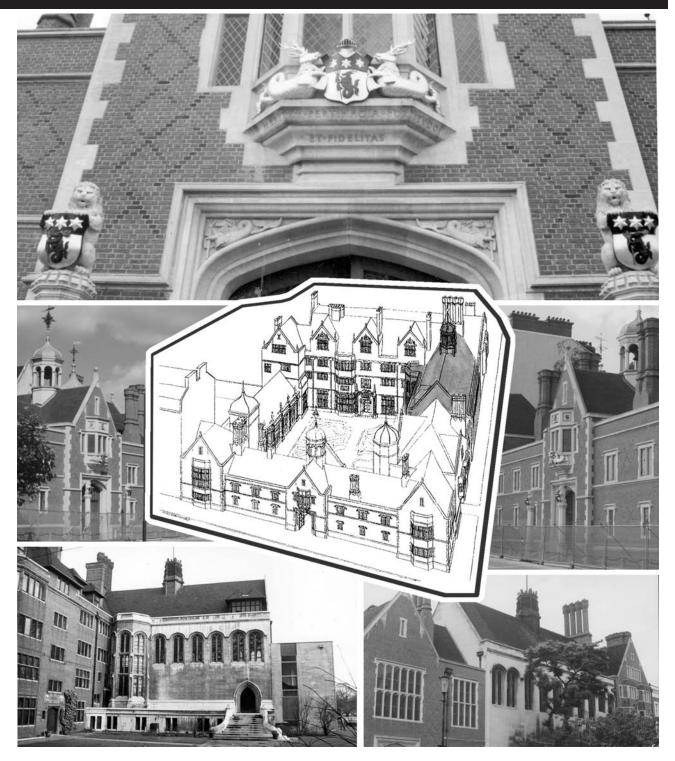


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Crosby Hall

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In the belief that many features of the traditional accounts of the character and career of Richard III are neither supported by sufficient evidence nor reasonably tenable, the Society aims to promote in every possible way research into the life and times of Richard III, and to secure a re-assessment of the material relating to the period, and of the role in English history of this monarch

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

Dues are \$35 annually for U.S. Addresses; \$40 for international. Each additional family member is \$5. Members of the American Society are also members of the English Society. Members also receive the English publications. All Society publications and items for sale may be purchased either direct at the U.K. Member's price, or via the American Branch when available. Papers may be borrowed from the English Librarian, but books are not sent overseas. When a U.S. Member visits the U.K., all meetings, expeditions and other activities are open, including the AGM, where U.S. Members are welcome to cast a vote.

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Editorial License

Carole Rike

We finally have an article on Crosby Hall, thanks to Jean Kvam. I'm curious to know if others of you find the plans of the new owner, Christopher Moran, as bizarre as I. The thought of Crosby becoming a Tudor palace, no matter the cost or authenticity, feels like another slap at Richard.

Thanks so much to Brad Verity for his excellent recap of the Ninth Triennial Conference; he does an excellent job and we hope Brad will favor us with more in the future.

Elizabeth Wadsworth brings us a full account of her recreation of Richard and Anne's wedding and the attendant difficulties.

Joan Szechtman has undertaken to provide us with a Factoid for each issue, and debuts in this issue on the 15th Century garderobe.

We wanted to mark the 50th anniversary of Kendall's *Richard III* without duplicating the efforts of the English publications, who have a feature in each of the four issues of the *Bulletin*. From this was born the idea of asking listserv members of the continuing relevance of this biography. Callie Kendall kindly sent me pictures of her father to include. Callie will be the featured speaker at the AGM luncheon in Chicago, and will surely prove as charming as her recollections in the *Bulletin*.

When I first reviewed Pam's Listserv Report, I thought, "This sounds like a gossip column." And then I reconsidered and concluded that she has done an excellent job of sharing with the rest of our membership the lively nature of the discussions on the group, as well as the breadth of the knowledge many members bring to the rest of us. The Listserv waxes and wanes, especially during the summer months, but it provides us with a forum and a touchstone for commerce with other members which is otherwise difficult for those of us not fortunate enough to have a local chapter.

Thanks to all the others who helped me put this issue together.

Laura Blanchard poses the question of what we plan to do in our next fifty years; I do hope you consider the choices and contact the board (or this publication). Years ago, at dinner in Oxford, Jeremy Potter told me that the essential thing is to give Ricardians something to do. Let's do something!!

And to our friends in the U.K., our sincere sympathy with recent events and a fond salute to their national character, which does not give in — still!

CROSBY HALL

It has always been interesting to me how buildings can take on a life of their own by merely being associated with someone of importance, particularly those buildings considered homes. I think of those magical places such as Monticello, Mt. Vernon, and especially for me, the home of James Madison known as Montpelier. Crosby Place became one of those when I first read Paul Murray Kendall's, *Richard The Third*. I remember reading the account of Edward V arriving in London accompanied by the Lord Protector,

On through the narrow streets toward Ludgate Hill and St. Paul's the procession wound its way, cheered by lords and commons alike. Perhaps the noise of welcome could be heard even in the sanctuary at Westminster. Around the mighty pile of the cathedral the procession moved to the palace of the Bishop of London, where the sovereign dismounted to enter his temporary lodgings. The lords of his realm followed him in to pay him homage. Richard went on to Crosby's Place, his town house in Bishopsgate Street. Thus, on the morning on which he was to have been crowned by the Woodvilles, was King Edward the Fifth brought to his capital city by the Lord Protector.¹

Kendall also talks about those tumultuous days of 1483, when Richard's Protectorate became his Kingship. Within the walls of Crosby Place, I could imagine the conversations, plans and ultimately, the mention of conspiracies which were taking place in other London hot spots. Yes, Crosby Place was a hot spot. According to Kendall, during Richard's Protectorate and the prepara-

tions for the coronation of young Edward V, Crosby Place became a hub of activity which included Richard's intimate circle of advisers, household staff, and people with various grievances, as well as those hoping for places of favor in the new regime.²

Richard's days and nights there must have been filled with a gamut of emotions. I think of the words of Thomas Paine as he wrote *The American Crisis No.* 1 -"These are the times that try men's souls." I'm sure those were the days that tried Richard's very soul. Richard's history, whether famous or infamous, was made here and the history of Crosby Place was haunting me.

Located on Cheyne Walk along the embankment by Battersea Bridge, Crosby Hall originally sat in Bishopsgate, having been erected adjacent to the prioress of St. Helen's in 1466 by Sir John Crosby, a grocer and woolman. The house was built of stone and timber and was the highest house in London at that time. In John Stow's, A Survey of London, 1598, the owner of Crosby Place, "was a sheriff and alderman in 1470 and was knighted by Edward IV in 1471, having taken an active stance against the Lancastrians on their assault on London, and died in 1475."3 He was buried in St. Helen's and in the year 1598, a monument to him and his lady stood in the parish church which benefitted from his generosity while he lived. He did not live there long and upon his death, "Richard, Duke of Gloucester, and lord protector, afterward king, was lodged in this house. Since which time, among others, Anthony Bonvisi, a rich merchant of Italy, dwelt there. After him, Germain Cioll. Then William Bond, alderman, increased this house in height, with building of a turret on the top thereof. He deceased in the year 1576, and was buried in St. Helen's Church. Diverse ambassadors have been lodged there; namely, in the year 1586, Henry Ramelius, chancellor of Denmark, ambassador unto the queen's majesty of England from Frederick II, the king of Denmark; an ambassador of France, and Sir John Spencer, alderman, lately purchased this house, made great reparations, kept his mayoralty there, and since built a most large warehouse near thereunto."4

Most of the history of Crosby Place is contained in a monograph entitled, *Crosby Place*, one of which can be



Crosby Hall - Chelsea

found in the Chelsea Public Library. The monograph was written by Philip Norman and W. D. Caroe, and published in 1908 by the Committee of the Survey of the Memorials of Greater London. The volume contains many fine plates and architectural plans.

The Former Hon. Secretary of the Chelsea Society has written a concise history of the Hall in *The Chelsea Society's Annual Report of 1955*. Much of the following history is taken from that report.

When Sir John Crosby died in 1475, Crosby Place consisted of the banqueting hall, which we now know as Crosby Hall, sitting in the court yard and flanked at its North end by another stone building containing an oriel window similar to the one in the Hall itself. This great window provided light to two large rooms — the Solar (or parlour), with the Great Chamber above it. Other buildings included a chapel and stone wall containing a gateway leading to Bishopsgate Street. Other buildings which may have been timber were used as state apartments and probably did not survive the nineteenth century. Gardens and other "houses" were all part of what formed "the great messuage called Crosby Place."⁵

Richard III

Sir John Crosby's surviving spouse, Lady Crosby, and their young son did not live at Crosby Place long after Sir John died. In 1483, Richard Duke of Gloucester occupied the house and held court there during the minority of Edward V, as mentioned by Kendall. Shakespeare mentions Crosby Place three times in *King Richard III, (Act I, Sc. 2: Act I, Sc. 3: Act III, Sc. 1).* The tradition that Richard was offered the crown at Crosby Place has not been documented as certain but the Solar and the Great Chamber came to be known as the Council Chamber and the Throne Room.⁶ After Richard's death at Bosworth in 1485, there appears to be a gap in the Hall's history. It may be just too obscure to have made it worth mentioning.

Henry VIII

Sir Bartholomew Reed, a goldsmith is on record as holding the lease in 1501. He was mayor of London at the time and, "celebrated his mayoralty by giving a magnificent banquet[s] to more than a hundred persons of great estate." Catherine of Aragon feasted here as a "young Spanish princess," and future bride to Prince Arthur. As we all know, Prince Arthur's young life was cut short and Catherine eventually became the queen of Henry VIII. After several other changes in leaseholders, Crosby Place ended up in the hands of Sir Thomas More.

Sir Thomas More

Although More was indirectly associated with the wool trade, the London lawyer had distinguished himself as having made his way into the ranks of the King's Privy Council and was Under Treasurer of the Exchequer. He had also penned the *History of King Richard the Third* which provided Shakespeare with material for the play. How ironic that More was residing in the very place his evil demon had lived. There are several differing accounts, however, as to whether More actually resided at Crosby Place. In 1524 the lease was sold to Antonio Bonvisi. The subsequent leaseholders, including Bonvisi, were in the unfortunate situation of being Catholics and in September, 1533, Crosby Place was seized by the sheriffs as forfeit to Edward VI. It was then granted to Lord Darcy. Darcy was then obliged to forfeit the estate when Mary came to the throne.



Merchant Adventurers, An Heiress, Cavaliers and Roundheads

A portrait of Alderman Bond now hangs in St. Bartholomew's Hospital as benefactor thereto. Bond also held Crosby Place from 1566 to 1594 when the Bonds sold it to Sir John Spenser. His daughter inherited his vast fortune but did not reside at Crosby Place after her father's death. His grandson, a Royalist, resided there for a short period of time and was ultimately killed at Edgehill in 1642. Other famous tenants included the East India Company, and the Dowager Countess of Pembroke of Arcadia fame. Sir John Langham, another Royalist, who was sent to Holland in 1660 to invite Charles II to return to England, died at Crosby Place in 1671.

Subsequent Decay and Rescue

Crosby Hall had survived the Great Fire of 1666 but suffered a fire of its own just after Sir Langham's death. The Hall and other state apartments were spared but it was never again to be an architectural beacon in Bishopsgate. The East India Company was back, occupying the Council Chamber and the Throne Room. The Hall had a floor constructed at the Minstrels' Gallery level. The ground floor became a grocer's warehouse. It was also a Presbyterian meeting place and a Universalist Church. Soon after 1780, the oriel window of the Council Chamber and Throne Room was

Crosby Hall

sold to build a staircase and the gilded oak and stucco ceilings in both rooms went to a private museum. The fine stone doorway was removed to grace a dairy at Henley-on-Thames. The stained glass was given away to antiquarians and the medieval encaustic tiles were gone.

The public became involved in the fate of Crosby Hall when, in 1831, the Hall was up for lease. It probably could have been the end of the Hall itself but public interest was stirred when a committee was formed to save the Hall. Money began to come in and the Banqueting Hall was restored but funds ran out before the Council Chamber and Throne Room could see any restoration. At this time, a Miss Hackett came to the rescue undertaking the lease and discharging any outstanding debts. Work then began on both the Council Chamber and Throne Room which was subsequently completed by architect, John Davies. It became a restaurant in 1868 and remained so until 1908, when the Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China bought the Hall to build their new offices there. Unwilling to give up the site, but not wanting the building itself, the removal of Crosby Hall then began with each and every stone being undone and numbered for future reconstruction at another site. The London County Council was then the proud owners of this great pile of stones and in the business of procuring a new home for the beleaguered Crosby Hall.

