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Challenge in the Mist by Graham Turner

Dawn on the 14th April 1471, Richard Duke of Gloucester and his men strain to pick out the Lancastrian army through the thick mist that envelopes the battlefield at Barnet.

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Economics and the Wars of the Roses

Inside cover

(not printed)

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Economics and the Wars of the Roses

Brian Wainwright

A number of economic factors had a particular influence on England at the time of the Wars of the Roses. The purpose of this article is to explore some of them, though it is necessary to go back to earlier periods of history, certainly the fourteenth century, to understand the roots of these issues.

One of the most significant was the relative shortage of labour. It has been estimated that between 1348 and 1350 the Black Death killed 1.5 million people out of a total population of around 4 million. At this time there was no large-scale immigration. Indeed most people rarely, if ever, travelled more than a few miles from their home village or town, so there were no means by which numbers [of people] could be made up in the short term. The population of England and Wales was slow to recover. In 1500, 150 years after the Great Plague, it is estimated at between 2.2 and 2.6 million, depending which source is preferred.

A second and often overlooked factor is the damage to national finances caused by Edward III's disastrous foreign policy. Though this brought the 'glory' of Crecy and Poitiers, it also led to a long losing war which the country could not afford to finance, and a threadbare exchequer that made Richard II's task an exceedingly difficult one. Novel forms of taxation to meet the deficit led to the Peasants' Revolt of 1381 and to class warfare by means of legislation, including a vain attempt to hold down the level of wages by statute. (There was a labour shortage, remember? It was inevitable that real wages would rise – and they did – but the ultra-conservative landlords sitting in Parliament acted like so many King Cnuts.) Richard II did bring about national solvency through his peace policy and by the proscription of certain rich enemies. At the end of his reign the exchequer was full and there were barrels of gold stacked up in Holt Castle. The policies of the three successive Lancastrian kings reversed this temporary prosperity, and by the 1450s the disastrous outcome of the French war left the country virtually bankrupt. The direct impact on the great lords was that they could not (generally) recover the debts the Crown owed them, nor did they rely on receiving the salaries for the offices they held or the grants due to them from the exchequer. For someone like the Duke of York, who had run up large debts in Crown service while in France and Ireland, and who relied on exchequer grants for a fair proportion of his basic income, this was a matter of direct concern.

Thirdly, arising principally from the labour shortage, there was a fall in the value of land. It's pretty obvious that if you have no one to work your land that land quickly reverts to waste and produces little or nothing. Some villages were completely wiped out by the Black Death and were simply abandoned. Historically, lords had relied upon serf labour to work their demesne lands; now those serfs were fewer in number and aware of the increased real value of their labour. The difficulty in carrying on in the same old way accelerated a trend that had started at least a century earlier; lords gave up their own direct involvement in agriculture and leased out not only demesne land but whole manors and lordships. It was more straightforward to collect fixed cash rent from one person than to bully and cajole sundry discontented serfs into performing labour service. The tenants (mostly people of substantial means) often turned former arable land over to sheep farming, displacing what population was left. Alternatively they relied upon hired labourers. Where feudal obligations remained, they were often commuted for cash or avoided altogether. Land rents were rarely, if ever, reassessed to take account of inflation or any added value the tenant had developed. A conservative attitude to economics led to a general assumption that if a piece of land was worth £1 a year in 1300, it was still worth that in 1450. Indeed the main purpose of producing

a *valor* for a lord's lands was to ensure his officials were not cheating him, not to provide evidence that income could be increased.

A fourth issue was the damage caused by the Glendower Rising from 1400 to (circa) 1412. Obviously this had little impact on those lords with no Welsh property, but most of the great magnates (including the King) did have substantial Welsh lands. Obvious 15th Century examples are the dukes of York and Buckingham and the Earl of Warwick. In the 1390s quite astonishing sums were raised from this relatively poor country, even allowing for the fact that the Welsh were not required to pay Parliamentary taxation. For example when Henry Bolingbroke (later Henry IV) visited his lordship of Brecon for the first time in 1397 he was granted a subsidy of £1,333 payable over three years, adding at least 35% to the existing far from modest demands on his tenants there during that period. In 1393 the Earl of March drew no less than £2,775 from his Welsh lands, while in the same era Richard Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel was taking at least £1500 a year from his relatively small lordships in the north east of the country. To set these figures in context, at this time the theoretical endowment for an earldom was 1000 marks of annual income (just under £667) and for a dukedom £1000. The enormous damage done by the Glendower rising slashed net income for these lords almost completely in the short term, and the wrecked Welsh economy took a very long time to recover. There was a glut of vacant property and tenants increasingly refused to accept land except of the basis of English tenure which (perhaps surprisingly) was more favourable to the tenant. It is safe to say that the revenues from Welsh lands and lordships in the 15th Century never again approached the dizzying heights of the 1390s.

What were the impacts of these changes on 15th Century noble families? First, we should be clear that none of these people were not exactly starving. It was possible to live as a gentleman on £5 a year, while a £100 a year was a reasonable income for a quite wealthy knight. Yet the nobles needed huge incomes to maintain their status. Put yourself in their place for a moment. It goes without saying that you and your lady must be dressed in the best, and ride top quality horses. These things do not come cheap. Silk and similar luxury fabrics are in real terms much dearer than in the 21st Century. It is not unknown for a great lady's dressmaker's bill to exceed £1000. A good warhorse can cost £80 and even a relatively cheap one for riding will be around £5. The castle that belonged to your grandfather may not be up to the standards required for modern living. Rebuilding it will be an expensive option, and if you decide to build a new mansion instead it will cost in the region of 7000 marks (£4667) for something roughly appropriate to your rank.

Then there is the matter of your household. The more important you are, the more people you will have to employ. The wage roll is quite likely to run to hundreds of men and a few women. (The expected number of staff for an earl was around 200) Now it's true that labour is cheap, but the wages, food and livery coats for so many people add up. In addition, many of the employees will be gentlefolk and expect expensive cloth for their liveries and decent wages. Nor is this the end of the human resources issue. Someone will have to be paid to collect your rents and manage your estates; in fact you will almost certainly have your own council, with several lawyers on it. Everyone knows how expensive *they* are. There will be at least some retainers, paid to show up when you go to war and also sometimes to attend you in peace, so everyone can see how rich and powerful you are. Then there are 'feed men'. Your hangers-on, people you want to influence and have on your side – local officials, for example. Their annuities all add up.

Next, consider your children. Apart from the cost of bringing them up, clothing them, giving them horses and so on, the daughters will certainly need dowries. We are looking at

hundreds, if not thousands for each one, depending on how high up the social scale they marry. As it's disgraceful to marry them much below their social class, this is going to be costly, especially if you're a medieval version of Mr. Benet. Even nunneries aren't cheap to enter, not if you want one of the few top-class ones, like Barking or Sion. Then there are your younger sons. The days have long gone when you could simply give them a sword and a coat of mail and send them off to the crusades. You are now expected to provide them with at least *some* land. However, there's still a social taboo against alienating inherited land from the eldest son, so you are going to have to buy or otherwise acquire it. Because of that taboo, land is in short supply and purchasing it takes luck and knowledge. Usually the only people who want to sell are either childless or in very serious debt. You are likely to be up against other bidders and even if you do succeed you'll have to be quite sure that you have good title and there are no other claimants. Do you think there might be a few lawyer's fees involved?

Then there's your soul to worry about. You'll certainly be generous to the church during your life, if only because it's part of your status. Yet as you get older, and start to worry about dying (given that this is the 15th Century you won't need to be *that* old to have concerns) you'll certainly want to do more. It's too expensive nowadays to found a monastery (the mortmain licence alone is prohibitive) but you'll certainly want to put money aside to ensure you have a good funeral (with plenty of tips handed out so people will pray for you), a fine tomb (so people will remember you and pray for you), and some provision for priests to say masses for you for a very long time. You may be able to put some of your estates in trust (enfeoffment) to pay for all this, but one way or another it will cost.

You may think you can skip some of this – so you can, but if you do, you would 'lose worship', that is, people would not respect you as they should one of your rank. The medieval concept of *largesse* is a foreign language to the 21st Century monarchy and nobility in the UK. They would regard it as *nouveau riche* if not downright common. Medieval nobles were more like Arab oil sheikhs, who routinely hand out Rolex watches to their gardeners and chauffeurs. You must not only spend, but be seen to spend, lavishly and with open-handed generosity. Warwick the Kingmaker allowed random strangers to take hunks of meat from his kitchen; it was part of his image as a great man.

To some extent the greatest peers were protected against declining land incomes by a series of what might be called 'corporate mergers'. McFarlane points out that in 1300 there were 136 families whose heads had received at least one personal summons to Parliament (in effect, they were peers). A further 221 peerages were created over the next 200 years. However, by 1500 there were only 61 peers, and only 16 of them had unbroken male descent back to 1300. It is a mistake to think this was entirely down to the slaughter of the Wars of the Roses, or the political turmoil during the reigns of Edward II, Richard II and Henry VI. The principal cause was infertility. To some extent this may have been caused by inbreeding. Prior to *Magna Carta* great heiresses had been handed out to all sorts of dubious individuals, including foreign mercenaries and penniless knights. By the 15th Century they were the exclusive preserve of the nobility, and everyone 'suitable' as a marriage partner was some kind of cousin. One result of this was to concentrate the bulk of land in the ownership of fewer and fewer individuals.

The Warwick family is an excellent example – perhaps even the best. Back in the 13th Century, William Beauchamp of Elmley was lucky enough to marry Isabel Mauduit, who turned out to be heiress to her brother, the Earl of Warwick, when he died without issue. (She was heiress of her mother, who represented the still earlier Beaumont earls.) His descendant Richard Beauchamp (1382-1439) married two heiresses in succession; firstly

the Berkeley heiress, and then in 1423, the real jackpot, the Despenser heiress, who by a remarkable chance was the widow of his cousin and namesake, Richard Beauchamp of Abergavenny. This lady brought with her the vast Despenser inheritance, including the senior share of the former de Clare lands, including the Marcher Lordship of Glamorgan, the biggest and best of all such lordships, and the former Burghersh lands of her grandmother. As a bonus, because Beauchamp of Abergavenny had died without a male heir much of his endowment also returned 'home' to Warwick as it was entailed to the male Beauchamp line, while Warwick retained effective control of what was left. Beauchamp and Isabelle Despenser had one son, Henry, who eventually inherited everything apart from the Berkeley lands, which went to his half-sisters.

In 1434 Henry Beauchamp married Cecile Neville and at the same time his full sister, Anne Beauchamp, married Richard Neville, son of the Earl of Salisbury. Salisbury had received the lion's share of the Neville lands because his mother, Joan Beaufort, had been given a jointure in them and preferred her own eldest son to his elder half-brother, the Earl of Westmorland. In addition, he had married Alice Montagu, heiress of the Montagu (or Montacute) earls of Salisbury. This marriage cost Salisbury a net dowry of 4700 marks (about £3,133) a figure only exceeded in the 15th Century by the 70,000 florins (about 14000 marks or £9333) supposedly attached to Lucia of Milan when she married Edmund, Earl of Kent. Kent never saw a penny. Richard Beauchamp undoubtedly did, and the size of the net dowry (bearing in mind there was a gross figure offset by Anne Beauchamp's dowry) demonstrates the exceptional value of his heir's marriage.

Henry Beauchamp was created Duke of Warwick, but died young leaving a daughter who died in infancy. Salisbury's investment paid off handsomely as his son now inherited the combined Warwick estates; of course on his father's death in 1460 he also inherited the Salisbury/Neville lands into the bargain. 'Warwick the Kingmaker' in his person represented no less than 5 magnates who had attended Richard II's court: Warwick, Salisbury, Beauchamp of Abergavenny, Westmorland (in part) and Despenser, Earl of Gloucester. He was as rich as any of his forbears but whether he was as powerful or rich as *those five men combined* is a moot point. I am pretty well certain he wasn't as rich as they, together, had been

What else could a lord do apart from marry well? War profits were certainly one possibility. The French wars may have been (nay, were) a disaster for the English national exchequer and taxpayer, but they were a source of potential enrichment for private individuals. I once lightly compared Richard II's peace policy to cancelling the national lottery. That is the easiest way to understand its unpopularity. Imagine you were a penniless soldier. As long as the wars went on, you could dream of capturing a French knight, or, better still, a French lord. Though your own lord and the King would take a big slice of the action, and might even make you settle for a fixed sum, that reward would still be more than you could ever hope to earn in a lifetime. Of course, your chance of actually making such a capture was vanishingly small and you were far more likely to die in a ditch of dysentery. But people like to dream.

