richard III. More's portrait was the first Tudor depiction:

*little of stature, ill-featured of limbs, crook-backed, his left shoulder much higher than his right, bard favored of visage, and such as in the states called warly, in other men otherwise.*¹²

It was with this characterization that Shakespeare ultimately followed:

*But I, that am not shape for sportive tricks
Nor made to court an amorous looking glass;
I, that am rudely stamped, and want love's majesty
To strut before a wanton ambling nymph;
I, that am curtailed of this fair proportion,*

*Cheated offeature by dissembling Nature,
Deformed, unfinished, sent before my time
Into this breathing world, scarce half made up,
And that so lamely and unfashionable
That dogs bark at me as I halt by them —*

**Why, I, in this weak piping time of peace,
Have no delight to pass away the time,
Unless to see my shadow in the sun
And descant on mine own deformity.¹³**

Both then add later in the work the notion of Richard having a withered arm. More refers to it as being “werish, withered arm and small (as it was never other),” and Shakespeare describes it as “like a blasted sapling.”¹⁴ More’s and Shakespeare’s Richard is obviously an unattractive individual; short, uneven, ill-formed.

The physical representation of Richard III is obviously symbolic.¹⁵ As plates 1 and 2 illustrate, Richard looks nothing like his brother Edward.¹⁶ He has dark hair and features in direct contrast with his good brother’s fair complexion. He has a crooked back, a symbol of evil at the time.¹⁷ The Tudor chroniclers used the exterior to allude to the interior. It followed that Richard’s deformity was a representation of what lurked inside the twisted exterior: Richard had a twisted back, a twisted mind, and a twisted soul. Richard was corrupt through and through. With the physical deformities locked securely in place, the chroniclers could then turn their attention to showing Richard’s personality, how he thought and how (indeed, if) he felt.

Richard’s mind was viewed by the Tudors as being cold and calculating, yet highly intelligent; he was an evil genius. He was capable of great deceit, of great articulation. The Tudor chroniclers do credit him with capable generalship, but only because they feel that “his disposition was more meetly than for peace.”¹⁸ Shakespeare even goes so far as to determine that Richard has planned all of the events beforehand — that he sought the throne while Edward IV still lived. From the beginning of the play, while Edward is still alive, Richard announces:

**I am determined to prove a villain
And hate the idle pleasures of these days.
Plots have I laid, inductions dangerous,¹⁹**

In Shakespeare’s play, Richard is the catalyst who sets everything in motion. He conspires to set Edward and Clarence against each other, and to marry Anne Neville, “Warwick’s youngest daughter.”²⁰ These are all pieces of the master plan Richard has to seize the throne for himself. He knows Edward is unhealthy, and the shock of Clarence’s death will be too much for him. Edward will die, leaving the road to the throne open to Richard. Marrying Anne Neville will provide him with a suitable queen.

What makes Richard even more sinister in mind is his duplicity. He is a man of many fronts; one who can conceal his emotions, who can lie and sound sincere. When asked by a crowd to assume the throne, he at first staunchly refused, giving the semblance of having no designs on the crown. This convinced the masses to insist, declaring that they would have no other king.²¹ Richard’s duplicity had served his previously as well in eliminating anyone who posed a threat to his usurpation. For example, when Richard has Hastings executed, he lures him into ‘a trap. Hastings is already assured that Richard wears his heart on his sleeve, and when Richard arrives at the council meeting to set the date for Edward V’s coronation, he greets Hastings **genially**.²² Then, when he accuses Jane Shore and Queen Elizabeth of witchcraft, Hastings declares that “if” such was the case, steps should be taken. Richard jumps upon the word “if” and uses it to suggest that Hastings is a traitor, closing the trap and costing Hastings his life. ²³

More and Shakespeare both credit Richard III with a great deal of intelligence, intelligence that he uses for evil. Richard’s mind, like his back, is twisted. He is corrupt, cruel, and **manipulative**.²⁴ His mind is capable of working quickly and craftily, and it makes him a dangerous enemy, an enemy that conceals his true thoughts until the time arrives to strike.

The motivation for a mind to apply itself to planning and executing these evil deeds must come from somewhere. It is with this point in mind that one must consider the third facet of Richard’s character: his soul. The Tudors are quick to credit him with a dark, vicious, and hateful character. It is his soul that drives him to these deeds; his mind merely gives him the means to achieve his ends. And it is his soul that is represented by his deformity. There is, however, some degree of dissent between the two writers. More credits Richard with a conscience; Shakespeare only gives him the faintest traces of one the night before Bosworth, when he is tormented by the ghosts of his victims. For More, Richard is a man who suffers, racked by self-hatred and guilt after killing his nephews:

**I have heard by credible report of such as were secret
with his chamberers that, after this abominable deed
done, he never had quiet in his mind; he never
thought himself sure. Where he went abroad, his eyes
whirled about; his body privily fenced, his hand ever
on his dagger, his countenance and manner like one
always ready to strike again. He took ill rest a nights,
lay long waking and musing, sore wearied with care
and watch, rather slumbered than slept, troubled
with fearful dreams, suddenly sometime start up,
leap out of his bed and run about the chamber; so was
his restless heart continually tossed and tumbled with**

The Mysterious Case of the White Boar

*the tedious impression and stormy remembrance of his abominable deed.*²⁵

For Shakespeare, Richard only becomes that man when his past catches up with him. The night before **Bosworth**, both Richard and Richmond are visited by a series of spirits. To Richmond they whisper words of support and encouragement. To Richard they utter curses and wish him ill **fortune**.²⁶ Only after the ghosts depart does Richard exhibit any signs of possible remorse or self-disgust. He realizes that he is alone in the world, and for the first time describes his actions as "hateful."²⁷

In neither case does this conscience keep Richard from being an evil man. His feelings are of loathing, his spirit wicked. More describes him as "malicious, wrathful, envious, and from **afore** his birth, ever **forward [perverse]**."²⁸ Shakespeare asserts that he was "determined to prove a **villain**."²⁹ Richard followed the characterization of the "wicked uncle" when he first stole the throne from and then murdered his nephews.³⁰ He immediately executed Hastings for opposing the idea of the usurpation, and Grey, Vaughan, and Rivers because they would never have allowed Edward V into his **custody**.³¹ He killed his wife and sought to marry his niece in order to block his chief **rival**.³² He was callous, hateful, and vicious. He struck quickly, and without warning, and was driven solely by a lust for **power**.³³ Richard was two-faced: "outwardly coumpinable [friendly] where he inwardly **hated**."³⁴ His physical appearance only echoed the heart that burned inside-twisted and evil. Richard was an evil being to the Tudor chroniclers: hideous to behold, with a black soul and a clever mind for the devising of evil plots.

I will begin this historical/literary comparison by considering the audience and motivation for each writer. Sir Thomas More probably wrote his **History of Richard III** circa 1.513, early in the reign of Henry VIII.³⁵ However, it was not published until at least 1537, two years after Henry VIII had More executed for **treason**.³⁶ At the time of his writing, the Tudors were still relatively new to the throne, and they wanted nothing that might have in any way spoken favorably of the dynasty (and more particularly, the king) they had usurped. It was thus that More needed to **play** by the Tudors' rules if he was to write any kind of history. His audience was a society and court that had spent the last quarter century under an iron-fisted ruler. Henry VII had ruled with a mix of insecurity and forcefulness. Anything he did not approve was rejected.³⁷ More's society was now **accustomed** to this: give the ruler what he wants or face the

consequences. More had also begun to rise in the Church and at court, and his work would constantly be noticed, if not read by members of the royal family. Anything that did not condemn Richard would certainly not please them.³⁸ The Tudors had a strict policy of censorship, and anything that was not sufficiently anti-Richard would have never been published.³⁹

Shakespeare's audience was probably more varied than More's, simply by its nature — a book, which at the time, was a great luxury, as opposed to a play, which was performed for large groups of people at a time. While his troupe may have performed **Richard III** for Elizabeth I and, later, James I, the plays were not written for them.⁴⁰ Shakespeare's audience consisted of the gentry and **nobility**.⁴¹ He did not completely disregard the convictions and traditions of the Tudors. Rather, he followed the traditions, dramatizing his **information**.⁴²

In More's case, there were two significant elements that would affect his work. The first is that he had been raised largely in the company of John Morton, who was the bishop of Ely in 1483. Morton was one of Henry VII's earliest and most faithful supporters.⁴³ Much of the information featured in More's history came from Morton and his cronies. This was obviously a biased group from which to gain information. Henry VII also produced a piece of evidence that further influenced More's writing: shortly before his execution in 1502, Sir James Tyrell confessed to murdering the Princes in the Tower on Richard's orders in **1483**.⁴⁴ While such a confession is by no means an iron-clad guarantee of Tyrell's guilt (or Richard's), it was accepted as such by most, and More made use of it in his **History**.

Shakespeare's circumstances were different. He was not born until 1564, well into the Tudor regime, nearly eighty years after the last battle of the Wars of the Roses. No eyewitnesses of Richard's reign remained. Those involved had been from the generation before More, and More was fifty-seven when he was executed in 1535, nearly twenty years before Shakespeare was born. Shakespeare could only rely on what was written. Here is where Holinshed's **Chronicle** largely figures into the story. Shakespeare owned the second edition, which

*was extensively mutilated by the censorship of Elizabeth I's privy council, which, it is safe to assume, would have ensured the excision before publication of any passages not sufficiently unfavorable to the last Plantagenet king.*⁴⁵

One writer learned from a biased first-hand account; the other from a biased and censored second or third-hand retelling and reinterpretation. Both More and Shakespeare lived under the Tudors, who would tolerate no positive regard for the previous dynasty. This was furthered by the fact that they lived in a society where the literary tradition was to change opinions “to laud the successful and to denigrate the fallen,” where it was normal in dealing with the fallen to pile “the muck-heap of scandal exceedingly high.”⁴⁶ It was expected to make the wicked seem devilishly wicked, as a means of further glorifying the good. Both John Rous and Pietro Carmeliano were guilty of this literary betrayal. Rous changed several passages in his *Historia Regum Angliae* (History of the Kings of England) to transform Richard III into a tyrannical monster born with a full set of teeth and hair.⁴⁷ Carmeliano was Richard’s court poet, yet after 1485, Carmeliano describes Richard as an evil person.⁴⁸

All of this leads us to consider some fundamental problems with the two works. Both contain false information. More’s *History* literally begins with him declaring that Edward IV was fifty-three years old when he died, when in reality Edward was two and a half weeks shy of his fortieth birthday.⁴⁹ A history whose opening sentence is incorrect does little to give a reader faith in the reliability of the source, yet the readers of the sixteenth century seem to have had little objection; it was accepted as fact, and doubtless used by later chroniclers.

More’s *History* has another fundamental problem: it is unfinished. The story ends with the October 1483 rebellion.⁵⁰ It deals only with the usurpation and (in the English text) first four months of the reign: Richard has his nephews murdered and suffers the betrayal of his greatest ally. There is no mention of the January 1484 parliament, or the deaths of Edward of Middleham or Queen Anne.⁵¹ Nor is there ever any consideration given to any improvements made during Richard III’s reign: the Council of the North, the College of Heraldry, etc. More’s work leaves a gaping hole: the last twenty-two months of Richard’s reign are never considered. Richard is never given a chance to do anything positive, and later chroniclers were left to their own devices to finish the tale “to bring Richard’s history to a close.”⁵²

It is interesting to see just how Shakespeare twisted historical truths to suit his needs. His *Richard III* features a character who was already dead,⁵³ and assumes that Richard had not known Sir James Tyrell before he usurped the throne.⁵⁴ Even before he wrote *Richard III* Shakespeare had singled out Richard as a vicious human being, using falsities to condemn him. The best example of this is in *Henry VI Part III*, when Richard kills the Duke of Somerset

in the First Battle of St. Albans in 1455. Richard would have been about two and a half years old.⁵⁵

Also, the chronology of *Richard III* is entirely muddled, disrupting any facts he might include. Shakespeare “telescopes happenings that were years apart and alters facts to suit his theatrical purposes.”⁵⁶ Clarence was not executed immediately before Edward IV’s death as the play suggests.⁵⁷ He was executed in February, 1478; Edward died in April, 1483. Shakespeare also combines Buckingham’s rebellion with Henry VII’s invasion and subsequent victory. While Henry did set sail for England in October, 1483 from Brittany with the intention of landing and fighting Richard, ill winds and the rapid collapse of the 1483 rising prevented this, and Henry was forced to turn back. He did not land at Milford Haven until August 7, 1485.⁵⁸ This further complicates the issue, as Shakespeare has Richard kill Anne before the rebellion of October, 1483, though Anne Neville died in early 1485. Shakespeare’s chronology is entirely distorted, and this distorts his whole story.

Also, Shakespeare’s play is a tragedy. By definition, it is a play in which the protagonist is ultimately doomed to fail. The play is not a history or chronicle. It is eloquent, but by no means scholarly, and is not interested in presenting facts. No play should be considered an accurate portrayal of history; it is not constructed to meet that description. Shakespeare called his play *The Tragedy of Richard the Third* for a good reason: though it is historical in nature, it is not history.⁵⁹

Information to support the Tudor representation is sorely lacking. Richard appears to have been a rather normal-looking, if not attractive young man:

*One aging Countess recalled, even during the reign of Hen y VII that she had in her youth danced with Richard of Gloucester, “the handsomest man in the room with the exception of his brother Edward.”*⁶⁰

As previously argued, the paintings of Richard do not reflect any major deformity. Plates 1 and 4 show the two best-known contemporary pictures. Plate 5 is a lesser known sketch.⁶¹ [Editor’s note: not included here.] None display a face that is abhorrently ugly, and only Plate 4 shows Richard as a crookback. X-rays have proven that painting has been altered; the original shoulder line was normal.⁶² Nor do contemporary accounts of Richard describe him as being deformed. Historians also refer to a German visitor named Nicholas Von Poppelau, who spent eight days with Richard, yet makes no mention of any unusual features of Richard’s appearance.⁶³ Modern historians discard the notion of Richard as a crookback. At worst, he suffered from a mild form of Sprengel’s deformity, making his right shoulder being slightly

higher than his left.⁶⁴ This notion of a hideously deformed and ugly man was largely symbolism and a desire to make Richard that much more unsavory a character.⁶⁵ His twisted soul was reflected by his physical appearance, so it justified their distortion of his physique.⁶⁶

To understand Richard as a person requires us to look at specific examples of situations. I will use Richard's involvement (or lack thereof) in the condemnation and subsequent execution of George, duke of Clarence. I will then consider the crimes Richard is accused of. Finally, I will consider Richard's piety.⁶⁷

George, duke of Clarence, brother of Edward IV and Richard III, was found guilty of high treason by parliament and was sentenced to death by the duke of Buckingham.⁶⁸ He was then attainted by parliament in January, 1478, and the attainder was approved by the king.⁶⁹ The trial was essentially a battle of words between Edward and George, a battle in which Richard (or anyone else) seems to have played no part. The Croyland continuator emphatically states that "not a single person uttered a word against the duke, except the king; not one individual made answer to the king except the duke."⁷⁰ Richard took no side in the argument:

Certainly Edward alone must bear full responsibility for his brother's execution. There is no evidence at all to support later charges that Duke Richard of Gloucester brought about his brother's downfall, even if we need not believe Dominic Mancini's story that Gloucester mourned Clarence's death.⁷¹

Whether or not Richard was George's executioner is something that we have no way of knowing.⁷² If he was not, he had no involvement in the fratricide. If he was, he was merely following the orders of the king; to defy the king, brother or no, was treason. Edward had plenty of time to change his mind. There is no reason to see Richard as a murderer of his brother, and historians at this point on the whole have disregarded the accusation.