Rebuilding

Part of the area encompassing Crosby Hall's current site along the Chelsea Embankment had been acquired by the Town and Gown Association of Edinburgh which had built a block of flats between Beaufort Street and Danvers. In order to acquire another site adjacent thereto, the London County Council made the reconstruction of Crosby Hall on a vacant part of the site a condition of the acquisition. As the building was rebuilt stone by stone, construction was interrupted by the first world war. During this time, the good citizens of Chelsea made welcome Belgian refugees who made Crosby Hall and the surrounding buildings temporary homes.

After the war, Professor Caroline Spurgeon, President of the British Federation of University Women, advocated the use of the Hall as a women's residence hall. In 1922, the International Club House and Hall of Residence for University Women opened as a center housing women from all over world who came to London for the purpose of intellectual study and research. In 1927, Queen Mary dedicated the site to the advancement of learning and the promotion of friendship between women of all nations. During the second world war, the Hall was requisitioned and used for a variety of war related activities. In 1946, the Hall then again fell into the hands of the British Federation of University Women. In 1957, the Federation had begun the building of the south wing as the demand from post-graduate students for housing increased. The foundation stone for the new construction was laid by H.R.H. the Duchess of Gloucester in 1958. In 1962, an American benefactor donated $\pounds 4,000$ toward the task of "beautifying the magnificent ceiling in the Great Hall to bring back to it some of the color and splendour of its great days."⁷

The English Heritage chief executive has described Crosby Hall as "the most important surviving secular domestic medieval building in London." Curiously, it's current history has been obscured by private ownership. For the last 20 years, London multimillionaire financier, Christopher Moran, has enjoyed a very personal relationship with the Hall and its surrounding buildings. In 1988, he purchased the Hall and its buildings in order to realize his dreams of a Tudor Palace. Yes, a Tudor Palace. The renovation and rebuilding of this "most important surviving secular domestic medieval building" has been in the Tudor style and should be compete by 2010. Moran, who is a devoted student of the Tudor period, hopes that it will not only be a monument to Tudor times but will serve as his family residence as well.

For me, the history of Crosby Place and the Hall itself was both illustrious and unremarkable at the same time. I've heard it described in several places as a "white elephant," maybe partly due to its unusual history or vice versa. In some ironic twist of fate, Crosby Hall's history may mimic Richard's. Sometimes I wonder if Richard's true intentions and the mystery of the princes lie somewhere in the hands of a private individual as Crosby Hall does now. I sure hope the current "Tudor" restoration for Crosby Hall does not indicate that history will remain in the hands of the Tudor propagandists for Richard. We all know about coincidences, now don't we?

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- 1. Kendall, Paul Murray, *Richard The Third*, W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., NY 1955
- 2. *Ibid*, at 237.
- 3. Stow, John, *A Survey of London*, 1598, Alan Sutton Publishing Limited, NH 1994
- 4. *Ibid*, at 186
- Crosby Hall, Hilda Reid, The Chelsea Society's Annual Report, 1955
- 6. *Ibid*, at 7
- 7. *Ibid*, at 23

Editor's Note: For the article on Mr. Moran's plans for Crosby Hall, see:

http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/main.jhtml?xml=/news/2003/10/07 /ntudor07.xml&sSheet=/news/2003/10/07/ixhome.html.

NINTH TRIENNIAL CONFERENCE

Since 1981, the parent organization of the Richard III Society has held, every three years, a conference where leading specialists in late medieval history speak on topics of interest. The stellar research undertaken by members of the society is one of the foundations of its existence, and the main reason why I joined. Once I discovered the theme of the 2005 Conference was to be *Friends And Foes: Richard III and The East Anglian Magnates*, I knew I had to make the journey and participate. I love reading about and researching the 15th-century magnate families, as those dynasties, with their alliances and their quarrels, were the immediate cause of the Wars of the Roses.

The Friday bus ride from London to Cambridge, where the Conference was being held, passed through a massive rainstorm, and it was as if the elements were washing away modernity and revealing the past underneath. Cambridge is a stunning medieval town, even on a cloudy and wet afternoon. I walked through its narrow streets and shops and imagined a late 15th-century student, such as Richard's nephew Humphrey De La Pole, wandering the same streets and alleyways in search of great learning and a decent pint of ale. Though I'd been to Cambridge once before, this was my first visit to Queens' College, founded in the 1440s and patronized by successive Queens Margaret Of Anjou, Elizabeth Woodville and Anne Neville.

Wendy Moorhen, Society Research Officer and Conference Organizer, was there to greet and register the participants. She had the attributes of a perfect host attention to detail combined with absolute graciousness. Indeed, Wendy and other society members such as Phil Stone, Peter Hammond, John Ashdown-Hill, and Howard Choppin (to name just a few) made me feel completely welcome. My room was in Cripps Hall, in the modern section of campus, where most of the Conference was held, but Wendy had arranged a tour with the staff of the Queens' College Library. Shortly after registration, I found myself being led across the Wooden Bridge (better known as the Mathematical Bridge) over the River Cam and into the original medieval portion of the college. Stepping into Cloister Court and Old Court is to step into the 15th century.

Sadly, the Old Hall (which houses the portrait of Elizabeth Woodville) was under refurbishment and closed, but this was more than made up for by the Library Staff having taken the pains to fetch three Charters from their archives that were grants of land from Richard III to the College. Seeing the documents, in their beautiful



Anne Crawford and Dr. James Ross (and the lovely Kings College Chapel in the background), two of the speakers at the Triennial Conference.

handwritten script with the original seals intact at the bottom, was a real joy, as was the tour of the Library itself, especially as it is housed in the original medieval chapel of the College.

The Conference launched that evening with a presentation by Anne Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs, on the relationship of Richard III and Anne Neville to Queens' College. A definite friend of Richard who emerged was Andrew Docket (d. 1484), the resourceful cleric and vicar of St. Botolph's Church, just up the road, who was instrumental in getting the College founded, and insuring its patronage by Lancaster and York. He became its first President, and his diplomatic skills were impressive enough to get him promoted to Chancellor of Cambridge University shortly before his death.

The following morning produced not only bright sun and blue skies, but two wonderful presentations as well. The first, by Dr. Rowena Archer, was on what she humorously referred to as 'The Fall and Fall of the Mowbrays'. She looked at the last two Mowbray dukes of Norfolk, each of whom should have stepped forward and had the control of the entire East Anglian counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex and Cambridgeshire. But, due to personality and chronology defects (the 3rd Duke was a

Brad Verity

Ninth Triennial Conference

hothead who alienated instead of inspired, and the 4th Duke died too young to get much influence going at all), the Mowbray dynasty ended with a whimper instead of a bang. Anne Crawford then stepped up to discuss the Howards, who not only succeeded the Mowbrays in the dukedom of Norfolk, but did manage to become the leading East Anglian magnate family during the reigns of the Yorkist kings. In choosing love over social status by taking Sir Robert Howard as a husband, Margaret Mowbray showed an independent streak that was inherited by her younger daughter Catherine Howard, who became the mistress of Lord Abergavenny, and later his second wife. She was a precursor to her Tudor-era nieces Anne Boleyn and Catherine Howard. Her brother John Howard, created duke of Norfolk by Richard III, is an example of unswerving loyalty, dying at Bosworth under the banner of his country's king, when he could easily have switched sides.

After an afternoon of watching the punting on the River Cam and browsing the bookshops of Cambridge, I was ready for the evening presentation. This was given by David Dymond, and was on the topic of Late Medieval Guilds of East Anglia. Mr. Dymond apologized for his topic having little relevance to Richard, but the subject was so fascinating, and came complete with slide presentation, that participants were as enthralled as ever, and a fascinating insight into the lives of the 15th century middle classes was provided. Thousands of these guilds sprang up throughout East Anglia, and many of the halls still survive. Banqueting was a big part of guild life, so it was appropriate that the Conference Dinner followed the presentation. A wonderful feast took place in the dining hall of the modern part of campus, with good conversation and great wine. Reminders of Richard included a toast to his memory and the presence of his symbolic White Boar. Henry Tudor eradicated Yorkist heraldry whenever possible, with Queens' College one of the few institutions that managed to retain it.

Sunday morning opened with a presentation by Dr. James Ross on the De Vere Earls of Oxford. The 12th Earl's attempts to remain neutral in the conflict of Lancaster and York did not save him from a middle-aged beheading — the result of the conspiracy of his eldest son and the desire for the new Yorkist dynasty to demonstrate its might. Though restored to the family estates and title, second son John de Vere, 13th Earl of Oxford, never forgave Edward IV for the unjust execution of his father, and it was this earl's personal vendetta that led to his whole-hearted support of Henry Tudor, and leading a division for him at the battle of Bosworth. The final presentation was on the De La Poles, of the East Anglian dynasties the one closest to Richard by blood through his



Margaret of Anjou Arms

sister Elizabeth. Her husband John de la Pole, 2nd Duke of Suffolk, survived by staying firmly apolitical, but this, combined with probable infirmities and limited talent, made him a rather ineffectual magnate. The true De La Pole who dominated the 15th century until her death in 1475 was his mother Alice Chaucer, Duchess of Suffolk. This formidable lady was touched on in all the magnate family presentations during the Conference. Politically shrewd and extremely protective over her landed interests, Duchess Alice ruled East Anglian society like a Mafioso grande dame, not above resorting to thuggish techniques employed by the male magnates of her time, and in turn earned the respect and the fear of gentry families like the Pastons that eluded the Mowbrays and even her own son. Her grandson, John de la Pole, Earl of Lincoln, seemed to inherit some of the qualities of this steely woman, and by early 1485, he was viewed by many (though never officially designated) Richard's heir apparent. Henry Tudor strove to maintain Earl John's loyalty, but the young man had too much to gain by a restoration of the Yorkist dynasty, and was killed attempting to do so.

I've given very brief tidbits from the presentations because the plan is for a book to be published with all of the details in separate articles. I hope this comes to pass so that all of the American branch members can benefit from the amazing research that was shared over the weekend.

Sunday lunch concluded a wonderful Conference, and many participants spent the afternoon wandering

Queens' College, enjoying a few more hours of sunshine and medieval atmosphere before having to return to daily grind. I strolled about the gardens, my mind full of colorful historical characters — hotheaded John Mowbray, 3rd Duke of Norfolk, loyal John Howard the Jockey of Norfolk, steadfast John de Vere, 13th Earl of Oxford, whose personal vendetta against Edward IV had such tragic repercussions for Richard, and indomitable Alice Chaucer, Duchess of Suffolk, a woman who maneuvered better than many male peers. History is truly the blending of personality — the collusion or collision of individuals, each with his or her own agenda.

The door to Queens' College Chapel was open and I stepped in. This was not the College's original medieval chapel (now the Library), but was breathtaking in its own right. A memorial brass half hidden in a corner caught my eye, and I went over to investigate. It was of founder Andrew Dockett, the cleric who visualized the College and maneuvered through decades of political turmoil. He and his Queens' College could not have been high on the priority list of Richard III and Anne Neville, yet it is one of the few institutions to carry their impact forward to the present.

On the bus ride back to London, I thought about how legacy is a tricky business. The huge efforts undertaken in one's lifetime are often swept away by subsequent generations, and it may end up that relatively insignificant gestures, like helping others with their goals, are what endure.

As the Richard III Society continues with its research into the lives of Richard and his 15th century contemporaries, not only does the bigger picture become more



Queens College Old Court

complete, but the smaller events and lesser known figures emerge and reveal unexpected impact.

Brad Verity is an avid enthusiast of medieval history. He currently resides in Palm Springs, California, and can be contacted via email at batruth@hotmail.com.



"Toward the Next 50 Years" — the U.S. Version

For the past few years, our Parent society has engaged in a series of long-range planning exercises under the banner of "Toward the Next 50 Years" to prepare itself for the 50th anniversary of the reconstituted Fellowship in 1956.

The American Branch has a 50th anniversary of its own coming up, in 2011, and this anniversary is a good occasion for us to look back, take stock of the present, and plan for the future. At our last board teleconference, we agreed that we would open a discussion through the *Ricardian Register* and the member listserv. The results of these general discussions will be considered at a special Board teleconference on strategic planning scheduled, appropriately, for August 21, and the Board will present a report for further consideration at the AGM in Chicago this October. We may also place a questionnaire on the website, both for members and for nonmembers, in order to gather additional data.

Here are some of the possible questions that came up as we free-associated in our board teleconference:

- What do you like best about the American Branch?
- If you could change ONE THING about the Branch, what would it be?
- What is our primary purpose: to foster scholarly inquiry? to right the terrible wrong done to Richard III's

reputation? to provide a way for like-minded individuals to enjoy fellowship and social activities? Can these three purposes work together, or are they in conflict; and, if the latter, how can the conflict be resolved?

- What kinds of contributions can we make to the activities of our parent Society?
- Are the interests of our Branch represented in the parent Society's own planning and, if not, how can we address that?
- What kind of uniquely U.S., or independent, activities should we carry out?
- What are the kinds of resources (volunteer time, money, other) that we would need to carry out the activities we identify as important, and how can we get them?

