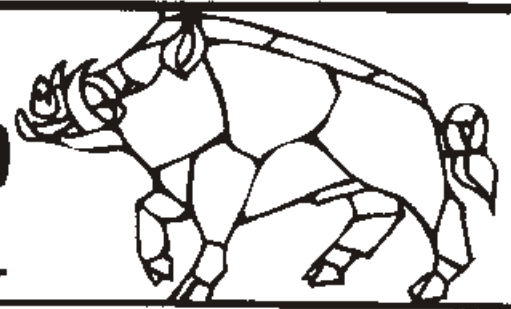


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In the belief that many features of the traditional accounts of the character and career of Richard III are neither supported by sufficient evidence nor reasonably tenable, the Society aims to promote in every possible way research into the life and 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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New Nonfiction Librarian, New Nonfiction Books

As I write this, the research library is making its way from Brad Verity in California to my home in North Carolina. Brad has done an excellent job as our research librarian, and he will be missed greatly. I thank the Board for allowing me to step into his shoes.

If you haven't checked the library listing on the website, please do! As well as old favorites like Paul Murray Kendall, we have newer books of Ricardian interest, including David Baldwin's biography of Elizabeth Woodville, Michael Hicks' book about Edward V, all five of Geoffrey Richardson's books, and one of my own favorites, *The Yorkists* by Anne Crawford.

Our newest acquisitions are Michael Prestwich's *Armies and Warfare in the Middle Ages* (courtesy of Laura Blanchard) and Annette Carson's *Richard the Third: The Maligned King*.

The library has copies of the *Ricardian* from the 1960's on, with only three issues missing (and we're trying to obtain those). We also have a wide collection of articles, including Peter D. Clarke's "English Royal Marriages and the Papal Penitentiary in the Fifteenth Century," which discusses Richard and Anne's recently discovered papal dispensation.

If there's a book you'd like to see in the library that we don't have, please let me know; it may be possible to obtain it. Donations are always welcome.

Susan Higginbotham

All Society business is handled on a volunteer basis, so the assistance of the membership is vigorously sought. Opportunities for volunteers are available in all areas, using many different kinds of talent.

Please inquire of any board member if you are able to assist with the work of the Society, or send an email to board@r3.org.

One special way you can contribute is to send items for publication in the newsletter, e.g. book reviews, articles of Ricardian interest, questions which may encourage feedback from other members; crossword puzzles, graphics, cartoons, etc. Our only exclusion is fiction—which we do not normally include in this publication.

*We
Need
Your
Help!*

"Gloucester's Dukedom is Too Ominous;" Some thoughts about Duke Humphrey, 1390-1447

Marion Davis

"Let me be Duke of Clarence, George of Gloucester/ For Gloucester's dukedom is too ominous," said Shakespeare's Richard to Edward IV after their victory at Towton.

In those two lines from the anachronistic Scene 6, Act II of *Henry VI, Part 3*, Shakespeare condensed ninety-eight years of history. Fast-thinking audience members might have remembered the deaths of two previous dukes of Gloucester.

Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester from 1385 to 1397, died in Richard II's custody. Many contemporaries held Richard II responsible for Gloucester's death. Humphrey, duke of Gloucester from 1414 to 1447, died five days after Henry VI's officials arrested him. Popular opinion held Henry VI's decision-makers responsible for Good Duke Humphrey's death. Richard, duke of Gloucester from 1461 to 1483, avoided dying in custody by taking charge of his nephew at Stony Stratford. After Duke Richard became Richard III, rumors blamed him for his nephews' deaths. The Tudor version of history repeated such rumors as if they were facts. Shakespeare dramatized the Tudor version for his contemporaries' entertainment.

As decades turned to centuries, Shakespeare's drama morphed into historical fact. English youth "took their history from Shakespeare." ⁽¹⁾ Prominent men, such as the first duke of Marlborough, were willing to admit that their beliefs about history "came from Shakespeare." ⁽²⁾ But twenty-first century playgoers are less likely to take their history from Shakespeare. Some — especially Ricardians — may ask questions that never occurred to earlier playgoers. What was ominous about Gloucester's dukedom? Was it really more ominous than Clarence's? Or York's? Would the historical Duke Richard and his contemporaries have considered Gloucester's dukedom exceptionally ominous?

In spite of gaps and ambiguities in surviving records, twentieth and early twenty-first century historians have described some remarkable variations on themes in the lives of the two fifteenth century dukes of Gloucester. Knowing what Duke Humphrey and Duke Richard had in common can enhance playgoers' and readers' appreciation of the interplay between historical events, drama, literature, and public opinion. Consideration of the similarities and differences in their lives can contribute to a more balanced understanding of Duke Richard's actions

while he was protector. With this understanding, playgoers and readers are better equipped to decide how ominous Gloucester's dukedom was.

Edward IV's sons were not the only princes who lived in the Tower. When Humphrey was nine years old, conspirators interrupted Henry IV's Christmas celebrations at Windsor. From Jan. 4, 1400 until the conspiracy was quelled, Humphrey and his brothers stayed in the Tower of London. This Christmas conspiracy was the first of several attacks on the new Lancastrian dynasty. Conspirators seem to have considered it necessary to eradicate the king's sons as well as the king. Lollards rebels planned to kill Humphrey and his brothers. ⁽³⁾ Apparently Henry IV's enemies had no qualms about killing 9- and 10-year-olds.

In 1403, Henry IV married Joan of Navarre. Humphrey's gift to his stepmother was a golden tablet. ⁽⁴⁾ Although negotiations for a double wedding — between Prince Henry and Katherine of Denmark and Prince Henry's sister Philippa and King Eric VII of Denmark — failed, Philippa married Eric VII in 1406. ⁽⁵⁾ The wedding escort that accompanied twelve-year-old Philippa to her embarkation at Lynn included Humphrey. ⁽⁶⁾

On August 21, 1406, Humphrey and his brother Thomas accompanied Henry IV on a visit to the abbey of Bardney, Lincolnshire. After attending mass, a procession, and a feast, Humphrey and his father visited the abbey's library. Although surviving records give little information about Humphrey's education, this library visit suggests that by age 15, Humphrey had developed a love of books and scholarship. Humphrey may have studied at Balliol College. His education may have been designed to qualify him for a church career, which may account for his relatively late emergence into public life at age 23. ⁽⁷⁾

Henry IV's death may have freed Humphrey to pursue a secular career. On May 7, 1413 he became Henry V's chamberlain, an office that placed him at the center of political action. Humphrey advanced steadily. On May 16, 1414, he became earl of Pembroke and duke of Gloucester, and his older brother, John, became earl of



Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester

Kendal and duke of Bedford. On the same day, Gloucester attended his first session of parliament, where suppression of Lollard heretics was discussed. During 1414, Gloucester and his brothers raised troops for war in France. In March 1415, Gloucester served on a delegation that raised a 10,000-mark loan from Londoners; other members of this delegation were Bedford, the duke of York, the archbishop of Canterbury, and Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester. In April 1415, Gloucester joined Henry V's council. ⁽⁸⁾

While war preparations continued, another conspiracy to kill Henry V and his brothers was developing. The earl of Cambridge, Lord Scrope of Masham, and Sir Thomas Grey of Heton, Northumberland failed to replace Henry V with the earl of March, because March reported their plot after they invited him to join. On July 31, 1415, Henry V ordered the conspirators' arrest. Grey's confession and execution was followed by the trial of Cambridge and Scrope. Thomas, duke of Clarence — one of the conspirators' targets — presided over a tribunal which included Gloucester—another target, March — an intended beneficiary, and York — brother of the conspirator, Cambridge. This tribunal condemned the conspirators to death, and they were executed at the Bargate of Southampton. The trial and execution was so irregular that it was considered necessary to legalize it in the next parliament. ⁽⁹⁾ Perhaps the pressure of the army's departure for France gave expedience priority over legal procedure. Less than a week after the executions, the army sailed to France.

Gloucester's contribution to the French war effort was considerable. Surviving records show that he received about 4,000 pounds to cover the expenses of 200 men-at-arms and 600 archers. Clarence contributed 240 men-at-arms; York, the earl of Dorset and earl of Arundel each contributed 100 men-at-arms and 300 archers. Included in Gloucester's 4,000 pounds was money to compensate soldiers for the profits they would not make because Henry V had forbidden looting. ⁽¹⁰⁾ Although Gloucester lacked his brothers' military experience, he demonstrated an aptitude for absorbing new ideas and using new technologies. Assigned to organize and direct the attack on the western side of Harfleur, Gloucester demonstrated exceptional understanding of military theory and its application to the use of cannon. At Harfleur, Gloucester also applied a new technique for protecting gunners taking aim: moveable shelters were lowered during shooting and raised afterwards. ⁽¹¹⁾ Gloucester's receptivity to new ideas and technologies was compatible with Henry V's: "Henry V was a man ready to experiment with the new and unusual." ⁽¹²⁾

Together they applied innovations in ways that contributed to victory.

After Harfleur surrendered on Sept. 22, 1415, fever and dysentery killed or disabled many English fighters. Illness forced Clarence to return to England with many of his troops. Apparently Gloucester escaped serious illness, but only 142 of his men-at-arms and 406 of his archers appeared on the roll from Agincourt. ⁽¹³⁾

At Agincourt, Gloucester displayed the "courage, bordering on rashness" which reappeared in other battles he fought for Henry V. ⁽¹⁴⁾ At the front of a charge that broke through the French army's first line, Gloucester advanced too far ahead of his troops. The duke of Alencon wounded Gloucester, but English soldiers held the French back while Gloucester was carried to safety. Gloucester's contemporaries didn't hold this mistake against him. One poet praised Gloucester's accomplishments before he encountered Alencon:

*The Duke of Glowcestre also that tyde/Manfully with
his mayne/ Wonder he wrought ...*⁽¹⁵⁾

John Lydgate also praised Gloucester's fighting skills:

*The Duke of Gloucester .../ That day full worthily he
wroughte/ On every side he made good way/ The
Frenshemen faste to ground he brought.*⁽¹⁶⁾

Some powerful French noblemen stayed away from Agincourt. John the Fearless, duke of Burgundy, forbade his son, Philip, count of Charolais, and all his other vassals to fight unless he was present to lead them. He and his troops never arrived at the battlefield. Unlike John the Fearless, Anthony, duke of Brabant, rushed to his death at Agincourt. Like Gloucester, Brabant moved too far ahead of his troops; but his courage crossed the border into rashness. He arrived at Agincourt without his retinue and fought in "a chamberlain's armour, a herald's tabard, and no helm." ⁽¹⁷⁾ Brabant's death gave his older brother, John the Fearless, an opportunity to extend his influence over Brabant and its new, thirteen-year-old duke, John IV.

Recovering from his Agincourt wounds at Calais, Gloucester was unable to share Henry V's welcome in England. But his return to London on Nov. 27, 1415 was soon followed by rewards for his service in France. Gloucester received manors from the attainted earl of Cambridge's estates; he also became constable of Dover, warden of the Cinque Ports, lord of the Isle of Wight, and lord of Carisbrooke. ⁽¹⁸⁾

In return for royal exemptions, the Cinque Ports owed the king free use of ships and crews under various circumstances. As warden of the Cinque Ports, Gloucester was responsible for providing ships to bring Holy

Roman Emperor Sigismund and his retinue from Calais to Dover for peace negotiations with Henry V. Before allowing Sigismund and his 1,000 men into England, Gloucester, as warden of the Cinque Ports and constable of Dover, performed a ceremony asserting England's independence of the Holy Roman Empire. While Sigismund waited on the ship, Gloucester rode into the sea with upraised sword. Between ship and shore, he asked whether Sigismund claimed imperial dominion over England. After renouncing imperial claims on England, Sigismund disembarked. Accompanied by the earl of Salisbury and other lords, Gloucester escorted Sigismund and his retinue to Canterbury, where they rested from May 2 to May 4, 1416. At Rochester, Bedford greeted the emperor's procession. At Dartford, Clarence led the welcoming ceremonies. At Blackheath, Henry V, accompanied by the mayor and aldermen of London, met the procession, which rode through London to Westminster. The feast of St. George had been postponed until Sigismund arrived. During this celebration, Sigismund, Gloucester, and one of Sigismund's vassals, William, count of Holland, Zeeland, and Hainault, joined the Order of the Garter. ⁽¹⁹⁾

In 1416, the dauphin of France was the count of Holland, Zeeland, and Hainault's son-in-law. At age five, the count's only child and heir, Jacqueline of Hainault, was married to John, duke of Touraine when his older brother, Louis, was dauphin. ⁽²⁰⁾ Count William's presence was intended to advance peace negotiations, but the emperor damaged his peace plans by refusing to confirm Jacqueline of Hainault's right to inherit her father's lands. Enraged by the emperor's refusal, Count William left England. Despite this incident, Henry V and Sigismund signed an alliance at Canterbury on August 15, 1416. When Sigismund left England, Gloucester commanded a fleet that protected the emperor's ships from French attack. ⁽²¹⁾

Negotiations between Henry V and John the Fearless followed Sigismund's departure. These negotiations were intended to make an Anglo-Burgundian alliance, which would strengthen England's links with the Holy Roman Empire as well. While Henry V negotiated with John the Fearless at Calais, Gloucester and his retinue of 800 men served as hostages in St. Omer. On October 5, 1416, Englishmen and Burgundians performed a ceremony near Gravelines in the River Aa. Gloucester and his 800 men faced John the Fearless and his men from opposite sides of the river. After the Burgundians signed and sealed guarantees for Gloucester's safety, the retinues crossed the river. Then the dukes rode into the river, "shook hands in midstream" and completed their crossings. ⁽²²⁾ The earl of Warwick escorted John the

Fearless to Calais, and Charolais escorted Gloucester to St. Omer.

Apparently these negotiations failed. "Mutual suspicion and mystery surrounded this conference at this time, and the mystery remains." ⁽²³⁾ Contemporaries didn't learn the results of Henry V's meeting with John the Fearless, and later historians disagree on the outcome. While Henry V and John the Fearless were meeting in Calais, Gloucester may have been contributing to mutual ill-will at St. Omer. Gloucester had favored an Anglo-Armagnac alliance over an Anglo-Burgundian alliance, and he may have disliked his assignment as hostage for Burgundy's duke. If claims that Gloucester was rude to Charolais were true, this encounter at St. Omer may have originated the animosity that permeated their later interactions. On October 13, 1416, Gloucester and John the Fearless reversed the river-crossing ceremony. ⁽²⁴⁾

Fifteenth century England had no monopoly on predatory uncles. During 1416, John the Fearless had been attempting to take control of the duchy of Brabant, adjoining the Burgundian county of Flanders. As uncle of John IV, thirteen-year-old heir to the duchy, John the Fearless tried to make himself John IV's guardian, but the Three Estates of Brabant blocked his attempts. Most Brabanters feared absorption into Burgundy, and city-dwellers were especially opposed to John the Fearless' guardianship. ⁽²⁵⁾

Two deaths in 1417 made Jacqueline of Hainault a target of her uncle John the Fearless' expansion plans. She was the only child of John the Fearless' sister, Margaret, and William, count of Holland, Zeeland, and Hainault. Married to John, duke of Touraine, at age five, she and her husband grew up in her mother's household, under John the Fearless' influence. The young couple was still living there when the dauphin Louis, duke of Guienne, died on Dec. 18, 1415. For a year and four months, Jacqueline of



Jacqueline of Hainault

Hainault's husband was dauphin, but she was widowed on April 4, 1417. Eight weeks later, her father also died. ⁽²⁶⁾

As a sixteen-year-old widow, Jacqueline of Hainault was caught between two power- and land-hungry uncles. Her paternal uncle was John of Bavaria. Although he was never confirmed as bishop of Liege, he fought for the title until Count William's death. Then, with Emperor Sigismund's support, he dropped his claim in order to disinherit Jacqueline of Hainault. ⁽²⁷⁾ Sigismund had opposed John the Fearless' expansion in the Low Countries, and this opposition may have motivated his refusal to confirm Jacqueline of Hainault's inheritance rights during the 1416 negotiations in England.