Richard's lack of involvement in Clarence's trial and execution by no means exonerates him from other charges: the murders of Princes in the Tower in particular.⁷³ Rather than become bogged down in the debate, I will assume a "worst-case" scenario: Richard had his nephews murdered, either by Sir James Tyrell or some other servant.⁷⁴ For the purposes of this work, Richard is to be considered guilty of political murder and of using political slander. By today's

standards these would be considered heinous crimes. But Richard does not live in the present; he comes from a time that in many ways is far different from ours. To judge Richard requires that we use a contemporary base for comparison, rather than a modern one. We must ask ourselves, in terms of late medieval England, if Richard is really the unique creature that More and Shakespeare draw him out to be. Let us consider each of these charges individually to answer that question.

Political murder in the fifteenth and early sixteenth century was common practice. Richard killing his nephews was neither the first nor last act of political murder perpetrated. Richard learned his lessons from his father and brother, who had both been merciless in their actions; Edward IV went so far as to kill his own brother.⁷⁵ Clarence's death was only one of many political deaths under Edward IV. Another would almost certainly be Henry VI, who died the night Edward returned to London in 1471.⁷⁶ The Croyland continuator reports

I would pass over in silence the fact that at this period king Henry was found dead in the Tower of London; may God spare and grant time for repentance to the person, whoever he was, who thus dared to lay sacrilegious hands upon the Lord's anointed!⁷⁷

The idea of a coincidence has been all but ruled out by historians; Edward IV had Henry VI killed. Though Edward sat on the throne again, he had learned his lesson from Warwick and Clarence's revolt. Edward had allowed Henry VI to languish in the Tower since 1465, and when the revolt occurred, the two conspirators were able simply to release Henry from the Tower and parade him through the streets as the rightful king.⁷⁸ The political climate of the time would not allow Edward to have a firm grip on the throne unless his rival was dead. To allow Henry to live was too risky for Edward. He knew Henry had to die; and it is almost certain that Henry VI was killed on his orders.⁷⁹ Edward was following precedent: Edward II was killed shortly after being deposed by his wife and son, Edward III in 1327. Richard II died under mysterious circumstances at Pontefract Castle in 1399, shortly after abdicating his throne to Henry IV. The situation with Henry VI was different only in that Edward first tried to let Henry live out his life as a prisoner. When this failed, he elected to employ a more permanent, tried-and-true method of choosing "to crush the seed."⁸⁰

By Richard's accession, eliminating political rivals was an established practice. In killing his nephews, Richard was merely following the actions of his own brother: liquidating his **rivals**.⁸¹ Richard, however, learned the easy way; he had seen Edward attempt the more clement approach, and it had failed. Richard was intelligent enough to avoid making the same mistake. The murder was hardly a question of personal problems; rather it was a need to eliminate the possibility of options. Without rivals, no one would question Richard's being the king. As St. Aubyn said, "it is hardly surprising therefore that Edward V was thought to have suffered the same **fate**."⁸²

After Richard's reign, matters continued in much the same way. In 1499, Henry VII ordered the execution of Edward, earl of Warwick on a trumped-up charge of treason.⁸³ And many years later, in 1541, Henry VIII had Margaret, Warwick's sister executed because she was a possible claimant to the **throne**.⁸⁴ Richard III's actions were just one in a series. Murder was a part of the politics of late medieval England.

Objection to Richard's actions largely stems from the fact that Edward V and Richard of York were twelve and nine years old respectively when they were killed. While this may make the action appear sinister, it is irrelevant; Edward was still seen by many as the king, and his murder was the only way Richard could ensure he was recognized as the unquestionable ruler. The circumstances were much like those involving Edward IV and Henry VI in 1471. This was Richard learning from his brother. Gillingham points out that Henry VII at least waited until Warwick was an adult before executing **him**.⁸⁵ However, Warwick was never seen as king. A possible claimant to the throne is different from an actual one. Edward had been declared king; Warwick had not. For Richard to wait for Edward to come of age would leave him in a dangerous position, not unlike the one Edward found himself in the late 1460s.⁸⁶ Especially since, after his mental breakdown in 1453, Henry VI was considered very much child-like; An *English Chronicle* refers to him as being "simple and led by covetous **counsel**."⁸⁷ Henry VI was fully grown, but was in other ways similar to Edward V; he could easily be controlled and spoken for.

If the murder of the Princes in the Tower was a political murder, and not unlike those of the previous or successive reigns, then what of the other accusation leveled on Richard: the use of political slander, or to use Ross' phrasing "political **assassination**"?⁸⁸ Richard used accusations of witchcraft, bastardy, and moral failings at different times in order to attain and assert his position. How unusual were these practices at the time?

More and Shakespeare both declare that Richard accuses Elizabeth Woodville and Jane Shore of

witchcraft in the council meeting as a plot to trap Lord Hastings.⁸⁹ If we are to assume that this scene transpired as they reported it, then we see that Richard saw it as a means of condemning his opponents. This, however, seems to have been far from unusual practice. Seward asserts that "charges of witchcraft were a recognized method of discrediting political **enemies**."⁹⁰ If at the time the tactic was "recognized," it would be impossible for Richard to have devised it. Richard was again following a precedent; he again was by no means unique.

Richard used charges of bastardy to seize the throne from his nephew." If Edward V was a bastard, then he could in no way be a legitimate claimant to the throne. Richard, the father of two bastard children himself, encountered this problem when his only legitimate child died in 1484.⁹² The charge was at least to some degree believable, considering that Edward IV had achieved a notorious reputation for womanizing.

*Edward IV's amorous propensities had been notorious enough to make it credible; all the parties concerned were dead; it could neither be proved nor disproved. Richard himself is unlikely to have invented it, and he may have even believed it (though whether the Church would have officially pronounced the children bastards had it been asked to adjudicate legally upon the point is another matter).*⁹³

Whether or not Richard believed the charge, he implemented it. However, like charges of witchcraft, an accusation of bastardy was a common political technique. Rumors circulated that Richard II was the son of a French Canon in his father's **household**.⁹⁴ Edward, Prince of Wales was alleged to be the child of Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, rather than Henry VI. Even Edward IV was rumored to have been the son of a French archer, according to Warwick. And in 1482 the Duke of Albany used the same argument in claiming the throne of **Scotland**.⁹⁵ As recently as the previous year, a charge of bastardy had been leveled as a political tactic. Richard was by no means doing anything unusual in accusing his nephews, regardless of whether or not he genuinely believed the charges. As with witchcraft, Richard was not doing anything out of the ordinary.

These were but two common political assaults of the time. Another popular one, which Richard has been accused of was to assume a "**Holier-Than-Thou**" attitude: to cite the moral failings of one's opponent. Richard III's letter to the bishops on March 10, 1484 has been viewed by many as citing the moralistic failings of his **opponents**.⁹⁶ Pious as **he was**, he used this as an opportunity to attack a number of **unnamed** individuals "provoking the high

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indignation and fearful displeasure of God.”⁹⁷ This could include any number of people: the rebels of October, 1483, or supporters of Henry Tudor, for example. Richard took the moral high ground to point out the failings of others. Here again he followed precedent:

*It was common for rulers of Richards time to cite moral failings against their enemies-accusations of incest, homosexuality, witchcraft and murder were as much apart of late fifteenth century propaganda as undemocratic behavior, intolerance and racism are of twentieth century political slander.*⁹⁸

One contemporary example of this can be seen in France. Louis XI accused Margaret of York’s of poor morals when she sought to marry Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy.⁹⁹ Charles the Bold was accused of homosexuality. James III of Scotland and John, Count of Armagnac were both accused of incest.¹⁰⁰ Many rumors circulated about many major European political figures. To accuse others of being morally deficient was hardly a novelty when Richard III wrote to the bishops.

The notion of Richard as a pious man never arises in the Tudor chronicles.¹⁰¹ Displays of piety were expected from all nobles and monarchs.¹⁰² To admit that Richard was actually a pious person would be to speak favorably of him. However, the Tudors could have used the notion of piety as a weapon, a means of showing Richard’s hypocrisy: Richard displayed piety solely for the sake of appearances. Yet they did not do so. Why? Could Richard III be considered a pious man? If he was exceptionally pious, then it would certainly rule out the first possibility, for to be exceptional by definition is to exceed the normal expectations. That would leave the second possibility, and would definitely serve to explain why the issue of piety was omitted. The facts must be permitted to speak for themselves.

From what records survive, we can see that Richard was exceedingly generous to religious institutions. He donated a bell to the Shipmen’s fraternity in Hull, gave to widows, as well as to offerings at numerous places including Our Lady of Jervaulx, Fountains Abbey, and Coverham Abbey.¹⁰³ Sutton asserts that

When tested on his public piety Richard III seems to have passed with flying colours in the opinion of most of his judges. His achievements in this field have been called conventional, but genuine and active. His foundations, were, above all, his response to the demands placed on a prince to provide prayers for the living and the dead: the college of priests at

*Middleham, Yorkshire, that at Barnard Castle, county Durham, St. William’s College at York, which was to have a hundred chantry priests, and the endowment of four priests at Queen’s College, Cambridge.*¹⁰⁴

In addition to these displays of generosity, Richard maintained a good report with the Church, being viewed as its protector in England.¹⁰⁵ He probably also followed his brother Edward in the reintroduction of the inclusion of lauds in his coronation; Edward was the first king to do so in nearly a century and a half.¹⁰⁶ Here again Richard demonstrates an interest in displaying his ties with the Church and religion. However, a show of public piety does not prove that one is truly pious. It is much more important to consider Richard’s private piety. I will do this by considering Richard’s family history and by examining his *Book of Hours*.

Richard’s mother, Cecily Neville was regarded as a deeply pious woman. Cecily’s piety “won for her the reputation of being one of the most saintly laywomen of her generation.”¹⁰⁷ Richard learned governance and a lack of compassion from his brother, father, and father-in-law. They had established a family tradition. So had Cecily. Richard’s sister Margaret was known for sharing her mother’s devotion, None have dared accuse Cecily of false piety, so would she not also attempt to instill this in her children? There is reason to believe that Richard would have learned personal piety from his mother. For example, Richard set strict guidelines for enforcing daily worship in his own household. He proclaimed “the hour of goddess service, diet and rising be at a reasonable time and convenient hours.”¹⁰⁸ Anyone not adhering to these conditions was severely punished.¹⁰⁹ The guidelines are similar to practices enforced by Cecily in her household, though Richard’s were less stringent; he had a realm to rule.

Yet perhaps the most useful and relevant information can be obtained by considering Richard’s *Book of Hours*, the man’s private prayer book, individually tailored to suit his needs, including his own unique, personal prayer.¹¹⁰ What do the Hours of Richard III, especially his prayer, have to say about him?¹¹¹ By considering the contents, we get a closer look at Richard’s private sense of religion and can determine just what sort of true piety he possessed.

The first thing to consider is what Richard added to his *Book of Hours*.¹¹² He was obviously not content with it in its extant form, as he added at least ten pages of prayers while he was king.¹¹³ This is a convincing argument that Richard’s *Hours* was not

simply an object for public display to sit on his bookshelf with his other volumes. He probably used the book, as he sought to add new passages to help himself achieve a private sense of religious fulfillment. Had Richard's *Hours* not mattered to him, it is unlikely that he would invest effort in selecting and copying the appropriate passages.¹¹⁴ One example of this can be seen in the use of verse 10 of Psalm 19 in a unique fashion. According to Sutton:

*This phrase specifically asks God to protect the king [it is] frequently used. [However] in other contexts it usual/y goes together with similar entreaties for the protection of other authorities, temporal as well as spiritual, but here it stands alone.*¹¹⁵

Richard's work was customized, **it was unique. Its contents must have mattered to him for him to have unique formatting and customized passages.**

The prayers in the last section of the book are quite specific in nature. There is a prayer to say when going to bed, suffrages to three saints, and a prayer on Joseph.¹¹⁶ If the king did not use his *Hours*, why would he have bothered including prayers of any specific kind? Would he not be content to leave the work as a generic collection of devotions?¹¹⁷ Richard clearly had prayers for specific use, his own prayer, in particular. Richard's *Hours* as a whole provides a strong argument for Richard's personal piety. To establish what degree this piety existed requires a closer examination of the prayers themselves, especially Richard's own prayer.

In addition to his prayer, additions to Richard's *Book of Hours* included the *Commendationes animarum* (Commendation of Souls), Lauds, and a prayer to St. Julian the Hospitaller.¹¹⁸ Each is interesting for different reasons. Commendations are as a whole are common in books of Hours, but their exact contents tend to vary greatly. Commendations were intended to be said for the dead, whose souls needed guidance to heaven.¹¹⁹ Lauds concludes with memorials to a number of saints and significant Christian notions. What is of particular interest are some of the names included in these memorials. There are the conventional dedications to the Holy Spirit, the Trinity, etc. However, Richard also includes memorials to St. Zita of Lucca,¹²⁰ who did not gain recognition of any kind until the sixteenth century.¹²¹ Richard probably had one distinct connection with **St. Zita**: she was a loyal and pious **fixtue** in the same household her entire life. Richard could identify with this; As duke of Gloucester in the House of York, he too was a loyal household servant. His motto *Loyaute Me Lie* (loyalty binds me) would attest to this. Richard also organized a cult of St. Ninian, who was known primarily in southwestern Scotland. Richard

had a special devotion to Ninian dating back at least as far as 1477.¹²² Ninian was also a reflection of Richard's affinity for northern England.

In the realm of English Christianity, these were two obscure figures.¹²³ Why would a man with no interest in religion be interested in two virtually unknown saints? To learn about these saints would require significantly more effort and energy than learning about a more conventional one, like St. John. It is unlikely a man who cared nothing for religion would be interested in an obscure saint; it would involve a more effort to discover and learn about him/her. Richard had not one, but two saints that were hardly among the more prominent. This speaks a great deal about his personal interest in and devotion to his religion; his piety.

Perhaps the best source of all would be Richard's own prayer. Though the text is largely conventional, the existence of the prayer itself is of note. Neither Edward IV nor Henry VII had a personal prayer. Richard's prayer is essentially a collection of biblical passages, many of them conventional in nature. It asks for forgiveness and **protection** as God had demonstrated in the Bible.¹²⁴ Overall, what comes out most clearly and has the most significance is the tone of the prayer. The tone

*is one of sorrow and grief: it is an entreaty for comfort and help against and inimical world and it is full of hope [Sutton's italics]. In the conventional words and the well-known phrases there is trust and hope and a desire to trust and hope-others, too, after all did not hope in vain.*¹²⁵

There are also rare elements in the text that are worth noting. One example of this is the mention of the angel Michael. Michael is God's chief warrior; he commands God's army against Satan, God's enemy.¹²⁶ He is also representative of the angel that saved Daniel, Lot, Peter, etc. Indeed, he is often associated with each of these feats. Michael is also known as the angel who escorts the souls of the dead to heaven.¹²⁷ Richard knew the right man (or angel) for the job, and he specifically asked Michael to intercede on his behalf.

The prayer can be divided into two sections: feats God has performed for others, and a request for protection for "your servant King Richard." The first section lists a number of biblical examples of God's great kindness, and mercy. One example is of note: the protection of Jacob "from the hands of his brother Esau." While the dating of Richard's poem is uncertain, this may be referring to George, who feuded with Richard during the early 1470s. Or it could refer to Edward, who practiced gluttony and lechery, behavior Richard eschewed. Jacob and

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Richard were both younger brothers, and each stole the birthright from his older sibling (or in Richard's case, his son).

