

Ricardian Register



Richard III Society, Inc.

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December, 2011



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 envelops the battlefield at Barnet.

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Articles on: American Branch Annual Reports; Edward of Lanchester; Crosby Place; 2011 Chicago AGM; and 2011 Ricardian Tour Report

Inside cover
(not printed)

Contents

Annual Reports: Richard III Society, American Branch.....	<u>2</u>
Treasurer’s Report.....	<u>2</u>
Chairman’s Report.....	<u>8</u>
Vice Chairman’s Report.....	<u>8</u>
Secretary’s Report.....	<u>8</u>
Membership Chair Report:.....	<u>8</u>
Annual Report from the Research Librarian.....	<u>9</u>
Sales Office Report	<u>9</u>
Editor’s Report.....	<u>11</u>
A Few Words from the Editor.....	<u>12</u>
Errata.....	<u>12</u>
The Boy Who Did Not Become King.....	<u>13</u>
A Short History of Crosby Place’s Great Hall.....	<u>29</u>
The Last Plantagenet King.....	<u>30</u>
American Branch 50th Anniversary AGM Report.....	<u>32</u>
“Rescuing Richard”	<u>33</u>
Reviews.....	<u>35</u>
Letters to the Editor.....	<u>41</u>
Sales Catalog–December, 2011.....	<u>42</u>
Board, Staff, and Chapter Contacts.....	<u>47</u>

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

Dues are \$50 annually for U.S. Addresses; \$55 for international. Each additional family member is \$5. Members of the American Society are also members of the English Society. Members also receive the English publications. All Society publications and items for sale may be purchased either direct at the U.K. Member’s price, or via the American Branch when available. Papers may be borrowed from the English Librarian, but books are not sent overseas. When a U.S. Member visits the U.K., all meetings, expeditions and other activities are open, including the AGM, where U.S. Members are welcome to cast a vote.

Society Internet address: www.r3.org Web status updates: r3member.blogspot.com

Changes of address and dues payments to: Amber McVey, Membership Chair
4681 Angeline Lane, Mason, OH 45040 • Amber@wamber.net

Annual Reports: Richard III Society, American Branch

Treasurer's Report

September 8, 2011

We have a serious problem brewing. Our revenues are not keeping up with our expenses. First, the UK Society has changed the way it charges the American Branch for its publications. Instead of paying only for the publications and shipping costs, which was a big enough expense, the UK Society has required us to pay for memberships in their Society, which covers publications costs and member benefits. We get a discounted rate of £16 per member, which is lower than the UK discounted rate of £20 for seniors, but at an exchange rate of 1.65, this is \$26.40 – over half of a \$50 membership. We are required by the UK Society to pay for the annual memberships as of the record date of October 2nd every year. Since most of our members renew in October and November, and members can join the American Branch in any month of the year, this means estimating how many members we will have over any year beginning October 2nd and paying for them in advance. We have overestimated our renewals for recent years. In addition to paying for UK memberships, we are charged separately for shipping costs for the *Ricardian Bulletin* and the *Ricardian* annual journal. When the extra UK membership fees are combined with the UK shipping costs, we are exceeding the total in dues at \$50 per member. We are relying on gifts – any amount over the base \$50 membership is a gift by IRS rules - to cover all our other costs, but gifts are insufficient.

Second, in recent years, AGM expenses have exceeded revenues. AGM 2009 exceeded revenues by 50%; AGM 2008 exceeded revenues by 33%. Of recent AGMs, only the 2010 event in Detroit covered expenses with a small profit. We must do a better job of setting fees to cover the actual expenses. Also, we need to advertise the AGM farther in advance to increase participation.

Third, our membership is decreasing. We had about 265 paid memberships in 2010. I have estimated 250 paid memberships for 2011. I hope this is not overly optimistic.

The 2011 partial-year balance sheet shows UK membership fees for three years. The funds to pay these fees accumulated over the years we were disputing the publishing and shipping costs of the UK publications. A big part of the problem was that the UK Society parcels out duties more minutely than the American Branch, so it was difficult to find someone who understood how the invoiced charges were arrived at. The other, even bigger problem is best expressed by that old saw: *The United States and England are two countries separated by a common language*. We did not understand the terminology each other was using and this led to endless misunderstandings. We finally sorted out our problems last spring and paid off the UK membership fees, and by the end of this year, we should have all remaining shipping invoices paid off.

Finally, when Carole Rike died last year, Word Catering was behind in billing us for publishing and mailing the *Register*, as well as mailing the *Bulletin* and the *Ricardian*. Carole's will has been contested and as far as I know, the estate has not been settled. I had asked Word Catering, before and after Carole died, to send me invoices for those issues of the *Register* for which we had not been billed, but those invoices were never sent. I hope to resolve this over the coming year.