These calculations worked higher up the income scale. McFarlane cites the case of Sir John Fastolf, who went from the status of esquire with £46 a year to a knight-banneret with a clear income of £1,450 per annum. This was mainly, if not wholly, due to his participation in the war. For a brief period during the reigns of Henry V and Henry VI, Englishmen were able to receive and hold lands in France. This was a great incentive to men like the Duke of York, who had younger sons to provide for. Is it too outrageous to suggest that a compelling motive for the war-party was French land rather than English patriotism? Of

course, the really wise ones (like Fastolf) sold their French property while the going was good and invested the profit in English land.

Another way to boost income was to chase up feudal incidents. These applied at all levels of society, and were frequently avoided, indeed had often fallen into practical disuse. A lord could chase these up to some effect. For example, where land was held by feudal tenure, the lord had the right of wardship during the heir's minority. Some feudal tenants sought to avoid this by enfeoffment (putting the land into trust by nominally granting it to a panel of others while retaining the tenant's own use of it). By this method the 'tenant' never died, so there was never any wardship. Naturally lords objected to this practice and tried to poke legal holes in such enfeoffments. The fact that they themselves were almost invariably enfeoffing land to keep it out of the sovereign's hands was neither here nor there. A particularly nasty trick used by lords was to claim that prosperous townsmen were their serfs as a way of extracting blackmail. McFarlane quotes the case of a citizen of Norwich who had to pay £20 for manumission. One imagines that the lord, or his officials, used their local knowledge to construct pedigrees of merchant families, and if there was a remote case that Mr. X was a serf by ancestry they would swoop on their unfortunate victim. Many people did, of course, have serf ancestors at near remove. Even the Pastons were descended from bond tenants, and much was made of it by their enemies before Edward IV declared them official gentlefolk.

Another route to increased income was to become one of the sovereign's chosen men. Politics was (and largely still is) about control of patronage, given that in any economy there are never enough resources for everyone to be satisfied. The pool of patronage in medieval England was quite shallow, but there were still a number of lucrative offices in the King's gift ranging from Lord Chancellor to gentleman porter of some obscure and half-demolished castle. Relatively few of these offices required the holder to do anything much – for example the Lord Admiral had a court, but it was normally staffed for him by professional lawyers. The office of Lord Great Chamberlain was the next thing to a sinecure. Joining the King's Council was also worthwhile – you might actually have to turn up once in a while, but a useful salary was paid. In addition, if you were in good odour at court you might pick up the occasional wardship and marriage and if you were very lucky, a promotion in the peerage or even a grant of land or an annual payment from the exchequer. If there was an Act of Resumption on the stocks (every so often Parliament passed a law clawing back all land given away by the Crown since such-and-such a date) you would be well placed to get yourself exempted from it. There was also the possibility of picking up local offices for your clients – it was often useful to have one of your hangers-on picked as a sheriff, for example. The client would be grateful and it helped increase the patron's influence.

Some offices were particularly valuable. Consider William, Lord Hastings in his role of Lord Chamberlain. This gave him control over access to the King, certainly for anyone below the rank of a prince of the blood. Due to the highly personal nature of medieval government, access to the King was indispensible for anyone who wanted any kind of political or legal favour, and people were more than willing to court Hastings' favour in order to receive this facility. This was not always a matter of a straightforward bribe. For example, Hastings was appointed as steward by about a dozen lords, ladies and religious houses. He certainly did not go around collecting their rents; the appointments were profitable sinecures. It's highly unlikely they'd have waged him had he remained plain William Hastings, a country esquire. His role at court was the deciding factor.

Ah, you may say, but what about the fact that in straightened times the exchequer was empty? Would these salaries and fees still be paid? Well, that was the whole point of being a big noise at court. If you were a member of the King's clique you were far more likely to find that the exchequer was able to pay you in cash rather than tally sticks. Or you might

be able to get your income assigned directly to one of the customs ports, which gave you the first chance of getting your hands on the cash, cutting out the hungry exchequer altogether. When the ruling clique was deemed too narrowly based by a significant portion of the nobility, trouble always followed, as in the reigns of Edward II, Richard II, Henry VI and Edward IV. While political issues (such as the war in France) were often waved about as a pretext, the bottom line was that the opposition felt the 'wrong people' had their hands on the patronage. In other words, it all came down to money.

Notes:

- 1. Google is your friend for these estimates. There is some variation, but little doubt that there was a serious hit to the level of population in the mid 14th Century that took a long time to recover.
- 2. For York's problems see R.A. Griffiths, *The Reign of King Henry VI* (1981), p674. The debt owing to York for his French service *alone* was £38,667. In medieval terms an astronomical amount.
- 3. There are at least 3000 such sites in England, though not all as a direct result of the Black Death. See

http://www.channel4.com/history/microsites/T/timeteam/snapshot_villages.html

- 4. K.B. McFarlane, The Nobility of Later Medieval England (1973) pp.213-14.
- 5. R.R. Davies, The Revolt of Owain Glyn Dwr (1995) p.72.
- 6. Davies, *ibid*. p.73.
- 7. Davies, *ibid*. p.319.
- 8. Both Cecily, Duchess of York and Isabel, Lady Montagu, are known to have run up huge bills on clothes.
- 9. 7000 marks was the reputed cost of building Hunsdon House, the home of Sir William Oldhall, one of York's advisers.
- 10. P.W. Hammond, Food and Feast in Medieval England, 1993, p.121.
- 11. Francis Lovel's father was a rare example of a peer who proposed to divide his lands almost equally between his four sons. As it turned out, only Francis survived to manhood so the decision was irrelevant.
- 12. McFarlane, *op.cit*. pp.144-145.
- 13. William Marshal for example. He didn't have a bean. There is no way that in the 15th Century a man of his kind would have been given an heiress like Isabel de Clare.
- 14. See McFarlane, op.cit. p. 188 et seq.
- 15. These came to the Despensers via the marriage of Hugh the Younger to Edward II's niece, Eleanor de Clare, the eldest of three sisters and co-heiresses of the last de Clare Earl of Gloucester, killed at Bannockburn.
- 16. Principally to Margaret, Countess of Shrewsbury, who spent years in a running battle with her cousins, the male Berkeleys, over the inheritance.
- 17. Not to be confused with her aunt, the Duchess of York.
- 18. For Lucia of Milan see Barron, C.M. and Sutton, A.F., *Medieval London Widows* 1300-1500 pp. 77-84.
- 19. McFarlane, op.cit., p.183.
- 20. McFarlane, *op.cit.*, p.221. I am sorry to say that my own researches revealed that Constance of York attempted this trick on at least one citizen of Reading. The only defence I can offer for her is that the practice was widespread, even in the later part of the 15th Century when serfdom was practically a dead duck.

- 21. This office, known as Lord Chamberlain or King's Chamberlain was a working one and should not be confused with the largely honorific office of Lord Great Chamberlain. The Lord Chamberlain was usually a close friend of the sovereign.
- 22. McFarlane, *op.cit.*, p.216, note 2. His patrons included Warwick, Clarence, Norfolk and the Duchess of Buckingham.

Duchess of York—Cecily Neville 1415-1495 "Queen of Right"

Elizabeth Dorsey Hatle

Cecily Neville, duchess of York, was born in the castle of Raby in County Durham in North East England. During her childhood there, she became famed for her beauty, acquiring the name of 'The Rose of Raby.' Later she was given another name, 'Proud Cis'. Cecily's grandmother was Katherine Swynford, the third wife of Duke John of Gaunt. It was said that Cecily bore a striking resemblance to her grandmother; considered one of the loveliest women in England. Katherine Swynford bore Duke John four bastard children before he married her and had her children declared legitimate under the surname of Beaufort. Only this legitimizing made it possible for Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmorland, to make Cecily's mother, Joan Beaufort, his second wife. Cecily was the twenty-second of the Earl's twenty-three children, the thirteenth by Joan Beaufort.

Cecily was betrothed to Richard Plantagenet, Earl of Cambridge, of March and of Ulster, and Duke of York. Richard of York had a double royal descent from King Edward III. "Edward III headed a very large family. He sired more legitimate sons than any other king before George III." Richard's mother, Anne de Mortimer, was the senior heiress of Edward's second son, Lionel, Duke of Clarence. On his parental side, Richard's grandfather was Edmund, Duke of York and Edward III's fourth son. When his parental uncle, his father's older brother, died at Agincourt childless, Richard was the sole heir and was granted the Dukedom of York by King Henry V. Richard of York was powerful, popular and outspoken. Queen Margaret, Henry VI's wife, saw him as a real threat to her mentally unstable husband's throne.

When Richard of York was appointed Governor of France, Cecily followed him there to serve Queen Margaret. After their marriage, the relationship apparently remained a close one. Cecily traveled with her husband on his overseas assignments in the French territories and in Ireland. Richard had been kept short of funds with which to pay the army and used his own money to pay England's war expenses in France. Edward IV was born in France and "Edward's low-key christening may have been due to a premature birth, as suggested, but might also have had something to do with the state of his father's finances at the time." Richard, Duke of York, was than appointed to be Lieutenant General in Ireland for a period of ten years. It was politically expedient for the Queen to have Richard out of England. Richard was 36 and Cecily 32 when they went to Ireland with their children.

After Richard, Duke of York returned from Ireland with Cecily and their children, he had concluded he must claim the crown in his own right or be doomed to fight an unending series of battles with Queen Margaret of Anjou. Cecily seems to have taken a brief rest from the exhausting business of childbearing until she produced Richard, her last surviving child, at Fotheringhay on October 2, 1452. Richard was too young to enjoy the sort of separate

establishment with household governors and tutors, which Duke Richard provided for his two eldest sons, Edward of March and Edmund of Rutland, at Ludlow Castle. "As a small boy he was probably brought up, along with George, at Fotheringhay under the direct care of a mother renowned for her unostentatious piety."

The ambitious Queen Margaret called a council of Lancastrians and their supporters in 1455 to guard against the 'enemies' of the king. York and his supporters realized their danger, and soon the dynastic war began in earnest, with a Yorkist victory at the battle of St. Albans. Edmund Beaufort, Cecily's cousin and the Queen's favorite, was killed. The crown confiscated Richard's estates and many of his followers' estates. Proclaimed an outlaw, he was forced to flee. The duchess of York stayed behind and contemporary chronicles report Cecily made her way to King Henry VI and interceded for many of the duke's people. The duchess was placed under the protective custody of her sister, Anne Neville, duchess of Buckingham, whose husband was one of Henry VI's principal supporters.

York was regarded with suspicion on various fronts after St. Albans. His double royal descent threatened young Prince of Wales's acquisition of the throne; he was negotiating for the marriage of his son Edward into the Burgundian ruling family and as a supporter of the Nevilles, supporting the Nevilles in their feud with the Percys. In December, 1460, York went to Sandal Castle with an army. On December 30 he was outnumbered and outmaneuvered by Queen Margaret's army, suffering a crushing defeat. The Battle of Wakefield took from Cecily a husband, son, brother and nephew. Concerned for their physical safety, she had George and Richard leave England later. Other countries weren't wracked by the same dynastic instability as England. England was a far more violent society. In the fifteenth century, no fewer than five English kings were deposed, three of them in just thirty years.

"It was of no consequence that York's claim came through the female line: in England, unlike France at this time, transmission through females was allowed. Technically, the Yorkist line enjoyed precedence over the Lancastrian." Edward IV inherited his father's claim to the throne of England. His cousin, Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, took control of London. Edward then had a decisive victory at the Battle of Towton in 1461 where the Lancastrian army was virtually wiped out. In the early years of Edward IV's reign, Cecily's role as king's mother was important and influential. It is said that she could 'rule the king as she pleases.' A bride for Edward IV seemed the next step for Cecily's close family to attend to, but on May 1, 1464, the king secretly married a commoner, Elizabeth Woodville (or Wydville), an act that had a profound effect on many fifteenth century lives.