There are parallels between Richard and those mentioned in his prayer. Michael was a warrior and general who fought for his "king." Jacob was a younger brother who stole a birthright. Joseph was a younger brother who rose to prominence greater than any of his brothers. Achitofel turned Absalom against King David in the way John Morton allegedly turned Buckingham against Richard.¹²⁸ Richard may have fancied himself along the lines of a biblical character.

Richard III was a pious individual. The fact that he either wrote or commissioned his own personal prayer is a lasting testimony to that piety. His additions to his *Hours* and interest in and knowledge of relatively minor saints support this. His background, as the son of one of the most pious women of her day would certainly provide him with plenty of exposure and encouragement. In fact, most modern historians, critics included, have accepted Richard's piety without question.¹²⁹ Why the Tudors never sought to attack this quality of Richard, especially considering their genuine desire to point out as many failings as they could in him, (whether they were true or not) is uncertain. Richard's piety is no mystery; it is a case that can be considered closed.

Richard III was far from unique in handling most political situations. He may have been guilty of political murder and slander, but he was neither the first nor the last to do so. All things considered, Richard actually refrained from other actions that would be considered more unusual and vicious.

One of the best examples of this can be seen following the Battle of Tewkesbury on May 4, 1471. Several fugitives sought sanctuary in Tewkesbury abbey. "Probably Edward broke into the abbey and took them out by force."¹³⁰ Whether or not those men had rebelled against Edward, they had received the sacred institution of sanctuary, an institution Edward violated. Even More would not accuse Richard of violating sanctuary, which Richard and Buckingham refused to do when Elizabeth Woodville fled in 1483.¹³¹ Instances of violated sanctuary are far less common and contemporaries disapproved of the actions.¹³² Yet Edward is not remembered as a particularly vicious individual.

Henry VII was also guilty of a savage practice: he used bonds and to subjugate the nobility.¹³³ By the end of his reign he appears to have developed a reputation for cruelty and avarice.¹³⁴ However, like Edward, he did not incur renown as one of the most wicked of English monarchs. Obviously, as a Tudor,

he would not be subject to the criticism of Tudor chroniclers. Even following the Tudor dynasty, nothing emerged to establish Henry VII as a tyrant.¹³⁵ Neither Edward nor Henry has been remembered by history as an evil person. Richard III has. Why is this?

First, Richard lost the throne, where Edward and Henry VII succeeded:

*it was a commonplace of medieval government that the end did justify the means. Much was forgiven a king if his authority encouraged stability and order.*¹³⁶

Richard did not rule long enough to establish stability; Edward IV and Henry VII did. Richard seized the throne, but success and stability eluded him. Because his predecessor and successor ensured stability, they do not wear the same yoke of tyranny. Despite the fact that both Edward IV and Henry VII share the odious classification of usurper, they do not suffer the slings and arrows of public conscience that Richard does. It is largely punishment for his failure that Richard III is destined to be remembered as a monster, rather than a typical man of his time.

The other reason is that Henry VI, Edward IV, and Henry VII were not immortalized as a villain by two of the greatest literary minds in history. Despite the fact that Edward IV and Henry VII were by no means genial individuals, and modern historians have acknowledged their behavior, Richard is the only one to have become a study in savagery.¹³⁷ Richard was by no means a delightful person, but this hardly makes him unusual. He was brutal and ruthless, but so were his many of his predecessors and successors, not to mention many of his European contemporaries.¹³⁸ Has history done Richard III a disservice? The answer can only be yes. Yet it is so only because he has been singled out for committing exactly the same crimes as many of his contemporaries, not because it has accused him of crimes he did not commit.¹³⁹ And as for Richard's contemporaries? Their sentence is to be forever regarded as brutal by historians, to be seen by academia as vicious men living in a vicious time. Richard's sentence, however, is to remain "the most persistently vilified of all English kings."¹⁴⁰ It is an unfair punishment relatively speaking, but, sadly, one that shall remain as long as we continue to read More and watch Shakespeare to learn history rather than purely for entertainment.¹⁴¹

References:

1. Sir Thomas More *History of King Richard III* p. 84.

2. "The Prayer of Richard III" in Sutton *The Hours of Richard III* p. 77 (English translation; Latin text is on p. 76) See Appendix D for the text of the prayer.
3. Wright, Louis B. and Virginia A. LaMar "Introduction" to Shakespeare *Richard III* p. xi discusses the notion of Shakespeare viewed as history; p. xiv specifically refers to Shakespeare being the source of information on the Wars of the Roses.
Sir Thomas More (1478-1535) was a clergyman and judge who rose to prominence during the reign of Henry VIII (1509-47), culminating in his appointment as lord chancellor in 1529. He was a close friend of Henry's but became his chief English opponent when Henry sought to have his marriage with Catherine of Aragon annulled. More resigned his chancellorship in 1532. He was imprisoned in the Tower in 1534 after refusing to support Henry's split with the papacy. Found guilty of treason for refusing to accept the king's place as head of the English church, More was subsequently executed: Attwater and John Penguin *Dictionary of Saints* pp. 342-3. In literary terms, More is best known for his work *Utopia*, the story of a perfect place that is literally "no place."
4. *Richard III* produced by Stephen Bayly and Lisa K. Par., directed by Richard Loncraine. MGM Pictures 1995.
5. "Most vilified" Ross *Richard III* p. 227.
6. Harvey *Jack Cade* pp. 147-8 from J. Stow *The Chronicles of England, from Brute unto this Present Yeare of Christ, 2,580* p. 652.

Edward Hall (d. 1547), author of *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Famelies of Lancastre and York* (1542), was in many ways the most prominent writer of the second generation in the series of Tudor chroniclers (More and Vergil were the first; Stow, Darell and Shakespeare were all part of the fourth). Alison Hanham describes Hall's *Union of Two Noble and Illustre Famelies* as a loose translation of Polydore Vergil's *Anglica Historica: Richard III and His Early Historians* pp. 144-6.
7. *EHD* pp. 314-5 shows recording of rumor as fact: "The death of Edward, Prince of Wales, 1471." Myers includes *The Tewkesbury Abbey Chronicle* (1471), Warkworth's *Chronicle* (1473), the *Croyland Chronicle* (1486), *The Great Chronicle of London* (1512), and *Hall's Union*. York (1542). The first story has prince Edward slain "in the field." In Hall's chronicle, "George, Duke of Clarence, Richard, Duke of Gloucester pitifully slew" prince Edward on Edward IV's orders.
8. i.e. the murder of the Princes in the Tower of London, etc. In fact, there have been televised "court cases" of Richard III's trial". In both cases, one produced by the BBC in 1983, the other at the University of Indiana, and featuring U.S. Supreme Court Chief Justice William Renquist in **January, 1997**, Richard was acquitted based on lack of evidence. However, for the purposes of this paper, I have assumed that Richard is "guilty" of usurping the throne and of murdering his nephews. A more detailed explanation of this reasoning: below pp. 114-5.
9. Richard S. Sylvester "Introduction" p. xii in *More History of King Richard and Selections From the English and Latin Poems*.
10. Jeremy Potter *Good King Richard? An Account of Richard III and his Reputation* p. 147; Ralph Holinshed (d. 1580?) was the author of *The Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (1578), which was little more than a repetition of Hall's chronicle. Shakespeare's library included the second edition: Roxane C. Murph *Richard III: The Making of a Legend* p. 48.
11. "Object-lesson" Ross *Richard III* p. 228.
12. More *History of Richard III* p. 8.
13. Shakespeare *Richard III* I, i ll. 14-27.
14. More: *History of Richard III* p. 48; Shakespeare: *Richard III* III, iv 1. 73 Richard bares his arm in both cases to proclaim that Queen Elizabeth and Jane Shore, Hastings' mistress are practicing witchcraft on him. An example of the accusation: Shakespeare *Richard III* III, iv 11. 74-6.
15. Ross *Richard III* pp. xxiv-v discusses how More uses the physical description as "a signpost to the man's inner evil" as well as indicating Polydore Vergil's similar description of Richard's physique.
16. Edward was a tall (his skeleton measured 6' 3.5" when examined in 1789; Ross *Edward IV* p. 10), handsome man in nearly every account of him. For an example see Philippe de Commines *Memoires* vol. II pp. 63-4 quoted in Ross *Edward IV* p. 232. A portrait of Edward: Plate 2. Unfortunately, Richard's skeleton has not been preserved, so we have no way of knowing how tall he was.
17. Tremendous debate surrounds the issue of Richard as a crookback. One contemporary portrait (Plate 1) does not feature any exaggerated disproportion. The other widely recognized painting (Plate 4), which has been dated from before 1485, has been altered from its original form to make the right shoulder look higher than the left. Another picture, a drawing on the s from circa 1490, (Plate 5) also lacks the trademark deformity. More on this argument: Ross *Richard III* pp. 138-40 and the notes therein, and below pp. 112-3.
18. More *History of Richard III* p. 8.
19. Shakespeare *Richard III* I, i ll. 30-3.

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20 Clarence and Edward: Shakespeare *Richard III* I, i ll. 34-40; marrying Anne Neville II. 163-6. It should be noted that More does not reflect this notion of Richard devising a scheme from the beginning. He does not feel that Richard's plans truly begin until Edward IV dies.

Anne Neville (d. 1485) was Richard III's queen. She was the younger daughter of Warwick the "King-Maker" (her sister, Isabel, was married to Richard's older brother George). Anne was originally married to Edward, Prince of Wales (d. 1471), son of Henry VI, who was slain at Tewkesbury. Both of the Neville sisters were sickly; Isabel died in 1476, aged twenty-five. Anne lived to be twenty-eight.

21. e.g. More *History of Richard III* p. 78.
22. Shakespeare *Richard III* III, iv ll. 156-8, in particular line 158: "For by his face straight shall you know his heart."
23. The parallel scenarios: More *History of Richard III* pp. 47-50; Shakespeare *Richard III* III, iv ll. 63-83.
24. More *History of Richard III* pp. 8, 9, 89.
25. The "deed" More refers to is the murder of the Princes in the Tower: *History of Richard IA* pp. 89-90.
26. See Shakespeare *Richard III* V, iii ll. 129-203. The ghosts are, in order: Edward, Prince of Wales (son of Henry VI; slain at Tewkesbury, 1471), Henry VI (who died under mysterious circumstances in the Tower of London in 1471, possibly executed by Richard [albeit probably on Edward IV's orders]), George, duke of Clarence, Anthony Woodville, earl Rivers (d. 1483, brother of Queen Elizabeth and Edward V's governor, executed on Richard's orders on June 26, 1483 at Pomfret castle) Lord Richard Gray (son of Queen Elizabeth before she married Edward IV, executed with Rivers) and Sir Thomas Vaughan (chamberlain to Edward V, executed with Rivers and Gray), Lord Hastings, Edward V and Richard of York (the Princes), Anne (d. 1485 Richard's wife), and Henry Stafford (duke of Buckingham).
27. See Shakespeare *Richard III* V, iii ll. 210-30 for the entire soliloquy.
28. More *History of Richard III* p. 8.
29. Shakespeare *Richard III* I, i 1.34.
30. The "wicked uncle" theme originated largely from Thomas, first duke of Gloucester: Chrimes *Lancastrians, Yorkists and Henry VII* p. 23.
31. Wright and LaMar "Introduction" p. xxvi.
32. Rumors circulated that Richard poisoned his wife. Historians now discard this notion; Anne (always sickly) died of tuberculosis. Richard avoided her on doctor's orders: e.g. Ross *Richard III* pp. 146-8.
33. More *History of Richard III* p. 9; Joseph Candido discusses More giving Richard a "need for speed," making all the more devilish: "Thomas More, the Tudor Chroniclers, and Shakespeare's Altered Richard" *English Studies* 68 p. 140.
34. More *History of Richard III* p. 9.
35. *Henry VIII* ruled from 1509-1547.
36. More's nephew, William Rastell, published the first transcript in 1537: St. Aubyn 1483 p. 69.
37. See above **chapters**. 1 and 2 for Henry VII and his policy of governance.
38. These ideas expressed about More, Vergil, and Mancinus: Lander *Conflict and Stability* p. 14.
39. Potter *Good King Richard?* p. 147.
40. This is best illustrated by two points. Shakespeare's group was called the Lord Chamberlain's Men after their patron until James I's accession, when they became the King's Men: Wright and LaMar "Introduction" pp. xlix-1. By then, Richard III was already written. Moreover, James was a Stuart, not a Tudor, and did not have a vested interest as his predecessors in seeing to Richard's condemnation. His claim to the throne was legitimate; he was neither a usurper nor a descendant of one. Secondly, Richard III was written and first produced around 1593, and was published in **Quarto** form for the first time in 1597 (pp. viii-ix, **xxx**), thus it was completed during the reign of Elizabeth I, and since she had her own troupe (called, obviously, "The Queen's Men" [p. **xlix**]), who were writing and/or performing their own plays for her, Shakespeare's troupe would be of less importance to her. Similarly, the Lord Chamberlain's Men would understandably be paying more attention to their patron than anyone else.
41. Recent research has proved that plays were seen and enjoyed by the higher levels of society. One example of this can be seen in Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Faire* (circa 1620), which he wrote for King James I; it contains a great deal of what a contemporary audience might consider vulgar and base. Peasants had no time or money for plays; if they saw any it would probably be the Mystery plays performed at the feast of Corpus **Christi**. See David Bevington (ed.) *Medieval Drama* for examples of these plays and commentary on them.
42. Potter *Good King Richard?* p. 147; Lander *Conflict and Stability* p. 16 address the issue of bearing the