The outcome of these conversations, we hope, will be a set of solid accomplishments over the next six years that we can celebrate at our fiftieth anniversary and use as a basis for continued activity for the years to come.

Carole Rike is prepared to publish member comments in an upcoming issue of the *Register*, including those that appear on the member listserv.

PLUMBING IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

Joan Szechtman

Perhaps the best way to describe garderobe is an indoor outhouse. They were carved into the thick castle walls with a hole connected to waste pipes that led to the moat, or, the better designed ones, a cesspool. Wastewater was saved from the kitchens and used to slosh through the pipes to flush away the solid material. It seems the major innovation of our porcelain convenience, is being able to flush the toilet with a flip of the wrist. Some of these garderobes were carved into the walls adjoining the fireplace chimneys. Those facilities could be toasty warm little spots — a place to sit in comfort, and conceivably have some quality private time.

On the downside, they had to make do with hay to clean the delicate bits. Ouch!

But that wasn't the only creature comfort the wealthy had, for they also indulged in regular baths, and even went so far as to carry their tubs with them while traveling about. Of course they had a multitude of servants to fill these tubs. In some castles, the tubs were fed with water from tanks, which could be heated. The piped water to the tubs ended in sculpted brass taps for hot and cold running water, complimenting the hot and cold running servants filling the tanks.



Tower of London — Joan Szechtman

The Wedding Of Richard And Anne On A Tabletop

Elizabeth Wadsworth

bout a year ago I decided to dress a pair of fashion dolls to represent the wedding of Richard Plantagenet, Duke of Gloucester, and Lady Anne Neville. Initially, the dolls were intended as entries in a design competition sponsored by my local doll collecting club; however, the contest soon was changed to a non-competitive exhibit. I decided to continue with the project anyway, certain it would be both a challenge and a valuable lesson in the design and construction of medieval clothing.

As I began the research process, I soon discovered a major problem: not only has a contemporary account of the event ever been discovered, but even the date is not precisely known. The couple probably were married in the spring of 1472, some time between March and May of that year.

Since no record of the wedding exists, we may assume that it was a quiet, unobtrusive affair, conducted without a great deal of publicity.

It was clear that the costumes I was about to create would have to be purely speculative, based on what is known of the fashions of the time and the individuals in question. Through several paintings, we have a pretty good idea of what Richard must have looked like, but no portrait of Anne has survived, if indeed one ever existed at all. There are at least two drawings representing her, however. They show a slender figure with long flowing hair and non-specific facial features - more the typical depiction of a fairytale princess than a true portrait of an individual. Her hair and eye color are unknown.

The doll I chose to represent Richard is Matt, by the Robert Tonner company. He stands 17 inches tall, has blue eyes and short hair in a variety of colors, and is jointed like a marionette. He has a thin, rather ascetic-looking face and a neutral expression. Sydney, a pretty 16 inch female doll by the same company, plays the part of Anne. These dolls have more realistic sculpting and facial paint than their better-known 11 ½ inch counterparts, and resemble tiny real people; their larger size allows for a great deal of detail and realism in costuming.

The Sydney doll is made with a variety of hair and eye colors; I chose one with green eyes and auburn hair in an elaborate, upswept 'do that I envisioned fitting quite nicely under one of the tall steeple headdresses of the late fifteenth century. However, in the course of my



research I discovered that her wedding day was one of the very few occasions on which a noble lady of that period would, quite literally, "let her hair down". Clearly, long flowing hair would be the more attractive (and easier) option. Late medieval illustrations of wedding couples show a variety of female hairdressing options, including long unadorned hair, elaborate headdresses perched on top of long flowing hair, and headdresses that completely conceal the hair beneath. Men are depicted both with hats and without.

With a bit of trepidation, I began to remove the pins that held the doll's hairdo in place, not knowing what I would find or even if the head would be fully rooted - an occasional problem with modern fashion dolls. Fortunately, my anxieties were for naught, and "Anne" proved to have a full head of lovely, thick hair which once washed and conditioned, hung to her waist in deep waves in the approved medieval fashion. A wig of appropriate style and color was all that was needed to transform Matt into Richard — in fact, the wigged doll bears such a striking resemblance to the NPG portrait it is almost impossible to believe that Richard was not a major inspiration for the facial sculpt. (He wasn't.)

At this point in the project I was still uncertain as to what I wanted the costumes to look like. Since "wedding dresses" as such did not exist at the time, and couples generally wore whatever they had available, albeit their best outfits, I was free to exercise my imagination within the confines of period and social class. My first step is always to choose fabrics, and I already had some that I knew I wanted to use - a vaguely heraldic looking brocade in shades of crimson, gold, and black for Richard, and a slate blue, cream, and black brocade with an acanthus leaf pattern for Anne. (White was not worn by brides until the Victorian era, but blue, symbolizing purity, was a popular medieval choice, possibly due to its connections with the Virgin Mary.) A trip to my favorite fabric vendor yielded several lengths of complementary fabrics - silk, velvet, and lawn. Once the fabrics were chosen, I began the serious task of designing the costumes - always the longest part of the process for me. I wanted to make the various garments relatively authentic given the limitations of scale, time, and availability of materials. While I had no interest in re-creating medieval sewing techniques, I still did not want any machine sewing to show. Lining the garments would be the best way to achieve this, and also to create a finished look.

After poring over as many illustrations from the period I could find, I settled on the familiar high-waisted, v-necked gown with velvet collar and cuffs that is depicted in so many medieval illustrations for Anne. Instead of copying Richard's NPG portrait costume, which actually is more representative of early Tudor fashions, I decided upon a short, fur-trimmed doublet with hanging sleeves, similar to the one in Graham Turner's lovely "Middleham" painting. Richard is known to have indulged in a number of elegant and pricey garments, and would undoubtedly have wanted to look his best on his wedding day. Having settled upon the designs, I made a couple of quick thumbnail sketches and was ready to begin.

Costume of any period begins with undergarments. Medieval hose and stockings were commonly made from woven fabrics such as linen or wool, cut on the bias and fitted to the leg, but I opted to use a cotton jersey fabric in brilliant scarlet (actually a t-shirt) instead, both for ease of construction and to minimize bulk as much as possible. Anne's stockings are simple tubes reaching



to just above the knee and gartered with blue silk ribbons; Richard's hose more closely resemble what we would consider a "pair of tights", reaching to the waist and joined at the back. A codpiece fashioned from glove leather joins the two front edges of the hose, which fasten with short strings, or "points". Simple linen drawers would probably have been worn beneath the hose, but I chose to eliminate them as they would have added unnecessary bulk.

For Anne's shift and Richard's shirt, I chose the finest cream Swiss lawn available. Since the fabric was so fine, I decided to sew both pieces entirely by hand, using French seams. Anne's is the simpler of the two garments, a kind of unfitted sleeveless slip reaching to just below the knee. (Underpants, or drawers, were not commonly worn by women until the nineteenth century.) Richard's is the typical medieval "big shirt" with a yoked front and full sleeves gathered to cuffs at the wrists. It tucks into the hose in the manner shown in many illustrations of the time. After dressing the dolls, I dipped a soft paintbrush into warm water and painted the garments to the dolls' bodies, tracing the way I wished them to hang, and let them air-dry. This is a technique that I have used often when costuming dolls and puppets; I find it helps the fabric drape in a more realistic manner.

When working in this scale, another absolutely essential step is to fray-check all the raw edges of the fabric prior to sewing, as your seams will be only a quarter of an inch or so wide. I use a fine tipped paintbrush for this as well, so too much of the product does not bleed onto the fabric.

Next, I crafted tiny poulaines, or Krakows, the iconic pointy-toed medieval shoes, from more scraps of glove leather. Rather than using actual cobbling techniques, I fabricated them in the manner typical of most doll shoes - that is, tracing around the foot, cutting soles to fit from cardboard, and attaching leather uppers with glue.

With the undergarments and shoes completed, I was ready to start on the outer garments. I decided to dress Anne first, since I am more comfortable creating female clothes and it would give me more time to plan Richard's costume, likely to be the more complex of the two. To save time, I had settled upon using as many pieces of existing commercial patterns as I could, adapting and adjusting them as needed. Fortunately there are many different designs available for 16 inch fashion dolls. I found a full circle floor length skirt, part of a vaguely Renaissance-styled gown (Simplicity #9049) and a basic tight-fitting, low-necked bodice (Vogue #7224) which I felt would adapt quite well. I began with Anne's undergown. Fortunately, this type of low-necked, full-circle-skirted gown has been well documented in several costume history books and was relatively easy to construct. It consists of five pieces - a front, two back sections, and the sleeves. The gown is cut from slate blue silk taffeta flecked with black. The bodice and skirt are cut all in one piece, rather than seamed at the waist as one might expect. The entire gown is lined in a silky slate blue fabric and tightly laced up the back. There are no darts anywhere on the bodice; the skin tight fit is achieved entirely with the lacing. Sleeves on these gowns could be short or long; here they are three-quarter length and laced tightly to the arms.

Anne's stomacher is a simple triangle of stiff metallic rose patterned brocade, lined and faced with self fabric, and attached to the bodice of the undergown with ribbon ties. I gave it some beading and metallic embroidery for a bit of extra dazzle. The overgown, made from an acanthus leaf patterned brocade and fully lined, is quite complex. It uses the same skirt pattern as the undergown, cut a few inches longer and extended into an ovoid shape at the back to form a slight train. However, this time the skirt and bodice are separate pieces of fabric. The skirt is gathered to the bodice, which is fitted with darts and plunges to a deep V in the front. The sleeves are long and taper to deep cuffs at the wrists. While none of my costuming books provide more than a few basic details on the construction of this type of gown, I have deduced that it opened in front to about mid-thigh level, slipped on over the head rather in the manner of a modern housecoat, and fastened at the waist. I have been unable to confirm that this is how the garment actually was constructed, but it seems logical and exactly duplicates the look of the gowns in many period illustrations. One painting I found appears to show a front opening like the one I have just described, faced in a contrasting fabric, which would seem to corroborate my theory.

The collar and cuffs are of black velvet. I chose silk velvet over cotton or synthetic as it has the look of an antique fabric and drapes beautifully. It has long, slightly uneven pile and a very smooth nap, giving it a slick, shiny appearance not unlike the velvets depicted in medieval and Renaissance paintings. Unfortunately, of all the fabrics I worked with, it proved to be the least user-friendly, being both slippery and extremely difficult to cut and sew. It also shed heavily, and I found it necessary to keep a lint roller handy during the entire time I used it.

The gown is tightly belted with the same metallic fabric as the stomacher. I should note that this ensemble is rather monochromatic compared to many of the



outfits pictured in artwork of the fifteenth century. It is not at all uncommon to see bright scarlet, green, and blue all in the same costume, creating some truly eye-watering combinations that would be considered rather inartistic by today's standards. Whether this was a true reflection of the times or rather of the limitations of the pigments available to artists, I cannot say for certain; however, the few examples of existing medieval garments I have seen suggest the latter.

Anne's jewelry is a simple necklace and earrings of gold-colored metal set with pearls; in medieval symbolism they represented innocence. On her head she wears a wreath of white roses, festooned with ribbons. While it is unlikely that *rosa x alba*, otherwise known as the White Rose of York, would have been in blossom in time for the early spring date posited for the wedding, I found the symbolism to be irresistible, and besides, artificial flowers of one sort or another have been available since ancient times.

We left Richard shivering in his shirt and hose. As I began to design and draft a pattern for his doublet (nothing available commercially could be adapted) I made his accessories. A collar of golden suns linked with freshwater pearls was easily assembled from bits and pieces from the craft store. Since Richard's fondness for books is well known, I made him a tiny Book of Hours to carry (perhaps a gift to or from the bride - I quite like the idea of him giving Anne a book as a wedding gift.) I reduced and copied photos of actual manuscript pages on a color copier and glued them into a leather cover which I then decorated with more faux craft store gemstones.

Now it was time to start on the rest of his costume. A pair of false sleeves came next. They are more or less rectangular shapes cut from straw-colored raw silk and lined with a gold metallic cloth. Chocolate brown silk ribbons tie them onto the arms at intervals, allowing the fine lawn of the shirt to show through.

Richard's doublet is without question the most complex costume I have ever designed, comprising over forty-five separate pieces of fabric. It is of a richly patterned brocade in shades of crimson, gold and black, fully lined in more of the straw-colored silk and edged with dark brown faux fur. I made the elaborate hanging sleeves first. Initially, I had contemplated a full lining of fur, but it soon became obvious that this would make the garment far too stiff and bulky, and I opted instead for a narrow edging of fur. The sleeves are constructed rather in the manner of those of a Japanese kimono, except that they are left open at the ends so they may be worn like conventional sleeves if desired. They are cartridge pleated at the shoulders to create the exaggeratedly wide silhouette popular in the mid to late fifteenth century.