When Edward married Elizabeth Woodville, Edward's mother, like everyone else, was unaware of his secret marriage until months after it occurred. Elizabeth, widowed daughter of Richard Woodville and Jacquetta, Duchess of Bedford, had five brothers and six unmarried sisters. Elizabeth's two sons and her siblings, along with their spouses and friends, formed an acquisitive group. Cecily and her husband's brood had been given a vast network of kindred, and few English kings have ever been as widely and closely related to the aristocracy as their children were. Elizabeth's lineage wasn't probably what Cecily had in mind as a wife for her son. When she heard of the marriage the Duchess of York threatened to denounce the King as a bastard. (Richard always remembered the threat). She told him that a monarch must be all but priestlike and could not be 'defiled with bigamy.' Some historians have suggested that the comment Edward was a bastard didn't arise from Cecily being unfaithful to her husband but rather Cecily's response to Edward's furtive marriage to Elizabeth.

George, Duke of Clarence, following his marriage to the Earl of Warwick's daughter Isobell, allied himself with Warwick and Queen Margaret to overthrow Edward IV.

"Duchess Cicely no doubt gave them disturbing news of their brother George. She had recently seen him at Warwick's castle of Sandwich in Kent, where a threateningly large contingent of Nevilles were gathering, including the Archbishop of York. Clarence had gone there on 7 June (1469). He must have been painfully embarrassed by the unexpected arrival of his mother a week later—clearly she had learnt of a plot and hoped to dissuade him from taking part in it. She probably guessed that she had been unsuccessful and hastened to the Midlands to warn Edward." George realized his mistake after he was in France and was restored to favor. But Clarence couldn't stop plotting against his brother in his greed for more land and possibly also wanting the throne. "Most modern authorities believe that Clarence's death came at the vehement urging of the Woodvilles. They were his staunch enemies and the queen's brother, Lord Rivers, was considerably enriched by Clarence's death, receiving control of his vast estates." George was privately executed at the Tower in 1478.

Cecily did not cut off contact with Edward after George's death. She was godmother to Edward's and Elizabeth last child, Bridget. Richard, though, had a harder time. Richard well knew Clarence's failings, but despite them, George was the companion of his childhood. Even writers hostile to Richard describe him as being extremely upset with Edward over the order to execute Clarence. Edward fell fatally ill at Easter, 1483, but he lingered long enough to add to his will brother Richard, Duke of Gloucester as Protector after his death. Richard was not present when Edward died on April 9th; he was at Middleham Castle in North Yorkshire when he received the news of his brother's death. The news didn't reach him until mid-April. Word of Edward's death appears to have been delayed by the Woodvilles.

Richard arrived in London and took Edward V and his younger brother to the Tower of London. Richard insisted on public oaths proclaiming Prince Edward's rule and he took the oath himself. On arriving in London, Richard moved in with his mother at Baynard's Castle, her splendid home on the River Thames, just west of St. Paul's Cathedral. He continued on good terms with his mother, holding important meetings in her home even after he no longer resided there. News came forward that Edward and Elizabeth's secret marriage wasn't legal. It was possible there was a pre-contract between Edward and Lady Eleanor Butler. Not calling banns as Elizabeth and Edward did, thus not asking if someone knew cause why this couple could not be married, implies there were legal impediments to their marriage. Parliament's *Titulus Regius* ruled that Edward and his brother Richard could not be rightful heirs to the throne because their parents' marriage was invalid.

Once Richard learned about Lady Eleanor Butler and the troth, it was inevitable that he would take the crown; to have done otherwise would have been to deny not only his own right but that of his son. Cecily held a commanding behind-the-scenes influence within the Yorkist party, and Edward IV and his brother Richard duke of Gloucester regularly discussed matters of state with her. Cecily wouldn't expect Richard to put his brother's children before his own son. Again, Cecily supported a son's decisions on what he felt he had to do. On June 22, 1483, outside of St. Paul's Cathedral, a statement was read by Doctor Shaa, on behalf of Richard declaring for the first time that he was taking the throne for himself on the grounds that Edward IV's marriage to Elizabeth was invalid due to Eleanor Butler still being alive when Edward and Elizabeth married, and that Richard was the true heir to the throne, not his nephew Edward V. "Every indication is that Richard and his mother were on the best of terms and continued so even after Shaa's oration."

Edward V and his brother Richard were still alive and in the Tower when Richard III left on his progress in late July. Some sources claim that the princes were killed three months after Richard took control of the young king. This would place their death at the end of

July, after Richard had left London on his royal progress. Cecily, during Richard's reign as king, lived the life of a Benedictine nun, "was noted for piety, something of a mystic who read the works of Walter Hilton, St. Catherine of Siena and St. Bridget of Sweden." Whether Cecily believed the rumors of her grandsons being put to death by her son, we'll never know. She and Richard were close; possibly exchanging reading materials. "He must have absorbed something of his mother's piety to judge from his spiritual reading." Cecily continued to have contact with him until his death at the Battle of Bosworth. "A rare survival is a letter Richard wrote to his mother from Pontefract, dated 3rd June, 1484. In this letter Richard beseeches his mother "to be a good and gracious lady" to his friend, Francis Lovell, who would look after her estates in Wiltshire. He signed the letter "Your most humble son, Richard rex."

A miniature from the Luton Guild Book shows Edward IV and his queen, Elizabeth Woodville, kneeling before an image of the Trinity. Cecily, in royal robes, displaying the quarterings of England and France, enjoyed particular precedence, being placed immediately behind the queen. The difference, and it was an important one, was that Cecily had by then been posthumously recognized as 'queen of right': her late husband honored as 'rightful king of England. 'Proud Cis' borne twelve children, outliving all but one of them, and lost a much beloved husband whose claim to the throne she supported wholeheartedly. One of her sons ordered the execution of another son. Two grandsons died under mysterious circumstances. Dynastic struggles were a part of her long life and she was a consummate pragmatist to endure her family tragedies. Cecily Neville, Duchess of York, died at Berkhampsted Castle at age eighty and at her request, was buried at Fotheringhay beside her husband and son Edmund.

Notes:

- 1. *Richard III England's Black Legend*. Seward, Desmond. Franklin Watts Inc. New York, New York. 1983. Pg. 23
- 2. *The Three Richards*. Saul, Nigel. Hambledon and London Publishing. London, England. 2005. Pg. 153
- 3. Royal Blood. Richard III and the Mystery of the Princes. Fields, Bertram. Regan Books. New York, New York. 1998. Pg. 26.
- 4. *The Debate: Was Edward IV Illegitimate*? Withey, Valerie. Ricardian Bulletin. Autumn, 2004. Pg. 28-29.
- 5. *Richard III*. Ross, Charles. University of California Press. Los Angeles, California. 1981. Pg. 3
- 6. *The Three Richards*. Saul, Nigel. Hambledon and London Publishing. London, England. 2005. Pg. 216.
- 7. *The King's Mother*. Jones, Michael and Underwood, Malcolm. Cambridge University Press. New York, New York. 1992. Pg. 67.
- 8. Royal Blood. Richard III and the Mystery of the Princes. Fields, Bertram. Regan Books. New York. 1998. Pg. 32.
- 9. *Richard III England's Black Legend*. Seward, Desmond. Franklin Watts Inc. New York, New York. 1983. Pg. 39.
- 10. *Richard III*. Ross, Charles. University of California Press. Los Angeles, California. 1981. Pg. 43.
- 11. *Royal Blood. Richard III and the Mystery of the Princes*. Fields, Bertram. Regan Books. New York, New York. 1998. Pg. 58.
- 12. 'Fair Neville's Woe, Cicely Duchess of York and Fotheringhay.' Wilson, Juliet. Chapel House. Wansford, England. 2007. Pg. 7.

- 13. *Royal Blood. Richard III and the Mystery of the Princes*. Fields, Bertram. Regan Books. New York, New York. 1998. Pg. 78.
- 14. *The King's Mother*. Jones, Michael and Underwood, Malcolm. Cambridge University Press. New York, New York. 1992. Pg. 255.
- 15. Royal Blood. Richard III and the Mystery of the Princes. Fields, Bertram. Regan Books. New York, New York. 1998. Pg. 98.
- 16. *Richard III. England's Black Legend.* Seward, Desmond. Franklin Watts Inc. New York, New York. 1983. Pg. 36.
- 17. *Richard III. England's Black Legend*. Seward, Desmond. Franklin Watts Inc. New York, New York. 1983. Pg. 87.
- 18. "Fair Neville's Woe. Cicely, Duchess of York and Fotheringhay." Wilson, Juliet. Chapel House. Wansford, England. 2007. Pg. 11.
- 19. *The King's Mother*. Jones, Michael and Underwood, Malcolm. Cambridge University Press. New York, New York. 1992. Pg. 70.



Errata

PamButler alerted me that I had a few errors in her article, *In Richard's Footsteps*, 2010 *Ricardian Tour* in the April, 2011 issue of the *Ricardian Register*.

Corrections to photo caption on page 7:

Jamie Kim and Pam Butler were not in this particular photo because they were drinking tea at a nearby shop at the time and watching the horses and their trainers as they paraded on the street right by them.

In the photo, the three ladies to the left are Yorkshire Branch members: Left to right, Hannah Moreton, Lynda Telford, and Angela Moreton. Continuing with American Ricardian Tour members, left to right, there are Marcy Ladrach, Cathie Shale, Judy Betten, Bettina Ortiz, John O'Farrell, Evelyn Fair, Linda Treybig (tour leader), and Carole Orlando.



Ricardian Reading

Myrna Smith Ricardian Reading Editor

Hi-diddle-dee-dee

An actor's life for me - Walter Catlett, from the movie 'Pinocchio'

The play's the thing. – William Shakespeare, Hamlet

SHAKESPEARE WELL-VERSED: A Rhyming Guide to All His Plays (PG) – James Muirden, Walker & Company, NY, 2004

Mr. Muirden's **Rhyming History of Britain** has been reviewed in this column earlier. Now he and his co-conspirator, illustrator David Eccles, are giving the same irreverent treatment to the Bard. (This book was actually written earlier.) The illustrations are

cartoonish throughout, but the rhyme scheme varies, from iambic pentameter to sonnet (*Romeo and Juliet*) to couplet, even to limerick. For example:

As You Like It isn't 'real'-

But the pastoral ideal

(Deeply rooted in our senses)

Speaks to modern audiences.

Julius Caesar:

....Brutus talks in prose,

In balanced clauses; makes his point, and stops.

Mark Antony (Friends, Romans) strikes a pose

Pours out pentameters, and uses props.

Richard III:

...he [W.S.] left us this play,

And it won't go away;

So I'll open my rhyming rendition

With Richard of Gloucester

Determined to foster

A measure of sibling suspicion!

Macheth:

Fire burn and cauldron bubble...

Visions causing endless trouble...

Everything appearing double –

Especially to Macbeth

(Every stanza of this section ends with 'Macbeth,' striking a suitably ominous note.

If, like James Muirden, you were turned off by Shakespeare as taught in school, what you need is a healthy dose of **Shakespeare Well-Versed**. The author points out that Shakespeare's actors did not "act" at all in the modern sense: they declaimed. And Elizabethans did not go to *see* a play, but to *hear* one. You may be moved to try your own powers of declamation on either these adaptations or the originals, if only in the privacy of your bathroom.

Other books by the same author and illustrator include, but are not limited to, such titles as The Rhyming Bible: From the Creation to Revelation (for young readers; Amazon tells us that it is 'true to the original Bible'); The Cosmic Verses: A Rhyming History of the Universe; and Precautionary Tales for Grandparents: Some of Which May be Read to the Young for Their Moral Improvement. (I must read that!) They all deserve to be better known. – m.s.