- presiding authority in mind when writing, and drawing from those under similar circumstances.
43. Morton (d. 1500) rose to the archbishopric of Canterbury in 1486, and became a cardinal in 1493. See above pp. 47-8 for more on Morton.
 44. This confession may have been made under conditions of imprisonment and torture; Tyrell may have been ready to confess to anything: *Crimes Lancastrians, Yorkists and Henry VII* p. 162.
 45. Potter *Good King Richard?* p. 147.
 46. The Tudors did not originate this behavior. Thomas Walsingham did the same when Henry IV seized the throne from Richard II in 1399, editing out hostile passages. John Hardyng followed suit, writing both a Lancastrian and a Yorkist version of the same usurpation: Lander *Conflict and Stability* p. 16.
 47. Rous (d. 1491?) "has earned the obloquy of historians by writing fulsomely of Richard while that king was still alive, and rivaled Bernard Andr, [Henry VII's court poetry, a staunch anti-Ricardian] in vilifying him after his death. His tales of Richard's monstrous birth and deformity were much to the taste of the age. Rous has acquired such credit as he has from the fact that he was a contemporary of Richard's. The idea that any person who lived at the time of the events he reports is necessarily a reliable witness to them would not be entertained by any historian who gave the matter due thought." Hanham *Richard III and His Early Historians* p. 105.
 48. Ross *Richard III* p. xxi-xxii, et. al. Carmeliano as Richard's court poet: above p. 81n.
 49. More *History of Richard III* p. 3; More's dating would mean Edward was born September 3, 1429, rather than April 28, 1442. In 1429, Richard of York (the king's father) was fourteen years old. While marriage and parenthood at that age was not unusual, it would have been impossible for Edward to have been born to the lieutenant-general of France, as Richard would still have been too young to assume the post. It would also make Richard twenty-three years younger than his brother, rather than ten, and would have left an enormous gap between Edward and the next child born, Edmund (b. 1443). It would also make Edward older than his older sister Anne (b. 1439): Ross *Edward IV* pp. 3-6.
 50. In the English text. The Latin ends before Richard's coronation: Candido "Thomas More" p. 139.
 51. Edward of Middleham (1473-84) was Richard and Anne's only child, and was Richard's heir to the throne. He died unexpectedly on April 9, 1484 (one year after his uncle, Edward IV died, interestingly enough). He was a sickly child, and while the cause of his death is unknown, it was probably due to a short illness: Seward *England's Black Legend* pp. 155, 156.
 52. Candido "Thomas More" p. 139.
 53. Queen Margaret, wife of Henry VI. She lived in France after 1476 (before Clarence's attainder) and died on August 25, 1482, before Richard usurped the throne. Ross *Edward IV* pp. 237-8.
 54. Shakespeare *Richard III* IV, ii ll. 71-4; In fact, Tyrell had been one of Richard's servants since the early 1470s: Horrox *A Study of Service* pp. 77, 82.
 55. Potter *Good King Richard?* p. 21; St. Albans was May 22, 1455. Richard was born October 2, 1452.
 56. Wright and LaMar "Introduction" p. ix.
 57. See below p. 114 for a more detailed study of the myth of Richard as Clarence's murderer.
 58. Shakespeare *Richard III* IV, iv ll. 606-17.
 59. Wright and LaMar "Introduction" pp. ix-x.
 60. Milla Riggio "Richard III: Man or Monster?" (unpub.) Hartford Stage Guide to Production p. 3 from V. B. Lamb *The Betrayal of Richard III* p. 52.
 61. The two paintings: Plates 1 and 4; sketch: Plate 5.
 63. Richard having Sprengel's Deformity (a condition in which the scapula remains underdeveloped, making the muscles of the right shoulder less flexible than those of the left): Ross *Richard III* p. 139-40 from Phillip Rhodes "The Physical Deformity of Richard III" *British Medical Journal* 2 pp. 1650-2.
 64. e.g. P. W. Hammond "The Reputation of Richard III" in Gillingham (ed.) *Richard III: A Medieval Kingship* pp. 135.
 65. e.g. Ross *Richard III* pp. 138-40; Lander *Crown and Nobility* pp. 242-66.
 65. The crooked back was only one aspersion cast on Richard's appearance. John Rous, writing in 1490, declared Richard was born with long hair and a full set of teeth: Riggio "Man or Monster?" p. 3.
 66. The first accusation of Richard being deformed was not recorded until 1491, six years after his death, when John Payntour called him "an hypocrite, a crook back and buried in a ditch like a dog." *York Civic Records* vol. II pp. 71-3 reprinted in Ross *Richard III* p. 140.
 67. Each issues has been discussed thoroughly by numerous historians. Rather than attempting to provide new research, I will be piecing together historiographical developments and current trends in thought from various accounts to establish the veracity of the literary arguments. I feel that this will prevent this work from "taking a side"; it will, rather, depict the perspectives that historians tend to regard as "correct" and compare these with the actions recorded by the Tudors.
 68. Buckingham appointed to pass sentence: *CPR 1476-85* p. 63.

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69. e.g. St. Aubyn **1483** p. 59; The attainder: *Rotuli Parliamentorum* vol. VI. pp. 193-4.
70. **Croyland Chronicle** p. 479; referred to by Chrimes **Lancastrians, Yorkists and Henry VII** p. 172, Ross **Edward IV** pp. 242-3, etc.
71. Ross **Edward IV** p. **244** from Mancinus **The Usurpation of Richard III** (2nd edn.) p. 244.
72. p. 63.
73. Opinion remains largely divided. The only safe assumption that can be made is “nothing is known with any certainty.” Chrimes in **Lancastrians, Yorkists and Henry VII** p. 137, An example of each side:
England's Black Legend 12, 1477.
74. drawn, and quartered at Tyburn:
Continuatio
Continuatio” in W. Fulman (ed.) *Anglicarum Veterum* p. 561; Commission: p. 50; his attainder and execution: p.
75. married Elizabeth Woodville in 1464; Ross **III** “*Hist Croyländensis Continuatio*”
Rerum
76. **Edward IV** p. 175.
77. **Croyland Chronicle** p. 468.
78. P R O 404/71/6/36,
E H D
rebel: Ross **Edward IV** pp. 126-77; Chrimes **Lancastrians, Yorkists and Henry VII** p. 102.
79. Ross **Edward IV** p. 175; St. Aubyn **1483** p. 175.
80. Precedent: St. Aubyn **1483** p. 175; “crush the seed” **Calendar of State Papers**, Milan vol. I p. 157, reprinted in Ross **Edward IV** p. 175.
81. Ironically, the brother who taught Richard this political tactic was the father of the victims.
82. St. Aubyn p. 175; It is more than likely that,
Henry Tudor
(who was in exile in Brittany, and later in France), he would almost certainly have killed him, purely because he was Richard’s chief political rival. Richard’s unsuccessful attempt to capture Tudor: Ross **Richard III** pp. 195-200.
83. Edward, earl of Warwick (1475-99), son of George, duke of Clarence and Isabel Neville, was a prisoner in the Tower after 1485. He was so “‘simple’ that he could not distinguish a hen from a goose” St. Aubyn p. 139. Claim to the throne: St. Aubyn p. 59.
84. Ross **Richard III** p. 227; Chrimes **Lancastrians, Henry VII**
14. 179-80; yn 1483 pp.
Richard’s part: p.
English ed. J. y
E H D
Richard III p.
More p p 47-50;
Richard III
England? Black Legend p. 103;
Clar-
ence
- was captain of Calais (Rymeo l XII
Halstead
England **Richard III**
Lancastrians, Yorkists and Hen
- St. Aubyn 1483 p. 143-4 from
Parliamentorum vol.
v o l . I p .
Sutton *of Richard III*
Hours of Richard

Edward IV and Richard III and was a major thorn in Henry VII's side after Richard's death, supporting Yorkist claimants to the English throne; Charles the Bold (d. 1477) duke of Burgundy married Margaret in 1468. He helped Edward IV **while** he was in **exile** in 1470-1. He was **killed** at the **Battle** of Nancy in 1477 fighting against the French: *Edward* Np. 107-12.

100. Sutton *Hours of Richard III* p. 81.
101. In the breadth of my reading, I failed to find any study of this obvious omission. My consideration of the matter will be the first of its kind to my knowledge. It is a matter I feel should be researched more and that **will** hopefully be considered in a future work, so I will avoid speculation on the matter here.
102. "Ostentatious piety was evidently seen by many rulers as a useful prop to their status, no doubt also as a necessary hedge against eternal punishment." Davies "Bishop John Morton" p. 18.
103. Sutton *Hours of Richard III* p.80; Seward *England's Black Legend* p. 77.
104. Sutton *Hours of Richard III* p. 80
105. See above pp. 94-5 for more on Richard's public piety and his dealings with the clergy.
106. *laudes regiae* (lauds of majesty) were "nothing less than the ritual veneration of the quasi-sanctified person of the enthroned ruler" Lander *Limitations* p. 44 from C. A. J. Armstrong "The Inauguration Ceremonies of the Yorkist Kings and Their Titles to the Throne" *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 4th ser., 30 pp. 48-67; E. H. Kantorowicz *Laudes Regiae: A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Medieval Ruler Worship* chaps.1-4, 6.
107. Account of Cecily's daily rituals: J. Nichols (ed.) *A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household* p. 37 reprinted in *EHD* p. 837 ; Cecily's piety affecting Margaret: Ross *Richard III* p.128 from C. A. J. Armstrong "The Piety of Cecily, Duchess of York: A Study in Late-Medieval Culture" in D. Woodruff (ed.) *For Hilaire Belloc* pp. 73-94; P. Tudor-Craig *Richard III* p. 27.

108. Harleian

the same leaf as a page of Richard's in Ross *III* 13, 14 122-3]); A study of Richard's *Book of Hours*, done by Anne F.

still

c i r c a 1 4 2 2 ; originally

H o u r s

H o u of Richard p .

H o u of Richard p .

H o u of Richard p .

of Jacob, not the father of Jesus: Sutton *Richard III* p.

117.

H o u r s o f R i c h a r d I I I

only Unfortunately, the

H o u r s o f R i c h a r d I I I

119. This is not the same as the said by Catholic priests over the dying: Sutton *III* p. 49; It is surprising that the Tudors never sought to use this as proof of Richards evil behavior — they could easily claim that he would need these prayers for all of the people he butchered in his climb to and maintenance of power.

120. St. Zita Patron saint of domestic servants; born near Lucca, 1218; died at Lucca, 1278; feast day 27 April. "At the age of twelve Zita entered domestic service in the household of a well-off weaver in

life...devout a n d

punctilious in her work...as the years passed she won respect by her patience and goodness...became a confidential friend of the family. In later life stories were told about her...and at her death she was popularly acclaimed a saint and a patroness of maidservants .cultuse r widely...Her

and John

p .

S u t t o n
Sitha.

III pp. 47, 95;

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122. St. Ninian, a British bishop, was a missionary to the Picts (in northern England and southern Scotland): Attwater and John Penguin Dictionary of *Saints* p. Duke: Michael Hicks "Richard's Devotion before the Formative Years" in John Gillingham (ed.) *Richard III: A Medieval Kingship* p. 37; Devotion be-

Richard III" in John Gillingham (ed.) *Medieval Kingship and Legend*

123.

Canterbury Tales (circa 1385): Chaucer Complete *Poetry and Prose* p. 10.

124. This does not mean it certifies Richard's guilt: "It should be emphasized ad nauseum, that the excessively penitent tone, the pleas for pardon, the requests to God not to visit past sins on the supplicants, do not allow of 'personal' conclusions. A great number of prayers in many devotional books give expression to such intense feelings of guilt and humility and they are an essential feature of litany." *Hours of Richard III* p. 64.

125. Sutton *Hours of Richard III*.

126.

Hours of Richard III

Ross *III* pp. 128 - 33; *England's* pp. 77 - 8; Lander 328-30.

Ross *IV* p. 172.

History of Richard III

terbury: Attwater and John *Saints*

above 53-5p.

and Nobility

and

Daughter of Time,

Horrox p.

Modern opinions of Edward IV: Seward *Black Legend* p. 69, Lander *Government and Community* 307, 148 347 *Edw IV* p. 248; Henry VII: Lander *Government and Community* p. 227.

This sentiment is shared by many historians. e.g.

Richard III ven Seward, despite scathing biography, still declares Richard was by no means an isolated phenomenon, let alone a freak. He belongs to the same ferociously ruthless company of Louis XI, Ferdinand of Aragon, and Ed-

England?

Black Legend p. 21.

139. This is a point that will forever be debated; there will always be people who disagree about Richard's culpability in the various crimes he has been charged with.

140. Ross *Richard III* p. 227.

141. Richmond "1483: The Year of Decision" p. 39.

CONCLUSION: LOYAUTE ME LIE¹

— RESOLVING ISSUES AND REALIZING WHAT REMAINS TO BE DONE

‘No man climbs higher than he who knows not whither he is going.’ — Oliver Cromwell²

Richard III has suffered many abuses since his fall at Bosworth in August, 1485. While his actions may well be worthy of scathing criticism, they were far from unusual, and I think this is the point that any study of the man reveals.

Richard was hardly different from Edward IV or Henry VII, aside from the fact that they succeeded in fighting off their rivals.³ He appears to have been guilty of nothing unusual except bad timing and bad luck on the battlefield. Had Richard won at Bosworth, his reputation would probably have been very different. As John Rous showed, the depiction of a king is by no means an unchanging notion: once dead or dethroned, his reputation could be attacked with virtual impunity.⁴

Professor Ross concludes that “any ‘contrariety of character’ of Richard III stems not from what we know about him, but from what we do not know about him.”⁵ Any conclusions that we draw about Richard’s motives are pure speculation. We do not know with any certainty whether he is guilty of the crimes he is charged with, nor do we know the reasons for his actions. Even with an eye-witness we would suffer from the problems of subjectivity and perspective. Instead, we may only work with the facts that have endured, and attempt to piece together our own explanation of the events and circumstances. One thing is certain; Richard’s behavior was by no means unusually malicious in any respect.⁶

History and literature leave us with many questions. There has yet to emerge any explanation as to why the Tudor chroniclers neglected to discuss Richard’s piety. Here was an opportunity to further their accusations of Richard having a flawed character. Yet not one seems to have raised the notion. Perhaps it was because any attack on Richard’s piety would reflect badly on all pre-Reformation monarchs, raising the question of any king’s personal piety, especially when the king was the head of the English church. Perhaps it was because they were unfamiliar with any examples of his personal piety, especially his *Book of Hours*.

Richard III was a man caught amidst the turmoil of fifteenth century England. He might have been a very different person in different circumstances. It is unfortunate that he will always be remembered by literature and those who read or witness it as an exceptional tyrant, but it is a sad fact that there is no way of altering More’s or Shakespeare’s works to reflect the

historical reality, that Richard was nothing more or less than a man in his time, operating in the ways he had learned by his circumstances.

Gillingham demonstrates the paradox of Richard’s existence

Of all the kings of England he is at once the most abject failure and the most extraordinary success. Even his staunchest defenders have to admit that getting himself killed in battle in August 1485 was a failure, one which dragged down with him both the house of York and his own followers, those who had supported him loyally through two difficult years and looked to him to protect and promote their interests. In his own lifetime Richard failed to live up to a king’s most fundamental responsibilities: to ensure the survival of himself, his dynasty and his followers.

Yet no other king can match his posthumous success. No other king has in modern times attracted so many followers, women as well as men, determined to show that he was overthrown by a malign conspiracy and not through any terrible fault on his part—that if he had a failing it was that he was too merciful for the violent age in which he lived.⁷

For five hundred years, historians have debated Richard’s case and the numerous facets of it, and they will no doubt continue to do so for another five hundred. While his reign ranks among the shortest in post-Conquest English history, it has undergone more close scrutiny than that of many of the more enduring rulers. From the inn at Stony Stratford in April 1483 to the Leicestershire field where Richard died crying “Treason!” in August 1485, Richard ruled England; it is one of the few certainties that we have about the time.* Any other points we make are pure speculation and will forever lack absolute proof, as insufficient materials remain to resolve many issues. Some were destroyed by Henry VII and his followers, others have disappeared over time. Whatever Henry VII thought as he lay dying that April night in 1509, he was right about one thing: the Yorkists ghosts had not died, regardless of his actions. And though he had secured the throne for his family for the next century, the Yorkist ghosts would always be flitting in the shadows of history, where they will live on forever.

Notes:

1. *Loyaute Me Lie* [Loyalty Binds Me] was Richard’s motto as duke of Gloucester.
2. Quoted in Trevelyan *English Social History* p. 66.

3. Ross **Richard III** p. 228 refers to Louis XI of France and Henry VIII of England, Seward *England's Black Legend* p. 21 adds Ferdinand of Aragon and Cesare Borgia to the list, while acknowledging the ruthlessness of Edward IV and Henry VII; Lander *Government and Community* p. 307 mentions Louis XI and Edward IV and adds Charles the Bold.
4. Rous had been supportive of Richard's while he was king. After Richard's death, however, Rous changed the wording of his *Historia Regum Angliae* (History of the

Kings of England) to be most scathing in nature towards Richard: Ross **Richard III** p. xxi.

5. Ross **Richard III** p. 229.
6. Richmond "1483: The Year of Decision" pp. 53-4.
7. Gillingham "Reinterpreting Richard III" pp. 8,10.
8. There is no record of Richard crying "A horse! My kingdom for a horse!" as Shakespeare suggested in **Richard III V**, iv ll. 7, 13.