The doublet's skirt is edged with more faux fur and reaches mid-thigh, rather a conservative length compared to some I have seen pictured. It has box pleats instead of the correct cartridge pleats, again to minimize bulk around the waistline. To give the look of diagonal cartridge pleating on the bodice, I attached separate pieces of pleated fabric. The design and construction of the doublet is based on artist's renderings of similar garments. It opens in front, the right side lapped over the left and fastened with hooks and loops of thread. My point of reference once again was a modern garment, in this case, a chef's jacket. An "exploded" view of a doublet in one of my source books was also a great help at this point.

A narrow belt of dark brown leather with a decorative bronze buckle completes the costume. I also added a row of small brass buttons along the front opening of the doublet; although I could find no historical reference for them, they give the garment a finished look that it otherwise lacked.

I hope that you have enjoyed this tour through the

process of creating medieval costume in miniature as much as I have enjoyed bringing it to you. The completed dolls are not only decorative but educational as well; last year I gave a talk on them to my sister's Special Education students, who were studying the Middle Ages. Researching and recreating these little details of medieval life — the dress, the food, the tools and musical instruments — helps to flesh out and expand our understanding of a period that can sometimes seem almost impossibly remote and abstract. In the future I would like to create a larger Yorkist panorama comprising other figures from the Wars of the Roses - Edward IV, perhaps, flanked by his queen, Elizabeth Woodville, and Jane Shore, the best known of his mistresses.

If you would like to design and create your own medieval costumes, either in miniature or to wear, the best advice I can give is to study as many works of art of the period as you can find. Paintings, sculpture, and funerary brasses all are valuable references. Theatrical costume books are helpful, but almost invariably show someone's modern interpretations of period designs rather than the real thing. Depending on the level of authenticity you wish to achieve, you may also find it helpful to research medieval weaving and dyeing techniques, jewelry making, and some of the social and political history of the silk trade. Above all, have fun, and don't allow yourself to be intimidated. Costuming can be both a challenge and a deeply rewarding hobby!

Sources:

Medieval Costume and How to Recreate It, Dorothy Hartley Medieval Costume In England and France, The 13th, 14th, and 15th Centuries, Mary G. Houston

Medieval Pageant, Bryan Holme

Shoes and Pattens, Francis Grew and Margrethe De Neergaard

Marriage During the Middle Ages, Internet essay

KALAMAZOO CONGRESS

Compton Reeves

The Richard III Society (American Branch) again sponsored a session of papers at the annual International Congress on Medieval Studies held at Western Michigan University. The three papers in the session were: Malcolm Mercer from the National Archives in the United Kingdom, "Self-Perception or Deception: Gentry Participation in Fifteenth-Century Warfare;" Karen Williams from the University of Albany, "Space and Cultural Performance in York;" and Sean Cunningham, also from the National Archives, "Lancastrianism and Early Tudor Politics."

The session, even though it was at the opening of the Congress when many attendees had not yet arrived, was very well attended, and all three papers were very well received.

Having organized these annual sessions for many years, I have passed the responsibility along to another academic member of the Society, Dr. Candace Gregory, Assistant Professor of History at California State University, Sacramento.

20th Annual International Conference on Medievalism,

The conference committee for Studies in Medievalism would like to invite you to the 20th Annual International Conference on Medievalism, to be held at Towson University in Baltimore, Maryland on October 14th and 15th, 2005. The theme of the conference is "Memory and Medievalism," but we welcome proposals on all topics related to the invocation or representation of the Middle Ages in post-medieval periods. As an interdisciplinary organization, we also welcome proposals from all areas of the humanities, social sciences, and beyond, particularly proposals that address interdisciplinary themes or employ interdisciplinary theories and methods. The proposals should be approximately 500 words and should anticipate a presentation of not more than 20 minutes or a session of not more than 3 speakers. In the case of session proposals, the speakers may be recruited by the submitter of the proposal, though each speaker must still submit a 100-word abstract for distribution at the conference and a 500-word summary for approval by the conference committee. All proposals must be received by May 31, 2005 and should be addressed to:

Professor Karl Fugelso • Towson University • Art Department • Towson, MD 21252-0001

Proposals for individual presentations should also be accompanied by a 100-word abstract as well as the author's name, affiliation, and full contact information, including e-mail address(es), regular-mail address(es), phone number(s), and fax number(s). Abstracts of all accepted papers will be printed for distribution at the conference. Papers pertaining to the theme of the conference will be considered for a special issue of Studies in Medievalism, and all papers will be considered for publication in Medievalism: The Year's Work.

The plenary speakers for the conference will be Dr. Richard Utz, Professor of English at the University of Northern Iowa, who will deliver a presentation entitled "There Are Places I Remember: Situating the Middle Ages in Post-medieval Cultural Memories," and Dr. Elizabeth Emery, Associate Professor of French at Montclair State University, who will deliver a presentation entitled "From Cabaret to Lecture Hall: Medieval Song as Cultural Memory in Early Twentieth-Century Europe and America."

The conference hotel is the Burkshire Marriott, which is located at the edge of campus and within a short walk of all official events. For special rates on oneand two-bedroom suites, please contact the Burkshire at 1-800-435-5986 (toll free) or 410-324-8101 and mention that you are attending the "Towson University Art Department Room Block Event." For more information on the Burkshire, please see their website at _http://marriott.com/property/propertypage/bwibu_ (http://marriott.com/property/propertypage/bwibu).

The registration fee for the conference is \$50.00 for students (with identification), \$95.00 for all others, and includes lunch as well as snacks on both days. We will also be offering an optional banquet for \$25.00 Friday evening, and there will be opportunities for group dining Saturday evening.

Please note that limited travel grants may be awarded.

For updates on the conference, please see Professor Karl Fugelso's web page at http://www.towson.edu/users/kfugelso/.

For more information on the organization and history of Studies in Medievalism, please visit www.medievalism.net/.

For any other information, please feel free to contact Professor Fugelso at kfugelso@towson.edu_ (mailto:kfugelso@towson.edu), (410) 704-2805 (phone), or (410) 704-2810 ATTN: Karl Fugelso (fax).

AGM 2005

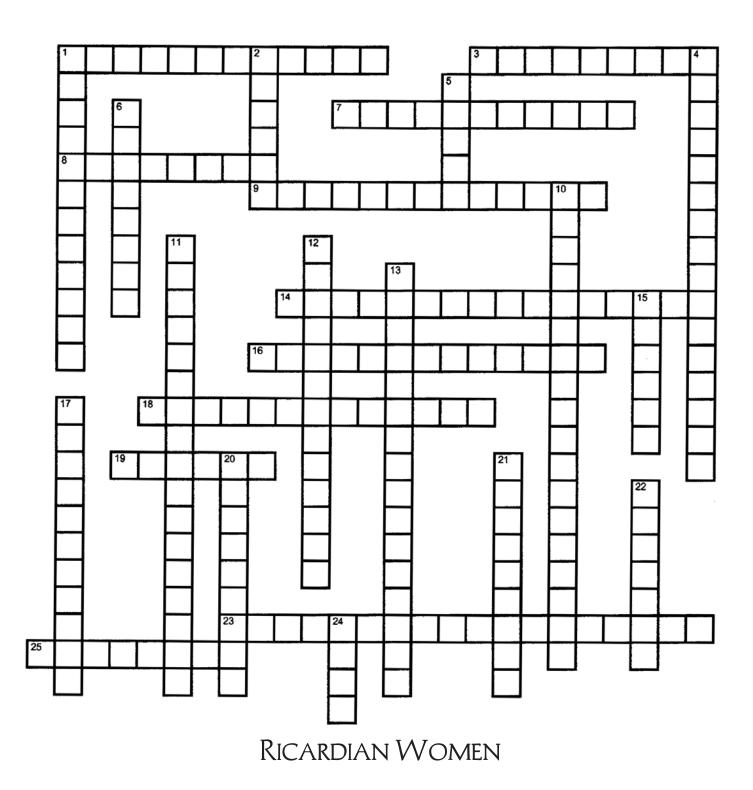
September 30 - October 1 Hilton Garden Inn, Chicago

Set aside the weekend of Sept. 30th to Oct. 1st for the meeting in Chicago.

Registration forms should be out in the beginning of July. Please book your room by the 31st August in order to take advantage of the conference rate. If you get your registration in by August 31st your name will be entered into a special raffle.

Special guest will be Callie Kendall, daughter of Paul Murray Kendall.

Chicago is a beautiful exciting city and we look forward to welcoming you there.



Solution on page 31

RICARDIAN WOMEN

Across

- 1. Richard's maternal grandmother.
- 3. First name of Elizabeth Woodville's mother.
- 7. Clarence's sister-in-law.
- 8. Richard's proposed second wife was from_____
- 9. She was to be regarded as legally dead.
- Countess of Richmond. Buried in South Aisle of Lady Chapel, Westminster Abbey.
- 16. Lady with whom Edward may have had a pre-contract for marriage.
- 18. The Rose of Raby. Kendall spelling.
- 19. Anne, Duchess of _____; Richard's eldest sister.
- 23. She sought sanctuary more than once.
- 25. Reportedly, Henry Tudor's headsman had to chase her.

Down

- 1. Her character saw much in a portrait of Richard.
- 2. "Richard liveth yet." Unfortunately, she, Richard's last sister, died in infancy.
- 4. Hanged by Clarence.
- 5. Queen Margaret came from _____
- 6. Surname of Richard's paternal grandmother.
- 10. Henry Tudor's "Diabolical Duchess"; one of Richard's sisters.
- 11. "Mother of the Beauforts." Sp. with a K.
- 12. She and Clarence would part with no livelihood.
- 13. Richard's 19th century biographer. She married the Vicar of Middleham.
- 15. The Countess of _____ feared she might be forced to live in the North.
- 17. Richard distributed coins at her wedding.
- 20. John de la Pole's mother; Richard's middle sister's first name.
- 21. The Goldsmith's wife. Richard forced her to do public penance.
- 22. Isabel of _____ wrote to Richard in friendly terms.
- 24. Katherine Neville's marriage to John Woodville, many years her junior, caused outrage. She was Richard's _____.

Reprint of a The Ricardian Puzzlers are Charlie Jordan, Lorraine Pickering, Marion Davis and Nancy Northcott. The Ricardian crossword puzzles are intended as a fun method of learning about Richard and his life and times. Each puzzle will have a theme and clues are drawn from widely-available sources. Suggestions for themes and feedback about the puzzles are welcomed; please send comments to Charlie at charlie.jordan@earthlink.net.

WEBSITE HELP SOUCHT

In the early days of the r3.org web, we were blessed by the hard work of Judie Gall, who almost singlehandedly built our online library of primary sources by keyboarding till her fingers were worn down to nubbins. There are some sources, though, that are conspicuous by their absence — notably Mancini and Buck. The difficulty with both of these is that we have no text in the public domain.

If a team of Ricardians (say, three per source) wanted to work on summaries and/or critical essays on those two sources, it would be a considerable addition to the site. We might even go so far as to send the resulting summaries/essays to the appropriate scholars for review and comment, and we could also publish them in the *Register*.

The website belongs to all American Branch members, remember, so anyone with a project idea is more than welcome to suggest it, and those of us with webweaving skills will be happy to back you up and bring it to fruition.

The Song of Ladye Bessie

As printed in Bishop Percy's *Folio Manuscript. Ballads and Romances*, ed. J.W. Hales and F.J. Furnivall, 3 vols. (London, 1868), III, pp. 319-363.

Special thanks are due to Bobbie Lamaere, who did the keyboarding necessary to put this reference online.

Carrie Harlow (in England) first mentioned it.

Janet O'Keefe volunteered to help find a copy in the States.

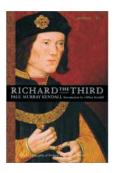
Bessie can be found at http://www.r3.org/bookcase/ladye_bessiye/. This is currently a member's preview and is not linked publically. We are seeking volunteer help with further annotation.

Ricardian Media Watch

"The country that cheered at the coronation of Richard III, who came to the throne having murdered the captive King Henry VI and his son the Prince of Wales, as well as Richard's own brother Clarence and his two nephews, or that could put up with the antics of George III" Cited by Anne Smith.

-U.S. News & World Reports, Michael Korda, 4/05

Remembering Paul Murray Kendall



[Editor's Note: In recognition of the 50th anniversary of the publication of Kendall's Richard III, members of the listserv were asked to provide their reaction to the book. These reflections follow. Members at large are welcome to contribute their thoughts as well for future publication. In my own case, I first purchased Richard III in the early sixties, after reading Tey and then searching for any book with a picture of

Richard. I got so much more than I bargained for!

Thanks to Callie Kendall for the pictures of her father, reproduced here; Callie will be the featured speaker at the AGM in October.]