Comedy is tragedy viewed from the wings. - Elbert Hubbard

Players, Sir! I look on them as no better than creatures set upon tables and joint stools to make faces and produce laughter, like dancing dogs. – Samuel Johnson

A PLAY OF PIETY: A Joliffe the Player Mystery – Margaret Frazer, Berkley Prime Crime, NY, 2010, pb

Joliffe is back from France, to take up his old life as an actor, but the old job is no longer available. The leader of the troupe, Basset, is in the hospital with 'rheumatics." The other actors, mostly out of loyalty, but also because they can hardly go on two players short, have taken up working in that same hospital. Joliffe joins them. After all, to someone who has been on the battlefield, how difficult can it be? Since his first assignment is bedpan duty, he soon finds out.

As with Frazer's other novels, you can't expect to be plunged into the murder, or the mystery, from the first page. Like Joliffe, we are caught up in the daily routine for approximately the first half of the book. This is new, and therefore interesting, to Joliffe and to us, and we, at least, don't have to actually work at it. Once the crime wave starts, the author plays fair, letting us in on Joliffe's reasoning, and all is resolved at the end. Basset is not cured, but he is well enough to work. Joliffe has undergone a healing also, and the troupe is ready to go on the road again, happily for Frazer's followers.

In her foreword, Ms. Frazer points out that medieval hospitals were not necessarily squalid, that the hospital in this story (actually closer to a modern-day nursing or convalescent home) is "imagined but not idealized." Having just been through a hospital stay myself, during which I had every test known to medical science and some known only to vetrenarians (all right, I exaggerate – slightly) I feel qualified to compare my experience with that of Basset.

- 1. Nowadays, one is more likely to be cured, or at least to find out what the problem is, or rule out what it isn't. Advantage: 21st century.
- 2. Privacy: I had a room to myself; Basset was in a ward. But he wasn't wearing a backless gown. Even-Steven.
- 3. Entertainment: I had a TV in my room, but mostly wasn't in the mood to watch it. The patients at St. Giles' hospital have live entertainment, in the persons of Basset, Joliffe, et al. No contest: 15th century.
- 4. Food, etc: How good can hospital food be, then or now? The staff, at least, eat well. Having been on both ends of the spectrum, or speculum, I can testify that the interplay depicted here, among and between the staff, doctors, patients even the 'frequent flyer' who is widely regarded as a time-waster rings true. No advantage either side. Some things never change.

At one point, someone compares a certain activity to the difficulty of "herding cats." This may strike some as an anachronism.. However, cats have been behaving like cats for eons. It would be surprising if people had not commented on it before now. That is another of those things that never changes. Another is the quality of Ms. Frazer's mysteries. Long may she continue to write – and stay out of hospitals! –m.s.

The book that follows is a flash-back in publishing time, a flash-forward in terms of its setting, and a flash-sideways (if there is such a thing) to another of Ms. Frazer's series.

THE TRAITOR'S TALE – Margaret Frazer, Berkley Publishing, NY, 2007

The year is 1450, a tumultuous year of unpunished murders, of powerful lords around a week king, of a commons in revolt. There are so many traitors in the plot that it is difficult to discern which one is the singular subject of the title.

The Dukes of Suffolk and Somerset have conspired to lose Normandy to the French. Suffolk is murdered by "pirates," but the captain of the ship he sailed on receives a royal reward. The Duke of York, in Ireland, has men loyal to him over King Henry. These men may be termed traitor. The protagonist of this book is Joliffe, a former (?) travelling player, a spy and an adventurer.

Sister Frevisse is drawn into a dangerous situation by her cousin, Lady Alice, the widowed Duchess of Suffolk. Alice is frightened for her safety and the heritage of her seven-year-old son. Into this complex situation rides the Duke of York, coming to defend himself from charges of treason. He undertakes to defend Lady Alice in return for a mysterious letter penned by Suffolk before his death, which names his betrayer. The outbreak of actual war is still to come.

The interesting thing for Ricardians is the appearance of Sir Thomas Stanley, King's man, not yet a baronet. He is drawn as arrogant, foolish and cowardly, and described as "a cur dog who thinks he's a wolf.....a mean-minded wretch to do the worst he can." Sedley suggests his character was set early and developed into treason at Bosworth. The story is worth its price for that alone, although it has many other virtues. —Dale Summers

Another master of the medieval mystery genre is Kate Sedley. Since I don't know of a new Roger the Chapman story on the shelves, we will have to make do with revisiting an older one.

THE SAINT JOHN'S FERN – Kate Sedley, St. Martin's Press, NY, 1999

Not having read a Sedley book for a couple of years, I had forgotten what a beguiling writer she is. Her descriptions draw the reader into the scene. Late medieval life is finely drawn and in remote communities, Saxon customs prevail. One of the Saxon legends, according to this book, is that a person eating St. John's fern gains the ability to become invisible at will.

A young man brutally murders his uncle and vanishes. He is believed by some to be in France, or in Brittany with Henry Tudor, or to have eaten St. John's fern and be nearby...Roger Chapman, having been stirred to restlessness by God and led to Plymouth, leaves his new wife and young children to search for this mind-mannered young man turned vicious murderer. There are deceptive clues to the truth laid out from the beginning of the tale, but vital information is withheld until the final pages. Being more specific would spoil the suspense and the surprise ending. But the book is becoming scarce. Would-be readers should hurry.

An interesting insight into medieval village life is the role of the chapman or travelling peddler. He is welcomed everywhere for necessities such as needles and thread, as well as luxuries like ribbon, and fabric like the piece of Italian silk Roger sells in this book. In addition, he is the bearer of news and entertaining stories. In return for these, he is fed and offered a bed for the night. It helps, I suppose, that Roger is well-build and handsome.

The book is well-written and entertaining. The mystery is not so complex as to be frustrating or so simple as to be boring. This is an excellent sample of the genre of Medieval Mystery, or just of Mystery. – Dale Summers

Drama is action, sir, and not confounded philosophy.- Luigi Pirandello, Six Characters in Search of an Author

Real life, but just as dramatic as its fictional counterparts:

BLOOD AND ROSES - Helen Castor, HarperCollins, NY, c.2006

The Paston letters experienced as many vicissitudes as the family that wrote and saved them. When the last male Paston, William, second Earl of Yarmouth, died nearly bankrupt in 1732, the letters shared a damp and disorganized room with "boxes and trunks of estate records, deeds, and court rolls" as well as "heaps of loose letters and papers in no discernable order." Thomas Weldon, William's son-in-law, settled the estate. Confronted by the roomful of documents, Weldon asked the Rev. Francis Blomefield, a respected antiquarian and local historian, to organize the papers. After two week's work, Blomefield informed Weldon that: "here are innumerable letters, of good consequence in history, still lying among the loose papers, all of which I laid up in a corner of the room on a heap.....several sacks full; but as they seemed to have some family affairs of one ne nature or another intermixed in them, I did not offer to touch any of them, but have left them to your consideration..."

Fortunately Wilson allowed Blomefield to separate and preserve some of these letters, although the proportion of those preserved to those destroyed is unknown. Blomefield and other collectors bought the survivors. In 11774, some were bought by amateur historian

John Fenn, who, eight years later, showed his share to his friend Horace Walpole, author of the best-seller, **Historic Doubts on the Life and Reign of King Richard the Third.** Walpole told Fenn that the Paston letters were invaluable. and more satisfactory than any cold narrative." He persuaded Fenn to publish them.

Preparing these letters for publication was a challenge for Fenn. He spent three years transcribing selected letters in their original spelling, with an eighteenth-century English version on each facing page. Understanding fifteenth-century English in fifteenth-century handwriting was as difficult in the eighteenth century as it is in the twenty-first. Fenn wrote that "the crincum-crancum hands fight me." Nevertheless, he persevered and produced a best-seller. When the first edition of the Paston letters appeared in 11787, it sold out within a week.

Fenn's achievement was praised by Walpole and other antiquarians. King George III appreciated Fenn's book so much he asked Fenn for the original manuscripts. On the day he was knighted, Fenn gave the King these manuscripts bound in three red morocco leather volumes. Fenn continued transcribing the unpublished letters. When he died in 1794, he had published a fourth volume and begun work on a fifth. The unpublished manuscripts remained in the home of Fenn's widow's nephew until 1866. Even more unfortunate was the disappearance of the three morocco leather volumes given to George III. As a result of rumors that the Paston letters were forgeries, the Society of Antiquaries in London located the unpublished manuscripts in the home of Fenn's in-laws. When authenticated, these letters were bought by the British Museum in 1871. James Gardiner, author of History of the Life and Reign of Richard III, published a new edition of this portion. In 1889, all three of George III's red morocco leather volumes reappeared in the home of a grandson of the King's private secretary. These joined Fenn's unbound manuscripts at the British Museum in 1933.

The letters preserved at the Museum have provided the foundation for **Blood and Roses**, which "was first published in a different form" in Great Britain in 2004. Readers may ask whether they should invest time or money in this US version. If they want a reader-friendly history of the Paston family in twenty-first century English, they should. Readers who are new to the subject are likely to find **Blood and Roses** a good introduction. Those who have found scholarly editions too difficult should find Castor's narrative more accessible. Anyone who has appreciated the 1984 Penguin paperback edition of the Paston letters – designed for readers who wanted to share the daily experience of a fifteenth-century family – is likely to enjoy Castor's book. Her 378-page narrative allows space for more detailed descriptions of family members, servants, friends, enemies, and public figures than the 204-page Penguin edition could give. Some members of this cast of characters are:

• Elizabeth Paston, who played a minor, but representative, role in her family's history. Castor's description of Elizabeth's nine-year ordeal offers alternative interpretations of her niece Margery's secret marriage to the Paston's estate manager, Richard Calle. Although Margery's refusal to renounce her marriage vow is often interpreted as a victory of true love over materialism, it can also be seen as a reaction to her aunt's ordeal. Legal and financial concerns had subordinated Elisabeth's welfare to the family's property disputes. While her brother, John, fought for Paston property in the courts, Elizabeth endured isolation and beatings from their mother at home. Concerned about the hardships inflicted on Elizabeth, a family friend begged John to find his sister a husband as soon as possible. Nine years later, he finally arranged a suitable marriage for her. Soon afterwards, she had to ask for payment of an overdue installment of her dowry. Castor connects Elizabeth's difficulties to Margery's: "[Elizabeth's] long delayed dowry of 200 pounds, after all, had represented the best part of a year's income

- from the Paston lands and for Margery, without a dowry there could be no marriage." Although there is no evidence that Margery was beaten, determination to avoid reliving her aunt's experience may have motivated Margery as strongly as any ideal of true love.
- Anne Paston, who two years later tried to follow Margery's example with John Pamping, another faithful and competent Paston servant. Margery and Anne's mother, Margaret, was determined to prevent a second disparaging marriage. She and her sons, Sir John in London, and his younger brother, John in Norfolk, ended the relationship. Four years later, Sir John and Margaret managed to negotiate an acceptable marriage for Anne.
- Sir John Paston: The pattern of marriage delayed by legal and financial priorities constrained Paston men as well as women. With most of his inheritance tied up in the dowries and jointures of his grandmother and mother, Sir John never married. His younger brother (also named John) endured years of fruitless negotiations for a variety of prospective wives, finally finding an acceptable match with Margery, one of Sir Thomas Brews' daughters. This might also have failed if Margaret hadn't given John one of her manors, enabling him to meet Sir Thomas' financial demands. John was 33, well above the usual age for first marriages in 1477.
- James Gloys, chaplain, another minor but significant character in Paston family history. Soon after joining the household, Gloys proved himself a fighter. His aggressive reactions to hostile neighbors' provocations caused Margaret to send him to her husband, John, in London. After John died in 1466, Gloys' influence over Margaret increased at her sons' expense. After the Lancastrian defeat at Barnet, John and Edmund lost the Earl of Oxford's patronage and could not find a good lord among the Yorkists; lacking income, neither son could afford to leave Margaret's household. Margaret listened to Gloys' criticisms of her sons, and family tensions mounted. After Gloys provoked a quarrel with John, Margaret threatened to leave John nothing in her will, despite John's devotion to family affairs. This injustice was prevented by Gloys' death in 1473. By 1477, tensions had subsided to a point that allowed Margaret to assist her loyal and long-suffering son in his marriage negotiations.
- Public figures making brief appearances in the family saga include the Duke of Suffolk, the Duke of York, Sir John Fastolf (whose ingratitude to loyal friends and servants precipitated years of legal conflict), Edward IV, (who proved unwilling to protect the Pastons' interests against such powerful exploiters as Alice Chaucer, dowager Duchess of Suffolk).
- John Paston the Younger, who earned the good lordship of William, Lord Hastings, during the early 1480s. Unfortunately, Hastings' execution ended that source of support. After the Tudor victory at Bosworth restored the Earl of Oxford, John returned to Oxford's service. He was one of 52 men knighted by Henry VII after the Battle of Stoke. The new Sir John prospered in spite of continuing property disputes. Soon after his grandmother Agnes died in 1479, John had been confronted by his Uncle William's claims on her property. John's patron, Lord Hastings, and John Morton, Bishop of Ely, had agreed to arbitrate this dispute. In spite of this, the conflict lasted at least a decade.
- *Margaret Paston*, whose death in 1484 ended the forty-year flow of letters. Her survivors had less need for letters because they experienced fewer long separations. Somehow, with all the vicissitudes of the Paston history, Margaret had made time to keep swans. She willed them to her grandson, Robert.