Diane Hoffman

Treasurer, Richard III Society, American Branch

Financial Assets, Jan. 1 - Dec. 31, 2010

Fund or Bank Acct	Beginning Balance Jan 1 2010	Mutual Fund Purch's	Mutual Fund Redemp's	Ending Balance Dec 31 2010	Total Earnings	Unrealized Gain or Loss or Fees	Notes
Calvert Social Money Market Fund	\$5,861.65	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$5,861.85	\$0.20	\$0.00	
DWS Target 2013 Fund	\$10,103.91	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$10,650.96	\$270.12	\$276.93	
DWS Capital Growth Fund	\$7,413.01	\$0.00	\$7,044.88	\$0.00	\$0.00	-368.13	Closed acct Aug 23, 2010; money deposited in Chase savings acct on Aug 27, 2010; transferred to Vanguard with Sept auto invest
Franklin Templeton Foreign Fund	\$14,898.00	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$16,164.54	\$282.72	\$983.82	
Putnam Growth & Income Fund	\$11,991.50	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$13,679.52	\$116.51	\$1,571.51	
Putnam Voyager Fund	\$14,187.33	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$17,110.84	\$60.40	\$2,863.11	
Vanguard Total Bond Mkt Index Fund	\$0.00	\$75,000.00	\$0.00	\$76,633.97	\$422.10	\$1,211.87	Opened Jan 13, 2010
Chase Bank Checking Account	\$51,555.14			\$48,323.35	\$0.00	\$0.00	Opened acct March 2009
Chase Bank Savings Account (Little Schallek)	\$64,005.23			\$922.59	\$37.48	\$0.00	Opened acct March 2009; most of the money in this acct has been transferred to Vanguard Total Bond Mkt Index Fund
Paypal Account	\$2,067.83			\$2,117.33	\$0.00	\$0.00	
Totals	\$182,083.60			\$191,464.95	\$1,189.53	\$6,539.11	

Balance Sheet, Jan. 1 - Dec. 31, 2010

Income	Detail	Amount (USD)	Totals (USD)	Notes
Dues			\$13,301.03	
Gifts	General Fund	\$3,857.03		
	Weinsoft Fund	\$334.00		
	Fiction Library	\$35.00		
	McGee Fund	\$174.42		Includes \$149.42 profit from McGee breakfast
	Schallek Fund	\$325.00		For Special Projects - currently the Edward IV Roll Project
	Website	\$85.00		
	Amazon.com Deposits	\$40.83		Added to General Fund
	MI Chapter	\$25.00		For flowers for Carole Rike's memorial service
Gifts Total	\$4,876.28			
AGM	Registration & Sales		\$5,205.41	
Investment Income	Dividends, Interest, Capital Gains Distributions		\$1,189.53	
Total Income			\$24,572.25	
Expenses	Detail	Amount	Totals	Notes
AGM			\$5,267.54	
Board Expenses			\$1,081.17	
Conference Calls			\$327.78	
Library	Fiction & Non-Fiction		\$409.87	
NY State Fees	Tax return filing fees		\$180.00	For 2009 return & amended returns for 2008 & 2007
Ricardian Register Publishing			\$7,851.79	
English Publications			\$2,928.56	For 2008 Ricardian (annual)
Publicity	NY Times Obituary for Richard on August 22nd		\$418.30	
Grant	from Schallek Fund		\$3,265.00	For Edward IV Roll Project at U Penn
Total Expenses			\$21,730.01	
Income minus Expenses			\$2,842.24	
Net Assets, Jan 1 2010			\$182,083.60	
Other changes in Net Assets	Realized & Unrealized Gains & Losses		\$6,539.11	
Net Assets, Dec 31 2010			\$191,464.95	

Financial Assets, Jan. 1 - Sept. 8, 2011

Fund or Bank Acct	Beginning Balance Jan 1 2011	Mutual Fund Purch's	Mutual Fund Redemp's	Ending Balance Sep 8 2011	Total Earnings	Unrealized Gain or Loss or Fees	Notes
Calvert Social Money Market Fund	\$5,862	\$0	\$0	\$5,862	\$0	\$0	
DWS Target 2013 Fund	\$10,651	\$0	\$10,774	\$0	\$0	\$123	Acct closed Jul 14, 2011; money deposited in Chase Savings; auto-invest set up to transfer to Vanguard bond fund
Franklin Templeton Foreign Fund	\$16,165	\$0	\$0	\$14,335	\$0	-\$1,830	
Putnam Growth & Income Fund	\$13,680	\$0	\$0	\$12,239	\$0	-\$1,440	
Putnam Voyager Fund	\$17,111	\$0	\$16,858	\$0	\$0	-\$253	Acct closed Jul 13, 2011; money deposited in Chase Savings; auto-invest set up to transfer to Vanguard bond fund
Vanguard Total Bond Mkt Index Fund	\$76,634	\$3,454	\$0	\$85,055	\$1,724	\$3,243	
Chase Bank Checking Account	\$48,323			\$12,487	\$0	\$0	
Chase Bank Savings Account (Little Schallek)	\$923			\$25,106	\$5	\$0	
Paypal Account	\$2,117			\$3,021	\$0	\$0	
Totals	\$191,465			\$158,105	\$1,729	-\$157	

Balance Sheet, Jan. 1 - Sept. 8, 2011

Income	Detail	Amount	Totals	Notes
Dues			\$5,402.60	
Gifts	General Fund	\$1,442.71		
	Weinsoft Fund	\$201.00		
	Schallek Fund	\$25.00		
	Website	\$45.00		
	Amazon.com Deposits	\$41.38		
Gifts Total			\$1,755.09	
Investment Income	Dividends, Interest, Capital Gains Distributions		\$1,729.29	
Ricardian Register Ads			\$154.76	
Sales			\$591.76	
Total Income			\$9,633.50	
Expenses	Detail	Amount	Totals	Notes
Board Expenses			\$607.43	
Conference Calls			\$343.18	
Library			\$181.71	
NY State Fees			\$60.00	
Ricardian Register Publishing			\$6,075.65	
Sales	Purchase Inventory		\$919.50	\$881.50 for UK goods & \$38 for J Szechtman's books
UK Society Membership Fees	Covers cost of UK publications except shipping		\$32,667.02	For 3 years, beginning Oct 2, 2008 thru Oct 1, 2011
UK Publications			\$1,982.59	Shipping charges for UK publications
Total Expenses			\$42,837.08	
Income minus Expenses			-\$33,203.58	
Net Assets, Jan 1 2011			\$191,464.95	
Other changes in Net Asset	Realized & Unrealized Gains & Losses		-\$156.71	
Net Assets, Sep 8 2011			\$158,104.66	