Her maternal uncle and mother pressured Jacqueline of Hainault into marrying the new duke of Brabant. This marriage of cousins was intended to unify Jacqueline of Hainault's lands with the lands of Brabant. Instead of unity, the marriage resulted in war. The betrothal of Jacqueline of Hainault with Brabant was announced in August 1417, and Pope Martin V issued dispensations on December 17, 1417. Under pressure from Emperor Sigismund, Martin V cancelled these dispensations on January 5, 1418. Despite the pope's tergiversations, Jacqueline of Hainault married Brabant at Easter 1418. During this interval, Jacqueline of Hainault's paternal uncle, John of Bavaria, had set her inheritance "ablaze with civil war." ⁽²⁸⁾

In England, plans for another campaign in France followed Henry V's 1416 meeting with John the Fearless. Like many Englishmen who had contributed to the war effort, Gloucester experienced difficulties in obtaining reimbursement from the exchequer. Perhaps the exchequer's failure to pay its debt to Gloucester reduced the size of his retinue; on August 1, 1417, he arrived in France with only 90 men-at-arms and 266 archers. ⁽²⁹⁾

Bedford served as regent while Henry V, Clarence, and Gloucester fought in France. Clarence was constable of Henry V's army. Gloucester was chief of Henry V's advance guard. Gloucester's cannons contributed to an efficient conquest of the Castle of Toques on August 9, 1417. In the campaigns of 1417-1418, Gloucester continued to demonstrate the combination of theoretical and practical skills that made him effective in 1415. Although he was sometimes careless of his own safety, Gloucester was considerate of his troops; and they respected his courage and military skills. His contributions to victory at Caen earned Gloucester the command of an independent expedition against Bayeux in September 1417. On September 19, Henry V authorized Gloucester to negotiate the surrender of Bayeux, which occurred on September 23. After capturing the nearby

town of Lisieux, Gloucester rejoined Henry V at the siege of Alencon, which surrendered on October 24, 1417. Henry V made Gloucester captain of Alencon, but Gloucester delegated his office to a subordinate and accompanied Henry V to Falaise. At the siege of Falaise, Gloucester applied techniques which speeded victory and eased his troops' hardships. Wooden shelters protected ramparts, ditches and palisades, as well as gunners. Henry V established a reliable food supply by setting up a market for his army. On February 16, 1418, Henry V took possession of Falaise and its castle. ⁽³⁰⁾

Gloucester's contributions to this victory earned him a commission giving him precedence over all others' commissions. He was authorized to take possession of all towns and forts in Normandy; accept all submissions to Henry V; restore lands and possessions to all who submitted to Henry V; issue ordinances for the government of his troops; punish violations of his commands; collect tribute for Henry V on the Cotentin peninsula. ⁽³¹⁾

Gloucester carried out his commission with courage and skill. Between February 21 and March 12, 1418, his troops captured thirty-two castles on the Cotentin peninsula with little loss of life. The siege of Cherbourg, located at the edge of the peninsula, was one of the war's most difficult. The English Channel protected the northern side of Cherbourg, and the Divette River protected the southern side. Part of the river was diverted into a moat, which protected the rest of the town walls. Cherbourg Castle had sixteen towers and a double wall. A thick stone rampart supported castellated forts filled with artillery. Cherbourg was well-supplied, and its defenders were confident that they could outlast the English siege. The flat treeless land surrounding Cherbourg offered neither support for cannons nor shelter for troops. Floods and sandstorms added to the besiegers' difficulties. ⁽³²⁾

Gloucester solved these problems: he brought in a fleet of English ships from the islands of Jersey and Guernsey to cut off supplies from the sea; he cut off all access to Cherbourg on land; he sent one third of his troops to bring trees and brushwood from distant woods for a rampart, which was constructed at night. Realizing that the siege would not end quickly, Gloucester applied the methods that had worked well at Falaise: he ordered the construction of strong wooden shelters; he established a market which provided a reliable food supply. As time passed, Gloucester's troops moved their wooden shelters closer to Cherbourg's walls. At the same time they dug ditches toward the moat. When the earl of March arrived with 2,000 reinforcements, Gloucester tried a direct attack. Although this failed, the siege continued. After five months, Cherbourg's officials requested negotiations.

Gloucester demanded unconditional surrender. On August 23, 1418, Cherbourg's captain agreed to surrender on September 29 if the French didn't send aid. Between August 23 and September 29, Gloucester's troops strengthened their defenses, moved their market to a safer location, and welcomed 2,000 troops from western England. On St. Michael's Day, 1418, Gloucester took control of Cherbourg and its castle for Henry V. He was merciful to Cherbourg's citizens and soldiers. His conduct of the siege validated Henry V's decision to increase his responsibilities and authority. ⁽³³⁾

While Gloucester was fighting for Henry V in France, their uncle, Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, was supposed to be representing Henry V's diplomatic interests at the Council of Constance. After serving as Henry V's chancellor from the beginning of the reign and making exceptionally large loans in support of the campaigns in France, the bishop exchanged the chancellorship for a pilgrim's role. But the bishop was not exchanging political involvement for religious detachment. His mission was to "lead the English diplomatic offensive, parallel to Henry's military one." ⁽³⁴⁾

The English delegation to the Council of Constance was in a position to end a stalemate. By shifting its support from its ally, Sigismund — who advocated church reforms before holding a papal election — to the council members who wanted to elect a new pope before struggling with badly needed church reforms, the English delegation hoped to install a pope favorable to English interests in France. On July 18, 1417, Henry V ordered the English delegation to reverse its priorities from church reform to a papal election; on the same day, the bishop of Winchester announced his pilgrimage to the Holy Land. At Constance, the English delegation proposed inviting the bishop to the negotiations. This proposal was accepted, and Sigismund himself, accompanied by four cardinals, welcomed Henry Beaufort to the council. Beaufort's influence contributed to a face-saving compromise with Sigismund. In November 1417, a new pope was elected. Contemporary observers commented on the exceptional unanimity displayed by the English delegation; all six members voted for a neutral candidate, Odo Colonna, an Italian, who chose the name Martin V. ⁽³⁵⁾

Several conflicts of interest prevented the new pope and his English supporters from achieving their goals harmoniously. Martin V needed to restore papal authority, lost during the Great Schism, when popes fought anti-popes. He also needed to reclaim political and financial independence. This meant reclaiming papal authority to fill vacancies in profitable church offices and tax both clergy and laymen throughout Europe. Martin

V's objectives clashed with long-cherished English independence. Englishmen believed their cathedrals' local officials had a traditional right to elect their own bishops. (Similar beliefs may have driven the citizens of Liege to resist Jacqueline of Hainault's uncle, John of Bavaria, as their bishop.) During the popes' residence at Avignon, French interests had appeared to dominate papal decisions; this strengthened English determination to appoint bishops who would defend English interests at home and abroad. ⁽³⁶⁾

During the fourteenth century, Parliament passed three laws intended to prevent foreign church officials from undermining English rights and interests. These were the 1351 Statute of Provisors, the 1353 Statute of *Praemunire* and the 1393 Great Statute of *Praemunire*. This set of laws authorized the king to imprison any church official imposed by the pope in an English church vacancy over local officials' objections. Under some conditions, it allowed the king to fill church vacancies. It forbade English church officials to appeal their disputes in papal courts. It even forbade messengers to carry papal documents concerning church vacancies into or around England. As applied in the fifteenth century, these three laws enabled Henry V to fill English church vacancies with clergy he trusted to uphold English interests. ⁽³⁷⁾

Martin V's interests conflicted with Henry V's local and international interests. Within a month of being elected, Martin V activated these conflicts by including the bishop of Winchester, Henry V's uncle and former chancellor, in the first group of promotions to the rank of cardinal — without consulting Henry V. Martin V may, or may not, have been deliberately testing Henry V's determination to maintain the independence of the English church. Either he was unaware of or unconcerned by the strength of English determination to preserve the independence developed during decades of papal misgovernment. ⁽³⁸⁾

Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, may have misled Martin V about English intentions. He was unlikely to have misunderstood the conflicts being activated when he accepted the cardinalate without consulting Henry V; he had nineteen years of administrative and diplomatic experience during which he had proved himself exceptionally skillful at finance and conflict-management. Overconfidence may have caused the bishop to overestimate his ability to manage the conflicts activated by the unprecedented terms of his new appointment. His promotion was more than a reward for supporting Martin V's election to the papacy. The papal bull that made Henry Beaufort a cardinal was "a manifesto, the outline of a papal program, the bearing of which was not lost on

Henry V when he came to see it.”⁽³⁹⁾ Issued on December 18, 1417, this bull made Beaufort the pope’s personal legate for life in England, Wales, Ireland and Lancastrian France. The imprecise phrasing of this bull created many opportunities for conflict between the allegiance Beaufort owed Martin V and Henry V; the bull described the new cardinal as legate “with full power” without defining any limits to that power.⁽⁴⁰⁾

Beaufort’s vaguely-defined authority was granted at the archbishop of Canterbury’s expense. After the archbishop learned about it, he sent Henry V a detailed letter, dated March 6, 1418, defining the political and financial threats to English Christians. Archbishop Chichele emphasized the unprecedented character of Beaufort’s appointment. Earlier documents showed that previous personal legates were authorized to deal only with exceptional, clearly-defined situations; previous authorizations defined time limits as well as limits on the legates’ powers.⁽⁴¹⁾ None of these limits were defined in the bull that made Beaufort Martin V’s legate.

Further conflict was created by a second unprecedented bull issued for Beaufort’s benefit. This bull exempted him from a long-standing convention that cardinals lived and worked at the papal court and “did not act as bishops in their own countries.”⁽⁴²⁾ Instead of vacating the see of Winchester so that Henry V could appoint a new bishop, Beaufort accepted a declatory bull that allowed him to retake the see from the pope and collect its revenues for the rest of his life. As bishop of Winchester, Beaufort had worked under Archbishop Chichele’s jurisdiction, but as the pope’s special appointee, he was exempted from the archbishop’s authority. Chichele ended his letter to Henry V with a request for the king to defend his people from unprecedented papal interference and tax burdens, threatened by the bulls Martin V had issued for Beaufort.⁽⁴³⁾

In February 1418, at Caen, Henry V received the announcement that Martin V was the new pope. Apparently Henry Beaufort had failed to inform his king that Martin V had made him both cardinal legate and bishop of Winchester for life.⁽⁴⁴⁾ Somehow Henry V learned about his uncle’s promotion between the arrival of Martin V’s announcement and Archbishop Chichele’s letter of March 6, 1418. According to Gloucester, Henry V said “that he had as lief set his crown beside him as see [Henry Beaufort] wear a cardinal’s hat.”⁽⁴⁵⁾ The former chancellor’s “apparent readiness to serve Martin V” cost him Henry V’s good will.⁽⁴⁶⁾ Henry V had trusted his uncle to promote England’s interests, but he had given self-interest priority once he’d gained Martin V’s favor. Without informing Henry V, Beaufort had accepted

unprecedented benefits from the pope in return for unprecedented authority to further papal interests at England’s expense. This “fait accompli was not a wise trick to play on [Henry V].”⁽⁴⁷⁾

Henry Beaufort’s behavior between November 1417 and October 1418 was remarkable. Apparently unconcerned about Henry V’s reaction to his agreement with Martin V, he resumed his pilgrimage to the Holy Land in March 1418. While Gloucester and his troops besieged Cherbourg, Henry Beaufort enjoyed the doge’s hospitality in Venice. Rumors claimed that Beaufort’s retinue was carrying gold and jewels worth 7,500 pounds. Evidence that Beaufort hired a heavily armed galley for his voyage from Venice to the Holy Land suggests the rumors may have been true.⁽⁴⁸⁾ If he had brought this much of his wealth with him, Beaufort may have left England with plans to advance his own interests abroad.

On September 10, 1418, three weeks before Gloucester received Cherbourg’s unconditional surrender, Beaufort and his retinue returned to Venice. By October 1418, they had rejoined Martin V’s court at Mantua, Italy. At this point, Beaufort seems to have been forced to consider Henry V’s authority. In response to Henry V’s objections, Martin V had delayed publishing Beaufort’s appointment, and Beaufort was not seated with the cardinals. His decision to risk a winter crossing of the Alps in order to explain his actions to Henry V suggests a drop in his self-confidence level. Beaufort left Mantua on December 2, 1418, arrived at Calais in late February 1419, and met with Henry V at Rouen on March 3, 1419.⁽⁴⁹⁾

At their meeting, Henry V showed his uncle how deeply he resented his agreement with Martin V. Henry V had decided to prosecute Beaufort for breaking the Statute of Provisors and Statutes of *Praemunire* if he publicized his promotion or attempted to represent papal interests in England. Beaufort knew he could not win this legal confrontation. In public, Beaufort took part in negotiations for Henry V’s conference with Charles VI and John the Fearless at Meulan; he also attended this conference on May 30, 1419. In private, the king and his uncle negotiated low-profile ways for Beaufort to forfeit his offices and wealth. “The fact that he had so much of his moveable wealth with him was perhaps not without a bearing upon his subsequent negotiations with his king.”⁽⁵⁰⁾ Before returning to England in August 1419, Beaufort made a “binding promise” not to publish his papal bulls.⁽⁵¹⁾

In England, Thomas Chaucer was assigned to keep Beaufort under surveillance. Chaucer’s detailed description of Beaufort’s conduct, dated March 20, 1420, has

survived. This description includes Chaucer's request for permission to present his observations to Henry V in person. Chaucer had learned that Beaufort had somehow obtained a new copy of his papal bull. Although Beaufort claimed to be planning another pilgrimage — to Santiago de Compostela — Chaucer feared those plans disguised another plot. "Beaufort at times employed the word 'pilgrimage' loosely, not to say euphemistically. It was as a 'pilgrim' that he found himself conveniently near Constance in 1417" ⁽⁵²⁾ Apparently Beaufort had stored some of his wealth where Henry V's officials couldn't confiscate it, because negotiations about his surrender of property and offices continued. ⁽⁵³⁾ For over two years Henry V restrained his anger at his uncle's evasions and refrained from public action against him.

Money shortages may have contributed to Henry V's restraint. While continuing negotiations and surveillance of his uncle, Henry V authorized a revenue-raising scheme that tarnished his record. In autumn of 1419, the king's council confiscated the widowed Joan of Navarre's property on charges of treason, sorcery, and necromancy. Her dowry alone added 10,000 marks per year to government revenues. Other properties taken from Queen Joan contributed a ten percent increase in the government's income. ⁽⁵⁴⁾

Despite the seriousness of the charges against her, Queen Joan never endured public trial or punishment. She did spend nearly three years in custody. After moving her from place to place for several months, her custodians held her at Leeds Castle, Kent for another two years. Surviving account books show that her living conditions were comfortable. She was allowed to receive visitors: the archbishop of Canterbury, bishop of Winchester, duke of Gloucester, and Lord Camoys — all visited her in custody. In order to offer hospitality to such high-ranking visitors, Queen Joan needed an adequate support staff; hers included at least nineteen grooms and seven pages. Such lenient treatment "would have been a curious policy if it had been really believed and proved that she had been practicing witchcraft in a dangerous manner." ⁽⁵⁵⁾

Queen Joan's confessor, Friar Randolph, accused of involving her in the plot to kill Henry V, received harsher treatment. After interrogation in Normandy, he spent nearly ten years in the Tower, where a mad priest was said to have killed him in a brawl. ⁽⁵⁶⁾ This death raises questions: Why was security in the Tower lax enough to allow a fatal brawl to occur? If the priest was visibly insane, why was he allowed access to the Tower? If he wasn't visibly insane, how could anyone know he was insane when he killed Friar Randolph? Was this

insane priest part of the resident Tower community, or was he admitted for a special purpose? Did the constable of the Tower turn the keys over to this mad priest for a night?

During the winter of 1419-1420 Chaucer observed troubling signs that Beaufort was plotting rather than keeping his promise to the king. While meeting with an unnamed nobleman, Beaufort had shown him the copy of his papal bull. This person had offered to speak to Henry V on Beaufort's behalf. This person may have been Bedford; few others were in a position to ask Henry V to modify his decisions, and Bedford supported Beaufort's promotion to a cardinalate after Henry V's death. ⁽⁵⁷⁾ Another sign of plotting was Beaufort's refusal to attend Henry V's wedding at Troyes. Despite his involvement in wedding preparations at Southampton, Beaufort claimed that his pilgrimage vow prevented him from attending the wedding, and he stayed in England. ⁽⁵⁸⁾

Apparently Henry V's need for money allowed Beaufort to escape the most serious consequences of his evasions and plots. In autumn 1420, the bishop of London may have carried Beaufort's formal renunciation of his promotion to Martin V. "His formal restoration to the king's grace, and Henry's care not to publicize his humiliation thus opened the road to future service. Only a handful knew what had happened ... probably the king's lieutenants in England, during 1419-20, John, duke of Bedford and Humphrey, duke of Gloucester." ⁽⁵⁹⁾

One service Beaufort soon performed was a major loan. Although the exchequer still owed him 8,300 pounds, he agreed to lend another 17,667 pounds for the upcoming campaign in France. On May 6, 1421, the loan was finalized. This committed 25,967 pounds of Beaufort's wealth to Henry V's government. In return, Beaufort was assigned part of Southampton's future customs revenues as repayment and the Great Crown of England as security. By allowing Beaufort to continue as bishop of Winchester, Henry V retained his financial talents as well as funding for the French war. ⁽⁶⁰⁾

While negotiating with his uncle, Henry V had continued to advance his interests in France. In November 1418, Gloucester had brought 3,000 men from Cherbourg to Rouen. Henry V gave Gloucester and his troops a dangerous and important assignment. At Porte St. Hilaire, Gloucester maintained his reputation for reckless bravery. His troops repelled frequent French sorties. Gloucester exposed himself to fire and camped nearer to the walls than other soldiers. Rouen surrendered on January 19, 1419. Henry V made Gloucester captain of Rouen. Together they set up the English government in Normandy. ⁽⁶¹⁾

During 1419, Henry V made time for marriage negotiations. He gave Bedford and Gloucester permission to negotiate marriages with continental nobility. Bedford may have considered marrying Jacqueline of Hainault, in spite of her entanglement with Brabant. ⁽⁶²⁾ The status of that marriage was uncertain until May 1419, when Martin V again reversed himself and issued a new dispensation. Gloucester negotiated with Charles III of Navarre for a marriage with his heiress Blanche. Neither Bedford nor Gloucester concluded marriage contracts. Henry V's marriage negotiations — conducted by a delegation that included Gloucester, Clarence, the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Winchester, and the duke of Exeter — were also inconclusive. ⁽⁶³⁾