If it were not for Paul Murray Kendall, I would probably never have known (or cared) anything about Richard. I found the book in my late husband's collection when we married. It was some years before I found out about the Society, and I put off doing anything about it until I saw one of the in memoriam ads in the *Wall Street Journal*. I called the Palo Alto office, and they gave me the information on how to contact the Society. Otherwise, I would probably believe Shakespeare's version, although I doubt I would have chosen to see either play or movie, given the opportunity.

Judy Pimental

I came to this whole Ricardian thing quite late. I had read Sharon K. Penman's *Sunne in Splendor* and thought - Whoa! Can she be right about the man I loved to hate (from Shakespeare)? So I looked for non-fiction books on him and found Paul Murray Kendall's *Richard the Third* in my local library and read it. I was very impressed by what Kendall had to say about him (even if I remembered stuff imperfectly). I took the book out of the library so much that I bought my own copy and continue to look for references. But his book was the first non-fiction book and I find it very sympathetic and highly readable.

Joan Szechtman

P.M. Kendall's biographies of Richard III and Louis XI have a common goal: to replace exaggerated, unfair portrayals of Richard III and Louis XI with balanced interpretations of the evidence available to him. It's not necessary to accept 100% of Kendall's interpretations to appreciate his books. Kendall's presentation of evidence allows readers to compare versions and decide for themselves. Both books have user-friendly notes and bibliographic sections. Readers who prefer to read straight through won't feel interrupted, but readers who like to



Paul Murray Kendall receives the Ohioan reward

dialogue with the text can move between text and notes and bibliographic sections easily.

Kendall's daughter wrote an introduction to the paperback edition of Louis XI, which shows Kendall as an empathetic author. Some readers may experience Kendall's empathy for Richard III and Louis XI as a fault, but I feel that readers who like to think for themselves can find all the objectivity they need in the notes and bibliographies. I appreciate Kendall's balance of empathy, reader-friendly style, and fact.

Marion Davis

I will be interested to see the differences between "old" Ricardians and "new" Ricardians as this thread progresses. I found the Ricardian controversy in 1961, when Laurence Olivier's tour de force was rebroadcast on



A historical novel by Paula Simonds Zabka based on the lives of Richard III and Anne Neville of Warwick, the last Plantaganet King and Queen of England who stood at the center of treason, turmoil and tragedy during the Wars of the Roses. This novel confronts the mystery and controversy that, to this day, still haunts the reign of Richard III.

\$16.95 - no shipping or handling costs

Check or money order to Bosworth Publishing Co., 5863 Erlanger Street, San Diego, CA., 92122, U.S.A..

Available at the Bosworth Battlefield Center Bookstore

late-night television. It sparked an interest in the historical Richard. The first thing I read about Richard, after a rather sketchy encyclopedia article, was a first edition of Horace Walpole's *Historic Doubts* — not the usual progression and certainly not for a thirteen-year-old, but there were exceptional circumstances involving a major research library and a parental recommendation that I start with the work closest in date to the events.

Walpole's work was fascinating but more an intellectual exercise than a work of scholarship. Kendall's biography and Costain's Last Plantagenets were next. Costain was emotionally satisfying but it was Kendall who taught me to love footnotes with his entertaining blend of bibliographic citations and expansions of the points from the text. It has created for me an internal dialog that I have with most historians now - "What's his basis for claiming that? What's his source? Was his source likely to have accurate information? Was his source likely to put his own, or someone else's, spin on facts?", and so on. Kendall was very good at explaining, in the footnotes, what his source was, why he felt justified in drawing the conclusions he did, and - in some cases - why he felt entitled to take a little dramatic license by extrapolating from the facts.

Kendall's footnotes only let me down once, and that only because I didn't read the footnote in question closely enough. He writes vividly about Cecily Neville meeting the invading Lancastrian army at the Ludlow market cross in 1459. There's a footnote. I brought this up at an academic conference once, to the polite academic equivalent of hoots of derision from Colin Richmond and Ralph Griffiths, including the gentle suggestion that I pay a little less attention to the fiction of Penman as an historical source. Mortified, I checked Kendall when I got home. Sure enough, there was a footnote, and if I had read more carefully I'd have known better than to report the market cross episode as fact: "Hearne's Fragment, in Chronicles of the White Rose, p. 5. It is reported that Cicely and her two boys were found in the village. Since she was a woman of spirit and was apparently trying to protect her villagers, I have conjectured that she took her stance at the market cross. See Scofield, I, p. 37 and note 2." Sigh...

"[The biographer] must be as ruthless as a board meeting smelling out embezzlement, as suspicious as a secret agent riding the Simplon-Orient Express, as cold-eyed as a pawnbroker viewing a leaky concertina." — Paul Murray Kendall

Kendall also introduced me to the notion that while the defining issue for Richard's reputation may have been the fate of the princes it was by no means the only important part of his life. He did this by removing the entire controversy from the biographical narrative and placing it in an appendix. In doing this, he may have been following in the footsteps of Gairdner — I don't redoes member, anyone else? - but it was certainly an original treatment to me, and one that defined the way I



Paul Murray Kendall with a "Tusker" in Kenya

looked at Richard III forever afterwards.

Kendall was, as Compton Reeves reminds us, a Shakespearean scholar prior to becoming a biographer, and something of the would-be novelist lurks in his treatment of events. Some fifteenth-century historians have remarked on this with, I hope, good natured humor — although in the case of Charles Ross (who grumbled that one would think Kendall had been perched on the crupper of Richard's horse) it was probably fairly acerbic. In the case of Charles Ross, too, it may have been a bit of professional jealousy

Ross's 1981 biography may have superseded Kendall's 1955 effort as the definitive scholarly treatment of Richard III, but it never gripped anyone's imagination. In that respect, Kendall's work has yet to be outdone.

Laura Blanchard

Paul Murray Kendall remains a giant. he was one of the first sources I went to when I first became interested in Richard. I continue to do so as issues arise. His footnotes are remarkable and comprehensive.

Dave Luitweiler

I cannot fathom the extent of our loss as lovers of history, as searchers of truth and most certainly as Ricardians, had there been no such person as Paul Murray Kendall. My first experience with his work was his *Richard III*, which along with Tey's *Daughter of Time* made the explosion of the More/Shakespearean myth ineluctible for me. It seemed to me most appropriate that PMK should turn his historical expertise to that of the single most important foreign enemy of York, *The Universal Spider, Louis XI.* PMK may be excused for seeming to appear as a fly upon Richard's crown during his charge towards meeting Tudor, as the available records only state (however grudgingly) that "Richard fought and died bravely while in the thick press of his



Paul Murray Kendall, Distinguished Professor, Ohio University

enemies." We as Ricardians excuse him his flirtation with fiction as he describes Richard's end (and I commend you to it with whatever edition and pagination is available to you.

Also, his tome, *The Yorkist Age* is a brilliant look into the daily lives of Middle Age England, particularly into the lives of the middle classes, church vs paganism, commerce, running of a household, and more.

Ultimately, PMK does the best work that a writing historian can do: lead the reader by facts fueled by skilled writing into the almost vampirical compulsion to scan the Bibliographic Sources for more knowledge, more truth, thus smiting ignorance and Defeatism a most debilitating counterattack.

Will Lewis

I like Kendall, too, his Richard, his Louis and his "Yorkist Age", with its affectionate anecdotes of John Howard, among other goodies.

Around Kendall's time, you had a bunch of emotionally-comitted and intelligent people composing very readable biographies for "our" period: Garrett Mattingly; Townsend Miller; Elaine Sanceau on Ren. Portugal; Jane De Iongh for Margaret of Austria; others. Miller, in his bio on Enrique IV, written around 1974 (a few years after this nice little flow of bios), has a preface where he admits to subjectivity, and is proud of it, since he doesn't think there's any such thing as a purely-objective point of view anyway. I'm inclined to agree with him, at least where history and literature are concerned — there's always an agenda of some sort. As soon as there's an agenda, there's an end to objectivity.

. Maria Torres

I agree that Kendall's *Richard III* remains unequaled. If anyone has to choose between Kendall and Ross, I recommend Kendall's *Richard III*. But it's even better to read them both and compare the differences.

Marion Davis

I agree. (with Laura) I read Costain and Alison Hanham's *Richard III and his Historians* before I read Kendall's biographies. Kendall generally reinforced my pro-Richard bias, while raising questions that I hadn't asked before. His notes and bibliographies made me want to read more about the issues. I appreciate Kendall's contribution to this life-long learning project.

Unfortunately I haven't found time to read Gairdner's version of Richard's life, so I can't say whether Kendall was following Gairdner's example. I don't find that Kendall's readability skews his facts. I don't agree with everything he says about Richard III, but those disagreements don't discredit all of his books' good qualities for me.

Did Ross have anything to say against Kendall's description of Louis XI at the Battle of Monthlery? Kendall's chapter about Louis XI at Monthlery changed my opinion of Louis XI for the better. Before I read that I thought Louis XI had more in common with Henry VII, as a lead-from-behind Machiavellian. But Kendall's chapter shows Louis XI experiencing war's hardships among his men, the way Richard III did. If Louis XI de-

cided that peace was worth any price after that, he at least had fighting experience to base his decisions on. Both Richard III and Louis XI had courage that Henry VII seems to have lacked. I found Louis XI's leadership at Monthlery compared favorably with Richard III's Bosworth. at Louis XI was more fortunate in the outcome of his battle.



Paul Murray Kendall, Distinguished Professor, Ohio University

I'm not so sure about Ross's interpretations. His acknowledgments were so critical of Ricardians who had helped him that I have taken his book with a large dose of salt. If he could say things like that about Ricardians who had helped him, I feel entitled to question his scholarly objectivity.

Marion Davis

LISTSERV REPORT

The most-frequent posters to the listserv included Laura Blanchard, Joan Szechtman, Lorraine Pickering, Brian Wainwright, Maria Elena Torres, Will Lewis, Karen Ladniuk, Jacqueline Bloomquist, Carole Rike, Ananaia O'Leary, and Charlene Conlon. Other active contributors were Parent Society Chairman Phil Stone, Jane E. Ward, Anne Smith, Dave Luitweiler, Judy Pimental, Carrie Harlow, Eric Moles, Helen Maurer, and Liz Wadsworth.

January

January rated No. 1 for number of postings at 574 messages, while May was the slow month at 220. February, March, and April averaged 477 messages.

Topics included Richard III T-shirts manufactured and sold by Society member Jon Stallard; the Bosworth archaeology project beginning in the summer of 2005; Anna, Lady Lovell; a Jonny Quest comic book story centered around Richard; Simon Schama; medieval wills mentioned in *Testamenta Vetusta:* Richard and will-writing; Elizabeth of York: and recent developments at Crosby Hall.

The shirts for sale can be found online at www.geeklabel.com. They're 100% cotton and are custom-made to order, as a variety of sizes, shirt colors, and ink colors are available. Use the keyword "R3" as the search term; the front has a boar logo on the front and a choice of either Richard's signature on the back (with the "*Tant lo desiree*" quote) or "Ask me about the real Richard III."

We discussed the newly-beginning archaeological search for the site of Bosworth Field, and the Heritage Lottery Fund is financing it. Their website says: "The Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) has awarded nearly £1 million to answer the question once and for all: where did the Battle of Bosworth really take place in 1485?

In the last few years several theories and debates have surrounded the exact location of the battle. Unlike other battles, Bosworth lacks any eyewitness statements, making it all the more difficult to locate the true battlefield. Historical and archaeological experts are now in agreement that the battle did not take place where originally thought.

In a world precedent, the project will uncover the true battlefield through a three year programme of archaeological and topographical studies. Forensic techniques will be used to determine where woodland, marshes, Pam Butler

fields and roads would have been situated in 1485 to help with the detective work and determine the true battlefield. Metal detecting will also be used to determine the point where the armies met, known as the 'clash point'. The true site is likely to cover a huge area as it is estimated that up to 25,000 soldiers were involved in the battle and the space required to manoeuvre such armies would span several miles." There are plans to engage amateur archaeologists and metal detector enthusiasts, and we talked fancifully of joining in.

www.hlf.org.uk/English/MediaCentre/Archive/Bosworth.htm

The topic of Anna, Lady Lovell's possible fate was brought up, and Lorraine informed us that in December of 1487, half-a-year after the Battle of Stoke, Anna was granted an annuity of £20. Apparently, even before receiving this, she was able to honor Francis' June 1484 indenture for his soul to be remembered; in the 1487 Founders' Statutes of Magdalen College (Oxford), "among the observances to be carried out are the obits for Francis and his wife."

Crosby Hall in Chelsea was once described by an executive of English Heritage as "the most important surviving secular domestic medieval building in London." However, the current owner, who has waged a long-standing battle with authorities, is in the process of transforming this into a Tudor palace and expects to have this work completed in 2010. But how much of its medieval character will be in evidence?