Editor's note: Due to the budgetary shortfall between the American Branch income and expenses, where the bulk of The American Branch's income comes from member dues, we can no longer delay raising the dues. Therefore, a vote will be taken at the 2012 AGM to raise the dues. Amount will be announced prior to the AGM.

2011 - 2-12 Proposed Budget

Income	Amount	Notes
Dues	\$12,500.00	250 * 50 = \$12,500
Gifts	\$3,750.00	12,500 * 0.3; recent gifts have totaled about 30% of dues
AGM 2011 Registrations & Sales	\$4,480.00	Reg fee 30 * \$75 = \$2250; Sat banquet 30 * \$45 = \$1350; McGee Brkfst 15 * \$32 = \$480; Raffle tix 30 * \$5 = \$150; Other sales = \$250; Total = \$4480
Sales	\$900.00	
Investment Income	\$2,600.00	Vanguard interest payments avg \$215 - \$216 per month
Income Total	\$24,230.00	
Expenses	Amount	Notes
AGM 2011	\$5,000.00	AGM expenses usually exceed revenue; this is about 10% over expected income
Board Expenses	\$900.00	
Conference Calls	\$500.00	
Library	\$350.00	
NY State Fees	\$60.00	Annual tax filing fee
Ricardian Register Publishing & mailing UK publications	\$6,000.00	Printing & mailing 4 issues of Ricardian Register; mailing UK publications with the Register
Publicity	\$425.00	Obituary notice for Richard III in NY Times on Aug 22nd
Sales	\$200.00	Replenish inventory
Memberships in UK Society	\$8,580.00	325 * £16 = £5200; £5200 * 1.65 = \$8580 (£1 = \$1.65 approx)
Shipping for UK Publications, UK to US mailing house	\$4,750.00	3 issues of Bulletin: 3 * £625 = £1875; 1 issue of Bulletin+Ricardian Journal:£1000; Total £2875 * 1.65 = \$4750 approx
Edward IV Roll Project	\$100.00	
Expenses Total	\$26,865.00	
Expenses - Special	Amount	Notes
Ricardian Register Publishing - Word Catering	\$6,500.00	Word Catering, which is now out of business, never billed for a number of issues and shipping charges. If Carole's records are sorted out, we may owe at least this much
Shipping for UK Publications - old & disputed invoices, 2009 - 2011	\$6,100.00	In October 2008, the UK Society changed the way it bills us, charging annual membership dues which cover the cost of publications plus member benefits, and separately billing for shipping publications and for extra copies of publications if we do not order enough memberships
Expenses - Special Total	\$12,600.00	

Editor's note: The spreadsheets had to be reformatted from letter to the 6 x 9" trade format for the register. As a result, some data may have inadvertently been elided. To get an electronic copy of the original spreadsheets, please contact Diane Hoffman at dkhoffman42@qwest.net .

Chairman's Report

Jacqueline Bloomquist

I have presided over all meetings, except one, due to family illness. Approval of the minutes of the meetings, RIII in memoriam advert for local paper, asked for and received Bylaws from the English Society, we are on a good footing with Phil Stone and the members of RIII English Branch, write e-mail requests as needed and perform other duties as required.

Vice Chairman's Report

Jonathan Hayes

Annual Report of the VICE CHAIRMAN to the Membership of the American Branch of the Richard III Society

Duties:

1. To preside at meetings of the American Branch and the Executive Board in the absence or incapacity of the Chairman.
2. To prepare the Agenda for all Executive Board meetings and the AGM.
3. To act as Bylaws Committee Chairman.
4. To perform other duties as required by the Executive Board.

Activities:

During the past year, I have prepared the agenda for several board meetings and participated in seven board meetings (held Oct. 31, 2010, Dec. 5, 2010, Feb. 27, 2011, Mar. 13, 2011, May 14, 2011, Jun. 26, 2011, Aug. 7, 2011). I was unable to prepare an agenda for the august board meeting as I was out of the country without means of contact for several weeks just prior to the meeting.

Secretary's Report

Nita Musgrave

During the past year I have arranged the conference calls for the executive board meetings, during which I have taken the minutes. After transcribing them, they were distributed to board members.

This year I attempted to reach all listed contacts for the chapters. This resulted in the removal of two now defunct chapters from the list and replacing several names with the current contact people.

I have responded to, and/or investigated inquiries made to me via the discussion group.

Prior to the AGM I sent greetings to officers and members of both the parent society and the Canadian branch.

I have requested annual reports from all officers and committees and arranged to have them printed for AGM attendees and subsequently published in the Register.

I take the minutes at the AGM and provide copies for attendees to read at the meeting the following year.