After contributing to the siege of Meulan — which surrendered on October 31, 1419 — Gloucester exchanged places with Bedford in November. Gloucester's commission, dated December 30, 1419, authorized him to govern in all matters “with the assent of and after deliberation by the council, and not otherwise.” ⁽⁶⁴⁾ As Henry V's regent, Gloucester demonstrated a receptivity to new social trends that was consistent with his receptivity to military innovations. England's merchant adventurers were prospering. Their ability to make large loans to Henry V's government increased their political influence. Gloucester understood and appreciated the value of their support. He became very popular in London; but this popularity may have cost him support among conservative noblemen, who disagreed with his views. ⁽⁶⁵⁾

Gloucester's regency was uneventful. His duties were both ceremonial and administrative. On June 2, 1420 Henry V and Katherine of France married at the church of St. John in Troyes. On June 14, 1420, Gloucester signed a warrant for the proclamation of the Treaty of Troyes, which was read at St. Paul's Cross. Londoners celebrated the king's marriage with a procession. On December 2, Gloucester opened Parliament. Englishmen had become dissatisfied with Henry V's long absences in France; they wanted him to give more of his energies and attention to England. Parliament petitioned Gloucester to request that Henry V and Queen Katherine return to England. Gloucester agreed to Parliament's request. ⁽⁶⁶⁾

In February 1421, Henry V and Queen Katherine returned to England. On February 23, Katherine was crowned at Westminster. As chamberlain of England, Gloucester supervised the coronation feast, which favorably impressed his contemporaries with its display of ancient learning. ⁽⁶⁷⁾ After the coronation, Henry V and Queen Katherine visited several shrines. Bad news interrupted their tour in early April. Clarence had been

killed in a raid at Bauge. Like the duke of Brabant at Agincourt, Clarence had ridden too far ahead of his main force, and Franco-Scottish troops had overwhelmed his small band. ⁽⁶⁸⁾

After visiting the shrines, Henry V prepared for the next campaign in France. During these preparations, Jacqueline of Hainault arrived in England. As warden of the Cinque Ports, Gloucester officially welcomed her. Henry V's welcome included a generous pension of 100 pounds per month as long as she remained in England. ⁽⁶⁹⁾ Apparently Henry V was planning a long stay for the embattled countess. Her second husband, Brabant, had not lived up to his responsibilities. Instead of earning her subjects' respect, he had offended them; instead of respecting his wife, he had inflicted a series of insults on her. Worst of all, he had mortgaged Holland and Zeeland to Jacqueline of Hainault's predatory uncle, John of Bavaria. In April 1420, Margaret of Burgundy had withdrawn her support for her son-in-law and escorted her daughter out of Brussels. ⁽⁷⁰⁾ After Philip the Good, now duke of Burgundy, failed to reconcile his estranged cousins, Jacqueline of Hainault escaped to England with Henry V's assistance. Surviving letters suggest that Henry V believed a marriage between the countess of Hainault and Gloucester would strengthen England's position on the continent. ⁽⁷¹⁾

If Henry V intended for Gloucester to marry the countess, he delayed this plan in favor of war preparations. As warden of the Cinque Ports, Gloucester was responsible for their fifty-seven troop transport ships. He was also responsible for his own retinue of 400 men. During the 1421 campaign, Gloucester continued to justify Henry V's confidence in him; while Henry V was in Paris, Gloucester commanded the English army. After Henry V's return, Gloucester was chosen to command the siege of Dreux, which surrendered on August 20, 1421. ⁽⁷²⁾

On December 6, 1421, Henry V's heir was born at Windsor. Prince Henry's godfathers were Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, and John, duke of Bedford. His godmother was Jacqueline of Hainault. ⁽⁷³⁾ This remarkable choice of godmothers raises questions: What motivated Henry V to give Jacqueline of Hainault precedence over appropriate English noblewomen? What did Henry V expect to gain by honoring his pensioner instead of an English noblewoman? How did English noblewomen feel about the selection of a Hainault exile for this honor? Could Jacqueline of Hainault fulfill a godmother's duties on a pension of 100 pounds per month? Was she expected to increase her income with an influential marriage in the near future? Was her intended husband Gloucester?

In March 1422, Gloucester exchanged posts with Bedford again. In May 1422, Bedford escorted Queen Katherine back to Henry V. Between Whitsun and Corpus Christi, Henry V and Queen Katherine stayed in Paris. On his way to assist Philip the Good against the French near Bourges, Henry V was struck by his final illness. ⁽⁷⁴⁾

During his last weeks, Henry V was able to issue administrative orders. One of his orders expressed regret for depriving his stepmother, Queen Joan, of her freedom and property. An entry in the parliamentary roll described this injustice as: "... a charge unto oure conscience for to occupie forth longer the said Douair in this wise, the which charge we be avised no longer to ber in our conscience...." ⁽⁷⁵⁾ Although no evidence of a formal acquittal has been found, evidence of compensation for her confiscated properties exists, and Queen Joan seems to have passed her remaining years in freedom. ⁽⁷⁶⁾

On August 26, 1422, Henry V added ten codicils to the will he'd made at Dover on June 10, 1421. ⁽⁷⁷⁾ On August 31, 1422, he died. Unfortunately, his will was not executed as effectively as his order for Queen Joan's rehabilitation. Money shortages delayed

the execution of his instructions for repayment of his debts. As late as 1442, some of his creditors were still waiting for repayment. After Henry V's feoffees took over from his executors in 1429, they lent Henry VI's government 52,500 pounds instead of repaying Henry V's creditors; these loans prolonged the "discharge of Henry V's will far beyond what Henry V could have contemplated." ⁽⁷⁸⁾ Feoffees' loans to the crown formed an extension of the bishop of Winchester's influence, "being negotiated in his name on securities of his choice, and for purposes of which he approved, providing Beaufort with a virtual monopoly of the credit available to the crown" between 1429-1439. ⁽⁷⁹⁾

The Good Duke Humphrey

To dine with Duke Humphrey.

To have no dinner

Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, son of Henry IV., was renowned for his hospitality. At death it was reported that a monument would be erected to him in St. Paul's, but his body was interred at St. Albans.

When the promenaders left for dinner, the poor stay-behinds who had no dinner used to say to the gay sparks who asked if they were going, that they would stay a little longer and look for the monument of the "good duke."

Henry V's intentions for Gloucester were not fulfilled. A surviving copy of his will shows that Henry V granted Gloucester "*the tutelam et defensionem nostri carissimi filii principales*," whatever that phrase may have meant. ... It is therefore now certain that in the codicils Henry granted Gloucester the principal tutorship and defense of the prince's inheritance (the basis of his claim in parliament to the 'gouvernaunce' of the realm which the lords rejected implicitly in 1422, explicitly in 1427), and to Exeter his upbringing and education and the choice of his personal servants." ⁽⁸⁰⁾

Despite Henry V's codicils, conflict over Gloucester's status in Henry VI's minority government persisted. "Henry's wishes in respect of England depend on the interpretation placed on the phrase '*the tutelam et defensionem nostri carissimi filii principales*.' In 1427 the Lords claimed that the government of the kingdom after his death was a matter on which he had no right to dictate, for 'the Kyng that ded ys, in his lyf ne might by his last will nor otherwise alter, change nor abrage with out thassent of the thre Estates, nor committe or graunte to any persone, gouvernaunce or rule of this land lenger thane he lyved.' It is not clear whether their rejection of the implications of the Roman law concept of the tutela was merely a convenient argument to counter Gloucester's claims to the regency or whether it had a basis in constitutional law and precedent." ⁽⁸¹⁾

Although the lords' motives for denying Gloucester regency powers are not clear, the consequences of their denial were clearly disruptive. Gloucester never accepted the decision to override Henry V's will. Throughout the remainder of his life, Gloucester—with little support from other nobles—conducted outspoken campaigns against violations of Henry V's will. ⁽⁸²⁾ The fact that Gloucester was straightforward about claiming the power granted him by Henry V's will did not make his opponents' assertion of conciliar authority disinterested or impartial.

Most lords and commoners believed that unity would serve their interests best, and they tried to prevent factional conflicts. "Under these circumstances ... the attribution of authority to the infant king was the obvious, indeed inescapable, solution, [which] in turn necessitated the ambiguous council." ⁽⁸³⁾ The ambiguity of the council resulted from the infant king's inability to exercise royal authority. During the minority, some form of adult representation had to exercise royal authority without violating the limits appropriate to subjects.

In their ceremonies, government officials went to great lengths to emphasize that royal authority existed only in the king, whatever his age. When Henry VI was just nine months and three weeks old, Henry V's

chancellor delivered the great seal of England to Gloucester in Henry VI's bedchamber at Windsor; Gloucester then handed the great seal to Henry VI's keeper of the rolls of chancery for safekeeping. At age one year and eleven months, Henry VI attended the opening of parliament with his mother. At age two and a half, Henry VI transferred the great seal to his great-uncle and godfather, Henry Beaufort, when he became Henry VI's chancellor of England. Such ceremonies were considered necessary to demonstrate that the person and office of the king were inseparable and that no subject could substitute for him. ⁽⁸⁴⁾

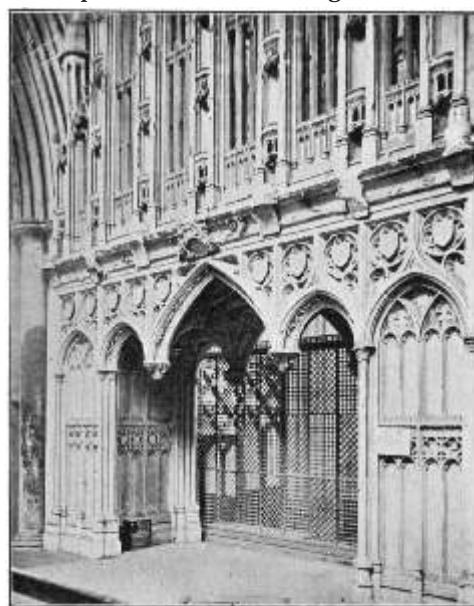
Unfortunately, well-intentioned ceremonies couldn't resolve "the paradox in the idea of the undying king, when the monarch himself was incapable of ruling." ⁽⁸⁵⁾ The conflict between individual regency and corporate representation of the infant Henry VI's authority set Gloucester and his few supporters against Bedford, Beaufort, and most other lords. Beaufort's behind-the-scenes influence may have reinforced Bedford's determination to confirm his position in England while his position in France was uncertain. ⁽⁸⁶⁾ Bedford sent a letter, dated October 26, 1422, to the mayor and aldermen of London claiming that laws and ancient customs took priority over Henry V's will; as elder surviving uncle and heir apparent, Bedford asserted that he should have the authority Henry V's will had bequeathed Gloucester, emphasizing his belief that Henry V had not intended to infringe Bedford's inheritance rights in any way. ⁽⁸⁷⁾ Bedford's letter seems to have evaporated any remaining support for Gloucester's claim. ⁽⁸⁸⁾

As debate over the exercise of royal authority accelerated, Beaufort or his on-stage allies may have persuaded the Commons that honoring Henry V's intentions for Gloucester would threaten their rights and freedoms. The duke of Exeter and earls of March and Warwick—who had been present when Henry V died—led the opposition to Gloucester's regency claim. ⁽⁸⁹⁾ Gloucester's opponents were creating a consensus in favor of conciliar exercise of royal authority while Henry VI was a minor. In theory, authority to govern England existed in Henry VI, regardless of his age; in practice, Henry VI's authority was exercised by parliament, great councils, and the king's on-going council, which added decision-making to its normal advisory function. ⁽⁹⁰⁾

Although most support for his regency had evaporated after Bedford's letter arrived, Gloucester pursued his claim. In a November 5, 1422 meeting at Westminster, he questioned limits in his commission to open parliament. The consensus at this meeting was that "in view of the king's age and for the duke's and their own future security" the limits had to be enforced. ⁽⁹¹⁾ If

Gloucester wanted the honor of opening parliament, he had to accept it from the council. Gloucester reluctantly opened parliament by the council's assent.

Next he submitted a memorandum to the House of Lords, stating that Henry V's will had granted him "*the tutelam et defensionem nostri carissimi filii principales.*" ⁽⁹²⁾ The authority granted by this Latin phrase included management of Henry VI's property and affairs while he was a minor. Gloucester interpreted this phrase as a grant of regency power over Henry VI's realm, but the consensus rejected Gloucester's interpretation. Gloucester was offered only the title, defensor of this realm and chief counsellor of the king. Gloucester objected that this title didn't fulfill the intentions stated in Henry V's will; he suggested the title, governor under the king, or its equivalent. ⁽⁹³⁾ But parliament refused to grant Gloucester any



MONUMENT OF HUMPHREY, DUKE OF GLOUCESTER.

St. Alban's The monument is a handsome one. The canopy over the grave is richly carved; the antelopes we see on it were the badge of the duke. His epitaph speaks of him, among other things, as

Fraudis ineptae

Detector, dum ficta notat miracula caeci.

This refers to the story told of him by Sir Thomas More, how he convicted an impostor who claimed to have been born blind, but to have received sight at St. Alban's shrine, by asking him the colour of the garments that the duke himself and others were wearing; all these questions were correctly answered by the beggar, who forgot for the moment that one born blind who had only just received his sight, would not have known the names of the various colours, though he might distinguish one colour from another. The beggar was punished for his imposture by being set in the stocks. This story is introduced into the first scene of the second act; of the second part of "Henry VI."

— The Cathedral Church of Saint Albans, by Thomas Perkins

title that included authority to govern Henry VI's inheritance. Eventually Gloucester and the advocates of conciliar authority compromised on the title, protector and defender of the realm and church in England and principal councilor of the king.⁽⁹⁴⁾ This cumbersome title withheld any authority that allowed a protector to act without conciliar approval. This limited protectorship was subordinate to "the lords spiritual and temporal, whether assembled in parliament, or great council, or the ordinary continual council."⁽⁹⁵⁾ The protector's power was further limited to the king's pleasure. Both Gloucester and Bedford agreed to this compromise, but the settlement of 1422 did not lead to cooperative power-sharing, because conciliar exercise of the infant king's authority was not disinterested or impartial.

In theory, the king's ordinary continual council was limited to advising the king; but in practice, it had gradually acquired executive powers which it was unwilling to give up.⁽⁹⁶⁾ One council member served his own interests exceptionally well by supporting conciliar authority. Beaufort was determined to establish a relationship of "partnership, or substantial equality" with Bedford and council members.⁽⁹⁷⁾ Cautiously emerging from the subordinate role Henry V had imposed on him between March 1419-August 1422, Beaufort recovered status and influence by supporting conciliar authority against Gloucester's regency claim. "Released from the shadow of [Henry V], he became a leading and essential member of the junta responsible for maintaining the late king's political and military legacy. The English council, rather than the Roman Curia, became his power base, from which he could hope to influence and direct, rather than merely execute, policy."⁽⁹⁸⁾ Henry Beaufort considered the Anglo-Burgundian alliance essential to victory in France, and he promoted victory in France as validation of Lancastrian legitimacy in England. By convincing his colleagues that victory and legitimacy depended on united conciliar authority, Beaufort advanced his own interests as he contributed to Gloucester's disinheritance.

Although Gloucester had lost his fight for the authority granted him by Henry V's will, he exercised the protectorate's limited powers with competence and energy. One of his first assignments was to send troops to reinforce Bedford's defense of Paris. Charles VI's death in October 1422 had raised the disinherited dauphin's status and increased Bedford's difficulties. As regent of France, Bedford was now forced to deal with the dauphin's claim to be Charles VII, rightful king of France. Gloucester gave Bedford effective support against Charles VII. Documents recording Gloucester's cooperation with Bedford, plus grants of money and new

offices to Gloucester, suggest that the king's uncles worked effectively together at first.⁽⁹⁹⁾

The conflict of interests caused by Gloucester's marriage to Jacqueline of Hainault undermined cooperation. The date of this marriage is uncertain. In October 1422, the citizens of Mons, capital of Hainault, circulated a rumor that their countess was married to Gloucester and wanted to give birth to their first child at Quesnoy. The political motivations for this marriage are as uncertain as its date. Henry V's generosity to Jacqueline of Hainault suggests that he was considering an Anglo-Hainault alliance when circumstances favored it; he had ignored the Philip the Good's letters protesting her generous reception in England.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ Apparently Henry V believed he could resolve any conflicts between his interests as king of England and France and his interests in an Anglo-Hainault alliance.