Virginia Poch announced that she and other Ricardians of Central Florida would be manning a booth to promote Richard III and the Society at the Hoggestown Medieval Faire, near Gainesville, Florida. She updated her comments throughout the spring as events unfolded. The Faire, an officially-sanctioned Super Bowl event, was well-attended, giving the Richard III booth lots of traffic.

Ananaia O'Leary, our fiction librarian, and her son Daniel, who assists her, discovered some copies of a Jonny Quest comic book which has a plot centering around Richard III. The protagonist and his sidekick attend a performance of Shakespeare's *Richard III* before going back in time and meeting Richard himself. Jonny concludes that Shakespeare had it all wrong.

February

February's discussions covered "The Song of Lady Bessy;" remembering Paul Murray Kendall; Minster Lovell; fox hunting; keeping time in the medieval era; the whereabouts Of Henry VI when he was wandering about the countryside; Perkin Warbeck on TV; and Anne Smith's new book. We also learned that Italian composer Giorgio Battistelli's "Richard III," had its world premiere at the Flemish Opera in Antwerp in January.

Anne Smith says:

I am allowed to announce that I have had my first novel accepted for publication in April 2006 by Touchstone Fireside (a division of Simon & Schuster). The condition upon which my editor (the same person who edits Philippa Gregory by the way) took my book was that I write a second one. Hence the trip to Europe. My first book is about Richard, of course! It is written through the eyes of one Katherine Haute (referenced from Rosemary Horrox's "A Study in Service") who becomes the mother of Richard's bastards. I researched the Haute family and placed Kate with Richard Haute, Esq. of Ightham Mote (not the one that was with Rivers and Grey at Pontefract — he was Sir Richard Haute). [*A Rose for the Crown* is the title now].

As my other interest has been Margaret of York, I suggested her (plus my library was already full of the period). Hence the trip to Belgium (part of the former duchy of Burgundy). It was really inspiring, especially as being a Francophile, I had pooh-poohed what Little Belgium had to offer (Poirot would be furious!), and was quite charmed with everything I saw. Especially Ghent, Mechelen and Bruges. A good friend decided to come and be my Passepartout, which was really super. We rented bikes and rode along the canal from Bruges to Damme, where the house Margaret was married to Charles still exists. This second book is due at the publisher the same time the first one comes out -April 2006. Yikes! I have my work cut out for me - it took me four years (and three moves) to complete the first one! So bear with me during this next year as I ask pointed questions of you, my erudite Ricardian friends!

And, as a real treasured moment in London, I met Ann Wroe for tea, who gave me all sorts of advice about 'Looking for Margaret' and even gave me Christine Weightman's phone number. I called her on Ann's assurance that she wouldn't mind, and she was more than gracious. As a post script to my previous posting, another highlight of my recent trip was a dinner on Tuesday night with three of the actors in the upcoming "Perkin Warbeck" docu-drama that just finished filming. Actually, it hadn't quite finished because the young man playing Perkin (Mark Umber) was off to Cornwall on Wednesday for his "crowning" bit. Anyway, the other two actors were Roger Hammond (a large elderly man who has been in lots of things we've seen in the US), who plays the Bishop of Cambrai, and John Castle, who plays Dr. Argentine. It was great fun, and we had some interesting discussions on how the docu-drama comes out (Perkin dies of course, and Mark had some snapshots of his face after they'd finished with him in the make-up tent! Quite gruesome!) The film takes place in flashbacks from Perkin's dungeon (filmed in Bergerac and supposed to be the Tower) with him being treated worse and worse by Henry until they take him out and hang him. Cambrai was Margaret's emissary and so unfortunately she isn't even featured.

Anne Smith also asked, along other lines:

I am having a hard time figuring out where Henry VI at the time of Edward's coronation. I thought he had escaped after Towton with Margaret and went to Scotland and thence to France. But then I read he was a prisoner in the Tower. Anyone clarify with a source? Ross jumps all over the place and I can't seem to nail poor Henry down!"

Brian Wainwright answered:

He was captured in 1465. I think you would need to read one of the Henry VI biographies for details, but I know he spent a lot of time wandering around what is now Lancashire, Yorkshire and Cumbria. He is said to have visited Muncaster Castle, Waddington, and Bolton-by-Bowland to my knowledge. He is said to have been captured at Brungerley Bridge, near Clitheroe. I am not sure whether anyone has carefully reconstructed Henry's wanderings, but maybe there is some academic article somewhere.

Brian later added:

The legend at Muncaster Castle (near Ravenglass) is that he was wandering on the fells (hills) and was found nearby. (A stone tower marks the alleged spot). He presented the family with a small glass dish (or mazer) 'the Luck of Muncaster' which is still preserved, and there are traditional dire predictions of what will happen if it's ever broken. One might wonder what Henry was doing with a small glass dish about his person, but — whatever. The north of England was very far less populated than it is today - indeed the largest town north of Trent, York, is reckoned to have had only about 10,000 residents. The Lake District is still relatively sparsely populated even now, and would have been excessively remote in the 15th century, a very good hiding place.

Helen Maurer contributed:

Henry, Margaret, Prince Edward, and whoever else was with them arrived in Scotland in April 1461. B.P. Wolffe's biography of Henry provides a very detailed itinerary of his whereabouts for his entire reign; unfortunately, it leaves off at his deposition. Taking a *very* quick look at his next-but-last chapter, he says that Henry stayed first at Linlithgow, then at the Dominican friars in Edinburgh (p. 333, no timeframe given). Although Henry traveled back and forth across the border over the next few years and spent considerable time in NE England when the Lancastrians held various castles in those parts, I would assume that he was still in Scotland at the time of E4's coronation in late June 1461.

Margaret went to France in April 1462 as Henry's envoy. She returned with a small invading force in October. When the Lancastrians' efforts to regain and expand control in the north stalled, she and her son again went to France in July 1463 and ended up staying there as her efforts to stave off E4's diplomatic efforts failed. (Let's face it, effective possession is always 9/10 and Louis XI was a consummate calculator of his own advantage.) Edward obtained a truce (and "no aid to each other's enemies" agreement) with France in October, and a similar arrangement with Scotland in December. As you can imagine, this created a touchy situation for Henry; Edward was trying to get him extradited. He seems to have been in Edinburgh at the time, but shortly thereafter turned up in Bamburgh. In April/May 1454, the battles of Hedgeley Moor and Hexham put an end to the remaining Lancastrian army and its hold in the north. Henry was just a few miles from Hexham when the battle took place, but when the Yorkists arrived on the scene he had As Brian pointed out, he was disappeared. eventually captured in July 1465. So, as things turned out, Henry *was* hard to nail down. Literally. Not bad for a guy who, according to some, was terminally stupid!

As an aside...these early years of E4's reign, while things still remained (to the participants) fluid and uncertain, are fascinating. The mix of rumors and propaganda making the rounds has to be seen to be believed. Unfortunately, the people who've written about Henry or Margaret (including me, sorry to say) have tended to give them short shrift. And those who've written about Edward IV have, I think, failed to appreciate just how uncertain and ad hoc things were. The problem, of course, is that we all know how things turned out; that gets in the way of understanding events as they were lived.

March

March saw diverse topical coverage: Joanna of Portugal, Brampton, Woodville, Buckingham, Stillington, Kendal, the AGM Hotel, Henry VIII and Coal, Brian featured in a local paper, Cecily's whereabouts during the Battle of Ludford Bridge, Earl Marshall Mowbray, and Richard's Hostpitallers.

Ananaia brought up a discussion of the Mowbray family:

I'm exploring a little about the Mowbrays. They seem an interesting family with a rather tumultous series of ups and downs. John Mowbray, 4th Duke of Norfolk died very young, approx. age 31 (I believe). Of course, his daughter Anne went on to be the child-bride of E4's son Richard of York. Do we know how Mowbray died? I know he died in 1476, but I can't find any info on the circumstances of his death. Any pointers? Thanks.

Also, I know this is earlier than our period, but in reading about the Mowbrays service as Earl Marshal (or is that Earls Marshall?) I stumbled on a citation of Margaret of Norfolk listed as Earl Marshal from 1338-1377. Am I understanding this correctly? I found it in several on line sources (but those can be questionable I realize). I'm intrigued ... Any info available about this?"

Brian replied:

I have looked up the description of Margaret Marshal's creation in 'The House of Lords in the Middle Ages' (J E Powell and K Wallis). It quotes the Parliament roll:

'The king, wishing to honour, enhance and increase the estate of his honourable cousin, Margaret, marshal, countess of Norfolk, did in full parliament in the absence of the said countess make her from a countess into a duchess, and gave her the style, honour and name of duchess of Norfolk, for the term of her life, and sent the charter of creation.' So it was a sort of "life peerage", though in effect the title was already passed in her lifetime to her grandson and heir. The punctuation of the lady's name is interesting. She had apparently claimed the right to perform the office of marshal (by deputy, not in person) at Richard's coronation, but the decision was "deferred" and Henry Percy (Northumberland) acted, while Salisbury, Warwick and March had at various times acted as marshal since her father's death. But maybe Richard agreed with her claim in principle. The wording suggests this."

Brad Verity shared the following extensive information on the Mowbrays:

I'm excited to attend the upcoming Triennial Conference in Cambridge next month, sponsored by our parent Richard III Society in Britain. Dr. Rowena Archer, the foremost historical expert on the Mowbray family will be presenting a lecture on them, which should be fascinating. I'll share with the newsgroup what Dr. Archer says in her lecture once I get back, but in the meantime, following is what I know on the children of Thomas Mowbray, 1st Duke of Norfolk.

On the death of his elder brother John, earl of Nottingham, in 1383, the young knight Sir Thomas Mowbray became heir not only to the Mowbray barony of his father John, Lord Mowbray (d. 1368), and of the Segrave barony of his maternal grandfather John, Lord Segrave (d. 1353), but he also became a coheir to half of the lands of his maternal grandmother Margaret of Brotherton, Countess Marshal. He was created earl of Nottingham two days after his brother's death.

Sir Thomas Mowbray, a favorite of the young king Richard II (they were nearly the same age, Mowbray born in 1366, and Richard II in 1367), had already been taken care of the previous year, however. As a younger son, he was not originally in line to inherit anything and a marriage needed to be found for him that would provide him lands. So in 1382, with the help of Richard II, Thomas was married to Elizabeth le Strange, the 9-year-old heiress to the barony of Blackmere. Then his elder brother died unexpectedly, and Thomas became the Mowbray family heir, which turned out to be a blessing for him, as his young wife Elizabeth, countess of Nottingham, died in the late summer of 1383, and the barony of Blackmere and all its lands went by inheritance to her aunt.

Thomas now needed a new wife, but since he had become such an important heir himself, there was no shortage of candidates. The earl of Arundel, the wealthiest man in England after the king, stepped up to the plate. He had twin daughters, Elizabeth and Joan, who were aged about 14 in the year 1384.

Elizabeth was already a widow — she had been

married as a child to the teenaged William de Montagu, only child and heir of the earl of Salisbury. Tragedy struck in 1382 when the young Montagu was accidentally and fatally wounded by his own father in a tournament. The earl of Arundel was bound and determined to see his daughter Elizabeth become a countess. She had been deprived of the opportunity to become countess of Salisbury, but the new earl of Nottingham, Thomas Mowbray, was age 18 and now single again. Thomas Mowbray married Elizabeth of Arundel at Arundel Castle in July 1384, in the presence of Richard II and Queen Anne.

The 18-year-old groom and 14-year-old bride immediately consummated the marriage. Inheritance was at stake after all, and both had lost lands and opportunities from being too young to copulate with their previous spouses. Their first child, named Thomas after his father, was born in September 1385, fourteen months after the wedding. They would go on to have another son and three daughters.

In 1389 another tournament tragedy greatly benefitted Thomas Mowbray. His first cousin John Hastings (their mothers had been half-sisters), the 17-year-old earl of Pembroke, was killed while jousting, and Thomas suddenly found himself sole heir to their formidable grandmother Margaret of Brotherton, Countess of Norfolk, the last surviving grandchild of Edward I of England. Margaret survived both her husbands, all of her children, and was now outliving grandchildren. By 1397, it had become a race to see if the nearly-80-year-old lady could outlive her grandson and heir, the 31-year-old Thomas, earl of Nottingham and Earl Marshal. Richard II, tired of waiting for Margaret to die, decided to make Thomas Mowbray the duke of Norfolk. But because Grandma Margaret was still alive and still the rightful heir to the earldom of Norfolk, as well as in charge of the huge amount of castles and manors that went with it, the king got around this by creating her duchess of Norfolk on the same day. After all, the lady couldn't live forever, so once she died, Thomas, who now already had the title, could finally enter all the castles and manors and start making the income they generated.