Membership Chair Report:

Amber McVey

During the past year, I have continued the duties of the membership chair. These duties include sending out renewal notices to members, updating members in the membership

database, forwarding the checks on to the treasurer and handling correspondence with our members, as well as attending board meetings. The membership chair is also responsible for sending new member information to the UK Society each quarter. I also coordinate with the UK Society for the quantities needed of Ricardians and Bulletins to be shipped each quarter as well as providing the number of Registers needed each quarter to the editor and the printer. Prior to each printing of the Register, I send an updated mailing list to the printer. My job as membership chair has been made vastly easier by Pamela Butler who continues to respond to each new member who joins the Society by the website.

Our membership has remained relatively stable over the last few quarters at approximately 350 members. I am hopeful that now that we are back onto a regular schedule with the Registers that we will be able to retain our membership numbers and hopefully gain new ones.

Annual Report from the Research Librarian

Susan Higginbotham

Since the last AGM, the Research Library has acquired a number of new books about Richard III, the Wars of the Roses, or late medieval history, namely:

David Baldwin, *Stoke Field*

Maggie Black, *Food and Cooking in Medieval Britain: History and Recipes*

George Goodwin, *Fatal Colours: Towton, 1461*

Peter Hammond, *Richard III and the Bosworth Campaign*

Michael Hicks, *The Wars of the Roses*

Henrietta Leyser, *Medieval Women*

Elizabeth Norton, *Margaret Beaufort*

John Sadler, *Towton: The Battle of Palm Sunday Field*

Desmond Seward, *The Last White Rose*

Anne F. Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs with P. W. Hammond, *The Reburial of Richard Duke of York, 21-30 July 1476.*

Livia Visser-Fuchs, ed., *Richard III and East Anglia: Magnates, Gilds, and Learned Men*

Brad Verity has also sent us a number of articles of interest. If there is a particular article you're searching for, please e-mail the librarian at mail@susanhigginbotham.com.

We also hope to acquire *The Women of the Cousins' War* by Philippa Gregory, David Baldwin, and Michael Jones; James Ross's *John de Vere, Thirteenth Earl of Oxford*; and Joel Rosenthal's *Margaret Paston's Piety* before the end of the year.

We have a few members who regularly use the Research Library and would like to encourage others to use it as well, particularly for the titles that are difficult to find used for a reasonable price. And if you're cleaning out your bookshelves, we're always delighted to receive book donations! Anything related to Richard III, the Wars of the Roses, or late medieval/early Tudor history is welcome.

Sales Office Report

Charlie Jordan

This report provides a brief overview of sales efforts from October 2010 to August 2011 as well as a list challenges and recommendations I have identified.

Overview:

The sales effort was restarted in October 2010 with Charlie Jordan volunteering to serve as sales officer and Ruth (Jones) Stich and Victoria Pitman assisting. No existing sales stock was identified except for 10+ copies of “Under the Hog” held by Peggy Allen. (These have not been retrieved from Peggy although she has offered to send them to sales when requested. Since there is no demand for this item, this has not been a priority.)

The board approved an initial funding of \$500 in October 2010. Charlie arranged for a shipment from the UK branch to restock. UK branch members sent many items – see **sheet to show cost of sales items.xls**; available from Charlie or at the Yahoo file site – but at a cost that was over the amount Charlie specified. Cost of the restock was \$881.50 including delivery and Paypal fees.

The sales team conducted a survey of email list members in October to identify member priorities and interests. Results were shared back to the email group in November 2010. Members indicated that the primary sales office mission should be to enhance membership benefits by offering items of interest to the membership; respondents split with half preferring a secondary mission of offering items to non-members toward increasing membership and half indicating the sales office should serve as a revenue-generating function.

Sales has drafted instructions on how to conduct sales operations and posted the draft on the Yahoo file space. The instructions are incomplete and will require work to complete and future revisions as methods change.

The sales team, in conjunction with Joan Szechtman, also revamped the sales catalog including offering pictures of many items. Joan has reformatted the catalog to meet needs of the reformatted *Register*. The catalog will continue to be updated as new items are offered and pricing changes.

Finances:

The Board approved an initial budget of \$500 in October 2010. Initial restocking cost \$881.50. Current sales/contributions total \$602.85 total expenses to date are \$968.79 (including the initial restocking.)

Initial funding	500
Sales/contributions	602.85
Expenses	968.79

The sales office has not yet generated enough revenue to “pay back” the initial \$500 funding and cover cost of restocking.

Documentation:

Each sale is documented both in a spreadsheet recording all details including customer, expense, and revenue information and in a paper file. Customers are issued a receipt detailing items ordered.

Paper files are organized by sale with each sale “bundle” including a copy of the customer order (if available), customer’s receipt, copy of check (if applicable), and receipt showing cost of shipping.

Per agreement with Treasurer Diane Hoffman, customer checks are forwarded to her and (now) include a copy of the sales receipt and shipping receipt (if available). Diane has requested this toward clarifying what reimbursement is needed for sales of Joan's books.

The "invoice" accompanying the restocking of items from the UK branch did not include an itemized list of costs. Diane needs cost information for each item offered for sale to meet IRS requirements; because no itemized list was available and we were not able to obtain that from UK members, we have estimated costs for each item in the restocking order. (See **sheet to show cost of sales items.xls**)

Challenges/Recommendations:

Recommendation: Identify/confirm method of sharing information with Board members.

Spreadsheets containing customer sales information should not be shared with membership at large. We need to identify/confirm a method of storing sales information that can be accessed by Board and sales team members but not general membership.