APPENDIX A

THE INCOMES OF THE ENGLISH AND WELSH SEES

Diocese	c1460 (in florins)†	Ranking	1535 (in English currency)	Ranking	+/-
Winchester	12,000	1	£3,880 3s 3.75d	1	0
Canterbury	10,000	2	£3,223 18s 8d	2	0
York	10,000	2	£1,609 19s 2d	7*	-5
Durham	9,000	4	£2,821 1s 5.25d	3	+1
Ely	7,500	5	£2,134 18s 5d	4	+1
Exeter	6,000	6	£1,566 14s 6.5d	8	-2
Lincoln	5,000	7	£1,962 17s 4.5d	5	+2
Norwich	5,000	7	£978 19s 4.5d	12	-5
Salisbury	4,500	9	£1,367 12s 8d	9	0
Bath & Wells	4,300	10	£1,843 14s 5d	6	+4
Coventry & Lichfield	3,500	11	£703 5s 2.75d	14	-3
London	3,000	12	£1,119 8s 0d	10	+2
Worcester	2,000	13	£1,049 17s 3.75d	11	+2
Hereford	1,800	14	£768 10s 10.75d	13	+1
St. Davids	1,500	15	£457 1s 10.5d	17	-2
Chichester	1,333	16	£677 1s 3d	15	+1
Rochester	1,300	17	£411 0s 11d	18	-1
Carlisle	1,000	18	£541 4s 11.5d	16	+2
Llandaff	700	19	£154 14s 1d 20	20	-1
Bangor	470	20	£131 16s 3.5d	21	-1
St. Asaphs	470	20	£187 11s 6d	19	+1

Source: W. Lunt *Papal Revenues in the Middle Ages* vol. II p. 286 from various places in *Valor Ecclesiasticus* (J. Caley ed.) 6 vols. *English Historical Documents* vol. IV (A. R. Myers ed) p. 725

† All values for c. 1460 are approximate papal *servitia* and thus are rounded off

* denotes that value is incomplete, thus ranking is probably incorrect

APPENDIX B.
RICHARD OF GLOUCESTER'S RISE TO POWER¹

Creations, titles, privileges, grants, and estates acquired 1461-1483²

1461

- 1 Nov. **Created Duke of Gloucester**
Granted £40 annually from the sheriff of Gloucester

1462

- 12 Aug. Grant in perpetuity: Gloucester Castle and fee farm of town of Gloucester, manor or lordship of Kingston Lacey, parcel of the Duchy of Lancaster, castle, county, and lordship of Richmond and Pembroke, moiety of the town of Chipping Norton and the following manors: Saxton, Great Campes, Great Abiton, Swafham (Cambs.), Poldu, Ethorn, Penhall, Tremodret, Trevelyan, Argalles, Trewynian, Droungolo (Cornwall), Overhall and Netherhall in Lavenham, Aldham, Preston, Mendham, Cokefeld (Suffolk), Hengham*, Little Gelham*, Vaux, Bumstede, Great Canfeld, Stanstede Monfichet, Steeple Bumstede, Earl's Colne, Creppyng, Great Bentley, Crustwiche, Fyngryth, Dodynghurst, Preyers, Bourehall in Hingham, Creyes, Estonhall, Tileby, Beamound, Dounham (Essex), Kensin, Wateshurst (Middx), Calverton (Beford), Milton, Paston (Northampton), Marketoverton (Rutland), Flete, and Batelesmere (Kent)
Named earl of Richmond+
Named Constable of Corfe Castle (Dorset) and King's forester (Essex)

- 9 Sept. Grant in perpetuity: castles, manors, lordships, lands, and other possessions in England, Wales, and the Welsh marches forfeited by Robert, Lord Hungerford, lordship of Chirke, and reversions to the above

- 12 Oct. Named Admiral of England, Ireland, and Aquitaine

1463

- 20 Dec. Grant during pleasure: castles, lordships, manors, lands, rents, and services forfeited by Henry Beaufort, late Duke of Somerset

1464

- 14 Mar. Grant for life: may have all charters, letters patent, and writs in Chancery and all other courts without cost

1465

Granted duchy lordships of Bolingbroke (Lincs.), Pickering, and Barnoldswick (Yorks.)

1468

- 2 Aug. Grant in perpetuity: manors of Alwerton and Tywarnayall Tee (Cornwall)
2.5 Oct. Grant in perpetuity the lordships, and manors of:
Farsley* (Somerset), Haightesbury, Tefont (Wilts), the lordship, manor, and town of Bedmynster (Gloucs.) with attached awards and other possessions, lordships, manors, lands, rents, reversions, and services in Somerset, Wiltshire, Dorset, Devon, Gloucester, and elsewhere in England forfeited by Robert, Lord Hungerford

1469

- May Granted lands in Lancashire and Cheshire, (Lancs.) including Clitheroe, Liverpool, and Halton with all rights and offices therein††
17 Oct. Appointed Constable of England
7 Nov. Appointed chief justice of North Wales
20 Nov. Grant in perpetuity: manors and lordships: Alwerton, Tywarnaylle Tees (Cornwall), Wilmington (with lands and tenements Hucking and Dolly nearby) (Kent), and all lands, rents, farms, services, advowsons, and other commodities of the above
30 Nov. Appointment during pleasure chief steward, approver, and surveyor of Wales and earldom of March

1470

- Appointed warden of the West March towards Scotland
7 Feb. Appointed chief justice of South Wales, chamberlain of South Wales and steward of the commote of Cantremaure during the minority of the earl of Pembroke**

1471

- 18 May Appointed Great Chamberlain of England?
29 June Grant in perpetuity: manors and lordships of Middleham*, Sheriff Hutton* (Yorks.) and Penrith* (Cumberland) with all attached fees and holdings
4 July Appointed chief steward of the duchy of Lancaster including the lordships of Tickhill, Pontefact, Pickering (Lancs.), Easingwold, and Huby (Yorks.)
Grant in perpetuity of the forest of Lancaster and Bowland
Appointed surveyor of the forest of Galtres (Yorks.)

Richard of Gloucester's Rise to Power

8 July Appointed co-administrator of the principality of Wales, county of Chester and duchy of Cornwall for the prince of Wales until he reaches age **14**

14 July **Grant in perpetuity of all lands held by Richard Neville, late Duke of Warwick in Yorkshire and Cumberland**

4 Dec. **Grant** in perpetuity of the forest of Essex
Grant in perpetuity manors and lordships of: Hethingham Castle, Hethingham **Sibill**, **Langdon** Hall, Dodynghyrst, Fyngryth in Blackmore, Crustwich, Bemond, Benteley, Yeldham Hall, **Bumsted Helyon**, Steple **Bumsted**, Eston Hall, Colne, Crippynghall, Stantede Mounfichet, Canefeld, Poldeve, Roseneython, **Etheron**, Predannek, **Penhale** (Cornwall), Westhordon, Purters in Stebbyng, **Gymgrauf**, Shenfeld, Cravenham, Estillbury, Westilbury, Ames, Colson **Darcy** (Essex), Habendon, Dullyngham, **Saxton**, Camps, Swaveham, Hengston, **Enhale** (Cambs.), Hornemedede (Herts.), Lavenham, **Mendham**, Tadyngston, Cokefeld, Aldenham, Preston, Chardeacre, Herthurst, Gifford, Boxstede, Shelley (Suffolk), Flete (Kent), Chesham **Aston** Staunford (Bucks.), Chipping Norton (**Oxon.**), Skrevelby, Hornecastell, Maryng, Overtynghon, Marom, Screvelby, Ulfire, Thorneton, Connesby, Donnington, Sutton, Tid St. Mary, Tid St. **Giles**, **Gosberkyrke**, **Moreton**, **Surflete**, **Witham**, Northwittam, Neuton, **Walcote** (**Lincs.**), Upton, Loughton, **Ingolsby**, Colston Basset, Caworth, Cortlyngstock, Remston (Nottingham), all forfeited by rebels, with all attached fees and holdings

1472

1 Apr. Granted custody of Henry Marney during minority, supervising all holdings

18 May Appointed keeper of the forests beyond the Trent river

Granted custody of William Walgrave during minority, supervising all holdings

12 Aug. Appointed steward of lordship, town, or manor of **Ripon**

‘473

20 Feb. Appointed tutor and councillor of the Prince of Wales, and co-administrator of his holdings until he reaches the age of 14

1474

Grant of half of all holdings of Anne, Duchess of Warwick as if she were already dead

5 Aug. Grant in perpetuity the lordships and manors of: Winterbornstoke, Upton Skidmore, Warminster, Mildenhale, Rusteshale, **Donlowe** (Wilts.),

Wellowe, Telisford (Somerset), the lands, rents, and services in Chippenham, Shildon, Loldon, Winterbornstoke, Upton Skidmore, Warminster, and Mildenhale (Wilts), and the hundred of Chippenham, Bisshoppeton, and **Donlowe** (Wilts.) with all attached fees and holdings

‘475

20 Feb. Grant in perpetuity of the lordships and manors of:
Estlyllyng, Elvyngton, Skirpenbeck, Yaresthorp, Raskell, Houke, **Scoreby**, Wilberfosse, Stanfordbrig, Hundburton, Knapton, Rise in Holderness, Sutton on Derwent, Shirborne in Herfordlith, Appilton in **Ridale**, Sutton in Galtresse and Thorlesthorpe, Carleton with Coverdale in Coverdale, Westwitton, Woodhall, Ketilwelle in Craven, Newebiggung, Thralby with Bisshoppesdale, Burton, Bainbridge with the vale of Wynsladale, Braithwait, Aykescarth, Crakehall, Busby, **Faceby**, Carleton in Cleveland, Little Crakehall, Bowes, New Forest, Arkelgarthdale, Hopes, Westhope, **Multon**, **Forset**, Gillyng, Salkeld, Soureby, Langwathby, **Scotby** and Carlaton, **Wilton*** and the manors of Moremonkton, Walkyngton, **Catton**, Towthorpe, Brian **Askam**, Wedirby, Teueryngton, **Westlillyng**, **Riton**, Bugthorpe, Towthrope on the Wold, Wynsladale, Worton, Walden, Kerparby, Lirington, Berningham, Stanhowkeld, Borlon, Fegherby, Southcowton, Coldconyngston, Hilderwell, Rande, Newton, and Harlesey with all attached fees and holdings
Grant of the barony of Worton

8 Mar. Grant of a portion of the manor and lands of Cotyngham (Yorks.)

16 Mar. Grant of disposition of next vacant prebend of the college of Birgenorth Castle

23 Mar. Grant of a share of mines in Northumberland, Cumberland, and York for fifteen years

12 June Grant in perpetuity of manor and lordship of **Skipton** in Craven*, and **Marton** in Craven (Yorks.) with all attached fees, holdings, mines, etc.

20 July Appointed sheriff of Cumberland, with a life grant of all forfeitures, fines, amercements, etc. taken as sheriff in Cumberland and Carlisle
Grant of £ 40 annually from citizens of Carlisle, the king's fisheries in Cumberland, and all other holdings rendered to the king

21 Aug. Grant in perpetuity of the following manors and lordships: of Hethingham **Sibill***, Langdonhall*, Dodingherst*, Fyngryth in Blakemore*, **Curstwyche***, Beamond*, **Yeldamhall***, **Bumpsted Helyon***, Stepelbumstede*, Eston Hall*,

Cripping Hall*, Vaux*, Burysgifford* (Essex),
 Abyndon*, Saxton* Campes*,
 Aston, Chesham, Whitechurch, Calverton (Bucks.), Kensington, Knottingberenes (Middx), Chipping Norton (Oxon.), Penhalek, Moreton, Witham, Torpe, Surflete, Walcote (Lincs.), Upton (Nottingham), and Tidde St. Giles (Cams.) with attached fees and buildings

9 Nov. Grant of disposition of next vacant prebend of the in the king's free chapel of St. Stephen
 1481

8 Jan.
 24 Feb.

17 Nov. Licence to enter all castles, lordships, honors, alien priories, lands, rents, reversions, services, fisheries, mills, rights, pensions, portions, forests, offices, courts, leets, views of frank-pledge, recesses, advowsons, knights' fees, possessions, and heriditaments his wife would inherit on the death of her relatives
 1483

17 Mar. Granted custody of Richard Fenys during minority, supervising all holdings
 1477

21 Feb. Reappointed Great Chamberlain of England
 5 Mar. Restored to the earldom of Richard, Duke of Clarence, restored to him after Clarence's attainder and execution in 1478
 fee farm of the town of Richmond, the manors Harum, Hamelok, and Giffleton (Yorks.) with
 8/26/1471
 † Taken from Richard and bestowed on his brother
 †† Taken from Richard in exchange for other holdings,

References

- 22 Apr. Proto-g's free chapel of St. Stephen the
- 16 Sept. Grant of £50 yearly
 1479
- 3 Apr. Middleham, with all attached fees
 1480
- 9 Mar.
- May Appointment as lieutenant-general in war with Scotland
1. Sources: *Calendar Close Rolls 1461-68*, *Calendar Patent Rolls 1461-7, 1467-77, 1476-85*, Horrox *Richard III: A Study of Service* especially Chapt. 2, Ross *Richard III* pp. 25-6 from *Rotuli Parliamentorum* vol VI pp. 204-S.
 2. Exact dates listed when possible in parentheses following endowment. Significant acquisitions in bold.
 3. Anne, Duchess of Warwick was Richard and George's mother-in-law and widow to Richard Neville, (the "King-Maker") Duke of Warwick; they were to equally distribute her possessions as if she were dead, though she was to live on in poverty afterward.

APPENDIX C
THE CAREER OF A NOBLE —
JOHN TUCHET, LORD AUDLEY 1459-90¹

Summoned to Parliament: 1461-84 (every parliament held during those years)

Titles:

- 1459 Lord Audley after death of his father, James
- 1461 Keeper of the forests, chases, parks, and warrens in Dorset, steward of Wardere castle (Wiltshire)
Stewards of the king's holdings in Dorset
- 1471 Master of the king's dogs (with 1s. daily for wages)
- 1475 Commander of a force of soldiers and archers sent to Brittany
- 1478 Steward of all holdings in Dorset forfeited by George, late duke of Clarence Constable of Warden and Corfe castles (Dorset)
- 1484 Treasurer of the Exchequer (until July, 1486)

Grants:

- 1461 £40 yearly, £20 yearly
- 1465 gift of a share of the goods of Richard Wysbyche, deceased
- 1467 £37 5s. yearly
- 1468 manors of Shyre and Vacherye (Surrey)
- 1473 next vacant prebend in the king's chapel of St. Mary and St. George
- 1474 £100 yearly
- 1479 grant a share of Fulbroke manor in Oxfordshire
- 1484 £100 yearly Grant of Custody During Minority

Grant of Custody During Minority

- 1469 William Wynnyng
- 1478 Stewards of all holdings of in Dorset Edward, earl of Warwick

Pardons:

- 1483 December 29 "of all offences"
- 1485 November 18 "general pardon"

Bonds/Recognizances:

- 1484 for £5,000 on condition that he sell the manor of Llanhamdevery

Commissions Served On:

Commissions of	Under Edward IV (1461-83)	Under Richard III (1483-85)	Under Henry VII (1485-90)	Totals
The peace	114	10	3	127
Oyer & terminer	17	3	2	22
array	11	2	0	13
enquiry	10	1	2	13
arrest	3	0	0	3
other†	0	0	1	1

* all commissions under Edward V are attributed to Richard III because of his role as protector
† in 1488 Audley was named to the Surrey contingent of a commission "to assess and appoint collectors of the subsidy imposed by the [House of] commons (*Calendar Patent Rolls* 1485-94 pp. 239-43)
1. Sources: *Calendar Patent Rolls* 1461-7, 1467-77, 1476-85, 1485-94; *Calendar Close Rolls* 1461-8, 1476-85, 1485-1500. Unfortunately, I do not have the *Calendar of Close Rolls 1468-76*, so it is possible that the lists of grants may be incomplete, but despite that, I feel that this is a reliable representation of Audley's career. (I

APPENDIX D. THE PRAYER OF RICHARD III

O most sweet lord Jesus Christ, true God, who was sent from the bosom of the almighty Father into the world to forgive sins, to comfort afflicted sinners, ransom captives, set free those in prison, bring together those who are scattered, lead travelers back to their native land, minister to the contrite in heart, comfort the sad, and to console those in grief and distress, deign to release me from the affliction, temptation grief, sickness, need and danger in which I stand, and give me counsel. And you, Lord, who reconciled the race of man and the Father, who purchased with your own precious blood this proscribed inheritance of paradise and who made peace between men and angels, deign to make and keep concord between me and my enemies, to show me and pour over me your grace and glory, and deign to ease, turn aside, destroy, and bring to nothing the hatred they bear towards me, even as you delivered Abraham from the hand of the Chaldeans, Isaac from sacrifice by means of the ram, Jacob from the hands of his brother Esau, Joseph from the hands of his brothers, Noah from the waters of the flood by means of the ark, Lot from the city of the Sodomites, your servants Moses and Aaron and the people of Israel from the hand of Pharaoh and the bondage of Egypt, and likewise Saul from Mount Gilboa, and King David from the hand of Saul and of Goliath the giant. And even as you delivered Susanna from false accusation and testimony and Judith from the hand of Holofernes, Daniel from the den of lions, and the three young men from the burning fiery furnace, Jonah from the belly of the whale, the daughter of the woman of **Cana** from the torment of devils, and Adam from the depths of hell, with your own precious blood, and Peter from the sea and Paul from chains.