But Fortune's Wheel keeps turning. Duchess Margaret continued to live and new Duke Thomas ended up in a quarrel with Henry of Bolingbroke that led to both of them being sent into exile by Richard II. Duke Thomas left England in October 1398, and five months later, Grandma Margaret finally died. But Thomas still had the sentence of exile upon him, and in the meantime his enemy Bolingbroke overthrew Richard II and became King Henry IV of England. One of the first things the new King did was reverse the acts of the former King, and the title of Duke of Norfolk was declared null and void. All of this bad turn of fortune, plus the plague, led to Thomas dying in Venice in September 1399.

His widow Elizabeth was not a woman to meekly submit to anybody. Both she and her twin sister Joan (who became Lady Abergavenny) inherited the resolve, strength of character (and sense of entitlement that great wealth provides) that allowed their father the earl of Arundel to be the most vocal critic of Richard II and his policies. Elizabeth had waited 15 years for her grandmother-in-law to kick the bucket, and she did everything in her power to insure that those lands of the earldom of Norfolk would go to her son the rightful heir and not be interfered with by her husband's former enemy the new King. One of the trusted retainers that Thomas Mowbray had put in charge of his lands before he left for exile was Sir Robert Goushill.

Though he was about twenty years older than her, Elizabeth trusted Goushill too. She trusted him enough to marry him, quickly and without waiting for the new King's permission. She immediately had two daughters with him, so it may be that a marriage had been necessary in addition to prudent. Her new husband was loyal to the Mowbray family and would protect, rather than interfere, with the inheritance that awaited her elder son, aged 15 in 1400. Even though official court documents took care to refer to Elizabeth as the countess Marshal or countess of Norfolk, Elizabeth continued to refer to herself as duchess of Norfolk, pointedly ignoring Henry IV's act that had stripped her late husband of his title.

Goushill decided the best way to protect the Mowbray/Norfolk inheritance he had married into was to serve Henry IV militarily and prove his loyalty. He proved it best by being killed at the battle of Shrewsbury in 1403. Now Elizabeth, duchess of Norfolk, was a widow for the third time, with two sons (aged 18 and 13), and five daughters, only one of whom (the eldest, Elizabeth Mowbray) was married (to Michael de la Pole, the eldest son and heir of the earl of Suffolk). Her best course of action would be to lay low politically, oversee the estates of the Mowbray/Norfolk inheritance that were under her control, and wait for her elder son to turn 21 and regain all the lands and prestige for the family.

But her elder son Thomas had a chip on his shoulder. Despite his being married to Constance Holland, niece of the king, he couldn't get past the fact that Henry IV had been the sworn enemy of his father. He fell into the conspiracy of the Archbishop of York in 1405 to overthrow the king, and ended up executed. Though he was age 20 at death, and his wife was age 18, they hadn't gotten around to having any children. Worse for the family was the teenaged widow Constance was entitled to a third of all of her husband's Mowbray/Norfolk lands as dower ... for the rest of her life. Henry IV promptly insured his niece received it, too, and arranged for her to marry Sir John Grey, the heir to loyal Lord Grey of Ruthin.

The new Mowbray heir, 15-year-old younger son John Mowbray, and his mother Duchess Elizabeth were powerless to stop Constance receiving a third of the Mowbray lands, and as John was an under-aged heir and the king was his new guardian, they were powerless to prevent his custody and marriage being granted away by the king, which is exactly what happened. Henry IV's brother-in-law, Ralph Neville, earl of Westmoreland, who never encountered an under-aged heir he didn't promptly snatch up and marry off to one of his huge brood of children, snatched up John Mowbray from the ailing king, and quickly married him in 1412 to Katherine, his eldest daughter by his second wife Joan Beaufort.

With John Mowbray now married to a niece of Henry IV, it was expected that the old feud between the king and Mowbray's father Thomas, exiled duke of Norfolk, would be healed, if not forgotten. Henry IV's death in 1413, probably did much to help this. John Mowbray was a loyal soldier and Earl Marshal to new king Henry V, while his mother, the dowager duchess of Norfolk, Elizabeth, took a fourth husband, Sir Gerard Usflete, who also loyally served Henry V in his French campaigns. Together, John, earl of Norfolk, and his mother Elizabeth, oversaw the marriages of John's younger sisters. Isabel Mowbray, born about 1395 (her youngest child, Sir Thomas Berkeley, was born in 1439), was married off to Henry Ferrers, the heir to the barony of Groby. Margaret Mowbray, the youngest child of the 1st Duke of Norfolk, born about 1398, was married to Sir Robert Howard, one of the trusted household knights of her brother the earl of Norfolk. Half-sister Elizabeth Goushill was married to another of her

brother's trusted household knights, Sir Robert Wingfield, and other half-sister Joan Goushill to a promising young knight of Chester, Sir Thomas Stanley.

Sir Gerard Usflete, duchess Elizabeth's husband, died on campaign in France in early 1421, and Henry V died in 1422. By 1424, all of her daughters were married, and on 30 April 1425, her son John Mowbray was restored to the title of duke of Norfolk. Elizabeth, the former duchess of Norfolk, died a few weeks later, on 8 July 1425, aged about 55. She could give herself credit for weathering daunting political storms and keeping her family and the Norfolk/Mowbray inheritance and legacy intact for the next generation. It is fitting that she lived to see the restoration of the title.

April

The Lion in Winter, Richard I and his character, ghost stories about Richard III, Richard's will, DNA, Lambert Simnel, Bertram Fields' *Royal Blood*, as well as a new book he's released about the Shakespearean author controversy, and Edward, Earl of Warwick were among the topics discussed.

A few Ricardians were able to attend Sharon Kay Penman readings in the eastern and midwestern U.S. to promote her new Justin de Quincy novel *Prince of Darkness*.

Judy Pimental spotted an article from a San Francisco newsletter; Hollywood lawyer Bertram Fields, author of *Royal Blood*, has written a new book *Players: The Mysterious Identity of William Shakespeare*, published by Regan. It takes up the debate about Shakespeare's identity, and whether it could have been Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford, Christopher Marlowe, or Francis Bacon.

Karen Ladniuk brought to our attention the forensic work being done on the remains of Agnes Sorel.

Agnes, the beautiful mistress of Charles VII who died in 1450, suffered acute mercury poisoning, according to forensic scientists, which took less than 72 hours to kill her. However, they could not confirm that it was murder, as opposed to accidental medicinal poisoning, based on an examination of fragments of her skull, jaw, and hair. The toxin could also have been taken as a treatment for worms.

Charles VII was the monarch Joan of Arc had crowned at Rheims.

May

Jude Tessel alerted us to the world premier of Maxwell Anderson's *Richard and Anne* which ran until June 19 at the Arclight Theater, 152 West 71st Street, Manhattan; (212) 868-4444. It was presented by the Young Mirror Company. An enthusiastic theatre review of Richard and Anne appeared in the *NY Times:* June 4th called "A Revisionist Richard's Story" by Neil Genzlinger, who said, "That idiot Shakespeare had it all wrong. There was no treachery. No murder. No hump. That, at least, appears to have been Maxwell Anderson's take on 'Richard III,' revealed now, 46 years after Anderson's death." The book is available at the American Branch sales office for the most reasonable price to be found anywhere.

On the subject of testing DNA, Victoria Moorshead told us:

We here in the Canadian branch have been helping John Ashdown-Hill track down a Canadian woman whose lineage he has traced back to Anne, elder sister of Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy and Richard III. This woman had agreed to give John a DNA sample, which he has sent over to Louvain University for comparison with a sample of DNA from bones purported to be those of Margaret of York. He should know the results in a couple of weeks.

In the meantime, I've been sending out press releases on John's behalf to the Canadian press to promote this project. Yesterday he phoned to tell me hat the CBC (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation) our national television and radio service, has contacted him to do an interview." This interview took place May 30.

In other news, *Within the Fetterlock* by Brian Wainwright (Trivium Publishing) was a semi-finalist in the 2005 Independent Publisher Book Awards in the category of "Historical/Military Fiction." Nearly 2,200 books were entered in ninth annual event.

Sandra Worth's *The Rose of York: Love & War* won the 2005 Glyph Award at the Arizona Book Publishing Association semi-annual award's banquet for best general fiction! She's been giving interviews on the subject of Richard III and the Wars of the Roses; one of these was on the Internet radio show, *Definitely Dana*!

Member Arlene Okerlund has just published a biography of Elizabeth Wydeville, which has a rather different interpretation than Baldwin, especially about her dowager years. "The diary, in particular, is almost certainly a fake," she says. The book, *Elizabeth Wydeville: The Slandered Queen*, published by Tempus Publishing in Stroud, UK, May 2005. It is not yet available in the US, but can be bought via <amazon.co.uk>.

This is but a sample of the things we discuss on the listserv. Members may subscribe to the listserv by going to r3.org/mailman/listinfo/richard3_r3.org and filling out the request form.



Ricardian Reading

Myrna Smith

Most books reviewed here can be purchased at www.r3.org/sales.

I have six honest serving men (They taught me all I knew); Their names are What and Why And When And How and Where and Who. – Rudyard Kipling

Where? Who? What? - Rodney Dale, CW Publishing Ltd, London, 2004

A fourth book in the series is *When*, which I have not found yet.

Where is A Gazetteer of Places Real & Imaginary from Aachen to Zurich, with stops at Cloud-Cuckooland and Bag End, and places less localized, such as "all round Will's mother," as well as movable feasts, e.g. the world's major winds. There are some curious omissions: the counties of the UK and Ireland and the states of the US are listed, but not the Canadian Provinces or Australian States, which would have added only a page or two. Although Mr. Dale lists the National Days of most of the world's nations, he makes no mention of July 4- well, he is British, after all. This is a compendium of information both useful (Where do they drive on the left?) and trivial (What was the origin of Fawlty Towers?), with something for everyone. Oops, just found a boo-boo. Indiana is the Hoosier state, not the Moosier state. Never mind; he gets most things right, and considering his scope - to outer space and back — that's not bad.

WHO: An Onomasticon of People & Characters Real and Imaginary.

The author makes it clear that he defines people "in the widest sense." — well, why not include cats, horses and other fauna? This volume gives us some of the services of a Who's Who, though rather discursively. Why is Wynkyn de Worde listed under Classical Cooks? Why do actors dislike the Wood family? Mr. Dale is not shy, either, about including his own opinions. He criticizes both Maggie Thatcher and the E.U., and gives reasons why. Aside from the general list, there are lists of characters in Dickens and Shakespeare, pub names, Oscar winners, "Know your Mitfords," and "Some Famous Mistresses" from Cleo to Camilla. The latter must now be taken off the list, giving place to the penultimate one, Monica. As the author states, "In the last century or so the mistress business has taken quite a knock." Dale modestly envisions this and his other books as being useful to cruciverbalists, but even if you never touch the crossword puzzle, you're sure to find something of interest here – if nowhere else, then in the final section: "Twits, oafs, louts and lowlifes."

The Book Of What? A Thesaurus Of Things Everyday & Esoteric

Just as the title says. Under language, for example, Mr. Dale lists, 'Some native Australian languages,... Polari, Rhyming slang, Yiddish Already' among others. There's a dictionary of fashion, lists of just about every kind of vegetable or fruit that exists (ever heard of bok choy?), a list of named Parliaments, (Model, Good, Black, etc), and etc. But it's not all froth and trivia; there are mini-essays on such scientific principles as acid rain, eclipses, the water clock, and how a bagpipe works. And a very useful chart for converting metric to imperial measurements, or vice-versa, but I'm afraid I would get distracted whenever I tried to use it!

Boy Bishop: St Nicholas of Bari was reckoned to be pious from his earliest days, and was so named; a custom arose as a result that on his day (6 December) a boy should be chosen from a local or cathedral choir to act as a mock bishop for three weeks....Henry VIII abolished the custom in 1541; revived under Edward VI in 1552, and abolished for ever by Elizabeth I (she thought). The custom has been revived; at St Nicholas's Church, Tuxford, Nottinghamshire, on 6 December 2002, retired Bishop John Finney 'enthroned' 9-year-old Louis Maybe as boy bishop 'to help young people feel more included.' Louis Maybe handed his regalia on to 11-year-old Amanda Brewer the following year, making her the first girl bishop. – WHO

Badger's Moon – Peter Tremayne, St. Martin's Press, NY, 2003

Fidelma and Eadulf have a baby son now, but Fidelma is not completely happy. In fact, Eadulf has "a sneaking suspicion he may have more of the maternal instinct than she does." Perhaps it's just post-partum depression. Eadulf tries to sneak some St. John's wort to her, but nothing seems to work except a new mystery to solve. When one materializes, off they both go to solve it, leaving little Alchui in the care of his nurse. The mystery is a compelling and complicated one: an apparent madman, a literal lunatic, is murdering young girls at the time of the full moon. Suspicion falls on one, or all, of three strangers at the nearby abbey, where Fidelma and Eadulf are guests. In seventh century Ireland, they are strange indeed, coming from the Kingdom of Askum, which would appear to be modern Ethiopia. It's true that one or more of them has been prowling around at night. There is a lot of night-prowling going on here, including by our detectives. You would think that with a murderer on the loose, people would have sense enough to stay in.