- Complete "how-to" documents and make available to Board members and sales team.
- Identify methods of reducing cost of sales items.
Items requested from UK branch incur prohibitive delivery charges, Paypal fees, and margins for the UK branch. We should identify methods of reducing these costs either by negotiating cost-only sales for low demand items from the UK branch or by identifying US-based vendors. **Direction from the Board is required** toward avoiding potential for conflict with UK sales efforts.
- Ensure sales team is sufficiently prepared to provide redundancy and continuity.
- Increase sales revenue toward offering new sales items.
Current revenue is insufficient to allow for expanding line of sales items. Inventory includes items that may need to be sold at loss to generate income for additional items; direction from the Board is requested.
- Identify better mechanism for sales management.
Future efforts should include obtaining a mechanism for real-item ordering that includes better cost reporting and inventory management. Current spreadsheets are redundant and reporting is not streamlined nor readily accessible.

Editor's Report

Joan Szechtman

Duties:

- Solicit articles and chapter reports
- Edit articles for typos, etc.
- Format articles, reports, ads, society business (such as sales catalog and AGM flyer) for printing
- Submit publication to printer quarterly
- Attend the newly formed Print Distribution Working Party meetings to be held through electronic communication between the Richard III Society Branches

Putting the Register together:

First, I have to say that taking over the task of editing the Ricardian Register has been a challenging and rewarding experience. Luckily, I have had much needed and fantastic editing help from Diana Rubino and Ruth Roberts.

Before I could compile my first Register, we had to find a printer who would be able to distribute non-profit bulk mail as not only did we sadly lose Carole Rike, but also the printing company that she ran ceased operation. After narrowing the potential printers down to two, we chose Book Masters, Inc. located in Ashland, OH, based on price and my own experience using them to print my first book. Because they could not handle the non-profit bulk mail distribution, they partnered with Sun Graphics in Mansfield, OH, to do the distribution. (Non-profit bulk mail requires specialized postal sort software based on postal route and non-profit permits registered at the post office.) We will also directly use Sun Graphics for ad hoc communication that can't be put in the Register.

Most of you will have noticed that I changed the format of the Register from the 8.5x11" letter size to a 6x9" trade size. The two main reasons were for cost savings and to conform more closely to the parent publications. We also realized a substantial costs savings of about \$500/issue (350 copies) by using perfect bind (glued binding) instead of saddle stitch (staple binding) and by not printing on the inside of the cover. This translates to an annual savings of around \$2,000. We passed this information over to the parent. Depending on how the UK printers base their charges, it's possible for the parent to save substantially more. Their print run is much higher than ours, because it includes the parent and all the branch members.

I want to extend my gratitude to everyone who has contributed articles, letters, and notes to the Register. Without these contributions, the Register would not exist—so keep them coming!



A Few Words from the Editor

Joan Szechtman

Although there continues to be open staff positions for the American Branch, we are pleased to announce that Lisa Holt-Jones of the Canadian Branch has volunteered to assume the Webmaster duties. Her contact information has been added to the Board, Staff, and Chapter Contacts section at the back of the Register. Until we can fill the Web Content Manager position, Lisa will take direction from the American Branch Board. Her first task will be to clean out outdated, unused pages. Please forward any suggestions for the website to the board's secretary, Nita Musgrave (bnm@wowway.com).

The positions that we are still seeking to fill are: Web Content Manager and Chapter Coordinator. Please contact Nita Musgrave if you are interested in filling either position.

Thank you to everyone who contributed to this issue. I look forward to getting your submissions.



Errata

The article, "The Questionable Legend of Henry Wyatt" by Annette Carson that appeared in the September, 2011 Register, the author let me know that she had omitted the dates of Wyatt's birth and death. The article title should read: "The Questionable Legend of Henry Wyatt (c.1460-1537)."

Thank you Robert Vivian for pointing out that on p37 Of the September issue, the last line of Anne Easter Smith's article "Joan of Arc in 'Queen by Right'" was missing. The last sentence should have read: "But it wasn't until 1920 that she was canonized, even though the French had revered her as a saint for centuries."

The Boy Who Did Not Become King

Edward of Lancaster, 1453–1471

Susan Higginbotham

On October 13, 1453 at Westminster Palace, Margaret of Anjou gave birth to the boy who would prove to be her only child: Edward. At age twenty-three, Margaret had been married to Henry VI for eight years and must have despaired of ever producing an heir to the throne.

Edward of Lancaster spent many of his seventeen short years in exile, dogged by rumors of illegitimacy, which have clung to him to this day. Yet in the first and last years of his life, it appeared that he would succeed his father on the throne. What is known about the young man who, if Fortune's Wheel had spun the other way, might have ruled England?

The Birth of an Heir

Margaret of Anjou, born on March 23 or 24, 1430, and married to Henry VI on April 22, 1445, did not bear her husband a child until 1453.¹ We can only speculate as to why it took her so long, for unlike the case centuries later of Marie Antoinette and Louis XVI, whose difficulties in conceiving a child were widely discussed, nothing has survived which indicates the source of the couple's delay in producing an heir. The eight-year wait has been taken as proof by some that Margaret must have resorted to another man to father her child, but then and now, women have gone for years without conceiving only to finally find themselves pregnant. One possibility is that Margaret had conceived at earlier periods during her marriage, but had miscarriages that occurred so early that neither she nor anyone else realized that she was pregnant in the first place. Another, of course, is that Henry had bouts of impotency. Knowing nothing of this most private aspect of the royal couple's life, we can do no more than speculate.