During 1423-1424, both Gloucester and Bedford may have been acting on their knowledge of Henry V's intentions; Bedford may have believed that Gloucester's marriage to the countess of Hainault would strengthen England's influence abroad.⁽¹⁰¹⁾ In February 1423, Gloucester's marriage to Jacqueline of Hainault was officially announced at Mons, and Gloucester sent Philip the Good a letter claiming lordship of Hainault, Holland, and Zeeland as the countess' husband. After March 1423, Gloucester used the title, count of Hainault, Holland, and Zeeland.⁽¹⁰²⁾

Because Martin V had twice changed his rulings on the validity of her marriage to Brabant, Jacqueline of Hainault obtained validation of her marriage to Gloucester from the anti-pope Benedict XIII.⁽¹⁰³⁾ This satisfied the English: an act of parliament recognized the countess of Hainault as the duchess of Gloucester and a denizen of England with the full rights of an English subject.⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ At the St. George's Day celebrations of 1423, the duchess of Gloucester was honored by a gift of robes; Gloucester represented Henry VI at his reign's first chapter meeting of the Order of the Garter.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾

Henry VI's government formally confirmed Gloucester's marriage to Jacqueline of Hainault at the same time it confirmed Bedford's marriage to the duke of Burgundy's sister, Anne. "No distinction was made between the wives of the two dukes, and ... at a time when Humphrey was being opposed ... at home no opposition was raised to his daring and uncanonical marriage with a foreign princess."⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ Further acceptance of Gloucester's marriage was demonstrated at St. Alban's monastery's 1423/1424 Christmas and Epiphany celebrations. Gloucester's friend, the abbot of St. Albans, entertained the duke, duchess, and their 300 retainers for a fortnight; abbey officials welcomed the duke and duchess

into the abbey's fraternity. Although Philip the Good objected to the marriage of Gloucester and Jacqueline of Hainault, he had agreed to the marriage of Bedford and Anne of Burgundy. At the time that they confirmed these two marriages, the English seemed to believe that potential benefits outweighed potential conflicts. ⁽¹⁰⁷⁾

During 1424, conflict outweighed benefits and eroded support for Gloucester's claim to lordship of Hainaut, Holland, and Zeeland. Incited by Philip the Good, Brabant, Jacqueline of Hainault's former husband, disputed Gloucester's claim. Officials at the University of Paris urged Bedford, Gloucester, and Henry VI's council to settle the dispute peacefully. Bedford and Philip the Good offered to arbitrate between Gloucester and Brabant. Although Gloucester questioned Philip the Good's impartiality, Bedford persuaded his brother to accept the arbitration offer. Gloucester's doubts were valid. Because Brabant had mortgaged Holland and Zeeland to John of Bavaria in 1420, Burgundy would benefit from a ruling against Gloucester. ⁽¹⁰⁸⁾

Jacqueline of Hainault's predatory uncle, John of Bavaria, made Philip the Good his heir on April 6, 1424, confirming Gloucester's doubts and improving Burgundy's prospects of absorbing Holland and Zeeland. ⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ Gloucester's representatives to the arbitration meetings presented a clear and valid case in his favor; Brabant's representatives even acknowledged the validity of Gloucester's case. Yet the arbitrators refused to decide in Gloucester's favor. They referred the case to Pope Martin V, who had already changed his mind twice about the marriage between Jacqueline of Hainault and Brabant. "The reasons for [the arbitrators'] equivocal reply are not far to seek. On the evidence produced Humphrey had an overwhelming case, but the interests of Burgundy, who meant to inherit the disputed dominions from his submissive cousin of Brabant, forbade a decision in the Englishman's favor." ⁽¹¹⁰⁾

A letter from Bedford to Martin V appealed for Martin V's validation of the divorce between Jacqueline of Hainault and Brabant. Bedford was trying to prevent war between Gloucester and Philip the Good; he hoped a papal ruling would force Burgundy to acknowledge Gloucester's claim in the Low Countries. Without such intervention Bedford feared that Gloucester would defend his wife's inheritance against her predatory uncle and cousin with force. Bedford's fears were valid. As soon as the arbitration deadline passed, Gloucester began to raise troops — at his own expense — to enforce his lordship of Hainault, Holland, and Zeeland.

Before leaving England, Jacqueline of Hainault and Gloucester made time to visit Queen Joan, cleared of the witchcraft charges made against her in 1419. ⁽¹¹¹⁾

Unfavorable winds delayed their departure from Dover. Not until October 16, 1424, could Gloucester's 42 ships sail to Calais. A rumor circulating around Calais claimed that Simon of Teramo, a papal official, told Martin V that Henry VI's council would agree for him to fill English church vacancies in return for his decision against Jacqueline of Hainault's marriage to Gloucester. Gloucester's outraged protest was strong enough to cause Simon of Teramo's recall to Rome. Teramo's close association with the bishop of Winchester may have caused Gloucester to hold Beaufort responsible as well. ⁽¹¹²⁾ Ambassadors from Flanders and Artois arrived with requests for Gloucester to avoid their territories on his way to Hainault. Although it was impossible for Gloucester's troops to reach Hainault without crossing one or the other, they arrived in November 1424 without encountering armed opposition. ⁽¹¹³⁾

By mid-December, English troops controlled much of Hainault, but Gloucester and the countess had received a discouraging reception from Hainaulters. Many townsmen wanted the comparative peace and prosperity they'd experienced under John of Bavaria to continue; they were unwilling to sacrifice their commercial and political interests for a war over their countess' inheritance rights. The rural noblemen who supported Jacqueline of Hainault were less powerful than the townsmen, so Gloucester and his wife were at a disadvantage. The town of Valenciennes refused to admit them; the capital, Mons, allowed them to enter with Jacqueline of Hainault's mother, but it refused entry to all English soldiers. Gloucester and Jacqueline of Hainault were beginning to realize that many of her subjects considered her new husband a foreign intruder rather than a liberator. ⁽¹¹⁴⁾

In December 1424, Gloucester endured another debate about his right to regency powers. When the Estates of Hainault met on December 1, Jacqueline of Hainault requested that they recognize her husband as Hainault's regent and protector. Although the Estates of Hainault finally accepted Gloucester's regency, Holland and Zeeland refused. Some towns accepted Gloucester's authority as his wife's regent, but refused to grant him authority in his own right. This compromise may have been an attempt to prevent a Burgundian invasion, since Gloucester's regency didn't cancel Philip the Good's claim to inherit John of Bavaria's possessions. Gloucester's title, count of Hainault, Holland, and Zeeland, was proving as contentious as his title, protector and defender of the realm and church in England and principal councilor of the king. The Estates of Hainault's refusal to grant the 40,000 gold crowns requested for Gloucester's troops emphasized Hainaulters'

reluctance to accept Gloucester's lordship; he had to settle for a much smaller grant, paid in pounds tournois, rather than gold crowns. ⁽¹¹⁵⁾

The funding cut may have caused Gloucester to relax the standards he'd upheld as Henry V's lieutenant. He broke his oath to prevent his troops from looting, and English troops soon earned a bad reputation. Inflicting even more damage, Burgundian troops stationed near Hainault's borders with Brabant made frequent raids. Both the Hainaulters and Gloucester appealed to Pope Martin V for a resolution of the conflict between Jacqueline of Hainault and her predatory kinsmen. As long as Martin V delayed his decision on Jacqueline of Hainault's divorce from Brabant, the contenders for Hainault, Holland, and Zeeland would refuse to negotiate, hoping for a papal decision in their favor. Martin V withheld a decision because he believed that a well-timed ruling on the divorce would increase his ability to negotiate a settlement between Henry VI's council and the disinherited dauphin of France. While Martin V delayed, rumors filled the vacuum from the Low Countries to Rome. Martin V eventually circulated letters declaring all documents granting Jacqueline of Hainault a divorce from Brabant were forgeries. ⁽¹¹⁶⁾ The stalemate continued, and Hainaulters continued to pay a high price for Martin V's choice of priorities.

In December 1424, Henry VI's council withdrew its support for Gloucester in order to appease Philip the Good and save the Anglo-Burgundian alliance. Bedford sent Gloucester a series of "cease and desist" messages, which he ignored. ⁽¹¹⁷⁾ John of Bavaria's death on January 6, 1425 gave Philip the Good a pretext for disinheriting Jacqueline of Hainault. A Burgundian official intercepted Jacqueline of Hainault's letters requesting Hollanders' and Zeelanders' loyalty. He sent these letters to Burgundy's council, which informed Brabant that his creditor's heir, Philip the Good, intended to govern Jacqueline of Hainault's mortgaged inheritance. Since Brabant persisted with the inactivity which characterized his reign, Philip the Good sent Brabant's younger brother, the count of St. Pol, to lead Burgundian and Brabantine troops against Gloucester. ⁽¹¹⁸⁾

In early March, St. Pol's troops besieged Braine-le-Compte, Hainault. Gloucester's troops approached, but failed to attack the besiegers. Such restraint was uncharacteristic of Gloucester. After a truce was announced, both English and Burgundians waited for night to cover evidence of a dishonorably early departure. Once the English were gone, St. Pol's troops violated the truce, looting and burning until Braine-le-Compte was "utterly destroyed." ⁽¹¹⁹⁾

This dishonored truce resulted from a weeks-long exchange of letters between Gloucester and Philip the Good, which culminated in Philip's challenge to single combat. ⁽¹²⁰⁾ Gloucester accepted. Philip the Good's account books reflect how seriously he took his challenge: "Armourers, painters, other craftsmen and materials, were brought from Paris and elsewhere. Nearly 14,000 pounds was spent on ... ornate accoutrements ..., which included seven horse-blankets embroidered in gold thread. ... There were standards and pennons, too, and a magnificent tent of blue and white patterned satin embroidered all over with coats of arms, steels, flints, flames and sparks." ⁽¹²¹⁾ Philip the Good went into training at Hesdin Castle under the guidance of a fencer recommended by the bishop of Liege. Others took the challenge as seriously as Philip the Good: in May 1425 the pope banned the combat; in July 1425, Parliament passed a resolution against it; and in September 1425, Bedford stated his objections as well. ⁽¹²²⁾ Despite his expensive preparations, Philip the Good obeyed the pope, and the combat was cancelled.

The destruction of Braine-le-Compte intensified Hainaulters' resistance to Gloucester's regency. Demands replaced requests: Mons officials insisted that Gloucester restrain his troops, and they cut back the number of English troops allowed into Mons. On March 29, 1425, Philip the Good threatened to besiege Mons unless it renounced Jacqueline of Hainault in favor of Brabant. News of this threat turned public opinion even more strongly against their countess and Gloucester. Although Jacqueline of Hainault wanted to return to England with her husband, her mother and Mons officials objected; Gloucester agreed for her to remain under the condition that they guaranteed her safety. Leaving a few soldiers and some cannon, Gloucester sailed from Calais with most of his troops on April 12, 1425. ⁽¹²³⁾

While Gloucester was in Hainault, Henry VI's chancellor, the bishop of Winchester, governed England. Beaufort exercised actual as well as ceremonial power. He applied his skills and his wealth within the context of the Anglo-Burgundian alliance, which he expected to reinforce Henry VI's claim to the French crown. Unfortunately, the chancellor carried out his pro-Burgundian program in ways that seemed to favor Flemish merchants at English merchants' expense. He made himself so unpopular that angry Londoners threatened to teach him "to swim with wings" in the Thames. ⁽¹²⁴⁾

Although Englishmen needed good trading relations with their counterparts in the Low Countries, suspicion, misunderstandings, and hostility—intensified by the chancellor's actions — complicated Anglo-Flemish

relations. Despite its potential for disrupting Anglo-Flemish trade, Gloucester's campaign to restore Jacqueline of Hainault's inheritance was popular in England. Many believed that a strong alliance with Hainault, Holland, and Zeeland, governed by Gloucester for his wife, the rightful heir, would benefit English trade. But violence against foreign merchants living in England interfered with trade. A series of piracies involving merchant ships from England and the Low Countries culminated in the appearance of anti-Flemish notices around London in February 1425; one of them appeared on the chancellor's gate. As Flemings left London, the chancellor charged city officials accused of conniving at anti-Flemish activities with treason. To protect himself from angry Londoners, he augmented his personal bodyguard with members of Henry VI's household. Henry VI's council added eighty men to the force guarding the Tower; and Bedford sent his chamberlain, Sir Richard Wydeville, from France to be custodian of the Tower. On February 26, 1425, Henry VI's council approved Wydeville's commission, which included an order to refuse admission to anyone who lacked the chancellor's or council's authorization.⁽¹²⁵⁾

When Gloucester returned to London in mid-April, Wydeville enforced this order against him. As protector and defender of the realm and church in England, Gloucester was entitled to lodging in the Tower, but Wydeville refused to admit him without a warrant from the chancellor or council.⁽¹²⁶⁾ This incident may have intensified Gloucester's resentment of his uncle. During Gloucester's six month absence, Beaufort had made himself the council's most influential member. To Gloucester it may have seemed that his uncle was manipulating the principle of conciliar representation of royal authority for his own advantage. Gloucester said that the chancellor was trying to govern Henry VI as he liked.⁽¹²⁷⁾ This outspoken criticism increased tensions.

The presence of Friar Randolph, Queen Joan's chaplain, in the Tower contributed to tensions. Gloucester ordered Robert Scot, Wydeville's lieutenant, to turn Friar Randolph over to him. Afraid to do so, Scot requested the chancellor's approval for Randolph's release. Instead of approving Randolph's release, Beaufort reasserted Wydeville's decision to refuse Gloucester admission to the Tower. Gloucester's resentment increased: "To be denied entry to the oldest royal fortress in the land, one which dominated the capital, was the residence of kings, and housed the royal wardrobe, the armoury, and valuable prisoners, was insupportable, and in his eyes, against his state and worship."⁽¹²⁸⁾

Relations between Gloucester and Beaufort deteriorated throughout the next six months. The parliament

of 1425 met in an atmosphere of violence. Londoners were angry about the imprisonment of city officials, and threats against the chancellor continued. Ceremonies associated with this parliament continued to emphasize Gloucester's subordination to Henry VI and his council. On April 27, Gloucester and the duke of Exeter met the three-year-old king at the west door of St. Paul's Cathedral.⁽¹²⁹⁾ On April 30, Gloucester and Exeter carried Henry VI into Westminster Hall as a demonstration of their responsibility for his safety. The chancellor's sermon to parliament included criticism of Gloucester, in the form of an appeal for council members to follow the example of the elephant, which was "free from malice, rancour, and envy."⁽¹³⁰⁾ Beaufort's elephant reference failed to impress Parliament, which refused to grant taxes requested by Henry VI's council and granted Gloucester a loan for continued campaigning in Hainault.⁽¹³¹⁾

While Gloucester was raising funds, the Mons officials who had guaranteed Jacqueline of Hainault's safety petitioned Philip the Good to take her into custody. On June 6, 1425, a delegation from Mons informed their countess that a Brabantine-Burgundian treaty had placed her inheritance under Brabant's authority. She was turned over to Philip the Good, and her letters to Gloucester were intercepted by Burgundian spies.⁽¹³²⁾ On June 11, she was imprisoned at "the former residence of the counts of Flanders, the Posterne," in Ghent.⁽¹³³⁾

When news of his wife's imprisonment reached Gloucester, he rallied support in parliament, which petitioned for ambassadors to negotiate her release.⁽¹³⁴⁾ After spending the summer under house arrest, Jacqueline of Hainault escaped with the help of two Dutch knights. On September 2, 1425, disguised as a man, she rode to Antwerp. In his letters to the officials assigned to recapture the cousin he was disinheriting, Philip the Good ironically referred to her as "Madam, the heiress of Hainault."⁽¹³⁵⁾ The recapture effort failed. Jacqueline of Hainault reached Gouda safely. From there she led the Dutch who opposed Philip the Good's takeover. On October 22, 1425 her troops defeated Burgundian troops at Alphen.

A week later, Gloucester and the citizens of London confronted Chancellor Beaufort's armed retainers on London Bridge. The chancellor had assembled a force of Lancashiremen, Cheshiremen, royal household servants, and apprentices from the Inns of Court at his property near the Southwark end of London Bridge. On October 29, the day when London's new mayor traditionally rode to Westminster for his oath of office, John Coventry faced serious violence. Instead of celebrating his election at the traditional feast, he spent the

night preparing to defend London from the chancellor's armed force. On October 30, 1425, Gloucester and the mayor agreed to close the gates of London Bridge. The chancellor's men tried to break through the gates. Londoners closed their shops, armed themselves, and gathered at London Bridge. The chancellor's force barricaded the Southwark end of the bridge. ⁽¹³⁶⁾ The archbishop of Canterbury and a visitor, the duke of Coimbra, Portugal, agreed to negotiate a settlement. They "rode between the contending parties no less than eight times. Eventually the mayor and aldermen were able to disperse the Londoners." ⁽¹³⁷⁾

The fragile truce negotiated by the archbishop and Coimbra could only bring temporary peace. The power struggle between Gloucester and Chancellor Beaufort was unresolved. Between his return in mid-April and the confrontation on London Bridge, Gloucester had concluded that Beaufort was moving towards control of Henry VI as well as his council. He interpreted the assembly of armed men at Southwark as the chancellor's roadblock between Henry VI and his official protector, Gloucester. Firmly supported by Londoners of all ranks, Gloucester fulfilled his responsibilities as he understood them. ⁽¹³⁸⁾ As soon as the truce was established, Gloucester held a meeting of Henry VI's council at his residence, Baynard's Castle. The council authorized Gloucester to escort Henry VI and his servants from Eltham to London, where the chancellor would be less able to block access to Henry VI or take him into "protective custody." ⁽¹³⁹⁾ Control of the young king would have given Chancellor Beaufort a great advantage over his opponents, who were convinced that the confrontation on London Bridge demonstrated the chancellor's intention to seize unauthorized power. ⁽¹⁴⁰⁾

On October 31, 1425, Chancellor Beaufort appealed to Bedford for protection from the consequences of his armed retainers' violence. His inaccurate and self-serving letter accused Gloucester of starting the conflict, although the men who had attacked the gates of London Bridge had assembled on the chancellor's property. Beaufort claimed that unless Bedford returned to England, Gloucester and his supporters would start a civil war and undermine Bedford's position in France: "Such a brother ye have here. God make him a good man. For your wisdom knoweth wele that the prosperite of Fraunce stant in the welfare of England." ⁽¹⁴¹⁾

Bedford's response to Beaufort's letter was to give the Anglo-Burgundian alliance complete priority over Jacqueline of Hainault's inheritance rights and Gloucester's interests. Even before he returned to England, Bedford informed Philip the Good about Gloucester's efforts to send military aid to his wife. "It is all too likely that

Bedford's own information had been received from [Beaufort]." ⁽¹⁴²⁾ Although Philip the Good had signed a truce with the dauphin in order to focus on his war with Jacqueline of Hainault, Bedford continued to make concessions in hope of retaining Burgundian support. ⁽¹⁴³⁾

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In the Footsteps of Richard III

June 20 – July 1, 2009

You are cordially invited to join us for a delightfully different travel experience! Do come along with our friendly little band of Ricardians as we explore the England of Richard III. This unique tour fits the bill perfectly if you are a sociable person with a keen interest in Richard and in medieval England! Sites we will visit having associations with Richard III and his contemporaries include, among others, Middleham, Bolton, Pickering, Skipton, Conisburgh, Sandal and Ashby-de-la-Zouch castles, as well as the parish churches of Middleham, Sutton Cheyney, Skipton and Pickering. This year, our travels will also include an entire day in York, the splendid cathedral at Worcester, fabulous Tewkesbury Abbey, and the romantic ruins of Minster Lovell Hall (home of Sir Francis Lovell), as well as an optional visit to Ludlow Castle. And, of course, we will make our annual pilgrimage to Bosworth Battlefield where Richard lost his crown and his life. After hanging our lovely memorial wreath at little Sutton Cheyney church, we will make our way to the Battlefield Centre. Here we will be treated to an outstanding presentation at the new exhibition area that will explain each of the likeliest battlefield sites and update us on the progress being made at the site nearer to Dadlington. The day will also include short visits to both this site and the traditional site, as well as stops at both the memorial stone erected to the memory of Richard III and King Richard's Well.