Even so, lord Jesus Christ, son of the living God, deign to free me, your servant King Richard, from every tribulation, sorrow and trouble in which I am placed and from the plots of my enemies, and deign to send Michael the Archangel to my aid and against them, and deign, lord Jesus Christ, to bring to nothing their evil plans that they are making or wish to make against me, even as you brought to nothing the counsel of Achitofel who incited Absalom against King David, even so deign to deliver me by your holy goodness, your incarnation, your nativity, your baptism, and your fasting, by the hunger and thirst, the cold and heat, by the labor and suffering, by the spit and abuse, by the blows and the nails, by the crown of

thorns, the lance, the drink of vinegar and gall, by your most cruel and shameful death on the cross and the words which you spoke while on the cross. First, praying to your Father, you said: "Lord Father forgive them, for they know not what they do." You said, Lord, to the thief hanging on the cross: "Today you shall be with me in paradise." You said, Lord, to your mother: "**Mother**, behold your son," and to the disciple: "Behold your mother." Lord, you said: "Helo, helo, lamazabathani," which being interpreted means:

God, my God, why have you forsaken me?" You said, Lord: "I thirst", that is to say for the salvation of the blessed souls. Lord, you said: "Father, into your hands I commend my spirit." You said, Lord: "It is finished," signifying that you had come to the end of the labors and sorrows which you bore for us wretches.

By all these things, I ask you, most sweet lord Jesus Christ, to keep me, your servant King Richard, and defend me from all evil, from the devil and from all peril present, past and to come, and deliver me from all tribulations, sorrows and troubles in which I am placed, and deign to console me, by your descent into hell, your resurrection, by your frequent visits of consolation to your disciples, your wonderful ascension, by the grace of the Holy Spirit the Paraclete, and by your coming on the Day of Judgment. Lord, hear me, in the name of all your goodness for which I give and return thanks, and for all those gifts and goods granted to me, because you have made me from nothing and redeemed me out of your most bounteous love and pity from eternal damnation by promising eternal life.

Because of these things and others which the eye has not seen nor the ear heard, and which the heart of man has not understood, I ask you, most sweet lord Jesus Christ, to save me from all perils of body and soul by your love, and to deign always to deliver and help me, and after the journey of this life to deign to bring me before you, the living and true God, who lives and reigns, O God. Through Christ our lord. Amen.

— Reproduced in Sutton, Anne F.
and Lesley Visser-Fuchs *The Hours of
Richard III* pp. 77-8 (Latin text)

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RICARDIAN POST

The American Branch of the Society has reached a milestone of sorts — the first member named “Richmond” has joined. We welcome all members of good character, of course, but it helps when they have what those in the British papers refer to as a GSOH:

Mr. Scott B. Richmond joined at the Web site on May 11. He added this comment to his application, “...apologies for my last name.” I couldn’t resist jotting, “Cute comment about your name,” on the letter in his new member packet. So, he wrote back, “If you liked my name, my wife’s name is Elizabeth Ann Richmond.” Welcome to membership, Mr. Richmond!

Peggy Allen,
Membership Chair

New member **Anne P. Lehr** writes:

“As a trained Medievalist and now a first edition mystery bookseller who loves *The Daughter of Time*, I’ve wanted to join this Society for years, but didn’t know how to find it easily. The Web is a wondrous help. I am honored to be joining the Richard III Society.”

[Ed: Anne operates *Poe’s Cousin Mysteries & Detective Fiction*, at 9 Windward Ave., White Plains NY 10605, 914-948-0735, a4poe9@westnet.com. Her middle initial “P” stands for ‘Poe’, so perhaps she really is Poe’s cousin!]

From the online discussion group:

In 1996, I wandered the streets of London near the Thames looking for Crosby Hall due to advance information of its location (by the way, this search concluded a four day RIII tour that took me through York, Sherrif Hutton, Middleham, Towton field, Bosworth Field and a number of period locations).

After 20 minutes of looking and getting a number of strange stares, I finally located someone with information about the Hall. The gutted building surrounded by scaffolding and plank walls was the Hall undergoing a complete reconstruction. The impression of the neighboring minister I spoke with was that the new owner of the building was planning a complete renovation and would then use it as a theme restaurant and hotel—I do not know if this information is accurate. The repositioned Crosby Hall, in an event that must have Richard III and Anne rolling in their graves, is in the heart of Thomas More country.

Indeed, you might have seen the statute to the Sainted More about 30 yards away.

All in all, I found my hunt for the Hall discouraging. I could see nothing of the building and got stuck walking back and forth in front of More while looking for it.

In August, 1987, after visiting in-laws, in Birmingham, we went to Stratford, where I purchased a paperback edition of *Richard III*. A few days later, we arrived in London (from Ilfracombe, Devon), where we were to stay overnight at a women’s college residence, in Chelsea.

On approaching the residence front door, (the copy of *Richard III* still in my pocket), we noticed a blue plaque, which informed us that this was the home of the eponymous monarch! It was, of course, Crosby Hall (Crosby House, in the play), which had been dismantled, decades earlier, and rebuilt on the bank of the Thames.

We slept there, that night, our bedroom window looking straight down into Richard’s medieval dining hall, where we had breakfast the next mornmg.

This was but the first of a number of strange Shakespearean coincidences that have befallen me, In England, and in Canada, where I was once an actor at the Stratford Festival!!!

From the online discussion group:

I attach information about the new second and updated edition of Dr. Peter Foss’s *The Field of Redemore*, originally published in 1990. This is by far the most comprehensive and detailed study of the all the available evidence relating to the Battle of Bosworth, 1485, and includes possibly the most informed and authoritative attempt to locate the exact place of death of King Richard III.

I also attach information about a commemoration to be held at Dadlington this year, on the anniversary of the battle. If any of your members are in England on 22nd August and intend to visit Bosworth Field, they would be most welcome to join Dr. Foss and other Ricardians for this exploration of the evidence for the battle.

With all good wishes,
Tim Parry

from the online discussion group:

July 5, 1998

Dear Colleagues,

Newly returned from two days at Middleham where the annual Coronation celebrations have commenced with their usual elan and good fellowship, I hasten to send colleagues a brief report on the happenings.

The weather — always number one on any English discussion list you may have noticed -was good, mainly sunny, and quite warm on Saturday but a strong breeze kept the temperatures down today. No rain to speak of — and we English LOVE to speak of rain if there is any — and good, if not inspired, performances from the re-enactment groups performing for the entertainment of visitors. There were over 1,500 visitors yesterday and [probably, because I didn't get the final figures before leaving] around 1,200 today which is good but not exceptional. One felt both totals would have been better, had the days not clashed with the Wimbledon Finals this year. Why this ancient English occasion should obtrude [intrude ?] so far into July, one does not know but let us hope it does not happen too often in the future, otherwise the All-England Committee may hear something to their dis-Advantage.

The new English Heritage Reception Point worked very well and there were a reasonable number of American and Australian visitors in evidence. However, one feels that perhaps there would have been better representation of both countries without the competing attraction aforesaid. No doubt there will be a good deal of repentant making up for lost time in the week ahead on the part of sundry friends KNOWN to be in the vicinity, but conspicuous otherwise only by their absence. [Perhaps our distinguished web-master lingered too long in the Theakstons Bar for her own good, for example.] Or NOT for example, if you see what I mean.

Be that as it may, the festivities went forward well with King Richard enjoying regular, formal "arrivals" and informal tours of his home, amid the archery contests, music-fests, and bouts of hand-to-hand combat, which last I found particularly enjoyable in that the AWFUL Stanley got his comeuppance twice — and with action replays each day for good measure. [Would that these had more truly reflected actual History!] Your Yorkshire reporter was honored by conversation with Richard III during one of his perambulations, when His Grace was kind enough to thank me for writing *The Deceivers* [I kid you not] which he was thoroughly enjoying currently, and felt entirely vindicated him of the assassination of his two little nephews. Can there be greater praise ?

The general festivities are to continue through the week, though in more minor key, and hopefully those of our membership who missed the main event will be able to catch up a little. For me, it was a pleasure to meet so many enthusiastic and generally knowledgeable Ricardians, who really dominated the attendance on Saturday. It was also very pleasant to meet a respectable number of would-be Ricardians, who have been looking and looking for "the way to join" and to be able to enlighten them through the fortuitous presence of Mary, our Yorkshire area Chairman who, thoughtful as ever, had brought with her quantities of recruitment material, which I and the staff on the information desk were able to distribute to appropriate enquirers. I believe we have at least six new members up-coming as a result with possible new group applications in early course in Nottinghamshire and Cheshire following-on. Mighty Oaks from little acorns grow.

The general size of the attendance in the town can be judged by the parking problems which were horrendous, according to several reports. I was fortunate in this regard, as an assister of English Heritage, being allowed to park on the area-manager's doorstep, immediately opposite the Castle !

Geoffrey Richardson
Yorkshire, England

used book help from the online discussion group:

Hi! I've sent Heather results of a search on bibliofind (www.bibliofind.com) for "The Magnificent Century." I mention this as an additional resource for books; I was able to find one of the "Lion" books (Wensby-Scott) thru ABE, but not bibliofind, but then something else vice versa, if memory serves.

Please forgive the rantings of a new member who hasn't the decency to watch the list for a while before posting, but desperate times...

I'm looking for a copy of London Weekend Television's 1984 "The Trial of Richard III" in either PAL or NTSC format. If you happen to know of a source, I'd very much appreciate it. A video store in London is searching for me, but no luck so far.

Secondly, does anyone happen to know where I might find an exploration of *Titulus Regius*? If this were a perfect world, I would be able to find a copy with original text and modern annotated translation. I'm not exactly sure why I want this — perhaps simply that I want to look it over and can't find it?

I see that the Society is offering a book (The Crown *and the Tower...*) that contains the text; does anyone have opinions on the **Book/text**?

from the online discussion group, regarding a thread about Alison Weir (*Richard III & The Princes in the Tower*) and the *Croyland Chronicle*.

June 08, 1998

Hi Carole. I finally remembered to check Weir and Croyland. I'd thrown out all my research notes so I had to recreate some of it. Let me start with a quote from Croyland:

"However, a great cause of anxiety, which was growing, was the detention in prison of the king's relatives and servants and the fact that the protector did not show sufficient consideration for the dignity and peace of mind of the queen." p. 159 *Croyland Chronicle Continuation*, 1459-1486 (ed. N. Pronay & J. Cox, 1986)

Weir uses this several times in several ways. She quotes some of it as "The Protector did not, with sufficient degree of considerateness, take fitting care for the preservation of the dignity and *safety* of the Queen" (emphasis mine) p. 91. Quite a difference between peace of mind and safety!

Later Weir quotes Croyland within a sentence of her own: "The continued imprisonment of the Queen's relatives and servants" who had been confined "without judgement or justice" was "a circumstance that caused the gravest doubts in the minds of the councilors." (p.91).

Of course, Croyland says the "King's relatives and servants" but the phrase "without judgement or justice" was used by Croyland when referring to the arrest of Thomas, archbishop of York, Morton, and Hastings. I couldn't find where Croyland uses the last phrase that Weir quotes in that sentence.

She quotes Croyland again when talking of Hastings's arrest. "and in this way, without justice or judgement, the 3 strongest supporters of the new king were removed." "He was referring also to Rivers and Grey" says Weir (p. 105) but of course, as noted above, he *wasn't!*

I'm sure she changes words, and moves around phrases elsewhere; these are the ones I found. She was, incidently, using the standard edition of Croyland and I saw nothing to indicate that she was doing any translating from the Latin herself, which means she really has no excuse.

Is this all clear? It is hard to illustrate what she has done without quoting whole swatches of paragraphs.

Sheilah O'Connor,
Canadian Branch

NEW SALES OFFICER SOUGHT

We are again in the process of opening up a search for a new sales officer. John McMillan tells us that he, too, can't do the lifting any more and will have to give it up effective October 2.

We have something like 125 cu ft (that's 5 x 5 x 5) of inventory. We need a volunteer who can store that much material and doesn't mind shipping out orders. There's some creativity involved in the job by way of compensation: the sales officer takes a leadership role in designing or commissioning designs for t-shirts and tote bags.

We are hoping that our next sales officer can stay in the position for some time. It's expensive to ship that inventory around the country — last time we did it, from Philadelphia to Gainesville, FL, it cost almost \$700 — so we prefer not to have to do it all that often. Much of the bulk comes from the massive number of copies of *Under the Hog we* still have in inventory. We're hoping we can come up with a creative solution to our "piggy problem" to minimize the bulk that goes to the next sales officer.

Meanwhile, if you're interested in the job, please contact Laura Blanchard or Roxane Murph. (See page 3 for contact information)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Donors to General Fund, Monograph Fund,
Fiction Library and Weinsolf Library
Endowment 7/1/97 - 12/31/97

Carolann Marshall

Frances Gibson Sarro

Barbara Vassar Gray

Peggy Allen**

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Roxane Murph

Joan Robic

Lois Trinkle

Laura Blanchard*

Mr. & Mrs. David Poundstone*

{more on page 36}

THE SECOND FIFTEENTH CENTURY CONFERENCE AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS, URBANA CHAMPAIGN

Maria Elena Torres

For days, rain fell in solid sheets upon the Monticello area of Illinois. Roads were endangered, and trees stood in water at fully half their height. In Chicago itself, fog rolled in gray and opaque off the lake. Still, intrepid sports fans threaded their way, on foot, to Soldier Field for a game, and, at the Allerton Estate, undaunted members of the Richard III Society, attended a prelude to the Kalamazoo conference. We were rewarded by three wonderful days, filled with eye-opening information and, once the weather cleared, enchanting surroundings.