Of course, there are other suspects, also on the prowl, but Fidelma will tie all the threads together and solve the mystery. Solving her personal problems is another matter. As usual in this series, there is a cliffhanger at the end.

Description The Widow's Tale – Margaret Frazer, Berkeley Prime Crime, NY, 2004

-m.s.

In this, we are getting closer to our period, the Wars of the Roses. It is 1449, and sides are already being drawn up. Dame Frevisse tires to stay out of these foolish quarrels, but an accident of birth makes this difficult if not impossible. She is cousin to the Duchess of Suffolk, whose husband is the power behind Henry VI's throne.

Though this situation may be at the back of Frevisse's mind, she is little troubled by it at first. Her more immediate problem is the care and management of a widow sent to the convent by her late husband's relatives to do "penance" for unspecified but presumably heinous sins. Frevisse feels sorry for her, but has to go along with the punishment being meted out, though she tries to ameliorate it. Then the widow, Christiana, is sent for to return to her home. Not because all is forgiven, not because her in-laws have had a change of heart - they are as greedy as ever. Whatever the reason, a pair of nuns is sent with her for propriety's sake, and Frevisse is one of them. There is more than just a family problem involved; politics rears its ugly head. As Frevisse's companion, Domina Elizabeth says, "Into what have we fallen?" (Even in her distress, the good sister is not going to end a sentence with a preposition!)

In a mystery novel, all that is really required is a mystery and a conflict, not necessarily physical. When the author can introduce a moral conflict as well, and make it interesting to the reader, this is certainly a plus. Ms. Frazer's novels are highly recommended. -m.s.

(By the way, one of the series (?) is listed as *A Play Of Isaac*, which I have not seen. Can anybody supply me with information about it?)

A Feast Of Poisons – C.L. Grace, St Martin's Press, NY, 2004

It's a generation later than Frevisse's time. Edward IV wears the crown, but not an untroubled one. The book opens in France, with the Spider King plotting against him: "One day they would recover the only French town held by the English, Calais, and drive a wedge between England and France's mortal enemy – the one great lord who threatened the unity of the kingdom, Charles of Burgundy."

At about the same time that King Louis' agents arrive in the village of Walmer in Kent (why there?), murder breaks out, seemingly unrelated. The local blacksmith and his wife, a somewhat contentious couple, have apparently poisoned each other, independently and almost simultaneously, with different poisons. To many of their follow villagers, this would seem a satisfactory ending – the biter bit, so to speak – but the local wise woman, Mother Croul, has serious doubts. She calls in Kathryn Swinbrooke, physician and apothecary, who is honeymooning nearby with her new husband Colum Murtagh. Reluctantly, Kathryn agrees to look into matters. A marital quarrel is ruled out when other villagers start dropping. What could the deaths of these relatively humble folks have to do with international intrigue? Could the death, years before, of the wife of Edward's agent have been a murder rather than an accident?

Not much in the way of moral dilemma here, but a rousing good adventure and mystery. Kathryn, like her sister sleuths, will tie all the threads together at the end. Warning: look for the least likely character, then think again. -.m.s.

SF is not fantasy; some kind of consistent rationale must prevail without the plot resorting to magic. For this reason writers such [as] Philip Pulman, Terry Pratchett and J K Rowling – though wonderful – are not regarded as practioniers of SF... The genre is .. prone to navel-gazing about what it is exactly. – WHO

One of the "Old Guard", Libby Haynes, has e-mailed with comments on a series of novels by R. Garcia y Robertson, *Knight Errant* (2002), *Lady Robyn* (2003) and *White Rose* (2004), all published by Tom Doherty Associates, NY. She describes them as:

following a modern young woman business executive transported back to Wales in 1459, who meets and falls in love with young Edward, Earl of March.

O.K., this sounds dreadful. But the characters are engaging, the events and actions are true to the historical record, the sights, sounds, and lives of the common people are most realistic...There is magic and witchcraft, love and war – altogether a fine read...no serious errors of historical fact. Can a gelding be a palfrey? Mode of address were a bit odd ...Duchess Bedford...Sir Grey...

These books will be listed under the G's for Garcia, at your local library or bookstore. The first one has been reviewed here a few months ago, but we are always happy to have more than one review of an interesting book. The others are awaiting review by one of you Gentle Readers.

Along those same lines as the above books, Libby is reminded of a novel by Harry Turtledove, *Guns Of The South*.

The picture on the cover is Robert E. Lee holding an AK-47. Unknown men in camouflage fatigues...offer an unlimited supply of AK-47s to the Confederate army... They hire a young soldier's wife, whom they presume to be illiterate, as a housekeeper; they all live in a simple wooden house that is delightfully cool inside. (It has a large metal box outside that hums and blows warm air.) The young woman finds a book on the shelf....The American Heritage History of the Civil War, which she realizes is reporting what happens in the future. She takes the book to General Lee...all is explained in the end. All of the 19th century people are real historical figures, including the named wives and camp followers.

This sounds interesting, and we (editorial we) would be pleased to have a review of this or any of its ilk. We also hope to hear more from Libby in the future – without resorting to time travel!

Royal Styles of Address: 'My Liege' until the assumption of Henry IV (1399) who was 'Your Grace'; Henry VI was 'Your Excellent Grace'; Edward IV 'Most High and Mighty Prince'; Henry VII Your Highness'; Henry VIII Your Majesty'; James I 'The King's Sacred Majesty'; Charles II 'your Most Excellent Majesty'; Queen Victoria Your Most Gracious Majesty, 'now returns to 'Sir' and 'Madam.' – WHAT

British Kings & Queens: The Complete Biographical Encyclopedia of the Kings and Queens of Great Britain – Mike Ashley, Barnes & Noble, 1998, 2000

First the bad news: On page 6, under "Youngest Monarchs to Die" the author says of Edward V: "One of the Princes in the Tower who was deposed by Richard III in June 1483 and murdered by his orders some ten weeks later...it is likely he was smothered."

And in the biography of that young monarch, he writes: "...the thorough research conducted by Allison Weir in her book *The Princes in the Tower* make (sic) it clear that the only person who could have been responsible for their deaths was Richard III." Oh, come on! Even some who agree with her have commented on her sloppy research and use of secondary sources. In the essay on

Richard III, he does add some faint praise. "...Richard was as conniving in his personal affairs as history dictates, but not necessarily any more conniving than many of his predecessors... viewed in the round, Richard was undoubtedly a worthy king...Richard was certainly not someone to have as either your friend or your enemy, but he was a better king than many who had come before him and many who would come after."

Mike Ashley's name may be familiar to readers as the editor or co-editor of a number of anthologies of historical fiction, e.g. *The Mammoth Book Of Historical Mysteries.* (The book being reviewed was originally called *The Mammoth Book Of British Kings & Queens.*) Mr. Ashley writes in a chatty and witty fashion, which may make the Ricardian reader, at least, wish he would include more editorial comment in his anthologies of fiction, and that he would stick to fiction.

Now the good news: This is just about as complete a list as is humanly possible to compile, from the legendary Brut to Elizabeth II. Although Brut himself is a figment of the imagination of Geoffrey of Monmouth, there may well have been an early ruler called this, since 'Brude' is the Pictish word for 'leader.' There are sidebars on the major pretenders, genealogical charts for allied rulers, e.g. of France and Scandinavia, a list of "Rulers who Never Were" (such as Henry VII's son Arthur, who 'never was' because he predeceased his father, but not Richard's son Edward), plus, as the jacket blurb tells us:

Biographical sketches of nearly 1000 kings and queens, including the legendary rulers

- Helpful line drawings, maps, family trees, time charts, and a royal book of records
- A gazetteer of 450 sites in Great Britain with strong royal connections
- An index of more than 1800 names of rulers, generals, bishops, conspirators, and many other historical figures.

Needless to say, all this information cannot be compressed into a very small space. At over 800 pages, this is hardly a pocket guide. But it is surely a bargain, as B & N is selling it for \$9.98. Even so, there are some things that Mr. Ashley omits that I would like to know. How ragged was Gurgust the Ragged? Why was Ivarr Boneless? How deep was the mind of Aud the Deep-minded? Inquiring (nosy) minds want to know.

One of Mr. Ashley's editorial ventures is *New Sherlock Holmes Adventures*, Castle Books, 2004, previously published by Carroll & Graf, 1997, with many new stories, one by Peter Tremayne (see abovd), but a complete listing of the canonical and major apocyphral short stories and novels. Light reading, but heavy lifting at 524 pages. -m.s.

One of the 'New Guard,' Joan Szechtman, checks in with a similar book, only not just about kings and queens. Welcome, Joan, and may this be the first of many reviews under your name.

Expert: Some suggest a derivation from x = the unknown quantity and spurt = a little drip. There do seem to be far too many 'experts' issuing 'good advice' these days; for example: 'don't dip your hands into boiling water'; it's a consequence of the compensation culture – WHAT

Medieval Lives – Terry Jones and Alan Ereira, BBC Books, 2004

This book was produced to accompany the BBC TV shows of the same name. Many of you will recognize Terry Jones from 'Monty Python' fame, and the prose maintains some of their delightful iconoclasm. When reading this book, one must be constantly on guard against slipping into reciting whole lines from Monty Python and the Holy Grail.

[DEAD PERSON: I'm not dead!]

Oh sorry, it just slipped out.

This book is divided into eight sections, each dealing with a class or occupation that ran rampant in medieval times: Peasant, Minstrel, Outlaw, Monk, Philosopher, Knight, Damsel, and King.

The book is not meant to be a scholarly study of the time from the Norman Conquest to shortly after Richard III (c. 1066-1500), but rather a setting of the record straight and a bit of an irreverent look at medieval life. It is also richly illustrated, with reproductions of paintings and illustrations. Of specific interest is the Windsor portrait of Richard III and the x-ray image beneath it.

[ARTHUR: Bloody peasant!

DENNIS: Oh, what a give-away. Did you hear that, did you hear that, eh? That's what I'm on about – did you see him repressing me, you saw it didn't you?]

It starts with debunking our misconceptions of how peasants lived and worked in that time. They didn't all live in hovels. The archeological evidence suggests houses of some substance, where most nuclear style families enjoyed some privacy and were not packed in a single room. While there were slaves then, they were in the minority, and most peasants were paid for their labor, usually in the form of land they could farm and had enough time in the week to work for themselves.

[ARTHUR: Well, I AM king...

DENNIS: Oh king, eh, very nice. An' how'd you get that, eh? By exploitin' the workers – by 'angin' on to our outdated imperialist dogma which perpetuates the economic an' social differences in our society! If there's ever going to be any progress—]

The last chapter, the Kings, continues to debunk the myths that surround many of the kings. Of particular interest for our little group are the three Richards. Or as Jones labels them, the Good, the Bad, and the Ugly. He proceeds to question how Richard I could have been a 'good' king, as he was, for the most part, an absentee king. Of the ten years he reigned as King of England, he spent all but six months out of the country crusading or imprisoned or on the lam.

Richard II suffered more from a bad reputation spun by his successor, Henry IV, (an illegal usurper) than he was a bad king. Henry, to elevate himself, went about destroying Richard II's reputation. Gosh, where have we heard that story?

He also treats Richard III fairly, pointing out his good governance, fair treatment of people, and attention to detail. Once again, a Henry set about to destroy a Richard's reputation. Here's a quote re: Richard III that I rather enjoyed:

All the evidence from Richard's own lifetime shows that he was not a tyrant. Almost the first thing he did on becoming king was to pay off L200 he owed to York wine merchants. Now there's a tyrant for you!

Jones indicates that Richard III most likely didn't murder the princes, but puts it down to Tudor propaganda. He further states that Henry had more motive to murder the princes than did Richard.

One last quote from this book: *Propaganda, thy name is history*.

I found this an enjoyable, if light, read, one that can easily be done in a weekend while still enjoying time with the family. In fact, the entire family might well enjoy this book. It's one that I'd recommend for everyone, but especially to encourage new victims – er, recruits in medieval studies. Despite the irreverent attitude of the book, it has an extensive bibliography and index.

—Joan Szechtman

Don't let it be yonks till I hear from you Gentle Readers. Yonks: A long period of time, supposedly derived from components of years, months, and weeks- WHAT

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George Rouse, of Englewood, Colorado and a member since 1998, passed away in June of 2004. We send our sympathies to his

wife and family.

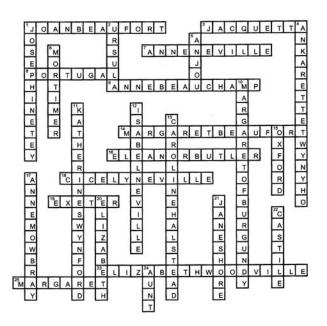


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