Castor comments on the irony that the buildings which the Pastons expected to preserve their memory failed to outlast their workaday letters: "What did survive, against all the odds, was not brick or marble, but hundreds of fragile pieces of paper."

An explanation of the title: At first glance, it generates associations with the Wars of the Roses, in which few of the Pastons fought. Castor actually derived the title from Johan Huizinga's Waning of the Middle Ages: "So violent and motley was life that it bore the mixed smell of blood and roses." Castor comments that the Paston letters describe lives in which "blood and roses might signify family and home just as much as they represent the epic subjects of Shakespearean drama." – Marion Davis

The structure of a play is always the story of how the birds came home to roost. – Arthur Miller

All tragedies are finished by a death. All comedies are ended by a marriage. – Byron, Don Juan

THE QUEEN OF LAST HOPES: The Story of ;Margaret of Anjou – Susan Higginbotham, Sourcebooks, Inc., Naperville, IL, 2011

This tragedy begins with a marriage, that of Margaret of Anjou to Henry VI. All but auctioned off at bargain rates, she is expected to cement peace between England and France, get Maine returned to France, generally act as an agent of the French crown, and produce an heir as soon as possible — a pretty daunting prospect for a 15-year old girl. She has advisors, of course, most of whom have their own agendas, and Henry is not a complete wimp. Although there is an epilogue in 1509, Margaret's part of the story ends in 1482, after many vicissitudes. The author uses the device of multiple narrators, including Margaret's 'lover (not necessarily who you might think, and *not* the father of her son), her son, her mentors - even though this means that some of them have to recount their own deaths.

Ms. Higginbotham has tried to even out the double standard that has been applied to Margaret vis-à-vis her male opponents. She was, in her own time, a victim of the "Yorkist propaganda" machine, says the author. As is usual in civil wars, both sides made their cases, some more effectively than others, and the Tudors took lessons from both sides. In her afterword, the author details the historical liberties she has taken, especially with regard to Margaret's supposed lover, and the identity of Henry VI's murderer. There is only the sketchiest evidence for the former, and none at all for the latter, but she can't be faulted for taking full advantage of literary license, since she makes it clear that she is doing so..

One unusual aspect of the plot is the depiction of Anne Neville. Practical and extremely blunt-spoken, she seems to be intended partly as comic relief. Within minutes of meeting her husband-to-be, Edward of Lancaster, she tells him, in reply to his efforts at small talk, that she doesn't like France very much, and then asks him if he is legitimate. "(I)t is something I should know for sure." But what did she expect him to say? It's a tribute to hormones that they got along as well as they did. At one point, the young couple sight the Cerne giant, who is also a tribute to hormones, although nobody else apparently did until 1694. Maybe they did but were too prudish to say so. At any rate, "it would be a shame....to deprive Edward and Anne of seeing it."

This is exciting reading, and a different viewpoint on the politics and warfare of those notorious Wars of the Roses. Since even those historians and novelists who feel sorry for Margaret don't seem to cotton to her, perhaps it is about time her life had a sympathetic treatment. – m.s.

Editor's note: The following review of *Pale Rose of England* by Sandra Worth was published in the April, 2011 issue, but it was accidentally truncated. It is reprinted here in full.

PALE ROSE OF ENGLAND—Sandra Worth

With the talent of bringing to life figures long lost to history, Sandra Worth continues in the same thread of brilliance with this novel, the final installment of the *Rose of York* series. She holds true to her reputation for research and intelligent suppositions. **Pale Rose** chronicles the life of Lady Catherine Gordon from her homeland in Scotland, marriage to Richard, Duke of York, and the remainder of her life spent in England.

The novel opens in 1495. It focuses on Richard Plantagenet, the younger of the 'princes in the Tower,' and Lady Catherine, who would become his wife. Prince Richard has survived the Tower, to live in exile until he could raise support to come back and claim his throne. Almost all the crowned heads of Europe accept him as the rightful king of England. King James IV of Scotland takes up the prince's cause and welcomes him to his court. It is unclear whether the marriage between Catherine Gordon and Prince Richard was arranged or a love match. What seems probable is that James assented to the marriage after he found merit in the claims of Richard. The view that it was a love match is supported by a letter in the archives of Spain that Richard wrote to Catherine with passion and love, as well as Catherine's reported wearing of "widow's weeds" lifelong.

Ms. Worth is good at creating strong characters based on history. As in **The King's Daughter**, we see an accurate and chilling portrait of King Henry VII. Catherine is caught between a king who is obsessed with her, serving the wife of that king who is her own sister-in-law, still loving her husband and searching for her missing son. Knowing that Henry is in love with her, Catherine walks a fine line, wanting the king to give her information about her son, but not wishing to make Richard's captivity any harder. The reader can empathize with her, living in a foreign court day after day, maintaining a stoic presence.

Dramatic events unfold from the protagonist's eyes. A sketch of Henry VIII: "Harry had inherited a throne his father had made remarkably secure, and a fortune greater than any in history ...Few reigns had begun amid such promise and hope, but Catherine knew Harry too well. He was selfish, volatile, and jealous; he had quick-silver changes of mood, and he possessed a strong streak of cruelty...Cruel as Henry had been,, he had not been without scruples, and she suspected his son had none." Ms. Worth takes us to the Battle of Flodden Field where in a single day Catherine loses a brother, cousin, two nephews, and extended family members. King James became, like his contemporary Richard III, the last king of his country to die on the field of battle. Two-fifths of the peerage and an estimated 10,000 Scotsmen perished that day.

Catherine lived into her 60s and married three more times: First James Strangeways, a Gentleman Usher to Henry VIII, then Matthew Craddock, a royal servant and former pirate, and finally Christopher Ashton, also a Gentleman Usher and probably much younger than Catherine. Both Strangeways and Ashton were very duplicitous people. Catherine lived during the turbulent times of the 'King's Great Matter' and the destruction of the monasteries. In the author's notes, she states: "That she believed her husband "Perkin Warbeck" was Richard of York there seems little doubt. She persuaded her other husbands of it and wore black to the end of her life."

Rich in factual history, love and enduring courage, **Pale Rose of England** is an extremely engrossing tale. Ms. Worth gently weaves in many other historical figures - Elizabeth and Cecily of York, William Courtney, the de la Poles. As a reader, I eagerly await where she will transport us to next, and sadly say goodbye to her Rose of York time period.—*Lori Braundhardt*

Richard III Society, American Branch-Academic Support

Editor's note: This report first reached the editor's desk just prior to the last issue was sent to the printer, but too late to include in the last issue.

REPORT ON SCHALLEK AWARD RESEARCH AND STUDY, SUMMER 2008 MATTHEW SERGI, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY JULY 30, 2009

Last summer, I began to work on my doctoral dissertation, *Recreation and Festival in Chester's Pageants*, 1400-1577. Taking shape around formal analyses of the eight Cestrian pageants that engage most visibly with public festivity, the dissertation will explore the ways in which Chester's street theater provided at once for the representation and for the public practice of the two centuries of urban celebration that generated them—the recreation, spectacle, and intercultural exchange at play inside the medieval city walls. The performed drunkenness of Herod or of the Good Gossips, for instance, is dependent for its humor and its dramatic significance upon the real-life revelers drinking in close proximity to the pageant wagon. My project will approach these late medieval public plays at street-level, as community-based performances, rather than as functions of high-level civic or religious politics; that approach will, I believe, prove relevant to the study of all public medieval theater, including the York cycle, by reading guild records as dramatic texts unto themselves, emphasizing and analyzing the staging cues encoded in extant play-texts, and reconsidering the impact of the urban guild reveler as dramatic collaborator.

With the support of the Schallek Award, I was able to undertake the foundational research of my dissertation during a research trip to Chester and Swansea. On the trip, in keeping with my proposal to the Medieval Academy and the Richard III Society, I observed Chester's 2008 revival of its pageants and conducted extensive interviews with the community participants, I delivered part of my third chapter to leaders in medieval drama scholarship at the Sixteenth International Congress of the New Chaucer Society, and I viewed MS Peniarth 399 of the Chester *Antichrist* pageant.

The 2008 Chester Mystery Plays, Cathedral Green, Chester

Following the example of Sarah Beckwith, David Mills, Alexandra Johnston, and other major scholars of medieval drama, I engage with modern play revivals in my dissertation, particularly where they shed light on staging possibilities, and on the social function of community-based performance practice then and now. The Schallek Award allowed me to stay in Chester during the final weeks of the city's revival of its plays, an event which happens only once every five years. I was able to see both shows (the Cestrians split the cycle in two, and presented the halves on alternating nights) four times each, to witness the informal street performances and pageants that often preceded them, and to tour the backstage areas, enough to give me full familiarity with the piece and its practicalities from various perspectives.

During my stay in Chester, I also conducted interviews with eleven Cestrians—Robin Goddard (Director), Matt Baker (Musical Director), Mary Ann Cameron (the Woman Taken in Adultery), Ros Williams (Ensemble), Sid Mofya (Jesus), Hilary McNae (Production Staff, and an active member of the Chester Cordwainers' Guild), Christopher Mooney (John), Brian Pearson (Ensemble), Ieuan Pearson (Ensemble), Ronno Griffiths (Eve/Salome), and Rich Spilman (Herod)—generating eight raw hours of interview

recordings and extensive notes. I'm still in the process of transcribing those interviews, but I plan to attach them in an appendix to my dissertation: they are fascinating in their own right, and they complement current arguments (particularly in Mills's *Recycling the Cycle: The City of Chester and Its Whitsun Plays*) about how Cestrians perform their cultural past. Modern Cestrian approaches to the plays reveal unexpected continuities with what we know about medieval Cestrian theater. The interviews touch upon the presence of real religious belief in civic performance, the plays' role in political and ethical struggles between church and community (a surprising counterpart to reforms in the late sixteenth century), and the relationship between academic and community-based versions of medieval culture.

New Chaucer Society, Sixteenth International Congress, Swansea University

With near-perfect timing, I had the opportunity to deliver a paper to the New Chaucer Society, just after the Chester revivals had closed, and in a location only four hours away. Support from the Schallek Award covered my registration, room, and board for this prestigious conference (which, when converted from pounds to dollars, would have been prohibitively expensive otherwise). I delivered my paper, "Tourism and Spectacle Along England's Western Border," in a panel that I had the honor to share with professors Gloria Betcher, David Klausner, Theresa Coletti and Gail McMurray Gibson, before an audience composed of other leaders in the field. With their wise feedback, I was able to convert my conference paper into a major section of my dissertation prospectus; in January 2009, my committee heartily approved the prospectus, and the project is well underway. My experiences watching the Cestrian revivals, as a tourist myself, were critical to the revision process from conference paper to prospectus. My attendance at the New Chaucer Society Congress also gave me the chance to continue discussion with or learn about cutting-edge research from my fellow scholars, providing an essential bibliographic and theoretical basis for my prospectus.

MS Peniarth 399, Grosvenor Museum, Chester

The Congress also led an excursion to the National Library of Wales at Aberystwyth. My original plan was to remain in Aberystwyth for the following day, where the staff had, months earlier, promised me access to MS Peniarth 399, a unique early copy of the Chester *Antichrist* pageant, a pageant that plays a central role in my first chapter. On the day before I departed for Britain, however, an NLW librarian emailed me with apologies: "I have just been made aware that the original manuscript is on an external loan from the 21.6.08-31.8.08, I apologize wholeheartedly for this."