This carefully crafted tour will also include a choice selection of Britain's other gems: picturesque Little Moreton Hall (England's most remarkable timbered-framed home), time in the historical city of Chester, the beautiful remains of Rievaulx Abbey (which we had to forego last year), and visits to two very special medieval manor houses – Baddesley Clinton and Stokesay Castle, a flying display of birds of prey, the fascinating remains of Chedworth Roman Villa – and much more! Also featured will be a short side-trip into scenic northern Wales, where we plan visits to two of Edward I's mighty castles – Caernarfon Castle, where the Prince of Wales is crowned, and legendary Harlech Castle, once stronghold of Owain Glyndwr. You can also expect a nice surprise or two!

Our journey will take us through some of Britain's most beautiful scenery, from the rugged north of England to the mountains of Wales to the more gentle, pastoral countryside of the Midlands and Cotswolds. During the course of our travels, we will sometimes be welcomed and accompanied on our sightseeing by Ricardian friends from various English branches and groups — always special occasions for all of us!

A truly unique tour, ***The Last Plantagenet King*** offers a great alternative to the impersonal, large "package" tour or the hassle of self-drive. Just sit back and enjoy 12 days of leisurely touring (an additional day added this year!) and real camaraderie in our comfortable mid-size coach. Most of our lodgings will be attractive, smaller hotels and coaching inns in market towns and villages, where you'll be met with a warm welcome, a comfortable room with full amenities, and delicious meals. We will enjoy many lunches at charming country pubs that are recommended for their tasty food. Your enthusiastic tour coordinator/escort will be long-time member Linda Treybig, who has planned and led 17 previous Ricardian tours. **Please note: *Tour registration deadline is February 12, 2009, and group size is limited to a maximum of 12 (minimum of 8).*** Our annual tour has become quite popular and draws many repeat members. Since a number of persons are already committed to the 2009 tour, you are urged to request your brochure and further details right away! (We welcome English-speaking tour members from other countries as well!)

A Final Word: Don't miss this exciting opportunity for a serendipitous trek into England's past! Traveling through England's lovely countryside and villages with a small group of friendly fellow Ricardians who share your interest in the enigmatic man called Richard III, enriching your knowledge of him and his times, exploring fascinating places off the beaten track, discovering the best of both medieval and contemporary England = ONE MEMORABLE EXPERIENCE! Won't you join us?

For brochure with full details, please contact:

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Phone: (216) 889-9392; E-mail: treybig@worldnetoh.com

* The tour brochure also appears on our American Branch web site at www.r3.org

The Ricardian Rover

A Journal of the 2008 Tour

Jane Skillman

(with contributions from Linda Treybig)

Day 1 - *Carlisle Castle*: It already seems that our group is going to be an agreeable bunch. Five of us (Americans Linda, Jean, Lorelle and Jane and an Italian, Cecilia) met over dinner at our airport hotel last night and began to get acquainted. (The other two are to join us later today.) Our driver, Paul (who turned out to be an absolute character of whom we were to become very fond) met us, and we began today's touring by heading north out of Manchester.

On the drive through beautiful countryside past the Lake District and into Cumbria, I felt the landscape was like a mix of Chester County, PA and the austere coastal hills of Maine (think Acadia). After a stop for lunch at the Blacksmiths Arms in the quiet little village of Talkin, we continued on to the String of Horses Inn in Faugh (rhymes with laugh). This country inn, built in the 1660s, was just delightful. On arrival, we were greeted by Wanda, the Australian addition to our group.

Following check-in and a short rest, we were off to Carlisle and the castle. We got there at 4:00 p.m. and, because the castle closed at 5:00 (earlier than we expected), we had to make pretty quick work of it. The keep was impressive, and the carvings found on the stone walls of the gaol were of fine quality for what was basically graffiti. The English Heritage online printout said that these carvings might have been done by Richard's prisoners, but the plaques at the castle say they were most likely done by bored soldiers.

After a quick stop in the town of Brampton to pick up some snacks to see us through the next few days, we returned to the inn where we met John, the final member of our group and another American. This evening, we had our first of many lively group dinners and found that the pub owner's wife is a fabulous cook!

Day 2 - *Hadrian's Wall & Alnwick Castle*: Our first stop along the wall was Birdoswald. Here is an informative little museum dedicated to the Wall, as well as the remains of a Roman fort, including a building for indoor military drills in case of bad weather. From a steep overlook at the fort, there are fantastic views that include portions of the Wall.

Our second venue was Cawfield's Quarry. This site offers a mile-castle and quite a long stretch of the Wall over rugged terrain that we could walk. We saw many others trekking along the wall, very much like they would do along the Appalachian Trail. But the Wall is only

about 87 miles long and takes about a week to walk, so I bet many people trek from inn to inn. It seemed that sheep were everywhere here, and so were dense pine plantations for the logging industry. Next we visited Chester's Roman Fort, an interesting and well-preserved cavalry fort. From its grounds, we could just catch glimpses of a pretty manor house in the distance.

Our next stop was lunch at The Rat, a charming little pub on the outskirts of Hexham. Leaving the pub, we saw the largest lumber mill ever — so impressive a sight that Lorelle took some photos of it. No sooner had we gotten off the country lanes and onto the highway than we had a flat tire and Paul had to change it. An officer (on a pink motorcycle!) was immediately on the scene to alert traffic, and Paul worked quickly so we were soon back on our way to the next site.

Alnwick Castle was as splendid as expected. Pronounced Aln-ick, it is still privately owned by the Percy family (the Earls of Northumberland). The 18th-19th century staterooms were marvelous — filled with original artwork (Van Dyke, etc.) and the most intricate wood carving on the ceilings and panels. The one thing Jean and I found a little discomfiting were the stuffed dogs (real ones) in every room. We also encountered an unso-cial family cat!

Our final stop of the day was at our inn for the next two nights, the Masons Arms in Rennington, just north of Alnwick. Our accommodations here were charming, and we enjoyed another tasty and leisurely dinner together.

Day 3 - *Lindisfarne & Warkworth Castle*: Today began with a visit to Lindisfarne (Holy Island), which is located in the North Sea and only accessible via causeway when the tide is out (between 9:00 a.m. and 1:50 p.m. today). First we visited the museum and the lovely Priory, after which a few of us wandered into St. Mary's parish church. Then we were all ready for a little shopping in the village, which included sampling (and buying!) some of the locally bottled mead. Cecilia and I decided to take the 5-minute shuttle ride out to Lindisfarne Castle, which turned out to be a very homey place. Its early 20th century interior is more like a country home than a castle, and I felt this was a place where I could easily live. Approaching one of the staff with a question, he asked if I really wanted the whole story. Being assured that I

did, he proceeded to give us a delightful 10-minute speech about the history of the place. It's such an ideal spot for a castle that it's hard to believe none existed here until the time of Henry VIII. First garrisoned as a fort to protect a fleet that Henry kept in its harbor, he later turned the area over to the Earls of Northumberland who established the current castle here. (Note: In spite of a very full morning, we were able to make our exit from the island before the tide came in!)

Driving down the North Sea coast, we passed Bamburgh Castle and then made a quick stop in the picturesque fishing village of Seahouses. Soon we reached today's final destination, Warkworth Castle. The town of Warkworth is definitely one that I would enjoy returning to for a longer visit. The castle was really impressive, with many nooks and crannies to explore, as well as wonderful views of the sea and the town below — but (sigh), it was yet another Percy holding!

Day 4 - Durham Cathedral & Barnard Castle: Time is flying by, and none of us can believe it is already Thursday. We were off to the city of Durham this morning. What a cool city — yet another place I would enjoy revisiting sometime! Durham teems with shops and college students and has a very lively atmosphere. After a fruitless attempt to find a route up to the Cathedral, Paul finally dropped us at a city car park where we were able to catch a shuttle. Wow! This cathedral is massive; I personally found its Norman architecture heavy in nature, almost overwhelming. Of special interest to our group were the Neville chantry and Neville screen, but we also enjoyed seeing St. Cuthbert's shrine, the Galilee Chapel, and the tomb of the Venerable Bede. The cloisters appeared to be something straight out of Harry Potter! (I looked it up on-line after returning home, and Durham Cathedral is listed as a film locale.)

Our next stop was Barnard Castle. (Along the way we passed Raby Castle, which was surrounded by dozens and dozens of red fallow deer.) Barnard Castle had been a very large castle in its day. Not much of it remains today, but it's still a really lovely site. It was very windy and cool while we were there, and the river below seemed to be raging. Cecilia won the prize by being the first to spot Richard's boar emblem.

Our final stop was to be beautiful Rievaulx Abbey, but the climb up Sutton Bank to the North York Moors killed our coach! Sutton Bank is a long and rigorous 25% grade that we had been joking about all day. (Seems we should have been knocking on wood instead!) A mechanic and tow truck had to come for the coach, and cabs were summoned to transport us on to our next inn near York.

Day 5 - York: Today was a free day in York, and what a glorious day it was! We began our day at Bootham Bar. Several of us stayed together and headed off to Monk Bar via a walk along the city walls. During the entire walk,

magnificent York Minster dominated our views on the right, and this historical, small city just feels ancient!

At Monk Bar, we visited the Richard III Museum, which was very camp but a real hoot! We just about wiped out the gift shop. It rained while we were in the Museum, but that was the only rain we had all day. Descending from the wall into the city, we made our way to the fabulous Merchant Adventurer's Hall. And what an ancient and wobbly place that is! The undercroft has been the victim of many floods, as is evidenced by the high water marks at the chapel doors, but they have now installed a flood mitigation system. Fans of shows like "Most Haunted" may be interested to know that a couple of us found that we had orbs in our photos of the undercroft! Proceeding from there, we spied an advertisement for Richard III cheese (a variety of Wensleydale cheese), so John promptly went into the shop and bought a chunk of it for us to share later at dinner. Time for a bite to eat, so we ambled across the River Fosse and had a pub lunch.

Afterwards a few of us departed for the Jorvik Viking Museum, while the remainder proceeded to the Guildhall. Still a part of the City Hall, it was a bit hard to find, but we managed, and what an interesting building! The corbels on the roof (replicas of what would have been here during the Middle Ages) were surprisingly colorful and amusing. We also located the plaque that was donated by the Society in 1983.

Next was the Yorkshire Museum & Garden. In addition to the famous Middleham Jewel found near Middleham Castle, there were quite a few fascinating Roman remains in this small museum. It seems that York has always been a bustling city, even in Roman times! As we made our way out of the museum, we found ourselves among some of the remains of St. Mary's Priory, the museum being built directly on top of the Priory ruins. After relaxing for awhile in the gardens with a latte and taking a quick look at the River Ouse, we moved on to York Minster. The Minster is beautiful, uplifting, almost ethereal! My little group first toured the undercroft and crypt. It was just amazing to be standing in the footprints of three spectacular buildings (a Roman fortress, a Norman Cathedral, and the present Minster) and be able to see portions of it all! The main tower of the Minster had been shored up in massive blocks of concrete, with a steel cord running through it all— a true feat of engineering!

The stained glass, especially the Five Sisters Window, was splendid and, as we walked around the Minster, we were able to hear the sounds of the men and boys choir preparing for Evensong. Almost all of us attended this lovely service; and the boy sopranos' voices seemed to flow right through you, echoing high into the vaulted Minster.

Before the service, I had asked the lady at the information desk to help me locate the plaque that noted the investiture of Richard's son Edward as Prince of Wales. She had no idea what I was talking about but apparently made a phone call, because she later tracked me down and directed us to the Minster Library (formerly the Bishop's Palace). Sure enough, the plaque was there (which just goes to show that, when in doubt, you should always ask).

I love the city of York and could easily have done with three days here instead of just one!

Day 6 - Middleham & Markenfield Hall: Today, our first (and as it turned out, only) rainy day in England, began at Middleham. The castle is situated right at the top of its charming little town and, while not as well preserved as many others, it presents itself as tidy and well designed. With a generous share of windows and built of a pleasant gray stone, it just feels very sensible and homelike, and I was immediately drawn to it. There are now modern stairs at the left side of the keep; and I headed straight up them so I could look out over the Dales and imagine what Richard's view would have been in his day. We all had time for a thorough exploration of the castle and, before leaving, located what would have been Edward's "nursery" in the right rear corner.

Next, we strolled over to the church of St. Mary and St. Alkelda to view the few items of significance to Ricardians, including the attractive memorial window donated by the Society. Our visit to Middleham came to an end with a delicious lunch at the Richard III Hotel located in the town market square.

Then it was on to Masham to sample a market day, which had become a bit of a washout due to the weather. We did meet several members of the Yorkshire Branch for a short visit. We would have enjoyed spending a little more time with them but were due to meet another Society member at our next site.

Janet Senior, also of the Yorkshire Branch, had graciously offered to give us a tour of Markenfield Hall, a beautifully restored and totally moated medieval manor house. Its history is quite interesting, and it was wonderful to have our own tour guide. Perhaps the most exciting part of the visit was being able to meet the Lady of the house and her esteemed husband who is a well-known playwright. (I found myself a little embarrassed to be introduced in a dripping, plastic rain poncho! But they were very welcoming to us, as was their gentle family dog.)
Day 7 - Gainsborough Old Hall & Lincoln Cathedral: Today we left Yorkshire for Lincolnshire, where our first venue was Gainsborough Old Hall. What a superb place! The medieval kitchen was very impressive, with its massive hearths and giant ceiling vent; but ghost hunters should beware: many orbs again appeared in my photos taken here, as well as in the shot I took in the hallway. This hallway

earned the name of "The Ghost Walk" after an employee spotted the specter of a woman walking down the hall and through a wall.) After posing for a group photo in the lovely front garden, we moved on to the city of Lincoln.

The bells were tolling as we got out of our coach in front of Lincoln Cathedral, a loud and joyful greeting. The Cathedral was splendid, although the famous Lincoln Imp was much smaller and more difficult to find than we had expected. We saw the tombs of both Katherine Swynford and Eleanor of Castile, queen to Edward I. (Only Eleanor's viscera are entombed at Lincoln; her body was laid to rest in Westminster Abbey.) We also viewed the tomb of Bishop John Russell, Richard III's chancellor. Being a Sunday, this cathedral was also preparing for an evening service. They had to shoo us away from the quire area, but we were still able to enjoy the sound of the choir rehearsing with the magnificent organ. Afterwards we had about 45 minutes to wander the steep and narrow streets of Lincoln; and, battling very high winds, we explored various candy shops, book shops, tea shops, and art galleries.

Finally, we came to rest in the town of Melton Mowbray at the charming Sysonby Knoll Hotel. This place was fabulous — beautiful lawns sloping down to a small canal, attractive rooms throughout, wonderful sitting areas, and delicious food!

Day 8 - Bosworth: Today was the day, more than any other, that was dedicated to Richard III. After a brief stop to take delivery of our beautiful memorial wreath and 2 bunches of white roses, our first stop was the church at Sutton Cheney. There is an attractive memorial plaque on a wall inside and, after John inscribed "Loyaulte Me Lie - American Branch" on the card, it was here that we hung our wreath. Cecilia, a gifted artist who has done some fine paintings of Richard III, left one of them tucked up behind the plaque; and we also left a small bunch of white roses in memory of Nancy Detrick who became so ill and died after last year's tour. We discovered that the Canadian Branch had already been there, because their silk wreath was hanging nearby. The church was also full of needlepoint kneelers that had been stitched and donated by members of the Richard III Society.

From Sutton Cheney, we went to the Bosworth Battlefield Centre nearby, where we were met by Richard Knox, the Assistant Keeper of Archeology for the Leicestershire County Council. He took us into the Centre and gave us a detailed overview of the three most prominent prospective battlefield sites — the traditional site on top of Ambion Hill, Michael Jones' proposed site at Atherstone, and Peter Foss's choice a little nearer Dadlington. Next Richard took us on a short walk of the traditional battlefield, even though much of it may no longer be relevant — at least not in the way it once was.