Edward would have been conceived during the Christmas/New Year's season of 1452-53, when Henry VI is known to have resided at Margaret's palace of Greenwich.² This holiday season appears to have been a particularly merry one for the royal couple. Margaret paid Richard Bulstrode more than 25 pounds for his expenses incurred in connection with a disguising made before the king and queen at Greenwich.³ The festivities continued on January 5, 1453, when Henry VI knighted his younger half-brothers, Edmund and Jasper Tudor, who had recently been made Earl of Richmond and Earl of Pembroke, respectively.⁴ Perhaps this relaxed atmosphere at the court, following on the heels of what had been a period of political recovery for the king, had a beneficial effect on the king and queen in the bedchamber.

Unfortunately, Henry VI lapsed into madness in August 1453, leaving Margaret to face her pregnancy by herself. Margaret gave birth on October 13, 1453, on the feast of the translation of St. Edward the Confessor, after which her butler and usher of her chamber, Giles St. Lo, brought the news to London. He received 10 marks from the common council for doing so.⁵ *Bale's Chronicle* reports the reaction to the birth: "Wherefor the belles rang in every chirch and Te Deum solempny song."⁶ The next day, the boy was christened by William Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester, who was Henry's confessor. His godparents were John Kemp, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Edmund Beaufort, the Duke of Somerset, and Anne Stafford (née Neville), the Duchess of Buckingham.⁷

Because of his mental state, King Henry was oblivious to the birth and christening of

his son. Sometime before January 19, 1454, Margaret, accompanied by the Duke of Buckingham, brought Edward to his father in hopes of receiving the king's blessing. As reported by John Stodeley, they met with only the slightest response: "but alle their labour was in veyne, for they departed thene without any answeere or countenance sayvng only that ones he loked on the Prince and caste doune his eyene ayne, without any more."⁸

However, a year later, a newly recovered Henry VI had a very different reaction to his son, as reported by Edmund Clere to John Paston on January 9, 1455:

Blessed be God, the King is wel amended, and hath ben syn Cristemesday, and on Seint Jones day comaunded his awmener to ride to Caunterbury with his offryng, and comaunded the secretarie to offre at Seint Edwards.

And on the Moneday after noon the Queen came to him, and brought my Lord Prynce with her. And then he askid what the Princes name was, and the Queen told him Edward; and then he hild up his hands and thankid God therof.⁹

The Son of the Holy Spirit? Or of Another Man?

But what of the famous story that Henry, unable to fathom how he might have fathered a son, declared that the boy must be the son of the Holy Spirit? This story comes from a dispatch on March 27, 1461, from Prospero di Camulio, Milanese Ambassador in France, to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan. Writing from Brussels about the latest English news, Camulio reported that it was being "said that the King of England had resigned his crown in favour of his son, although they say his Majesty remarked at another time, that he must be the son of the Holy Spirit, etc." What writers who latch onto this tasty morsel of a statement almost never quote is the rest of Camulio's sentence: "but these may only be the words of common fanatics, such as they have at present in that island."¹⁰ Certainly the timing of this gossip, current just a few weeks after Edward IV had taken the throne, should make us suspicious, as it did Camulio.

It is true, however, that rumors were circulating about Edward's parentage. *Bale's Chronicle* records that the people spoke "strangely" of the infant's birth,¹¹ though the gist of their comments is not recorded. By 1456, as Helen Maurer notes, the gossip changed to allegations that Edward was not Margaret's son, and by the end of the 1450's, explicit charges abounded that Edward was a bastard.¹² Maurer has discussed in depth elsewhere the slurs against Edward and Margaret and their political nature, so I will confine myself here to noting that there is simply no evidence, other than gossip and Yorkist propaganda, that Margaret was unfaithful to Henry at any time or that Edward of Lancaster was the son of anyone other than Henry VI. Henry's delighted reaction when presented with his son, and his being at Greenwich at the time the child would have been conceived, have been noted above. Furthermore, before going mad, Henry showed that he was pleased by his wife's pregnancy. The Parliament Rolls for 1455 indicate that Richard Tunstall, an esquire of the body, had received a handsome annuity for bringing the king the news of the queen's pregnancy:

Provided also that this petition and act of resumption shall not extend or be prejudicial to our letters patent and grant made by us to Richard Tunstall, knight, by the name of Richard Tunstall, esquire for our body, of 50 marks a year for term of his life, part of an annuity of £40 a year, granted by us for term of his life, to be taken from the issues, profits and

revenues of our manors, lands and tenements, and from our other possessions within our county of Lancaster, by the hands of our receivers there at the time: because, among other things, the said Richard gave us the first comforting report and news that our most entirely beloved wife the queen was with child, to our most singular consolation, and a great joy and comfort to all our true liege people.¹³

Maurer also notes that at a cost of two hundred pounds, Henry ordered a jewel called a “demy ceynt” (that is, a girdle that was half metal, half fabric) for Margaret while she was pregnant and that Margaret received generous grants in July 1453. Maurer suggests that this generosity was occasioned by Margaret’s pregnancy. It certainly seems unlikely that Henry would have been so generous had the king suspected that Margaret was carrying another man’s child. It is also interesting to note that Cecily, Duchess of York, the wife of the man who later engineered Edward’s disinheritance, described the unborn child as “the most precious, most joyfull, and most comfortable erthely tresor that might come unto this land and to the people therof.”¹⁴