An image taken by Tina Cooper during the 15th Century Conference. The building you see is called Allerton House. Built by Robert Henry Allerton c.1900, the house is now the property of The University of Illinois and is used primarily as a conference center.

Thanks to Gregory P. Cooper for providing the digital file.

The Allerton Estate is the work of Robert Henry Allerton, of whom the story goes that, as a young man with the ambition to be a great artist, he traveled to Italy for inspiration. What he found was discouragement when comparing his work with Michelangelo and Da Vinci. Coming back to his wealthy family, he destroyed everything he had created, and spent the next fifty years making his home into a huge and eclectic tribute to art and nature. The house and grounds, large enough and gothic enough to thrill Charlotte Bronte, are now the conference center of the University of Urbana Champaign, and it was in that capacity that it welcomed the Richard III Society from May 3 through May 5. Although technically out

of period, the estate was made to order for setting the tone: remote; self-contained; quiet; rich; extravagant, eccentric; beautiful. Except for conveniences, there was nothing to remind you of 1998.

The gathering was just large enough to make the most of diversity and small enough to engender a refreshing informality between papers and during meals. Of the many discussions during the conference, several were especially illustrative of an invitation to look at familiar subjects from a fresh perspective; to question accepted tradition; and to remember the extent to which human nature does and does not change over the centuries:

Virginia K. Henderson reviewed the various devices of Henry Tudor not as cynically-designed propaganda for the new dynasty but as illustrations of piety. Tony Pollard presented conflicting historical views of Elizabeth Woodville as femme fatale and as virtuous, long-suffering mother, showing that, as with Richard, there is a different Elizabeth for each age that studies her, and that as with Richard, none of these encompasses a whole personality. William White Tison Pugh illustrated Margery Kempe's humor and lively sense of irony. Matthew Goldie showed that pointed, explicit and very funny satire existed in medieval theater and that audiences of all levels would probably have been very capable of appreciating it as much as we did that afternoon. Changing perspectives toward death, the afterlife and Church were given sympathetic and humane treatment by Craig Koslofsky. Individuals and key events were closely examined by Compton Reeves on behalf of Bishop John Booth of Exeter; Sharon D. Michalove on Giles Daubney; Helen Maurer on Margaret of Anjou and the **Loveday of 1458**. Fifteenth century trends, traditions and politics were examined and questioned: Nanette Mollere closely reviewed the relationships between Edward IV and his bishops. The lives, powers and limitations of women came under examination by Joel Rosenthal and Anna Drozek.

Most enjoyable, of course, was the chance to meet old friends, make new ones and to welcome new members. Ideas and stories were exchanged in the old-fashioned dining room, over endless cups of coffee, or while strolling the incredible variety of beautiful, if slightly-damp gardens. On May 6, the group split up, some going on to Kalamazoo, others going back to the daily grind of normal life. There was plenty of food for thought to take back with us.

1 9 9 8 A G M W O R K S H O P S & E V E N T S

Friday, October 2

6:00-8:00 p.m. Registration & Reception

Welcome reception featuring an informal presentation of and/or introduction to the Society's top-rated World Wide Web site by Laura Blanchard, American Branch Webmaster.

Society sales table will be open.

Dinner at your leisure. The hotel's Grande Cafe is excellent and there are several very good restaurants within easy walking distance.

Saturday, October 3

8:00 a.m. Continental Breakfast

Society sales table will open. In conjunction with that, there will be a Used Book Sale sponsored by the Host Chapter.

9:00-11:50 a.m. Workshops

Shakespeare: Friend or Foe? - Beth Marie Kosir
Queen Consort **or Not: The Marriage of Edward IV** -
Nancy Northcott
On **the Road with Richard: The AI Is All You Need to Know** - John Moosmiller

12:30-3:00 p.m.

Luncheon

Keynote Address:
John Gunthorp, Keeper of the Privy Seal - Dr. A.
Compton Reeves
Business Meeting
Awards

Raffle prize drawing

3:00-7:00 p.m. Leisure time.

7:00-? "Middleham Revisited," The Banquet
Be swept back in time to Middleham, where Richard of Gloucester will be entertaining his special guests, the Duke and Duchess of Burgundy; his sister Margaret and her husband, Charles Valois. The authentic, multi-course banquet will feature John ap Wynde, noted Welsh bard and his apprentice, as well as other interludes for your entertainment. During the banquet, the Archbishop (also one of Richard's honored guests) will bestow a special honor on a Ricardian, the identity of whom cannot be revealed on pain of his grace of Gloucester's most severe displeasure. You are encouraged to wear your finest medieval garb for the occasion, but that is not mandatory.

Sunday, October 4

8:00 a.m. Schallek Benefit Breakfast

Speaker: L. Robert Brightman on **William Berkeley, Earl of Nottingham**

Proceeds from this breakfast go to the Schallek Graduate Fellowship Fund.

The Hotel

The Commonwealth Hilton is minutes from the Greater Cincinnati International Airport and offers free, on-call shuttle service to and from the hotel. The room rate is **\$89** per night, single or double occupancy. All hotel reservations should be made through the hotel, using either their central reservation line — 1-800-HILTONS, or the local number for the Commonwealth Hilton — 1-606-371-4400. Remember to mention your affiliation with the Richard III Society when making your reservations.

Getting There

The Greater Cincinnati International Airport is accessible from every major city in the U.S., and a principal hub for Delta. It is also the home of ComAir, and serves most of the major airlines. If driving to the AGM, the hotel is located in northern Kentucky at I-75 exit 132, just south of Cincinnati. Specific directions will be provided in the AGM brochures.

AGM Registration

Registration forms will be part of the brochure. The cost of registration is \$45 per person. The Medieval Banquet is \$45 per person, and the Benefit Breakfast, \$20 per person. Raffle tickets will be \$1 each, or 6 for \$5.00. Registration, luncheon entree selection, Benefit Breakfast reservations, the purchase of raffle tickets will be handled by the AGM Registrar.

Grand Raffle Prize

The Ohio Chapter has specially commissioned a teak carving of the Ricardian boar, as depicted on the cover of *The Ricardian* and used in the Society's logo. He stands approximately 8" tall and is mounted on an appropriate base, making him a perfect mantle or bookshelf display, sure to be treasured by any Ricardian. The proceeds of the raffle will also benefit the Schallek Graduate Fellowship. What none of the above facts properly convey is the fun this wonderfully medieval weekend promises to be. It is truly an event where the more will certainly be the merrier! Do make plans to be there, won't you? The Ohio Chapter is looking forward to welcoming you and showering you with some stellar Bluegrass hospitality, then sweeping you back to Middleham in its days of glory under the Lord of the North.


Prize donations and used books would be most welcome. Anyone interested in doing that can do so easily by contacting AGM Chairmen Bruce & Judie Gall, 5971 Belmont Ave., Cincinnati, OH 45224; (513) 542-4541; e-mail: bwgjc@ix.netcom.com. Your help would be most gratefully appreciated and acknowledged in the AGM programs in the list of AGM Angels.



R I C A R D I A N R E A D I N G

Myrna Smith

downcast: sad, disheartened, unhappy, downhearted, dejected, dispirited, discouraged, depressed, glum.

 ***The Elsinore Appeal: People v. Hamlet — The Association of the Bar of the City of New York. A Wyatt Book for St Martin's Press, NY, 1996***

A few years ago, a mock trial of Richard III for the murder of his nephews was produced. If you have seen a tape of this, you were no doubt gratified by the verdict, but misled by how polite, even — dare I say? — courtly, all parties were. Obviously, they were all on their best behavior, and aware they were being scrutinized by laypersons. For a look at how it would really work, take a look at the *Elsinore Appeal*, a belated attempt to gain justice for the Prince of Denmark, who survived the sword fight but has been languishing in jail for 400 years. The defense argues for his freedom, on the simultaneous grounds of diminished mental capacity, self defense, justifiable homicide, lack of jurisdiction (in the matter of Rosencranz and Guildenstern, killed on the high seas), and sovereign immunity. Appellee, State of Denmark, responds that he was so guilty, and puts forward its legal arguments. Both sides cite many legal precedents, including Princes v. Richard III and Jones v. Clinton. I recommend this to those of my lawyer friends who stand accused of possession of even a rudimentary sense of humor — and anyone else!

- M. S.

Dismal: lonesome, somber, bleak, dull, doleful, cheerless, dreary, gloomy, melancholy.

 ***The Cherished Wives — Book V in the Bridges Over Tie series, St Martin's Press, NY 1994***

The story of the Whitmead family began back before the conquest, in the alliance (I won't call it a misalliance) between a Norman knight and a serf woman, in the book *The Proud Villians*. In following volumes, *The Ruthless Yeomen*, *Women Of Ahsdon*, and *The Faithful Lovers*, the family has come down through the years, coming up in a financial way, and bringing with them their insignia of a bridge over



stylized water, their fox-colored hair, and the occasional second sight—which rarely seems to do them **any good**. George Whitmead, having made more than a nice competence in India, takes his cousin Lucy-Anne Browne to wife, and almost immediately goes back to India, for which he has an affinity, an ancestress of his (and hers) having been born there. The story is mostly Lucy-Anne's, as we see her developing from shy 17 year-old to competent chatelaine, to grand dame. In the course of the book, she even grows old and ugly and loses her teeth, not common in fiction! **Anand** has the **gift** of making her people very real, of leavening dramatic, even melodramatic events with humor. Can you imagine, for example, having a baby and a tooth pulled on the same day? Not many women have such an opportunity for comparison.

The title is a bit of irony, as most of the **Whitmead** wives are altogether too cherished. Although not all the characters are sympathetic, from our point of view, few are actually villainous. And if the protagonists do not live happily ever after, neither do they live altogether miserably ever after. They simply live. Real persons, such as Robert Clive — **Clive of India** — appear in minor roles in this approximation of "real life." Since it brings us down only to about 1800, I'm sure there will be further books in the series. The insignia (mentioned above) is featured in this book as the logo for a carriage manufacturer. It will be interesting to see where in turns up in Victorian times, perhaps.

- M. S.

Despair: discouragement, pessimism, depression, hopelessness, despondency, gloom, desperation

 ***Funny Bones -Joan Hess, ed., Penguin Books, USA, NY 1997***

You can tell I am really reaching with this one. It is included because of the mention of Henry Plantagenet in one short story ("Where's the Harm in That" by Gillian Roberts), the Henry referred to being Prince Hal, and the plot being a time-honored one even in the time of Boccaccio, but given a modern twist. I'm very fond of the comic mystery myself, and this anthology has some of my favorites, including Margaret **Maron**, Stuart Kaminisky, Charlotte **MacLeod**, Gar Anthony **Haywood**,

and Ms Hess herself, among others. If this is to your taste, give it a try.

- M . S .

sad: dejected, depressed, disconsolate, doleful, mournful, unhappy, sorrowful.

📖 **The Laughing Hangman** — Edward Marston, St Martin's Press, NY, 1996

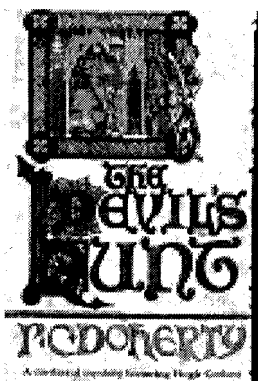
Again, the adventures of Lord Westfield's men, in the Elizabethan theater and in the fighting of 16th century crime. In this instance, it differs from 20th century crime mainly in its motivation. It's tempting to find 20th century parallels to some of the characters. The star and leader of the troupe, Lawrence Firethorn, has at least some of the mannerisms and traits of another Lawrence (Olivier), and what about the overweight ex-boy genius who is their sometimes playwright? Could it be.....? And who is the temperamental homosexual comedian who possesses not a shred of a sense of humor? Or the regular playwright, hetero but usually unrequited, who comes to regret being requited this time around. The hardworking, overworked, conscientious, stage manager/bookholder, Nicholas Bracewell, who is not even a partner, but is rightly valued by his employers even when they agree on nothing else, somehow manages to take on the task of detection in addition to everything else he has to do. If not comic, the story has its lighter moments, and is a most enjoyable way to pass the time.

— M.S.

sorrow: distress, heartache, anguish, misery, trial, tribulation, depression, anguish.

📖 **The Devil's Hunt** — P.C. Doherty, St Martin's Press, NY, 1996

Old reliable P.C. Doherty weighs in with his ninth mystery to be solved by old reliable Hugh Corbett, whom Edward I call his "good lurchur, sharp-eyed mastiff," and who would prefer to retire from his position as king's dogsbody. The story is more or less contemporary with that told in the movie "Braveheart," but is not nearly so ludicrous. Brief pause while your book critic turns movie critic: There was just enough accuracy in the film to be confusing. I never did get quite straight which actor, the older one or the young one, was supposed to represent Robert the Bruce. Perhaps my mind wandered at a crucial moment, distracted by one of the many



anachronisms and anageoisms (a word which I have just coined for the purpose.) William Wallace was not a poor highland farmer, as the story intimates. He was a well-off lowlander, and probably never wore a plaid (the kilt hadn't been invented yet) in his life, and certainly not on horseback! But if by chance he did, for purposes of disguise perhaps, I can tell you one thing he wore underneath it, at the very least: a shirt! This is not the climate in which one goes around bare-chested. The producers were all too obviously equating the Scots with Native Americans, and there are certainly affinities. Many noted American Indians possessed Scottish names: MacGillivray, Macintosh, Ross, Chisholm. Even Osceola, who did not have a white man's name, had a Scottish father. There were also similarities. The Highland Clearances, in the 19th century, were in some ways worse than what happened to the Indians, who were at least paid, if not enough, and had somewhere provided for them to live. The Highlanders had neither, but this was not done to them by the bloody English colonists, but by their fellow Scots. Having chosen a PC point of view, the producers felt it necessary to underline it by the choice of costume and face-paint, just in case anyone misses what they are trying to get across. To do so, they have to accentuate the ethnic similarities and play down important differences, such as the fact that at that period and at all others, the Scots were just as feudal as the English, if not more so. At least some of the viewers must have been irritated, as I was, by such all-too-obvious manipulation. End of digression; back to our muttons.

Doherty's story takes place at his Alma Mater, Oxford, which is in the throes of extreme Town-and-Gownitis. "The Halls dislike each other; the University hates the town; the town resents the University. Violence is rife, knives are ever at the ready." Treason is more than whispered, witches and warlocks are seen in the wood, and the trees are beginning to bear grotesque fruit: the severed heads of beggars. A man is shot with a crossbow in an apparently locked room, and leaves a dying message which seems to point to a man who cannot possibly be guilty. From there, the plot thickens ... The old-fashioned classic detective story, as per Agatha Christie and John Dixon Carr, and well done, if not so well proof-read.

— M.S.

troublesome: bothersome, distressing, irksome, trying, vexatious.

📖 **The Last Plantagenet** — Sandra Worth, an unpublished MS.


Does the world really need another novel about Richard III? Not in the same way it needs a cure for cancer or peace in the Middle East, yet Sandra Worth's heartfelt

story of Richards life can add something to our understanding of him, and to our understanding of the world he lived in, as well as the world we live in. Ms Worth points out that "...we are still paying for the outcome of Bosworth Field. After Bosworth every rebellion against Henry Tudor was launched from Ireland's staunchly Yorkist shores. Tudor's repression of the Irish...gave rise to a legacy of hatred that plagues Anglo-Irish relations to this day." I had never considered that aspect before, but it makes sense.