We then boarded our coach and were transported down to the site nearer Dadlington that the Leicestershire County Council now thinks is most likely Redemore Plain. The lay of the land did feel right for a battlefield site and, to most of us, made a lot of sense. Unfortunately, there has not been much sound physical evidence of the battle found here, if this is indeed the true site. (But is it any wonder, with Henry's army being made up of mercenaries and criminals who would certainly have stripped the field clean?) Richard Knox was extremely knowledgeable; and was a real treat to have as a guide. By the end of his presentation, we all felt much better informed! Before leaving Bosworth, Paul drove us down to the Society's memorial stone, where we laid a large bunch of white roses and made many a toast with the Lindisfarne elderberry wine that John had brought along for the occasion. (At present, there is some question as to what will eventually become of the memorial stone, and we are left wondering whether it will be relocated some day.) We returned to our hotel by way of Leicester, where we made a quick stop at the Castle Gardens to see the marvelous statue of Richard III that was commissioned by the RIII Society — a perfect end to our day dedicated to Richard.

Day 9 – Fotheringhay church, Castle Rising & Castle Acre Priory: We departed Melton Mowbray and headed southeast towards Norfolk. Our first stop was the church at Fotheringhay in Northamptonshire. Here we were met by Juliet Wilson, who gave us a detailed tour of the beautiful church. Juliet, who is a Member of the British Empire as well as the churchwarden, is also an esteemed Ricardian and an expert on this church and its history. There are Elizabethan-era monuments erected over the reburied bodies of Richard of York and Cecily Neville; and Richard's brother, Edmund, is also believed to be buried somewhere here as well. The church also has an attractive stained glass window given by the Society, as well as an outstanding wood pulpit that was donated by Edward IV. Most of us walked over to the site of the castle, although nothing much is left of it except the motte. But we did climb to the highest point and were rewarded by sweeping views of the surrounding countryside as well as the River Nene with its occasional long boat.

After a break for lunch, we continued on to Castle Rising. What a gigantic moat this castle has! Although little else remains, the castle keep is very well preserved compared to most others we have seen. It was fun to imagine which room Richard may have been in when he wrote his poignant letter asking for 100 pounds to help raise troops.

The final stop today was Castle Acre Priory. Located in a peaceful and serene setting, parts of this priory are reduced to ruins, but others are still intact. We really enjoyed exploring this lovely site and were able to find faint medieval paintings on some ceiling panels and walls — a

reminder of how colorful ornamentation was during the Middle Ages.

This evening we checked into a wonderful place named Hunter's Hall in Swanton Morley, Norfolk, that I just loved! Very remote and surrounded by farmland and fields, this was once a working farm that has been converted into charming accommodations and a conference center. Even the old milking parlor now houses guests!

Day 10 – Walsingham Abbey, Blickling Hall & Norwich: I awoke this morning to find the farm's herd of rare White Park cattle grazing in the field in front of my room! Then we were off to Walsingham Abbey, where we visited the Roman Catholic Slipper Chapel that would have been visited by Richard, as well as the modern Anglican Shrine of Our Lady. Walsingham Abbey remains quite a famous place of pilgrimage and retreat.

Nothing seemed easy to find today. After some driving to and fro on a network of sleepy country lanes, we found our next venue, Blickling Hall. It was nice to take a break from the usual medieval castle and cathedral for a stately Jacobean manor house, and I thought Blickling Hall was splendid. The hedge alone was a thing to impress, and the parlors and private rooms were quite sumptuous. It was also fun to go "downstairs" to witness the world of the servants.

After lunch, we made our way to the attractive city of Norwich. Some of us visited its fine cathedral while others took a final opportunity to do some shopping. At an appealing teddy-bear shop on Elm Hill, I found some adorable stuffed bears that I couldn't resist buying for my kids. There was also an unusual soap shop where all the soaps were done up to look like giant wheels of cheese, and cakes and practically everything else edible!

Since tonight was to be our last night with Paul, we all gathered in the guest lounge of Hunters Hall to throw an informal little party. Here we made a toast to Paul and presented him with a small gift, as well as sampling cheeses and sweets, wines (Battle of Bosworth, The War of the Roses), ciders and ales. We've all enjoyed each other's company so much on this trip! To quote Linda, "I couldn't have wished for a more pleasant, cooperative and thoroughly enjoyable group of travel companions!"

Day 11 – Wingfield Church & Framlingham Castle: Today was our final day of coach travel. First on the agenda was Wingfield Church which contains the tombs of Richard's sister, Anne, and her husband, John de la Pole. This quiet church had an ancient feel to it and was set out in the middle of nowhere. It seemed rather strange to find the fine effigies of such mighty people in such an unassuming place.

Our final destination on the road tour was Framlingham. I found it strange that this castle had no central keep. But the walk around the curtain walls with our

audio guides was informative and entertaining, and the views on this bright and sunny day were just wonderful!

Then we were off to London and our hotel in Bayswater. After settling into our rooms, we went in search of an evening meal and ended up at a recommended American barbecue restaurant called Bodean's. Though it wasn't exactly what we had in mind, the food was certainly tasty!

Day 12 - *The Royal Society of Antiquaries, London*: Our final morning together began with a trip on the underground. From our hotel, we walked a few blocks to the Bayswater station where we hopped on the Circle Line and, after making one change of lines, ended up at Green Park. From there, we walked a few blocks up Piccadilly to the Royal Society of Antiquaries, which is located in Burlington Place beside the Royal Academy of Arts. Here we were pleased to be met by several members from the London area of our parent Society.

After welcoming us, Collections Manager Julia Steel gave us an informative talk on the history of the SAL, followed by a presentation on the items in their possession that are of significance to Ricardians. We saw two portraits of Richard III. The first (the better-known one believed to be a copy of his earliest portrait) was part of a set with one of Edward IV. It has recently been established that both of these portraits were made of wood taken from the same tree (one that was felled in 1510), so it seems likely that they were indeed created as a set. The other was a portrait of Richard with a sword. Most of us had never seen this portrait before. Although it was obviously meant to depict Richard unfavorably, we agreed that the face was rather pleasing. Among other items we were shown were a lock of Edward IV's hair, a sketch of his tomb, and, finally, the lovely Bosworth Processional Cross. We felt privileged to receive such special treatment from the SAL, and our visit to this institution provided a wonderfully fitting end to a spectacular trip.

Tour Coordinator's Note:

I was very fortunate to be joined on the 2008 Ricardian tour by Jean Domico, Lorelle Hunt, Cecilia Latella, John O'Farrell, Jane Skillman, and Wanda Summers, who all proved to be exemplary tour members. We had the best of everything going for us – lovely weather, fascinating sites to visit, charming accommodations, delicious food everywhere we went, and truly friendly traveling companions.

Especially rewarding for me was the presentation we were given at the Bosworth Battlefield Centre. We all came away feeling so much better informed about the progress being made in determining the actual location of the battlefield. I don't feel I would be out of line in

saying that the 2008 Ricardian tour was a real treat for each one of us!

– Linda Treybig

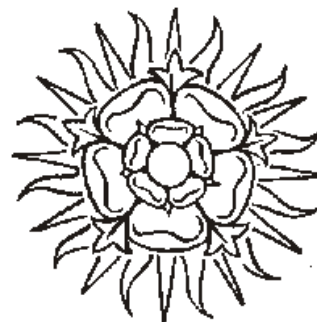
Brief commentary from Italian tour member,
Cecilia Latella:

The Ricardian tour was a wonderful experience, exceeding all my expectations. We were blessed with good weather and friendly conversations throughout the tour. As the lazy traveler I am, I admit that I didn't know even the names of the places we were going to visit, except for the ones with the closest Ricardian connections such as Fotheringhay, Middleham and Bosworth. It was fascinating to discover every day a bit of history I hadn't considered much before, such as the destruction of monasteries following Henry VIII's split from the Roman Catholic church. (Good examples of this were on the magical island of Lindisfarne and at Castle Acre Priory.) Then, there was the impact of the Vikings' invasion of England that left its traces on said Lindisfarne and in York.

I also had the opportunity to admire Norman architecture with its huge carved pillars and the zigzag arches which I discovered for the first time in beautiful Durham Cathedral. But most of all, I appreciated the fact that I could finally visit all those Ricardian sites which I had longed to see for ages. It was almost like a pilgrimage for me.

Our trip permitted me not only to see in person the castles, churches and the battlefield that I had previously seen only in photos, but to understand in a much deeper way their interconnections, position and distances and to appreciate the difference in their lordships. Before our tour, Northumberland and Norfolk were but two names in my head, but after travelling all the way down from north of Hadrian's Wall to London, England's geography as well as the systems of ruling it became clearer to me than they had ever been. Now that the tour is over, I am even more interested in Richard than when it started.

Thanks for this extraordinary opportunity!





Ricardian Reading

Myrna Smith

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

Take Nobody's Word for It. – Motto of the
Royal Society of London

I have a friend who was a newspaper proofreader. Each night, he would read a pre-edition copy to correct errors. Our *Star*, and possibly most papers, now spell-Czech by computer. It is very fast and does not make mistakes. If an author has an arrangement of alphabetic cymbals that exactly match the data base dictionary, it is ignored. – Harold Simon, *Ventura County Star*.

Whenever I am at a loss for a theme for this column, I can always turn to a comedy of errors, boners, Spoonerisms, you name it. Here's more of the same. People will insist on making mistakes. (Present company excepted, of course.)

📖 *Regret The Error: How Media Mistakes Pollute The Press and Imperil Free Speech* – Craig Silverman, Sterling Publishing Co., NY, 2007

"Media" here means chiefly newspapers, as they usually try to correct their errors as soon as possible, and are able to, since they are published daily, as a rule. Radio and television, being even more ephemeral, are less documented on the whole. But have you heard the one about the BBC and two guys named Guy?

The propensity to make regrettable errors did not have to await the birth of the newspaper in the 17th century, or even the invention of the printing press. Here is Thucydides speaking:

...I have made it a principle not to write down the first story that came my way, and not even to be guided by my own general impressions; either I was present myself at the events which I have described or else heard of them from eye witnesses whose reports I have checked with as much thoroughness as possible. Not that even so the truth was easy to discover; different eye witnesses gave different accounts of the same events, speaking out of partiality... or else from imperfect memories.

Mr. Silverman points out that "(b)y the fifteenth century handwritten newsletters were making the rounds in Europe, and kings used them to celebrate their major triumphs and spread the news to their subjects." The potential for error could only increase. Despite the subtitle, this is less a study of media bias ⁽¹⁾ than of media

embarrassment. Would you want to be guilty of "Obiticide" – printing the obituary of a living person? ⁽²⁾ The back-cover blurb calls this "an Eats, Shoots & Leaves for the media." It's all that, and also a hoot to read. The author is the host of RegretTheError.com, which you might consult for more of the same, and even send him examples of his own errors. (Don't bother sending mine.) As the author says: "Now we can argue with the guy who buys ink by the barrel. We have bits by the barrel." ⁽³⁾

In last week's wine column, mention was made of a Chambertin Clos de Beze 1006.

That, of course, was 1996.

– Business Times (Singapore)

📖 *Good Masters! Sweet Ladies! Voices from a Medieval Village* – Laura Schlitz, Illus. By Robert Byrd, Candelwick Press, Cambridge, Ma, 2007 (A Newberry Award Winner)

Ms. Schlitz, a school librarian, wrote these sketches for the benefit of middle-school students who were studying the Middle Ages, and wanted a playlet to act out. Since plays with 17 starring roles (bunch of juvenile prima donnas!) are hard to find, and equally hard to write, she struck on the idea of having 17 poetic monologues. (Some are dual monologues, but not dialogues.) They cover one day in 1255 on an English manor and its village, and feature children between roughly 10-15. They are frequently paired: Isobel, the Lord's daughter, who gets mud on her dress, and Barbary, who threw it; Jacob ben Salomon, the moneylender's son, and Petronella, the merchant's daughter; Pask the runaway; Nelly the sniggler. (What's a sniggler? Read it and find out.) Tying it all together at the end is Giles the beggar and mountebank-in-training.

There are sidebars and marginal notes giving the historical context and other interesting facts, and several pages of bibliography at the end. Fully deserving of equal billing are the illustrations, done in the style of a Psalter, including a bird's-eye-view of the manor and village. A charming book, which can be enjoyed by all ages.

I've just read that I am dead. Don't forget to delete me from your list of subscribers. -
Rudyard Kipling

Assorted Mysteries:

📖 *A Fatal Grace* - Louise Penny, St. Martin's Minotaur, N.Y., 2007

This mystery, set in Quebec just after Christmas, is included among Medieval Mysteries only because one character imagines herself to be Eleanor of Aquitaine. One of the story's strengths is the depiction of the setting. Temperatures are given in Celsius, but by anyone's standards it's cooold. I've been in Canada, but only in the summertime, and I think I will be content to leave it that way. Can you imagine firing up a huge outdoor electric heater, powered by a generator, so people can watch a curling match in relative comfort? I know they have enough oil to export some to the U.S., but even so.....

Another strength is the clever plotting, with Christiesque turns, but with a few twists of Ms. Penny's own. As in Christie's novels, no one is above or below suspicion. A weakness, however, is that there are very few characters, aside from the investigating police, who are likeable. One may despise some (including at least one victim) and pity others, but find it difficult to identify with any.

This may keep you cool at the beach in Miami, or at least make you glad you are there instead of in Three Pines, PQ.

📖 *The Valley-Westside War* - Harry Turtledove, TOR, N.Y., 2008

"History is bunk.....Lots of people, most people, even...in the home timeline had thought so, right up into the middle of the twenty-first century. But when you could go from one alternate to another, when you could see how one change in history altered everything that sprang from it, and when you needed to figure out how the changes worked, history wasn't bunk any more. Along with chronophysics, history was one of the underpinnings of Crosstime Traffic."

This is another of the Crosstime Traffic novels for young people, featuring boy from one timeline meeting girl from another. A formula, but one well handled. In this case, the time-lines branch off in the late 60s, just before a nuclear holocaust in one timeline, which sends civilization back to the Middle Ages, if not the Dark Ages, and divides what was one city (Los Angeles) into a group of petty kingdoms. Crosstime sends out a family of traders - they use families as a sort of protective coloration - to find out what went wrong. Mom and Dad are busy trading and protecting their stock, so it falls to young Liz

to do most of the detection. This is complicated by Dan, a 17-year-old soldier who is ignorant about many things, but as Liz discovers, not stupid.

One character is described as having an "amazing mustache" that "Asterix and Obelix and even Vitalstatistix would have envied," which is a clue that Turtledove is a fan of Goscinnny and Uderzo.

📖 *An Expert In Murder* - Nicola Upson, HarperCollins, N.Y., 2008

I wish I could say this is a better book than it is, since it is about our own Josephine Tey, and features a group that call themselves the Ricardians - but they are actors in a play about a different Richard, Richard of Bordeaux, Richard II. Not that it is a bad book. It is well written and well researched. Ms Upton even talked to Sir John Gielgud, who I believe was in the play, and who was certainly an expert on the period. It would be stretching a point to call the Tey of this novel an expert in murder, however, since the detecting is done by her policeman friend, and she mainly succeeds in getting herself into a great deal of trouble, like the empty-headed heroine of many a bodice-ripper (which she is not, and this is not). The original murder (there are two) is of a young girl who is a fan of Richard (the play), and may have been a case of mistaken identity. There are either too many coincidences, or too few. Everything is just a little too neat, a little too tied together, and although understandably dramatic, a little too melodramatic. At least for my taste; yours may differ.

My verdict: Not bad, just disappointing.


📖 *Uneasy Relations* - Aaron Elkins, Penguin, London, 2008

Not at all Ricardian, but included for its discussion of ankylosing spondylitis, which the fictional Richard and maybe even the real one may have had. The adventures of the Bone Detective, Gideon Oliver, are always enjoyable, and one painlessly learns something too. For example, I didn't know that there was another Guadalcanal. The plot involves a skeleton that seems to show a cross between a Neanderthal and homo sapiens - in this case perhaps femme sapiens.

📖 *A Prayer For The Damned* - Peter Tremayne, St Martin's Minotaur, NY, 2007

Fidelma and Eadulf have completed their year of trial marriage and are going to make it permanent. Since she is the sister of the King of Muman, this is going to be a slap-up occasion, whether they like it or not. But they surely didn't plan for the murder of an important cleric (an anti-marriage one at that). All festivities have to be put on hold till Fidelma solves the murder. Another excellent essay in deduction from the 7th century Jessica Fletcher.

Because of an editor's error, a sentence..in a story about Rockies prospect Hector Gomez buying a bus was changed from "On the back he put 'Los Peloteros' WHICH IN Spanish means 'The Ballplayers'" to "he put 'Los Plotters'" which in Spanish means "The Pallbearers." – Denver Post

 *Charrería Mexicana –An Equestrian Folk Tradition–* Kathleen Mullen Sands, Univ. of Arizona Press, Tucson, 1993

This grandchild of the Spanish bullfight and the English tourney is found in Mexico, as its cousin, the rodeo, is in the United States. Both "share 500 years of equestrian history where national borders are a recent notion and cultural borrowing a way of life." There are differences. Bulldogging, Mexican style, involves grabbing the tail of the animal, for instance! The saddle used is "a cousin of the American stock saddle..both having developed from Old World models modified for use in herding and roping.." and in Charrería often ornately decorated. In historic times, horses first came to the New World in 1493. Successive waves of conquest brought even more. The chronicler of Hernan Cortes' voyage seems to have been as interested in the horses, their coloration and character, as in the human personnel.

The author goes into a great deal of detail in describing the accoutrements and events of the Charrería, and even how the events are scored. This may be more than a non-expert would want to know. Skim these parts, and you will still get an interesting sidelight on a New World continuation of an old tradition.