The Young Prince

Whatever Richard, Duke of York and his allies might have said or thought in private about Edward’s birth, the little boy was treated as his father’s heir. He was the Duke of Cornwall from birth and was created prince of Wales and earl of Chester, titles which were confirmed by Parliament on March 15, 1454.¹⁵ Although the Duke of York was formally appointed protector on April 3, 1454, it was provided that this appointment was at the king’s pleasure or until Prince Edward reached the age of discretion.¹⁶ A household was created for him, limited to thirty-nine persons.¹⁷ Edward was invested as Prince of Wales at Windsor on June 9, 1454, Pentecost Sunday, in the presence of his mother, Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, Humphrey Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, and other lords, excluding the Duke of York, who was at York dealing with unrest.¹⁸

A council was appointed for young Edward on January 28, 1457.¹⁹ In 1458, Sir John Wenlock and Louis Galet led an embassy to negotiate marriages for Edward and the sons of the Dukes of York and Somerset with three Valois or Burgundian princesses, but the negotiations came to nothing.²⁰ It was to be the first of several attempts to have Edward marry.

As the political situation deteriorated, the royal court became centered in the Midlands. By 1459, young Edward had become an important figure in Margaret’s campaign to win support: according to the anonymous *English Chronicle*, Margaret, “dreading that [Edward] should not succeed his father in the Crown of England, allied unto her all the knights and squires of Cheshire for to have their benevolence, and held open household among them; and made her son called the Prince give a livery of swans to all the gentleman of the country, and to many other throughout the land.”²¹ Many of these Cheshiremen died at the Battle of Blore Heath in September 1459.²²

While England was heading toward civil war, more mundane events occurred around Edward. On January 7, 1460, Joan Sloo, his nurse, was granted an annuity of forty marks; Joanna Laynesmith suggests that she was retiring from his service.²³ Two months later, on March 23, 1460, Alesia, Lady Lovell was allowed to retire from Edward’s service because she was “oppressed with grave infirmities in body and sight” and because the six-year-old prince was “now so grown as to be committed to the rules and teachings of men wise and

strenuous, to understand the acts and manners of a man befitting such a prince, rather than to stay further under the keeping and governance of women.”²⁴ This change from female to male governance was typical for a royal boy: in the next century, young Edward VI was to record that he “was brought up, [un]til he came to six years old, among the women.”²⁵

Unfortunately, disaster followed Edward’s liberation from the nursery. In June 1460, Henry VI departed from Coventry, where, as *Gregory’s Chronicle* reports, he “kissed [Margaret] and blessed the prince.”²⁶ On July 10, 1460, at the battle of Northampton, Henry was taken captive by the Yorkists. After hearing the news, Margaret fled to Wales with her son.²⁷ Edward would never have a home in England again.

Disinheritance

En route to Wales, Edward and his mother were robbed by one of Margaret’s own servants.²⁸ They finally made their way to Harlech Castle. By early December 1460, they had arrived in Scotland, from which Margaret hoped to get military aid.²⁹ Meanwhile, Henry VI, under Yorkist control and probably under duress, had agreed to disinherit Edward in favor of Richard, Duke of York. All of Edward’s patrimony went to the Duke of York. As Rosemary Horrox notes, the rights of Henry VI and his heirs to the duchy of Lancaster were protected by the so-called Act of Accord, and it may have been intended that Edward become the Duke of Lancaster after Henry’s death.³⁰ But nothing in the act formally protected Edward’s rights. It is hard to escape the suspicion that York had other plans for the Lancastrian prince, perhaps through declaring him illegitimate, perhaps through imprisoning or otherwise disposing of him had he been so unlucky as to fall into Yorkist hands. Certainly a maturing prince in exile would pose a hazard to the duke’s ambitions.

York, of course, was killed at Wakefield on December 30, 1460, taking whatever plans he might have had for Edward to his grave. Margaret and Edward were still in Scotland, where Margaret seems to have proposed a Scottish marriage for Edward, to one of James III’s sisters.³¹

Hearing about the Lancastrian victory at Wakefield, Margaret and Edward left Scotland, after which the Lancastrian army scored another victory at the second battle of St. Albans. According to the Burgundian chronicler Jean de Waurin, after the battle Margaret asked her son what should be done with the Yorkist captives William Bonville and Sir Thomas Kyriell. He promptly and heartlessly demanded that they be beheaded. *Gregory’s Chronicle* and the *English Chronicle* also have young Edward passing judgment upon one or both men, though other accounts do not mention Edward as a participant.³² This episode is often treated as an early example of Edward’s cruel and warped nature, but it is far more likely that if Edward did indeed call for the execution of the men, he was simply giving the response that the adults around him clearly expected.

With the Yorkist victory at Towton, Edward fled with his parents to Scotland. In April 1462, Margaret took Edward with her to France, where she planned to seek aid from Louis XI. She stopped to visit her father, Rene of Anjou, at Angers; Edward presumably met his maternal grandfather for the first time on that occasion. In October 1462, Margaret returned to Scotland with a small force of men. There Henry VI joined her, and the royal couple sailed to the coast of Northumberland. Her forces managed to seize Alnwick, after which Margaret fled to Scotland to avoid capture by Edward IV and the Earl of Warwick.³³

In July 1463, a Scottish-French force nominally led by the eleven-year-old James III of Scotland besieged Norham Castle. Henry VI, Margaret, and Edward of Lancaster were

among the besieging party. Yorkist troops raised the siege, however.³⁴ It was probably after the siege of Norham that Margaret and Edward, fleeing, fell into the hands of a band of thieves. When the robbers fell to fighting over their plunder, one of their company took pity on the queen and the prince and whisked them away on his horse through a forest, where they encountered yet another brigand, "hideous and horrible to behold." This time, Margaret fell on her knees and begged him to save her son. Softened by her motherly pleas, the brigand swore to protect the prince, and the odd foursome arrived safely in Berwick.³⁵

At the end of July 1463, Margaret and Edward, along with other Lancastrian adherents, sailed for France, leaving Henry VI behind. Edward, a few months short of his tenth birthday, would never see his father again.