With some effort, I convinced the NLW staff to put me in touch with the recipient of that external loan, which luckily turned out to be the Grosvenor Museum in Chester (for an exhibit timed to coincide with the play revivals). Because of the relocation of the manuscript to Chester, I was able to return early from my trip, and to redirect the money I'd saved to cover my registration for the New Chaucer Society Congress. And after I applied a bit more New Yorker charm to the Grosvenor staff, I gained full access to the manuscript, removed temporarily from its glass case (against the usual policies of both the Library and the Museum).

It was well worth it. The manuscript, which is unavailable in facsimile, shows faint signs of wear that suggest that it was often folded down its center, to the width of a pocket, and that the pages may at other times have been rolled up. I believe that both of these signs, which would not have been visible in reproductions, confirm F.M. Salter's suggestion that Peniarth 399 was first used as an informal rehearsal script by medieval players. The inking

and hand of the manuscript, once viewed in person, support that hypothesis. Based on the information I gained from Peniarth 399, and with help from what has now become an ongoing relationship with librarians at the NLW, I plan to add a subsection to my first chapter that extends its analysis to the elusive pre-1500 staging of the cycle, and the distance between street-level production and scribal preservation.

Further Research:

The Cestrian community members that I met, in addition to their interviews, granted me free access to a number of resources that I did not expect to be able to use while in Chester. With their help, I got even more mileage out of my research trip. Mary Ann Cameron, after my interview with her, insisted that I follow her to the University of Chester library, where she is a librarian: through their database, I found sources that I hadn't known existed. Clare Fitzwilliam, another member of the cast, revealed that her family had been involved with the revivals for generations. She lent me decades' worth of copies of revival programs and scripts, and I took digital photographs of each page. Chester Cordwainer Hilary McNae, after welcoming me into her home for our interview, allowed me to flip through and take digital photographs of an original manuscript of the Cordwainers' records, which she kept in her personal library. And the Griffiths-Pearson family, members of the ensemble, led me on an extensive tour of the city—providing me with a topographical perspective on the play sites that has proven invaluable for my analysis of the plays (particularly in helping me realize that certain wagon stations would be within sight of each other, and of Chester's medieval harbor).



Scattered Standards

Northwest Chapter-3/20/2011

We had a marvelous time during the December 2010 NW Chapter meeting hosted by Margie and Hank Deck. The Decks had prepared a delicious buffet lunch and we had a great time eating and talking during the social portion of the meeting.

Margie passed out her "Houses of Plantagenet, York and Lancaster Matching Challenge." She had prepared sheets showing the genealogy (including mini-color pictures!) of the English kings and queens from Edward III to Henry VII and asked us to match up 16 of the queens with their kings. Now this may sound easy to you, but those of us who vaguely know which king followed which are sadly unaware of who their wives were, until we get into the Wars of the Roses. Those with a wider knowledge of English history did the best and Carol Smith was the grand winner with only two errors!

Margie had intended to also discuss Medieval Christmases but the quiz took longer than expected so she gave us all extensive handouts based on a chapter from "Christmas: it's Origins and Associations-Together with Its Historical Events and Festive Celebrations during Nineteen Centuries" by Wm. Francis Dawson (1902). The section she included covered Christmases from the Magna Charta to the end of the Wars of the Roses. There was so much material that we may also be able to use it next year for the next Christmas program. It contains customs plus history, such as the Battle of Wakefield, which occurred at Christmastide, 1460 and deserves a lot more attention than we could give it.

We were able to set the schedule for 2011 programs. We are trying to meet at the Borders Bookstore Café at South Center Mall, Tukwila, to allow us to invite "non-Ricardians" and attract new members. The March 19 program will be Dr. David Smith on "The Standard of Living of the Average Person in England during the Middle Ages". He will include how

historians determine the economic circumstances of the past and what criteria should be used to study this. On June 25, Jean Macdonald will discuss Medieval Fare. In the Fall, David hopes to have a University of Puget Sound (UPS) history graduate student present her paper on late Medieval English Queens. This talk may occur on the UPS campus in Tacoma to allow other academics and students to attend. It sounds like a win-win situation to us!

Being great readers, several members either brought books to show or mentioned enjoyable reads. Some of the books included choices by Chapter Librarian Carol Smith who brought in fiction choice "Virgin Widow" (about Anne Neville) by Anne O'Brien, and non-fiction "Mary Tudor, Princess, Bastard and Queen "by Anne Whitlock, "Wars of the Roses" by Michael Hicks (an Osprey book), and "Towton 1461" by Christopher Gravett. Margaret Nelson brought in three non-fiction books which had been reviewed in "The Ricardian Register" which she recommended. The first two are local public library holdings: "The Sisters Who Would be Queen-Mary, Katherine and Lady Jane Grey" by Leandra de Lisle and "The Tudors" by G.J. Meyers. There is not much "romance" about the Tudors in either book; Ricardians should appreciate both. The third book was a recent order by the NW Chapter, "The Wars of the Roses, A Field Guide and Companion" by Peter Bramley. This is a terrific resource with biographies of principal players, summaries of battles and good descriptions of what you will see at noted battlefields, castles and churches today. It is well worth reading.

Feeling that Christmas is the time for puzzles, Margaret passed out copies of the Ricardian Register's Spring 2007 crossword puzzle on Ricardian castles, thinking it would be the one we had the best chance of completing. Due to the length of the meeting, we were not able to even begin to try to solve the puzzles. Everyone at this meeting had a great time thanks to Margie and Hank and we thank them so much for the work and thought they went to to prepare this meeting!

Margaret Nelson, President, NW Chapter Richard III Society

New England Chapter-4/2/2011



Sally Keil, Moderator: skeil@acquidata.com
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New England Chapter website: http://www.r3ne.org/

Richard III Society, New England Chapter Meeting Minutes April 2, 2011, 12:00 p.m. - 2:00 p.m. Acton Memorial Library, Acton, Massachusetts

Delicious lunch as usual: melon wrapped in prosciutto ham, cream cheese on date nut bread, cucumber sandwiches, ham & swiss cheese sandwiches, Bibb lettuce boats with chicken curry salad, chocolate covered pretzels and Towton anniversary cake for dessert!

Attendees: Sally Keil, Diana Rubino, Iana Strominger, Linda McLatchie, Sheila Trulli, Anne Easter Smith, Joan Szechtman, Nancy Jorloff

Old Business

Reading of last meeting's minutes

New Business

Changes to bylaws: discussion of the following proposed changes:

Article IV section 3: Financial expenditures. It is proposed that any expenditure of greater than \$20. must have the prior approval of the three officers of the Chapter in order to receive reimbursement from the Chapter. The current expenditure cap is \$50. It is further proposed that any expenditure of more than \$100. must be voted on by a quorum at a regularly scheduled meeting or via email vote, in order to be reimbursed by the Chapter. (The current amount is \$200.).

Please consider these proposed changes. They will be voted on at the next meeting.

As the number of attendees at this meeting constituted a quorum, a vote was taken, and passed, to increase annual dues to \$10.

A new secretary for the Chapter was elected: Dr. Mary Cheyne. She will begin her duties at the next meeting.

The 550th anniversary of the Battle of Towton, March 29, 1461 was remembered with a marvelous cake frosted with white roses. It was enjoyed by all.

The annual fund raising raffle was held with lots of nice books, including Anne Easter Smith's and Joan Szechtman's new titles (advanced reading copies).

A video, "Middleham Castle A Royal residence" from the Richard III Collection was shown providing us with a guided tour of the Castle as it is today and through computer simulation what it might have looked like in the 15th century. The narrator, Mr. John Fox revealed himself as a Ricardian sympathizer (he hated the statute of Richard in Middleham because it was unflattering and passionately described the death of Anne & Richard's son). The castle went on forever!

We played the *Ricardian trivia game* with new teams formed. The White Boar team now consists of Sheila Trulli, Joan Szechtman, Linda McLatchie and Nancy Jorloff. The White Rose team consists of Anne Easter Smith, Iana Strominger and Diana Rubino. At our next meeting Mary Cheyne will join the White Rose team to even out the sides! The previous scores were erased, and the new competitors are at a dead heat.

Iana Strominger, Secretary



The Duke of Gloucester and Edward V's Convocation (further discussion)

Marion Davis

To the Editor:

In "The Duke of Gloucester and Edward V's Convocation," (*Ricardian Register*, April, 2011, pp. 16-17), Annette Carson comments on my citation of her *Richard III; Maligned King*, in "Gloucester's Dukedom is too Ominous," (*Ricardian Register*, Fall/Winter, 2010, p. 19). Here is my reply:

I sent my article to the *Register* on Oct. 30, 2009. On Feb. 22, 2010, I received and read a copy of "Amendments inserted in 3d Ed. 2010 Paperback," (*Richard III; Maligned King*) which was offered to Richard III listserve members. These amendments didn't include the sentence: "It was in Bishop Russell's register that I found conclusive evidence, in Richard III's own words, that the convocation he had called in the name of Edward V never took place." Now that I've read this in "The Duke of Gloucester and Edward V's Convocation," I'd like to record the following changes in my view of the uncertainties surrounding Edward V's convocation:

Sentences and questions following (252) on p. 19.

Horrox states that Edward V's deposition forestalled the convocation. Carson's subsequent research into Episcopal registers has found in John Russell, bishop of Lincoln's register evidence that "in Richard III's own words ... the convocation he had called in the name of Edward V never took place." (353) Questions arise: Did Edward V's deposition actually forestall this convocation? How does the entry in Bishop Russell's register fit into the uncertain order of events between May 16, 1483 and June 26, 1483? When were Richard III's own words recorded in Bishop Russell's register? Did Gloucester, as Edward V's protector, cancel this convocation, or was this cancellation recorded after Richard III's accession? How does the speech that Bishop Russell drafted--as Edward V's chancellor--for Edward V's first parliament affect interpretation of his register entry? How does the theory that Bishop Russell wrote the 2nd continuation of the Croyland Chronicle affect interpretation of this entry? Was this entry intended to validate any of the Croyland Chronicle's criticisms of Richard III? What was the purpose of this cancelled conference, and did insider knowledge of this purpose cause Bishop Russell to record its cancellation when other bishops did not? [End of changes]

My questions are not intended to devalue Annette Carson's findings in any way. I hope these questions may lead her and other Ricardians to more records that question the traditional version of events. The day when historians cease to quote More's fictions as fact can't come too soon.

Recent Library Acquisitions

Research Library (Susan Higginbotham, mail@susanhigginbotham.com)

- Black, Maggie. Food and Cooking in Medieval Britain: History and Recipes
- Goodwin, George. Fatal Colours: Towton, 1461
- Hammond, Peter. Richard III and the Bosworth Campaign
- Leyser, Henrietta. Medieval Women
- Sadler, John. Towton: The Battle of Palm Sunday Field

Fiction Library (Gilda E. Felt, gildavf@comcast.net)

Doyle, Arthur Conan. The White Company.

Set in the tumultuous days of the 14th century, when the political struggles among England, France and Spain, and the Crusades in the Holy Land, created instablity for peasant and noble alike. Young Alleyne Edricson, sheltered in an abbey where the orphaned lad was educated per his noble father's wishes, is unwillingly shoved into the world for a period of a year, and must decide whether he wishes to make his way there or return to a monastic life.

Harrison, Cora. My Lady Judge.

Five hundred years ago, the western seaboard of Ireland was home to an independent kingdom that lived peacefully by the ancient Celtic laws of their forebears. On the first eve of a festive celebration, all the people of the land headed up Mullaghmore Mountain to light a bonfire. But one man—assistant to Mara, the King's appointed judge and lawgiver—did not return.

Harrison, Cora. A Secret and Unlawful Killing.

The murder of an arrogant steward, Ragnall MacNamara, leaves a wide field of suspects, as does the suspicious death of another surly citizen. The learned Mara, the sole woman Brehon (or judge) in Ireland, is responsible for all crimes on the Burren.