An editorial Thursday...mistakenly said some hospitals had been "trying to get by with 15 or more nurses per patient." The reference was to the number of patients per nurse. – San Francisco Chronicle

 *The Serpent's Tale–* Ariana Franklin, G.P. Putnam's Sons, NY, 2008

This is not another in the Dame Frevisse mysteries, but a sequel to *Mistress of the Art of Death*. The protagonist of that story, Dr. Adelia Aguilar, is called into service again by Henry II, to investigate the death of his mistress, Rosamund Clifford, from poisoning. The fact that Adelia is breast-feeding a child makes no difference to the king — duty calls and she must investigate. Along the way, she crosses paths with Rowley Picot, her daughter's father, now the Bishop of St Albans, having advanced in the church. It was all a misunderstanding, you see. Adelia crosses the paths of a great many people, great (Queen Eleanor) and small, while using her medical and forensic talents to solve the mystery.

In her afterword, Ms. Franklin admits that the title "Doctor" was not used for medical practitioners in medieval times, but she uses it for our benefit, and our enjoyment. Recommended.

We spelt Morecambe, the town in Lancashire, wrong again on page 2, G2, yesterday. We often do. – The Guardian (UK)

 *Daughter Of York –* Anne Easter Smith, Simon & Schuster, NY, 2008

This is not exactly a sequel to the author's previous book, *A Rose for the Crown*, although some characters from that make cameo appearances in this, most notably a young Richard and his mistress, the Rose of that novel.

Ms. Smith has chosen the option of, as Josephine Tey put it, "writing forsoothly." Nothing wrong with that, but it's hard to keep up consistently. It catches the eye of the reader when a "certes" appears in one sentence and a reference to "clamming up" in the next. Of course, the first is uttered by a character and the second by the narrator, but it makes one aware that there is a narrator; the reader is not just a fly on the wall. Still, this is a minor matter, and probably stands out by its rarity.

It's not just because of the medieval dialogue that Marguerite (or Margaret) of York becomes real for the reader. Margaret is described as being taller than most of the men she meets — perhaps a six-footer, like the author. Most female readers are not. She comes from a very large family, being the oldest of the youngest group. Most of us do not — I certainly don't. She is a royal princess, always accompanied by ladies in waiting, always denied privacy — although she manages somehow. Most of us have not been married to a man like Charles of Burgundy, thankfully. Yet we can identify with her. Margaret has a live-in comedian, where most of us do not — not a professional one, anyway. Her jester-cum-acrobat-cum-servant-cum best friend, the dwarf Fortunata, is also someone we can identify with, although most of us are not dwarves. This, I think, is the author's outstanding skill.

The novel covers Margaret's life from her father's execution (which gives her occasional nightmares all her life) to 1480, when the widowed duchess returns to Burgundy after a visit to England. Ms. Smith says that "...Margaret's life after her return to Burgundy was so full of tragedy that I hesitate to burden the reader," so she stops there. True, perhaps, but they were the most interesting as well as the most tragic. However, she adds that "Margaret will feature as a peripheral character in my next novel about Perkin Warbeck...and in my fourth one about Cecily of York." (There is a clue in this volume as to who "Perkin" is going to be, but she might be misleading us.) We have something to look forward to!

Margaret, by the way, is a patron of William Caxton, and helps him with translating and preparing a book for printing – which brings us back to our theme.

Notes

- (1) Media bias does exist, though it cuts both ways, if not six ways from Sunday. So do plagiarism, outright fraud, the occasional deliberate hoax, and plain carelessness with checking facts. The author is on a crusade against all of these.
- (2) My mother's genuine obituary gave her the title of "Miss." So what does that make me? They never corrected it, because I never complained. Maybe I should have.
- (3) Sorry, the author did not say that. His forewordist, Jeff Jarvis, did. We regret the error. ⁽⁴⁾
- (4) That is, I regret the error. This reviewer does not wish to give anyone the impression that she is twins, or schizoid. (Even if true, this is not documented.)

Crossword Help Needed

We are looking for someone to take over the crossword puzzle published in the *Register*. Marion Davis is indefatigable as researcher/editor, but Charlie Jordan feels kaput as creator. He has been doing the puzzle for a long time and has done an excellent job.

Charlie has puzzle creation software which he would be happy to send to whoever takes the reins. Then it's just a matter of creating a puzzle 4 times a year!

Please let him know if you're interested. If we don't get any takers, the puzzle will disappear.

Contact Charlie at: charlie.jordan@cox.net

Do you have a Myspace account?

Are you a friend of Good King Richard?

Introducing the official Myspace page of the Richard III Society, American Branch:

<http://www.myspace.com/ricardusrex>

Richard III Society Fiction Library

(As Of Sept 12, 2008]

- Abbey, Margaret. *Brothers-in-Arms*. London: Robert Hale, 1973. 223pp. Seeing her father executed at Tewksbury, Catherine Newberry vows revenge on Edward IV, Richard of Gloucester, and George of Clarence.
- *The Crowned Boar* (also titled *Son of York*). London: Robert Hale, 1971. 205pp. Using some of the characters from *The Warwick Heiress*, this novel follows the adventures of Charles Beaumont as he takes service with Richard of Gloucester.
- *The Heart Is a Traitor*. London: Robert Hale, 1978. 189pp. The saga of Catherine Newberry (heroine of *Brothers-in-Arms*) continues. We follow Catherine and her son (who was secretly fathered by Richard, Duke of Gloucester, on one night of over-wrought passion) from the eve of Edward IV's death to the resolution of Buckingham's Rebellion.
- *The Warwick Heiress*. London: Robert Hale, 1970. 190pp. Piers Langham rescues a servant of Anne Neville and as a reward, enters into service with Richard of Gloucester. He soon becomes Gloucester's squire and has many adventures.
- Aliki. *A Medieval Feast*. New York: Thomas Crowell, 1983. The preparations and celebration of a feast held at an English manor house entertaining royal guests is described for young readers. Beautiful illustrations.
- Alphin, Marie. *Tournament of Time*. Kentucky: 1996. 115 pp. Two American youngsters encounter ghosts of Princes in the Tower and of Richard's son Edward while in England. Written for young readers 10+.
- Anand, Valerie. *Crown of Roses*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989. 404pp. Petronella Faldene becomes involved in the fortunes of the Yorkists. Action veers back and forth between events of Petronella's life and that of Richard as Gloucester and as King.
- *Women of Ashdon*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993. 373pp. This is the third book in Anand's *Bridges over Time* series. Novel is divided into two sections. First part tells the story of Susannah Whitmead and her three marriages from 1472-1499. Through her husbands, she becomes involved with the Wars of the Roses and Perkin Warbeck's adventures. This book gives a good view of history from women's point of view.
- Andrew, Prudence H. *The Constant Star*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1963. 256pp.
- *A Question of Choice*. New York: G.P. Putnam, 1962. 272pp. The political tensions of 15th century England come into play when a new abbot must be appointed for Woodchester Abbey.
- Anonymous. *Amours Of Edward the IV*. New York: Garden Publishing, 1973. 144 pp.

- Appleyard, Susan. *The King's White Rose*. New York: Paperjacks, 1988. 416pp. A romantic treatment is given to the life of Jane Shore from her adolescence to her engagement to Thomas Lynom in this bodice-ripper. Her true love is really Hastings and she helps Richard find Anne in the kitchen. Richard is presented as a dour, troubled man.
- Bailey, H.C. *The Merchant Prince*. E.P. Dutton, 1929. 281pp. A rags-to-riches story of Hugh Camoys, a poor widow's son who rises to wealth and prominence in 15th century Hampton. Sole library copy is in very fragile condition.
- Barlowe, Raleigh Bruce. *The Blackening of Richard III*. Leicestershire: Upfront Publishing, 1999. 126pp. Young Thomas More, who is raised in the household of Bishop John Morton to believe the late Richard III was a monstrous villain, begins to unravel the truth as his research contradicts Morton's depiction of the last Plantagenet monarch. A rather torturous look at More's life and psycho-spiritual make-up.
- Barnes, Margaret Campbell. *Brief Gaudy Hour*. Philadelphia: Macrae Smith Co., 1949. 335pp. A romantic, sympathetic retelling of Anne Boleyn's story beginning at Hever Castle (shortly before her voyage to France) and ending (where else?) at the block.
- . *The King's Bed*. Philadelphia: Macrae Smith Co., 1961. 286pp. Romance dealing with Richard's claimed illegitimate son Richard Plantagenet: his only meeting with his father, his decision to become a mason, and his love for an inn-keeper's daughter.
- . *The King's Fool*. Philadelphia: Macrae Smith Co., 1959. 286pp. The story of Henry VIII's fool, Will Somers, told from his perspective.
- . *The Tudor Rose*. Philadelphia: Macrae Smith Co., 1953. 513pp. Romantic novel dealing with the life of Elizabeth of York from 1482 until her death. Section dealing with her plotting against Richard III seems to be based on the Song of the Lady Bessy.
- . *Within The Hollow Crown*. New York: Signet Books, 1947. 302pp. Novel deals with the life of Richard II, his turbulent childhood and his love for his queen, Anne of Bohemia.
- Belle, Pamela. *The Lodestar*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987. 534pp. An illegitimate Percy kinsman joins the household of Richard of Gloucester and follows Richard's rise and fall. He must also deal with the ups and downs of his difficult relationship with his wife. Good historical detail.
- Bennett, *Mrs. Jane Shore*, or, *The Goldsmith's Wife*. London: Milner & Co. 288pp. First printed in 1839. The story of Jane Shore from 1468-1483. Very fine print — hard to read.
- Bennetts, Pamela. *The Third Richard*. London: Robert Hale, 1972. 288pp. Lord Ravenbrook, friend of Edward IV, overhears a plot to kill Edward's sons at the time of Richard's accession to the throne. When the boys disappear, he finds himself embroiled in the mystery and unsure of Richard's guilt or innocence.
- Benson, Robert Hugh. *The King's Achievement*. New York: P.J. Kennedy & Sons. 368 pp. The story of two brothers, one a monk of Lewes Priory, the other the agent of Thomas Cromwell during the Reformation and the dissolution of the monasteries.
- Bentley, Elizabeth. *The York Quest*. London: Robert Hale, 1980. 192pp. While investigating the mysterious death of her sister, Margaret Stapleton finds the sons of Edward IV hiding in York and helps them escape to Burgundy.
- Bentley, Pauline. *Silk and Sword*. London: Masquerade Historical (Mills & Boon), 1993. pp. 254. Lady Eleanor, daughter of a supporter of Edward IV who had received Highford Castle as his reward, first meets as an abducted woman, Conrad D'Arton, son of the original owner of the Castle, sworn enemy of her family and supporter of Henry Tudor. Eleanor's world is turned upside-down following Bosworth Field.
- Bolton, Ivy. *A Loyal Foe*. London: Longsman, Green and Co., 1933. 260 pp. This story of Rex Damory is set in the last years of the Wars of the Roses, in the reigns of Edward IV and Richard III. Rex, heir of the noble house of Damory, is captured and, although he belongs to the Red Rose party, later becomes the loved and trusted companion of Prince Edward. The book very much follows the traditional view of Richard.
- Bowden, Susan. *In the Shadow of the Crown*. New York: Bantam, 1987. 424pp. In 1482, Joisse Radcliffe, a young noblewoman, becomes a lady-in-waiting to Anne Neville. She shares in the fortunes of Richard and Anne and becomes romantically involved with Richard's head stable groom.
- Bowen, Marjorie. *Dickon*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1929. 343pp. Richard III's life from his childhood exile to his death at Bosworth Field is treated as a romantic legend, with no mention of the mystery of the Princes.
- Brandewyne, Rebecca. *Rose of Rapture*. New York: Warner Books, 1984. 463pp. Lady Isabella Ashley, ward of Richard Gloucester, finds true lust with Lord Hawkhurst while the Wars of the Roses go on.
- Bridge, S.R. *The Woodville*. London: Robert Hale, 1976. 202pp. The story of Elizabeth Woodville from 1461-1471 is the focus of this novel. Elizabeth is seen as a noble and loving wife.
- Brooks, Janice Young. *Forbidden Fires*. New York: Playboy Press, 1980. 303pp. Mattie has affairs with 3 men until she finds true love. She also happens to be friends with Anne Neville and Richard Gloucester, and saves the life of one of the Princes.
- Buchan, John. *The Blanket of the Dark*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1931. 301pp.
- Bulwer-Lytton, Edward. *The Last of the Barons*, illus. By E. Pollak (2 vol.). New York: Charles Scribner & Sons, 1903. Vol I: 427pp; Vol II: 451pp. Prolix Victorian novel dealing with the career of the Earl of Warwick, and also covering legends of Edward IV's sorcery. Anti-Yorkist in outlook. Well researched for its day, but written in a very dense style.

- Burton, Edmund. *Under the Red Rose*. London: P.R. Gawthorn, Ltd., no date. 152 pp. (in same volume with *Hearts Aflame*). Boys' öderring-doö story of the events of Tudor's campaign of 1485 leading up to Bosworth Field, as two cousins follow Richard III and Tudor, respectively.
- Carleton, Patrick. *Under the Hog*. New York: E.P. Dutton, 1938. 514pp. Detailed, unsentimental, colorful novel dealing with the lives of Edward IV, Clarence and Richard. Good detailed characterizations and fine writing, especially in maintaining the historically accurate medieval mindsets of these people.
- Carsley, Anne. *This Ravished Rose*. New York: Pocket Books, 1980. 372pp. The forced marriage between Katherine and James eventually turns to love. Lots of sex and violence. Richard, Duke of Gloucester, makes several brief appearances.
- Caskoden, Edwin. *When Knighthood was in Flower*. New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1898. pp. 358.
- Clarke, Brenda Honeyman. (look under Brenda Honeyman and Kate Sedley).
- Clayton, Elaine. *The Yeoman's Daring Daughter and the Princes in the Tower*. New York: Crown Publishing Group, 1999. 40 pp. In 1483, the daughter of a yeoman guard (actually, the Yeoman Warders were not founded until the reign of Henry VII) exchanges notes with the two Princes who have been locked up in the Tower of London by their scheming uncle Richard. Written entirely as an exchange of letters with color pictures. Not stated in the text but implied by the pictures is Richard's plan to murder the Princes. For children 4-8.
- Costain, Thomas. *The Three Edwards*. New York: Fawcett, 1962. 480 pp.
- *The Magnificent Century*. New York: Doubleday, 1954. 384 pp. A popular history chronicle of the history of the Plantagenet dynasty by noted historical novelist.
- *The Last Plantagenets*. New York: Doubleday, 1962. 423 pp.
- *The Conquering Family*. New York: Doubleday, 1949. 278 pp.
- *Below The Salt*. New York: Doubleday, 1957. 480 pp.
- Darby, Catherine. *A Dream of Fair Serpents*. New York: Popular Library, 1979. 318 pp.
- Davidson, Margaret. *My Lords Richard*. London: Cassell Ltd. 277 pp. Anne Neville tells the story of her life and of her two important loves: her father, Richard, Earl of Warwick, and her husband, Richard III.
- Davis, Iris. *Bride of the Thirteenth Summer*. London: Robert Hale, 1975. 218pp. The life of Margaret Beaufort is treated as a romance.
- *Tudor Tapestry*. London: Robert Hale, 1974. 222 pp. Catherine, Henry V's widow, and her relationship with Owen Tudor are the subjects of this novel.
- Doherty, P.C. *Dove Amongst the Hawks*. London: Robert Hale, 1990. 160pp. Dr. Luke Chichele is given the task of investigating (during Henry VII's reign) the death of Henry VI to determine if he was a saint. Unexpected suggested solution.
- *The Fate of Princes*. London: Robert Hale, 1990. 192pp. Francis Lovell is given the task by Richard III to investigate the fate of the sons of Edward IV. Good on exploring the plotting against and suspicions of Richard III, even by his friends.
- Durst, Paul. *The Florentine Table*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1980. 207pp. An American writer in London finds his two sons start to act strangely when they come into possession of a table reported to have belonged to Richard III.
- Dymoke, Juliet. *The Sun in Splendour*. London: New English Library Publications, 1980. 203pp. Sixth book in The Plantagenet series. We follow Elizabeth Tilney, cousin of Elizabeth Woodville and later wife to Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, as her story interweaves with the history of the House of York from Edward IV's marriage to Elizabeth Woodville through the aftermath of Bosworth Field.
- Eckerson, Olive. *The Golden Yoke*. New York: Coward-McCann, 1961. 415pp. The relationship between Richard III and Anne Neville, beginning when he is 17 and she is 13 and ending at Richard's death, is the subject of this romantic and largely fanciful novel.
- Edwards, Rhoda. *The Broken Sword* (English title: *Some Touch of Pity*). New York: 1976. 295pp. Fine, unusual novel of Richard III's life from April 1483 until shortly after his death. Each chapter is ötoldö by a different character in a different voice: Richard, Anne, Lovell, Dr. Hobson, and others. True to known historical facts.
- *Fortune's Wheel*. New York: Doubleday, 1979. 273pp. This novel, written after *The Broken Sword*, covers Richard's life from age 16 until his marriage to Anne Neville in 1472. Told in 3rd person, it tells of Richard's maturation and gradual hardening in response to the traumatic events of this period.
- *None but Elizabeth*. London: Hutchinson, 1982. 349 pp. This book covers a lot of ground in a short span of pages. The result is an engaging & intimate view of Elizabeth's life, which is more episodic than comprehensive. As might be expected, the emphasis here is on Elizabeth's relationship with Robert Dudley, while the political upheavals of her reign are treated as a backdrop to the story.
- Evans, Jean. *The White Rose of York*. London: Robert Hale, 1972. 192pp. Events in Richard III's life from Edward IV's death until shortly after Richard's death are told here with a strong emphasis on the plotting of Elizabeth Woodville and Margaret Beaufort.
- *The Divided Rose*. London: New English Library, 1972. 159 pp. Spunky dialogue, acrimonious family in-fighting, scheming Woodvilles and a tenacious Queen Margaret keep things moving along at a satisfying clip, from the eve of E4's fateful meeting with Elizabeth Woodville to the aftermath of Tewkesbury. An enjoyable, if light-weight, read.