Worth has done meticulous research, even extending to the phase of the moon on the eve of Bosworth Field, but her narrative is far from dry-as-dust. Though conversations and some incidents must of necessity be invented, she makes them seem so real that one agrees that this must have been what they said, the way that things happened. Aside from Richard himself, the character of Edward IV is particularly well drawn.

This may not be the final form of the book. Sandra is considering making it into two books, a la Rhoda Edwards. There are few novels not improved by judicious use of a blue pencil, including Penman - especially including Penman. Sandra Worth does not have Penman's sometimes irritating way (though it grows on you) of employing odd verb tenses, nor Rosemary Hawley Jarman's passion for purple prose. This is just good, straightforward, start-at-the-beginning and end-when-it's over writing, and we hope to see it in well-deserved print soon.

— M.S.

 **The Plantagenet Connection** - April 1998 -
Published in April & October by HT
Communications, PO Box 1401, Arvada, CO
80001

A periodical of interest to genealogist, historians, and people who are interested in either. There is a thoughtful round-table discussion on "A Question of Continuity," considering possible scenarios for the future; brief articles on medieval dogs, Joan of England, the names of the days of the week, what happened to the signers of the

Declaration of Independence, movie reviews, advertisements, including one by the Richard III Society. Oh yes, it also reprints the song "I'm My Own Grandpa," and tongue twisters like this one:

***If Will wills to write his will, will Will will his will
be billed if Bill wills to write***

***Will's will? And if Bill bills Will for Will's will
against Will's will, will Will will to bill***

Bill for the bill Bill bills Will?

Don't ask me what that has to do with genealogy, or Plantagenets, or anything else, but it's fun!

—M.S.

forlorn: pitiable, desolate, dejected woeful, wretched.

If you gather from the headings that I am not happy, you are correct. I don't mind the work of writing reviews; it's not hard labor on half rations. It's the suspense that is getting me down: going out every day to look in the mailbox, and every day seeing an absence of any kind of reviews. Letters, yes, promises of reviews in the future, yes, but nothing today. I thought perhaps that some of the potential reviewers are waiting for the **Register** to come out so they can see what has already been reviewed and avoid duplicates. But, though that might explain reviews running late, it doesn't explain a complete dearth. Believe me, I don't throw away duplicates. All will be used. Or some of you might be hesitating because you don't have access to a computer or typewriter.

While it is certainly nice to have them, it is not necessary, I retype everything anyway for the column, and since I work for doctors, I am capable of reading almost any handwriting. So please send your reviews, remarks, recriminations, be they a few words or many. Send them in crayon if necessary, but send. Puh-leezee, pretty please, send **something**, and I will be:

***grateful: beholden, obliged, appreciative, thankful,
indebted.***

THE TRIAL OF RICHARD III

John McMillan

The Sales Office has available transcripts and video tapes of The Trial of Richard III, presided over by the Honorable William H. Rehnquist, the Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court. It is an outstanding production, and we are selling them at the cost of \$25.00 for the tape and \$15.00 for the transcript in book form.

Laura Blanchard

A number of relatively small changes to the web site since the last report have sharpened its focus, added interactivity, and improved some of its functions.

We've made some modest changes to the home page, which now begins with a statement of our mission: to educate the public on the facts of Richard's life and reputation, and to provide information on later fifteenth century English history and on Richard's portrayal in history, literature, and drama. We're attracting an international audience now, and since we are an international society, we've put links to other branches with web sites fairly high on the homepage. A complete section on the 1998 AGM is online and linked to the homepage, as is a comprehensive page on volunteer opportunities.

Students and Teachers

The web site's use as a teaching tool continues to be an important focus of our web building activities, and we've strengthened the Resources for Teaching part of the site with links to a number of other useful resources. To encourage teachers to share ideas and question about teaching Richard III, we've put up a "Faculty Forum" bulletin board. Since it was put up late in the academic year, it has only been lightly used; we hope that it will gain in popularity as faculty begin to prepare for the coming academic year.

Richard III's popularity as a defendant in Supreme Court mock trials has resulted in several high school classrooms across the country turning into courtrooms. Apparently, the students were using the web site to do their homework for their parts in the trial, and they were using it properly, taking our advice about researching their sources and putting in interlibrary loan requests well in advance. I got some fairly sophisticated questions about the reliability of Mancini and other primary sources from high school students who told me they'd gotten the books on interlibrary loan. Some of the students were caught up in the excitement of the competition — some great trial attorneys may have gotten their start this spring. Others became caught up in the controversy itself and were going well beyond the requirements of the assignments. I myself got caught up in the excitement of advising the students, who started out as shy e-mail correspondents but grew increasingly animated as the topic gripped their imaginations; and I got a taste of how all-consuming, completely draining and utterly rewarding it must be to be a teacher when things are going well.

Joining the American Branch Online

Although we're not set up to take credit cards yet, we have found a way for us to accept membership applications online. We started a pilot program in March whereby a would-be Ricardian fills out a form online. It is automatically sent to Peggy Allen who sends the new member a welcome packet including sample publications, and an invoice. So far, we've found that online Ricardians are just as honest, on the whole, as their "realtime" counterparts, and a majority of them are paying and becoming members. Perhaps one day it will be possible to do the entire joining or renewal process online. Imagine that...

The Wired Ricardian

The URL for the Richard III and Yorkist History Server is <http://www.r3.org/> — if you haven't seen it, take the URL to your local library and see if there are any public access terminals. A librarian (or a young patron) will be happy to show you how to get connected.

You might also want to consider joining our members' e-mail discussion list. It has become an international forum, with members from Canada, England, Australia, and West Germany — Ricardians all — and so we get some really interesting commentary. To join, send an e-mail to lstmgr@r3.org and ask to be added to the Richard III Society members' discussion list.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Maria Elana Torres

Marcia Weinsoft

Phil Goldsmith

Illinois Chapter, Richard III Society

Harvey Blustain

Celeste Bonfanti

Jane Kirkman

Elizabeth Lindstrom

Beverlee Weston

Jeanne Carlson

Lynn Storey

Mary Jane Hruby

Joan Marshall

Lary Reid

{more on page 38}

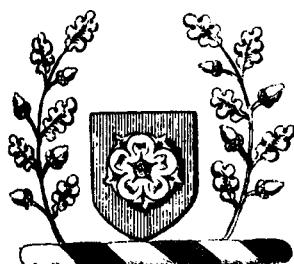


Laura Blanchard

Ricardians can always be counted on to give generously to worthy Ricardian causes when they understand the need. We are very close to reaching our goal of \$2,500 in contributions to the fund to repair Free Library of Philadelphia Lewis Ms. E201, the magnificent genealogy of Edward IV. The gifts of individual members will be matched up to a maximum of \$2,500 from the General Fund. The rare books staff at the Free Library is quite excited at the prospect of being able to restore this manuscript, which is one of their treasures.

Additional contributions would still be welcome; if we go over our goal, we will start a new fund for a second manuscript or other object in the care of a U.S. library or museum.

To make a contribution, or to suggest another object for this project, write to the Manuscripts Conservation Fund, c/o Laura Blanchard, 2041 Christian Street, Philadelphia PA 19146-1338.



NOMINATING COMMITTEE REPORT

Chairman — Sharon Michalove

Vice Chairman — Dawn Benedetto

Recording Secretary — Dianne Batch

Our officer rotation is now as follows:

Chairman, vice chairman, recording secretary- second terms expire 2002; Membership chair, treasurer — second terms expire 2000

New members, 03/01/98-05/31/98

lean M. Britzmann

Jonathan L. Carter

Lloyd Condra

Alison M. Duncan

Lynette K. Edsall

Thomas Edsall

T. Dean Flowers

Colin Green

Gwendolyn Greene

Beverly P. Hajek

Sherye D. Homer

Daniel C. Jones

Robert E. Judd

Elizabeth & Leslie Kremer & Family

Bart Lee

Carole Lynch

Robin Mailey

Kelly Marsha

Nancy Moore

S. M. Parsons

Laurie Pazzano

Joe Roberts, Jr.

Richard and Io Ronan

S. Lee Rouland

George W. Rouse

Molly 1. Slack

Candice L. Smith

Dreama Stanley

Robin A. Swattes

Ashley Unsworth

Kay Wade

Andrew T. & John T. Wainwright

A. S. Woodward

Melanie Young

We note with deep regret the passing of Dr. Bennett Marcus. Dr. Marcus had been a member of the Society since 1992.

FOUR APPEARANCES FOR THE SOCIETY AT 1998 INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS ON MEDIEVAL STUDIES

If a major part of our mission is to educate the public on the facts of Richard III's life, then the American Branch presence at the International Congress on Medieval Studies in May was an unqualified success. In a series of presentations and panel discussions, the Branch was able to reach hundreds of educators with the message that Richard III makes for a study unit that engages the attentions and the passions of students.

Richard's first appearance at Kalamazoo this year was in a session sponsored by the Consortium for the Teaching of the Middle Ages (TEAMS) in cooperation with the *Congregatio de Silvescendo* entitled "Joan and Richard and Ted and Alice: Celebrity Pedagogy in Medieval Studies," part of a six session symposium entitled "History in the Comic Mode" in honor of Dartmouth professor (and Schallek selection committee member, AGM speaker, etc.) Charles T. Wood. In *Poor Richard? Defending Richard III as a Research Exercise*, Laura Blanchard created a World-Wide Web based presentation to show the popularity of the "trial" format to teach students about history and the nature of evidence.

The presentation also included an overview of some of the approaches to teaching Richard III used by Society members, including Ruth Anne Vineyard, Richard Oberdorfer, Kay Janis/Nina Fleming, and of course Wood himself. There were many questions after the presentation, most of them inquiries about the resources on the web site, so we may hope that several people went away inspired to put Richard into their curriculum in the years to come. A sharp spike in the number of "hits" to our web site the following week, suggests that some attendees did, indeed, pursue the White Boar online.

Richard's second appearance, in a TEAMS panel discussion on outreach to secondary schools, again was in connection with the web site. Laura Blanchard spoke briefly about her experiences with teachers and students who have e-mailed her with questions and suggestions. Again, many of the people in attendance at that session had specific questions about the

contents of the site and the ways in which teachers and students have made use of them.

Richard turned up again, in a session usually dominated by Ricardians of the second kind, when Sharon Michalove was one of two speakers paying tribute to Wood at a session of the Society of the White Hart. Her talk, "Will the Real Richard III Please Stand Up?" was a lighthearted look at Richard's reputation illustrated with faux tabloids from the Richard III Museum in York.

Finally, the American Branch-sponsored session, "The Lighter Side of Fifteenth Century England," drew a standing-room-only crowd to hear presentations by A. J. Pollard, Gilbert Bogner, Helen Maurer, and Compton Reeves. Pollard gave us an unforgettable description of Richard in his introduction: "short, dark, and handsome — slightly stooping — slightly limping — and slightly balding at the top," which provoked mingled laughter and hisses. His presentation showed how one list of expenditures (taken from BL Harleian MSS 433) could illuminate many aspects of the life of young Edward of Middleham, during the summer of 1483. Bogner's paper explored the varieties of eccentric or downright illegal behaviors to be found among fifteenth century knights; Helen Maurer looked at an incident in 1460 reported by the Earl of Warwick as an attempt on his life that turned out to be rather less than met the eye; and Compton Reeves looked at hilarity in the cathedral close, including the relentless licentiousness of one vicar choral in York.

Ricardians who didn't get to Kalamazoo but have access to the World Wide Web will get a look at some of this "scholarship" — in some cases, we have to use the word advisedly — when the Richard III Society hosts the first all-singing, all-dancing online *Festschrift* in the history of medieval studies at its web site. The online *Festschrift*, complete with **RealAudio** excerpts of some of the funniest bits, should be operational this fall.

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***** Memorial in honor of DaphneHamilton**

[Ed. note: We're out of room. More next time!]

SCATTERED STANDARDS



Ohio Chapter

Since January, the Ohio Chapter has had two meetings — the first, January 11, in Columbus at the Main Public Library, which was well-attended and featured a presentation by Pat Coles on late 15th-century fashion and some tips on making costumes for the AGM banquet. The second meeting, June 7, was held at the home of Kathie and Jim Raleigh in Sagamore Hills, OH and was a casual affair, with no planned program, but plenty of discussion of our plans for AGM '98 and a bountiful “pot luck” dinner.

Three of our members attended the Fifteenth Century Conference in Illinois in early May — Compton Reeves, one of the organizers of the conference, and Tina Cooper and Judie Gall. Not only did we thoroughly enjoy the conference, but we recruited at least one new Chapter member while we

were there. We also had our booth at the Ohio State Renaissance Festival the first weekend of May. Along with all that activity, several members have been busy working on AGM '98, accumulating books for the Used Book Sale, redesigning our Chapter's **Homepage** at the Society's **website**, and working on various and sundry other Chapter plans and projects.

Most of all, though, we're eagerly awaiting our chance to welcome everyone to AGM '98. It promises to be a memorable affair, so won't you join us there?

Chapter area (OH, KY, IN) residents can obtain further information on the Chapter by contacting: Bruce W. Gall, Chairman, 5971 Belmont Ave., Cincinnati, OH 45224; (513) 542-4.541; e-mail: bwgjcg@ix.netcom.com. We're an established, active, growing group and we love welcoming newcomers!

Judie C. Gall

FROM THE CHAPTER COORDINATOR...

By now, most of you in active or rebuilding Chapters are aware of my having stepped in when Cheryl Rothwell moved on to become the Society's Online Members' Service Manager. It's never easy following in someone else's footsteps and that's especially true when the women who preceded me as Coordinator left such indelible stamps on the position and how it's perceived. I'm looking forward to the challenge and can only hope the mark I leave will be positive and that we can all say we've enjoyed working together.

Do I come to this with a philosophy regarding Chapters? Yes. I firmly believe them to be the backbone of the Society. They're as necessary to it as air and water are to us, as individuals. Vital, active Chapters provide leadership and enthusiasm when it's needed, but, even more importantly, they personalize the whole Ricardian experience. It is in their midst that abiding friendships are formed and a steady stream of knowledge about Richard and his era is constantly available through the meetings and events in which Chapters participate. In short, they're enriching.

Can most of the membership be part of a Chapter? Yes. I would say that's even more possible now than it ever was. In addition to the Chapters listed on the back of the *Register*, it appears that Arizona, Georgia, Florida, and the Carolinas each have enough resident Ricardians to form viable Chapters. Florida could even subdivide, in all probability. There could be at least two Chapters in New York state. And, that only cites a few possibilities.

Is starting a Chapter difficult? Based on personal experience in Ohio, no, but rebuilding one is often a Herculean task and my hat's off to those of you who are trying to do the latter. As for starting, all it really takes is effective communication, a few, basic organizational skills, and a penchant for working with people. Once the idea of having a local Chapter is planted, you'd be surprised the response you get. A new Chapter is like a snowball, it just keeps rolling along and growing, if it's nourished with enough open, upbeat communication and enthusiasm. What's more, the effort put into forming a Chapter is reward many times over, in terms of friendship, shared knowledge and expertise, and the just plain fun any group of like-minded friends can have whenever they're together.

So, why not jump on the “Chapter bandwagon?” Let's work together and get a few more going. There's nothing I'd like any better than to see the majority of Ricardians enjoying what we have in Ohio--an abundance of Ricardian fellowship, a wonderful wealth of knowledge and expertise that's being constantly shared, and a whole lot of fun while we're doing it. And Ohio's not the only Chapter that could make that boast, by any means. It's simply the basis of my own experience.

Active, vital Chapters mean a stronger Society and a stronger Society means our point of view can be effectively spread even farther, and isn't that a goal toward which we're all striving? Together, we can make it happen.

Judie C. Gall

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