Harrod-Eagles, Cynthia. The Founding.

Seeking power and prestige, grim, ambitious Yorkshireman Edward Morland arranges a marriage between his meek son Robert and spirited Eleanor, young ward of the influential Beaufort family. Eleanor is not only appalled at being forced to marry a mere "sheep farmer," but is secretly in love with Richard, Duke of York. Yet, in time, this apparently ill-matched union becomes both passionate and tender, the foundation of the Morland Dynasty, and sustains them through bloody civil war which so often divides families, sets neighbor against neighbor, and brings tragedy close to home. First book in the Morland Dynasty Series.

Harrod-Eagles, Cynthia. *The Dark Rose*.

It is 1501, and Paul, great grandson of Eleanor Morland, has inherited the estate and has a son to follow him. But he fathers an illegitimate boy by his beloved mistress, and bitter jealously between the half-brothers causes a destructive rift that leads to tragedy. Paul's niece Nanette becomes maid-in-waiting to Anne Boleyn, and at the court of Henry VIII witnesses first hand the events leading up to the rift with Rome, her mistress's execution, and the further efforts of the sad, ailing king to secure the male succession. Book II in the Morland Dynasty Series.

Higginbotham, Susan. The Queen of Last Hopes.

Margaret of Anjou, queen of England, cannot give up on her husband-even when he slips into insanity. And as mother to the House of Lancaster's last hope, she cannot give up on her son-even when England turns against them. This gripping tale of a queen forced to stand strong in the face of overwhelming odds is at its heart a tender tale of love.

O'Brien, Anne. Virgin Widow: England's Forgotten Queen.

As a child Anne falls in love with the ambitious, proud Richard of Gloucester, third son of the House of York. But when her father is branded a traitor, her family must flee to exile in France. As Anne matures into a beautiful, poised woman, skillfully navigating the treacherous royal court of Margaret of Anjou, she secretly longs for Richard, who has become a great man under his brother's rule. But as their families scheme for power, Anne must protect her heart from betrayals on both sides-and from the man she has always loved, and cannot bring herself to trust.

Penman, Sharon Kay. The Reckoning.

Spanning the period 1271-83 A.D., The Reckoning focuses on the Welsh uprisings and their prince, Llewelyn ap Gruffydd. The story begins five years after the killing of Simon de Montfort, whose story was related in Penman's *Falls the Shadow* (LJ 7/88). The betrothal between Simon's 13-year-old daughter Ellen and Llewelyn, which had ended with her father's death, has been reinstated. Now, en route to meet her husband, Ellen is kidnapped by pirates acting at the behest of Edward I, who opposes his cousin's marriage to the warring Welsh lord.

Wiatt, Philippa. Kingmaker's Daughter.

Anne Neville and Edward of Lancaster are madly in love, and Richard is modeled after Shakespeare's character assassination.

Winder, Robert. The Final Act of Mr. Shakespeare.

In the spring of 1613 Mr William Shakespeare, a gentleman farmer in Warwickshire, returns to London. It is a ceremonial visit; he has no further theatrical ambitions. But the city is still reeling from the terrorist panic of the Gunpowder Plot of 1605, and fate soon forces him to take up his pen again. It was never possible to write about Henry VII while his granddaughter Elizabeth was Queen, but now he must. It is a perilous enterprise: King James I's spies are everywhere. There is no evidence that Shakespeare wrote Henry VII, but in a compelling piece of historical recreation, Robert Winder asks: what if he did?

Worth, Sandra. Lady Of the Roses..

During her short time as a ward in Queen Marguerite's Lancastrian court, fifteen-year-old Isobel has had many suitors ask for her hand, but the spirited beauty is blind to all but Yorkist Sir John Neville. It is nothing short of a miracle when the Queen allows Isobel's marriage to the enemy, albeit at a hefty price.

Worth, Sandra. Pale Rose of England.

It is 1497. The news of the survival of Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, has set royal houses ablaze with intrigue and rocked the fledgling Tudor dynasty. With the support of Scotland's King James IV, Richard-known to most of England as Perkin Warbeck-has come to reclaim his rightful crown from Henry Tudor. Stepping finally onto English soil, Lady Catherine Gordon has no doubt that her husband will succeed in his quest.

But rather than assuming the throne, Catherine would soon be prisoner of King Henry

A Few Words from the Editor

Joan Szechtman

I thought I had the process down as this is my second issue. Then I learned that printing on the inside cover increased the cost significantly over adding those pages to the interior. At the same time, the Illinois chapter was finalizing the brochure for the 2011 AGM, which they are hosting this year in Chicago. In getting prices to produce and mail the brochure as a separate publication, we learned that would add a significant cost over producing it as part of this issue of the Register. Thus, to contain costs and hopefully keep membership dues at the present level, we are taking advantage of every reasonable cost saving option that we can. In addition to a printed version of the brochure, we would like to email an electronic version to the membership. However, we don't have everyone's email address. If you would like to receive an electronic copy of the brochure, please send an email to me at u2nohoo@gmail.com and put AGM Brochure in the subject line. I will reply with a copy of the brochure and instruction on how to print selected pages. This way, you won't have to clip out the registration form or survey.

The R3 Sales Catalog is also included in the Register for the same cost savings reasons. If you want an electronic copy of the catalog, please send me an email to the address mentioned and put Sales Catalog in the subject line. If you want the brochure and the catalog, please put AGM Brochure and Sales Catalog in the subject line. At least there's no additional cost for email. © (Please forgive me my emoticon, but I'm apparently in good company. I've heard the Abraham Lincoln used them in his notes.)

A plea for articles: I can always use contributions to the Register. Don't worry about getting it to me by any specific deadline unless you need the article to appear in a specific issue. I'm attempting to match the UK publication schedule, which is March, June, September, and December. If you want an article to appear in the next issue, please get it to me by the ides of the previous month.

I am exploring printing occasional fictional pieces that are fact based, where events as we know them won't be altered, but we get to play with how a character might have thought and felt about those things. Another possibility is to reprint older Register articles that aren't available electronically. Please email suggestions, feedback and other ideas that you may have to me. Again, my email is u2nohoo@gmail.com.

If anyone notes incorrect or missing contact/chapter information (pp 44-45), please contact Nita Musgrave at bnm@wowway.com and copy me at u2nohoo@gmail.com.

Thanks to everyone who has contributed to this issue and for all the work that is done behind the scenes

Sales Catalog-June 2011 Richard III Society, American Branch

Merchandize

Item Description	Item #	Price (USD)	Shipp ing (USD)	lmage (where available)
"Leaves of Gold" CD. This is the CD-ROM that accompanied the exhibition in Spring, 2001, at the Philadelphia Museum of Art, suitable for viewing on Windows or Mac computers. This exhibition included the Lewis Ms. genealogy of Edward IV, the conservation of which was financed by the American Branch of the Society.	1	\$10.00	\$1.00	
Sweater . Blue with embroidered boar logo. UK size 34 or 36. Acrylic. (UK 34 = US "Very Small; UK 36 = US "Small".) <i>Only 1 of each size available</i> .	2	\$10.00	\$5.00	•
Sweater. Black with embroidered boar logo. UK size 34 only. Acrylic. (UK 34 = US "Very Small".) Only 1 available.	4	\$10.00	\$5.00	(5)
Carry bag, cloth. Cream color with red imprint of Richard's face and UK web site on reverse side. 17" high by 14" wide.	152-1	\$5.00	\$2.75	Sing Statuted St.
Boar badge (pin). Made from lead-free pewter each board badge is approximately 1 5/16" long and 5/8" inch high.	156-1	\$10.00	\$2.75	
"Loyalty - standard" postcard. Postcard 4 1/4 x 6" (set of 5)	56-1	\$2.50 per set	\$1.00	

Item Description	Item #	Price (USD)	Shipp ing (USD)	lmage (where available)
Window sticker . Blue background with white boar logo; 3" diameter. Apply on window facing out.	54-1	\$2.50	\$1.00	RICHARD III
"Loyalty - coat of arms" postcard. Postcard 4 1/4 x 6" (set of 5)	55-1	\$2.50 per set	\$1.00	
Pendant, black. Black background with enameled boar logo. 1" diameter. Has loop for chain (not included).	63-1	\$5.00	\$1.00	
Pendant, blue. Blue background with enameled boar logo. 1" diameter. Has loop for chain (not included.)	67-1	\$5.00	\$1.00	
Scarf . 25" x 27" blue background with boar logos patterned on scarf. Polyester. <i>Very limited quantities</i> .	65-1	\$7.50	\$1.00	

Books and Periodicals

Item Description	Item Number	Price (USD)	Shipping (USD)
Loyalty Binds Me. In <i>Loyalty Binds Me</i> , the second book about Richard III in the 21 st -century, Richard, his modern family, and his son from the 15th-century have just arrived in London when Ricard is arrested for a 500 year-old murder. He must now find a way to clear his name and protect his family while concealing his true identity. By Joan Szechtman. ISBN 978-1-935188-25-4. Signed by author.	17	\$12.00	\$3.50
Note: By arrangement with the author exclusive for Ricardians, buy both <i>Loyalty Binds Me</i> and <i>This Time</i> at a discounted price of \$25 plus \$5 for shipping/handling.			
This Time. <i>This Time</i> rediscovers the fifteenth century Richard III as he attempts to unravel the mysteries of the twenty-first century. By Joan Szechtman. Paperback. ISBN 978-0-9824493-0-1. Signed by author.	16	\$15.00	\$3.50

Item Description	Item Number	Price (USD)	Shipping (USD)
The Encomium of Richard III. Paperback; 33 pages; edited by A N Kincaid; introduced by A N Kincaid & J A Ramsden; by Sir William Cornwallis the Younger; The earliest defense of King Richard III by a contemporary of Sir George Buck.	5-1	\$8.00	\$2.75
Richard III: Loyalty, Lordship, and Law. Paperback; edited by PW Hammond; ISBN 1900289377. Paper from the second Richard III Symposium in April 1984.	130-1	\$21.50	\$5.00
The Encomium of Richard III. Paperback; 33 pages; edited by A N Kincaid; introduced by A N Kincaid & J A Ramsden; by Sir William Cornwallis the Younger; The earliest defense of King Richard III by a contemporary of Sir George Buck.	5-1	\$8.00	\$2.75
British Library Harleian Manuscript 433, 4 vols. Hardback; edited by Rosemary Horrox and Peter Hammond. "The most important source document for Richard's reign with transcripts of his grants, letters, etc. Sold as a four-volume set with detailed name and subject indexes."	11-1	\$82.50	\$5.00
The Alien Communities of London in the Fifteenth Century: The Subsidy Rolls of 1440 and 1483-4 Hardback; edited and introduced by J.L. Bolton; ISBN 1900289156; "The Alien subsidy was a poll tax on foreigners living in England. This study with calendar, looks at the fifteenth-century rolls, at the geographic origins, social organisation and economic role of the migrants within London and considers the question of how Londoners regarded these aliens. Includes short biographies."	120-1	\$24.75	\$5.00
Richard III: Loyalty, Lordship, and Law. Paperback; edited by PW Hammond; ISBN 1900289377. Paper from the second Richard III Symposium in April 1984.	130-1	\$21.50	\$5.00
The Merchant Taylors' Company of London: Court Minutes 1486-1493. Hardback; edited and introduced by Matthew Davies; ISBN 1900289369	131-1	\$30.00	\$5.00

Item Description	Item Number	Price (USD)	Shipping (USD)
The Ricardian: Tant D'Emprises So Many Undertakings, Essays in Honour of Anne F. Sutton. Edited by Livia Visser-Fuchs. Volume XIII 2003.	135-1	\$12.50	\$5.00
The Beauchamp Pageant. Hardback; edited by Alexandra Sinclair; ISBN 190028961X. The latest publication from the Richard III & Yorkist History Trust. A facsimile in full color of the British Library Manuscript illustrating the life of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, made in 1483-84. With an instruction to the life of Richard Beauchamp and commentaries oto all 55 folios of line drawings. <i>Only 1 available as of May 2011</i> .	137-1	\$50.00	\$5.00
The Royal Funerals of the House of York at Windsor. Paperback; 138 pages; by Anne F. Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs with RA Griffiths; Publisher: Richard III Society (2005); ISBN 0904893154	143-1	\$20.00	\$5.00
The Logge Register of PCC Wills, 1479 to 1486. 2 volumes; Hardback; edited by Lesley Boatwright, Moira Habberjam, Peter Hammond; vol 1 ISBN 978-0-904893-16-8; vol 2 ISBN 978-0-904893-18-2	151-1	\$45.00	\$5.00
The Ricardian : Volume XV 2005 (Item Number 5), Volume XIV 2004 (Item Number 6), Volume XVII 2007 (Item Number 7)		\$3.00 ea. Vol.	\$1.00 ea. Vol.
The Bulletin: Spring 2006 (Item Number 8), Summer 2006 (Item Number 9), Spring 2009 (Item Number 10), December 2009 (Item Number 11), Spring 2008 (Item Number 12), Winter 2008 (Item Number 13)		\$3.00 ea. issue	\$1.00 ea. issue

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Richard III's Signatures

Having been given the gift of a blank page, I thought it would be fun to print Richard III's signatures as it changed throughout his short life that we have at the American Branch website at r3.org/rnt1991/inkandpaper.html that is part of a larger article: *To Prove a Villian*.