- Everett-Green, Evelyn. *In the Wars of the Roses*. London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd., [1912?]. Old-fashioned adventure tale of the life of Edward of Lancaster (son of Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou), and of his faithful follower Paul. Anne Neville loves Edward and tries to join him after Tewkesbury. The misfortunes of the House of York are seen as divine punishment for the murder of Edward after the battle.
- Eyre, Katherine Wigmore. *The Lute and the Glove*. New York: Ace Books, 1955. 223pp. A gothic tale of a young American woman who discovers a terrifying bond between herself and an ancestor who had an affair with Edward Courtenay, one of the last Yorkist claimants to the throne.
- *Song of a Thrush*, illus. By Stephani and Edwin Godwin, New York: Oxford University Press, 1952. After the death of George, Duke of Clarence, his children Margaret and Edward are sent to live with their kindly Woodville relations at Ludlow while their vicious crookbacked uncle Gloucester plots and schemes to eliminate rivals for the throne. For young readers 10+.
- Fairburn, Eleanor. *The Rose in Spring*. New York: Pinnacle Press, 1971. 192pp.
- *White Rose, Dark Summer*. London: Robert Hale, 1972. 206pp.
- *The Rose at Harvest End*. London: Robert Hale, 1974. 213pp.
- *Winter's Rose*. London: Robert Hale, 1976. 188pp. These four novels focus on the life of Cecily Neville, Duchess of York, starting from her marriage to Richard Duke of York, until her death at 95.
- Falconieri, David. *Beggar's Throne*. San Francisco: McAdam/Cage Publishing, 2000. 391 pp. The novel primarily follows, during the period 1461-1471, the fortunes of Samuel, former page to Edmund of Rutland, who become a follower of Edward IV after Wakefield. The lives of Samuel, his family, and friends are interspersed with those of Lancaster and York. Richard appears briefly. Well written.
- Farrington, Robert. *The Killing of Richard III*. London: Chato and Windus, 1971. 287pp.
- *Tudor Agent*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1978. 251pp.
- *Traitors of Bosworth*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1978. 251 pp. This trio of novels deals with the career of Henry Morane, Privy Clerk to the King's Secretary, who serves Richard III as a spy, serves Henry VII as the creator of a spy service, and finally gets his revenge on the men who betrayed Richard at Bosworth.
- Few, Mary Dodgen. *Under the White Boar*. Illus. By Elizabeth Fuller-Drake. South Carolina: Anderson House/Hallux, 1971. 219pp. Main focus is Richard's attempt to maintain his high ideals in spite of his family's actions.
- Ford, John M. *The Dragon Waiting*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1983. 363pp. Alternative history/fantasy. Richard III wins the Battle of Bosworth with the aid of magic. Alternative universe fantasy which supposes that Christianity did not spread over Europe and that magic abounds. Unusual.
- Frazer, Margaret. *The Novice's Tale* (first in the series). New York: Berkley Prime Crime Book, 1992. 229 pp.
- #2 *The Servant's Tale*. New York: Berkley Prime Crime Book, 1993. 234 pp.
- #3 *The Outlaw's Tale*. New York: Berkley Prime Crime Book, 1994. 217 pp. ——— #4 *The Bishop's Tale*. New York: Berkley Prime Crime Book, 1994. 198 pp.
- #5 *The Boy's Tale*. New York: Berkley Prime Crime Book, 1995. 233 pp.
- #11 *The Clerk's Tale*. New York: Berkley Prime Crime Book, 2002. 312 pp. Set during the reign of Henry VI, this series follows the exploits of Dame Frevisse, a Benedictine nun and amateur sleuth (who also happens to be the grand-niece of Geoffrey Chaucer), as she unravels mysteries against a back drop of politics and intrigue both in and out of the Abbey. The characters and historical detail make these very enjoyable reading.
- Garcia Y Robertson, R. *Knight Errant*. (first in the series) New York: Tor Books, 2001. 553 pp. Robyn Stafford, a thoroughly modern heroine, finds herself transported to 15th-century England in this novel of time travel, romance, witchcraft, and political intrigue, set in one of England's most turbulent historical periods. Robyn's search for a way back to her own time is complicated by her growing love for Edward Mortimer, Earl of March, a key figure in an escalating struggle for the English throne.
- #2 *Lady Robyn*. New York: Forge Books, 2003 399 pp. The author of Knight Errant continues the romantic, magical, often humorous romp through Wars of the Roses. If the duke succeeds in claiming the throne, Edward will be in line for the crown. Robyn, however, neither wishes to be queen nor to raise a brood of royals, for in the 1460s heirs tend to die young, usually by treachery. Nasty complications arise when Robyn is accused of plotting to murder the duke by witchcraft.
- #3 *White Rose*. New York: Tor Books, 2004 422 pp. The third volume in the saga of Hollywood executive Robyn Stafford, transplanted by witchcraft to the Wars of the Roses and ennobled, heightens the tension. Lady Robyn of Pontefract is, by magic, traveling both back and forth in time and across Europe. But there is no magic to disarm her enemies or bring peace to England. On the other hand, she now carries the child of Edward, Earl of March (who will be King Edward IV), and her only sometimes ditsy assistant, Heidi, goes back in time with her to save Robyn's and her own life by using her gift of lechery on Owen Tudor (not the only high-powered sex scene in the book). Abundant historical detail contributes to such compelling scenes as Robyn fighting a duel in drag and witnessing the Battle of Mortimer's Cross. With characterization equally compelling, this is a time-travel romance on the level of Gabaldon's *Outlander* series. So newcomers should retreat to *Lady Robyn* (2003) and *Knight Errant* (2001) and enjoy, enjoy.

- Gellis, Roberta. *The Dragon & the Rose*. Chicago: Playboy Press, 1977. 363 pp.
- George, Elizabeth. *I, Richard*. New York: Random House, 2002. 244 pp. In the title story of this five story collection, ambitious and murderous schoolteacher Malcolm Cousins is determined to perpetuate the reputation of his hero, Richard III, while also absconding with the wife and substantial legacy of a former school chum.
- Gleason, Edwin Putnam. *The Mystery of Bashingam Castle*. New York: Pageant Press, 1967. 120 pp.
- Gower, Iris. *Destiny's Child*. Thorndike, ME: G.K. Hall Press, 1999 (1975) (Large Print). 262pp. Sympathetic biographical novel of Margaret Beaufort, emphasizing her lifelong devotion to her son Henry.
- Grace, C.L. *The Eye of God*. St. Martin's Press, 1994. 198pp. The second in the mystery series featuring Kathryn Swinbrooke, a physician in 15th century Canterbury. Just before the Battle of Barnet, Warwick entrusts the Eye of God, a relic, to a trusted soldier who later dies. Soldier Murtagh and Swinbrook are ordered by Edward IV to find the relic and the cause of death. Unflattering portrait of 3 Yorkist brothers.
- *The Merchant of Death*. St. Martin's Press, 1995. 182pp. Third in the Kathryn Swinbrooke series. Kathryn and Murtagh are called upon to investigate the death of Sir Reginald Erpingham, a tax collector for Edward IV, and the disappearance of the tax monies.
- *Saintly Murders*. St. Martin's Press, 2001. Fifth in the Kathryn Swinbrooke series. In the late summer of 1472, medieval physician and apothecary Kathryn Swinbrooke is summoned to investigate yet another puzzling situation in Canterbury. She is appointed by the Archbishop as Advocatus Diaboli the Devil's Advocate to argue against the beatification of Roger Atworth, a friar in the Order of the Sack and the confessor of Dame Cecily of York, King Edward's mother.
- Graham, Alice Walworth. *The Summer Queen*. New York: Doubleday, 1973. 296pp. An account of the marriage and life of Edward IV and Elizabeth Woodville, as seen through the eyes of Cecily Bonville — Edward's cousin, Dorset's wife, and Elizabeth's lady-in-waiting.
- Griffith, Kathryn Meyer. *The Heart of the Rose*. New York: Leisure Books, 1985. 477pp. Beautiful Bronwyn is Edward IV's mistress, giving him support in his feud with the powerful Warwick. Warwick accuses her of using witchcraft to enchant the King, but he too falls under her spell. Romance genre.
- Hamilton, Julia. *Son of York*. [U.K]: Sphere, 1973. 172 pp. Biographical novel of Edward IV told from multiple points of view, including that of Edward himself.
- Hardwick, Mollie. *I Remember Love*. St. Martin's Press, New York, 1983. 335pp. A historical romance based on the idea that love can survive in souls' memories. The first story deals with lovers in the Earl of Warwick's household, and Richard of Gloucester appears in the story. The second story takes place during the dissolution of the monasteries and the third during Victorian times.
- Hardy, Blanche. *Dynasty*. London: Philip Allan & Co. Ltd., 1925 (1935 reprint). 250 pp. The story of Katherine Plantagenet (daughter of Edward IV), during the reign of Henry VII. Other Tudor cousins appearing (at least briefly) in the book include: Elizabeth of York, Cecily, Bridget, Anne (Katherine's sisters), William Courtney (Katherine's husband), Perkin Warbeck and several of the de la Pole clan. An enjoyable read.
- Harnett, Cynthia. *Nicholas and the Wool-Pack* (also titled *The Merchant's Mark*). G.P Putnam, New York. 181pp. Nicholas Fetterlock and two friends foil a plot by a dishonest servant and an Italian banker to discredit Nicholas' father, a wool merchant. Lively novel for young readers with informative illustrations of daily 15th century life. Suitable for 10+.
- *The Writing On the Hearth*. Minneapolis: Lerner Publications Company, 1971. 300 pp. Stephen worries that his dreams to study at Oxford may be jeopardized by his association with someone who practices black magic.
- *The Cargo Of the Madalena*. Minneapolis: Lerner Publications Company, 1959. 236 pp. Bendy solves the mystery when Caxton, the master printer, fails to receive paper shipped to him aboard the Madalena.
- *Caxton's Challenge*. Cleveland: The World Publishing Company, 1959. 254 pp. See *The Cargo of the Madalena*.
- Harper, Karen. *Sweet Passion's Pain*. New York: Zebra Books, 1984 pp. 509 pp. Romantic tale of the Black Prince's love for Joan of Kent.
- Harrod-Eagles, Cynthia. *The Founding*. Dell Publishing, 1980. 595 pp.
- *The Dark Rose*, 528pp., 1981. The two romantic novels deal with the ups and downs of the Morlands, a prominent Yorkshire family with extensive ties to the Yorkist party. Both the Duke of York and Richard as Duke and King appear. Book one deals with the Yorkist period; Book Two with the early Tudors.
- Harwood, Alice. *Merchant of the Ruby*. Indianapolis: The Bob Merrill Company Inc., 1950. 445 pp. (ADDED 2003)
- Henley, Virginia. *The Raven and the Rose*. Dell Publishing, New York, 1987. 394pp. Roseanna Castlemaine, illegitimate daughter of Edward IV, finds herself wed to arrogant Robert Ravenspur. Both have lots of sex before they decide they like each other. Brief appearances by Richard, Duke of Gloucester.
- Higginbotham, Susan. *The Traitor's Wife*. New York: iUniverse, 2005. 477 pp. The story of the reign of Edward II, seen through the eyes of his niece, Eleanor le Claire, wife to the king's favorite, Hugh de Despenser.

- Hill, Pamela. *Here Lies Margot*. New York: G.P Putnam, 1958. 255 pp. Based on the life of Margaret of Burgundy, betrothed to Charles of France but wed to the son of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain.
- Hill, Sydney. *Don't Call Him Mortimer*; London: Millennium, London, 1996. This novel follows the career of a fictional illegitimate son of Edward IV. Both Richard Gloucester and his bastard son John are major characters. Not very well written.
- Hocking, Mary. *He Who Plays the King*. London: Catto & Windus Ltd., 1980. 232 pp. Intertwines the lives of Henry Tudor and Richard (from 1459 to Bosworth), a refreshingly non-partisan approach. Written in a quiet, poetic style, this book focuses primarily on the inner workings of the characters, who are drawn with sensitivity, humanity and compassion.
- Honeyman, Brenda. *The Kingmaker*. London: Robert Hale, 1969. 208 pp. (Also published as *Last of the Barons* by Brenda Clarke. NY: Severn House: 1998) The Earl of Warwick's life and also the loves of the family of Cecily Neville from 1455-1471 are the subjects of this novel. Fairly accurate with good characterizations. Honeyman's other nom de plum is Kate Sedley (below).
- *Richard By Grace of God*. London: Robert Hale, 1968. 255pp. (Also published as *Richard Plantagenet* by Brenda Clarke) This novel presents a complex characterization of Richard and his relationships with Edward and George. Richard's followers murder the Princes, thinking to do what Richard desired (a Henry II/Becket kind of thing), leaving Richard guilt-stricken. Well-written.
- *Richmond and Elizabeth*. Robert Hale, London, 1970. 224pp. This novel tells of the lives of Elizabeth of York and Henry Tudor from 1470 until Elizabeth's death. Compelling style, good characterizations.
- *Warrior King*. New York: Pinnacle Books, 1967. 218pp. Henry V's life from the death of John of Gaunt in 1399 until Henry's passing in 1422.
- Horter, Pamela Jean. *Brief Candles*. New York: Vantage Press, Inc., 1983. 218pp. This story about the sons of Edward IV, begins at Yuletide 1482 and ends at Bosworth Field, with Edward V as the main protagonist. The boys are sympathetically and sensitively depicted. The book suffers a little from confused intent, particularly in the final chapters, when the focus shifts to Richard III. Buckingham takes the blame for the death of the boys.
- Hume, Robert. *Ruling Ambition: the Story of Perkin Warbeck*. Denbigh, N. Wales: Gee & Sons, 2000. 208pp. Perkin Warbeck is depicted as a rather unthinking young man, who is induced to impersonate Richard, Duke of York, by a scheming Margaret of Burgundy. From there, his tale is a rather painful and inexorable self-destructive descent. The characterizations here are rather thin and improbable, but historical details appear to be well-researched.
- Hunt, Wray. *Satan's Daughter*. New York: Pocket Books, 1976. 256pp. A young woman joins a coven of witches and soon becomes involved with a former mistress of Edward IV in a plot to murder Henry Tudor.
- Irwin, Frances. *My Lady of Wycherly*. London: Robert Hale, 1971. Lady Katherine must wed the older Lord Jocelin Vernon, which takes her to London and court during the eventful reign of Richard III and the invasion of Henry Tudor.
- *The Winter Killing*. London: Robert Hale, 1977. 179 pp. Chronicles Ralph Wentworth's service as squire to Edmund of Rutland from Ludlow in 1455 to Wakefield in 1461. After Edmund's death, Ralph joins Edward of March at Mortimer's Cross to avenge him.
- *The White Queen*. London: Robert Hale, 1974. 190pp. Sequel to *The White Pawn*, this novel takes up Anne Neville's life from her marriage to Richard until her death. Interesting complexity to the character of Anne.
- Jarman, Rosemary Hawley. *The Courts of Illusion*. London: Collins, 1983. 370pp. Nicholas Archer, son of a character in *We Speak No Treason*, joins the cause of Perkin Warbeck.
- *Crown in Candlelight*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1978. pp477. The intertwined tale of Henry V and Katherine Valois, ending with the death of Owen ap Tudor; told with Jarman's signature lyricism.
- *The King's Grey Mare*. New York: Little Brown & Co., 1973. 448pp. This novel focuses sympathetically on the life of Elizabeth Woodville with a subplot concerning a love affair between Richard's illegitimate son John of Gloucester and Edward IV's illegitimate daughter Grace. Vivid characterizations.
- *We Speak No Treason*. London: Collins, 1971. 576pp. This finely written novel explores Richard's life from age 17 on through the eyes of three narrators who loved him: the woman who bore his illegitimate daughter Katherine, a court fool, and an archer in his army. Each narrator speaks in a different style. One scene powerfully uses the personal prayer from Richard's Book of Hours.
- Kay, Guy Gauriel. *A Song for Arbonne*. New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1992. 513 pp.
- Kettle, Jocelyn. *Memorial to the Duchess*. Herbert Jenkins, London, 1968. 251pp. This novel traces the life of Alice Chaucer, Duchess of Suffolk, from the age of 10 until her death at 71, covering the reigns of Henry V to Edward IV.
- Kilbourne, Janet. *Garland of the Realm*. Robert Hale, London, 1972. 288pp. Richard's life from immediately before Edward IV's death to the Battle of Bosworth is the subject of this novel, written when the author was 14 — and surprisingly well-written, too, in a spirited style.
- *Wither One Rose*. Robert Hale, London, 1973. 255 pp. The story of Henry Tudor and his marriage to Elizabeth of York is told with an interesting sensitivity.

— To be continued in Winter issue

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