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Richard III Society Annual General Meeting September 23-25, 2011

The 50th Anniversary of the American Branch of the Richard III Society

DoubleTree Hotel Oakbrook

1909 Spring Road Oakbrook, IL 60523 Tel: (630) 472-6000

www.chicagooakbrook.doubletree.com

Registration Form

1 τοιν πιοπισσίοι φο	ee includes Friday reception, all Saturday morning y lunch. Members: \$75.00, by Sept. 9th 85.00, by Sept. 9th
If your registration	ber of attendees \$ 1 comes in before August 31st you will receive some extra raffle tickets.
See the following p	extra raffle tickets. page for more information on the food choices.
Select luncheon entr	ree (insert number of orders for each choice) :
	Caesar Salad (grilled chicken, shrimp, 1. Check one.) Grilled Vegetarian Muffuletta
Ricardian Banque Select entree (enter 1 Parmesan Herb	
PiccataMediter tomato sauce in puff	ranean Purse (Roasted vegetables with orzo and pastry) \$
Fundraiser Breakfa	ast (no. * \$32 ea) \$
	be present to win prizes, or make arrangements for for you.\$
Total Enclosed	\$
Total Enclosed	\$
Total Enclosed Name(s)	
Total Enclosed Name(s) Address	
Total Enclosed Name(s) Address City/State/Zip	
Total Enclosed Name(s) Address City/State/Zip Phone	

Information on food choices:

Lunch

The Bistro Croissant is layered with turkey, ham, bacon, Swiss cheese, lettuce and tomato on a fresh baked croisant.

If you pick the Caesar Salad you have a choice of a plain salad, or one with grilled chicken, shrimp, or salmon. Please circle one of the four options on the registration form.

The grilled vegetarian Muffuletta has roasted eggplant, summer squash, zucchini, red bell peppers, Boursin cheese, portobello mushroom, plum tomatoes, and pesto vinaigrette on a ciabatta bun.

Dinner (Banquet)

The Parmesan herb-crusted tilapia has a citrus butter sauce.

The Chiken Piccata has a lemon caper sauce.

The Mediterranean Purse has roasted vegetables with orzo and tomato sauce wrapped in a puff pastry.

Please double-check your food choices, raffle ticket cost, and the cost of all the meal options (banquet and fundraiser breakfast) before sending in your registration form and survey. Thank you.

Schedule: Workshops and Events

Friday, September 23

6:00 to 10:00 P.M.

Welcome Reception *in Essex Ballroom. Registration packets can be picked up at this time. Cash bar. The American Branch's* 50th Anniversary will also be celebrated with cake and a piñata.

Saturday, September 24

7:45 to 8:45 A.M.

Breakfast in Essex Ballroom.

Registration and sales tables are open. Raffle tickets may be purchased.

9:00 to 9:45 A.M. Workshop 1 (Kent 1 & 2)

Jonathan Hayes will speak on Heraldry.

10:00 to 10:45 A.M. Workshop 2 (Kent 1 & 2)

Dr. Robert Holst will speak on Music in England in the Time of Richard III.

Schedule continued

11:00 to 11:45 A.M. Workshop 3 (Kent 1 & 2)

Barbara Underwood will speak on A History of Otherness: Disability in the Middle Ages.

There will be time before lunch to browse the raffle and sales tables.

12:30 to 2:30 P.M.

Luncheon and Speaker

Mary Miller will speak on The Role of Scotland in the Wars of the Roses.

2:30 to 3:30 P.M. Business Meeting, Awards

After the end of the business meeting there will be free time for attendees.

7:00 P.M.

Cocktails/Raffle/Cash bar

(Donations for the raffle are appreciated. Please email Nita Musgrave at bnm@wowway.com ahead of time and let her know what your donations will be. Please bring raffle donations with you. Contact Nita if this is a problem.)

8:00 to 11:00 P.M. The Ricardian Banquet

Join us for an evening of good food and merriment. Our entertainment will be Rescuing Richard, a short Modern Medieval play with original music by IL Chapter member Joyce Tumea.

Sunday, September 25

8:00 AM. Fundraiser Breakfast

Pamela Butler, David Luitweiler and Nita Musgrave will talk about the Oxford War of the Roses Weekend and highlights of the city of Oxford.

DoubleTree Hotel Oakbrook

An outstanding choice for meetings and events, this premier hotel is located 20 miles west of downtown Chicago, 10 miles from Chicago O'Hare Airport, 15 miles from Midway Airport and just steps from over 160 specialty stores, shops and restaurants at Oakbrook Center Mall. The hotel is also just minutes from Drury Lane Dinner Theater, Brookfield Zoo, and Casino Riverboats.

A block of rooms has been reserved at the special rate of \$95.00. To reserve your room at the special rate, call the hotel directly at (630) 472-6000 and ask for the special

Richard III Society rate. The hotel cannot guarantee that these rooms will be available after August 31st, so reserve early. All reservations should include the arrival and departure dates, estimated time of arrival, room preference (single or double/double), and credit card type to be used for payment.

For those members who would like to share a room to cut the cost, the Illinois Chapter is willing to play matchmaker. Email Nita Musgrave at bnm@wowway.com and give your name if you want a roommate. To make sure that the hotel deadline is met, please call before August 31st.



2011 AGM hosted by the Illinois Chapter For questions, please contact Jane Munsie at 630-985-0320 or jamunsie@aol.com



Getting Here

There are turn-by-turn directions on the website.

Directions From O'Hare International Airport: Exit airport to 294 South to Interstate-88 West to Cermak 22nd Street exit. Continue straight on Spring Road and the hotel will be on the right.

Drive time: 20-35 minutes. Distance from hotel: 10 miles.

Transportation to and from the airport: Type Typical Charge

Limousine \$28.00 USD

Rental Car Varies
Taxi \$36.00 USD

Getting Here continued

Directions From Chicago's Midway Airport: Exit airport to Cicero Avenue North to Interstate- 55 West to 294 North to Interstate-88 West to Cermak 22nd Street. Continue straight on Spring Road.

Drive time: 35-50 minutes. Distance from hotel: 15 miles.

Transportation to and from the airport: Type Typical Charge

Limousine \$35.00 USD

Rental Car Varies

Taxi \$40.00 USD

Windy City Limousine will charge \$26.00 for one person from either airport with \$11 each for additional passengers. Call 1-866-949-4639 to book a shuttle. Ask for further instructions when you book the shuttle.

Parking:

Self-Parking: Garage and 2 open.

Valet Parking: \$8.00 USD 7:00 A.M.-10:30 P.M.

Check-In: 3:00 P.M. - Check-Out: 12:00 P.M.

More information on travel:

Windy City Limousine's rates were current as of the end of May. Please call them at 1-800-949-4639 to check rates, book a limo, and check instructions on using the service.

DuPage County, IL has website with visitor information and more. The url is http://www.discoverdupage.com.

Metra, the train service one can use to get downtown, has a website at http://metrarail.com/metra/en/home.html

Note: Please send your survey to Joyce Tumea. Her address is on the bottom of the survey. If you have questions or need help with transportation to/from the trains for Oakbrook, you can contact Kate Skegg. Her cell phone is 630-696-5864. Her email address is also at the end of the survey. You may also contact Jane Munsie at jamunsie@aol.com for general information.

RIII Society American Branch 50 Year Anniversary Survey, Summer, 2011

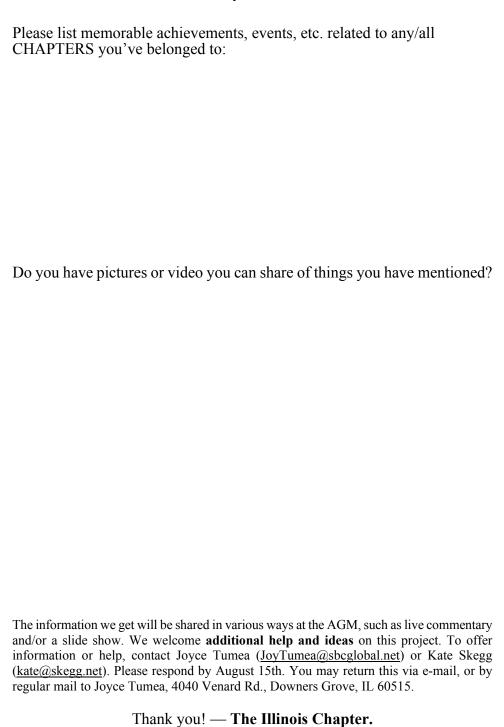
WHAT HAVE WE DONE? Help us answer that question regarding the American Branch's first 50 years at the 2011 AGM. Every member can relate a piece of the branch's history by sharing his/her own experiences and memories with us. What trials have we overcome? What improvements have we instituted? What contributions have we made to scholarship, to promoting a fairer representation of Richard in the public eye? Please read and respond to the questionnaire below.

Name:	
Contact Info.: (phone and /or e-mail)	
How long have you been a member?	
How did you first hear about the society	and/or chapter? (Friend, newspaper article, Internet,
etc.)	

*To help you get started, think about publications, AGMs, friendships, sales items, field trips, educational books and videos, author members, scholarships, entertainments, talks to community groups, etc.

Please list memorable achievements, events, etc. regarding the **AMERICAN BRANCH'S** first 50 yrs.:

Survey continued



Advertise in The Ricardian Register

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

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Copy Deadlines:

March • February 15
June • May 15
September • August 15
December • November 15

Board, Staff, and Chapter Contacts

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The position of chapter coordinator is currently open. Please contact Nita Musgrave at bnm@wowway.com if you are interested in filling this position.

Inside back cover (not printed)

Portrait of Richard III at National Portrait Gallery, London photograph by *Joan Szechtman*



Front cover: Challenge in the Mist by Graham Turner

Prints of this painting, and others of Richard III and the Wars of the Roses, are available from Studio 88 • www.studio88.co.uk • Studio 88 Ltd, PO Box 568, Aylesbury, Bucks. HP17 8ZX, England • phone/fax +44 (0)1296 338504.

York Minster stained glass of Richard III's coat of arms.

Public domain image from WikiMedia Commons (wikimedia.org)



Loyalty Binds Me is the second book about Richard III in the 21st-century by award winning author, Joan Szechtman.* It begins about a year after the first book of the series *This Time* ends. Richard has married a divorcee, adopted her two daughters, and with the help of his new wife, rescued his son Edward, who had predeceased him in the 15th-century. Richard has lived in the twenty-first century for two years, and his son has been with him for the past year. At the start of the novel, they have just arrived in London, when Richard is brought in by the Metropolitan Police for questioning about the alleged murder of Richard III's nephews in 1483. Richard must now find a way to clear his name and protect his family while concealing

his true identity.

My recommendation: Read and enjoy, read and enjoy the previous book in the series, and look forward, like me, to the next one.—Myrna Smith, Ricardian Reading Editor

* This Time received the 2010 Next Generation Indie Book Awards General Fiction Finalist award.

Buy a full color ad on the back cover. See ad rates on page 43.