A Prince in Exile

In September 1463, Margaret and Edward settled in Lorraine at Koeur Castle, one of René of Anjou's residences.³⁶ In 1464, both mother and son fell ill and were cared for by René's own physician. Edward himself fell ill again in 1467, probably of a pox, as Margaret Kekewich notes that boards were erected around his bed, apparently to exclude the light.³⁷

Edward's education was not neglected. John Fortescue, once the chief justice of the King's Bench, served as his tutor. In December 1463, he wrote to the Earl of Ormond in Portugal and enclosed a letter from Edward written in the prince's own hand:

Cousin Ormond, I grete you hertly well, acerteynyng yow that I have horde the gode and honorable report of your sad, wise, and manly gyding ageynst my lordis rebellis and your aduersaries, in the witche ye have purchascd unto yow perpetuall lawd and wosship. And I thank God, and so do ye allso, that ye at all tymes vnder his proteccione haue escaped the cruell malise of your sayd aduersaries; and for as motch as I vnderstand that ye ar nowe in portingale, I pray yow to put yow in the vttermost of your deuoir to labore vnto the kyng of the sayd royalme, for the forderance and setyng forthe of my lord, in the recuvering of his ryght, and subduing of his rebellis. Wherin, yf ye so do, as I haue for vndowted that ye wyll, I trust sume frute thall folue, w' godis mercy, witche spede yow well in all your workes. Writen at seynt mychacl, in bare, w' myn awn hand, that ye may se how gode a wrytare I ame.³⁸

Other than this letter, from which the signature shown in this article is taken, there are two glimpses of Edward during this period. The most famous description of him is that written on February 14, 1467, by Giovanni Pietro Panicharolla, Milanese Ambassador in France, to the Duchess and Duke of Milan. In recounting a dinner conversation between King Louis of France and Duke John of Calabria (Margaret of Anjou's brother), the ambassador wrote:

As the king persisted in his praise of the Earl of Warwick, the duke said that as he was so fond of him he ought to try and restore his sister in that kingdom, when he would make sure of it as much as he was sure at present and even more so.

The king asked what security they would give or if they would offer the queen's son as a hostage. This boy, though only thirteen years of age, already talks of nothing but of cutting off heads or making war, as if he had everything in his hands or was the god of battle or the peaceful

occupant of that throne...

After some further discussion the duke began to complain about his Majesty without any respect, saying he had never loved their house; to which the king retorted that the House of Anjou had given him reason for this. Thus, half joking, they said very sharp things to each other during the dinner.³⁹

This description of Edward has been often used, by writers of nonfiction and fiction alike, to paint Edward as a cruel and vicious youth. A few theories should give us pause before taking this "cutting off heads" statement as the sum total of young Edward's character. First, as Margaret Kekewich notes in her biography of René of Anjou, Panicharolla (spelled by Kekewich as Panigarola) "detested the Angevins," so his description of young Edward should be viewed in that context.⁴⁰ Second, if Edward did indeed talk constantly of cutting off heads and making war, it doesn't seem all that unreasonable under the circumstances: Edward's father was a prisoner in the Tower at the time, and Edward himself an impoverished exile with a bleak future. Third, Edward was thirteen when this description of him was written. Surely some allowances should be made for youthful braggadocio.

This is not to say that Edward was not a militarily minded youth: Fortescue wrote in his legal treatise *De Laudibus Legum Angliae*, which largely takes the form of a dialogue between the prince and him: "The prince, as soon as he became grown up, gave himself over entirely to martial exercises; and, seated on fierce and half-tamed steeds urged on by his spurs, he often delighted in attacking and assaulting the young companions attending him, sometimes with a lance, sometimes with a sword, sometimes with other weapons, in a warlike manner and in accordance with the rules of military discipline." Telling Edward that he wishes that the prince would be "devoted to the study of the laws with the same zeal as you are to that of arms, since, as battles are determined by arms, so judgements are by laws," Fortescue nonetheless adds that it is fitting for young Edward to take delight in military exercises "not merely because you are a knight but all the more because you are going to be king. For the office of the king is to fight the battles of his people and to judge them rightfully."⁴¹

Edward's father, it should be remembered, had failed as a king in part because of his incapability on the field of battle. In those circumstances, it was quite reasonable that Edward might have felt that it was important to emulate not his father but his grandfather, the warrior king Henry V.

Edward the Married Man

In December 1470, Edward married Anne Neville. Their marriage sealed one of the more unlikely alliances of the Wars of the Roses, that between Margaret of Anjou, Edward's mother, and Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, Anne's father. Anne, born on June 11, 1456, was fourteen; her groom was seventeen.⁴²

The marriage had been in the works for some time. On June 25, 1470, Margaret and Edward had arrived at Amboise in the Loire Valley to meet with Louis XI, who proposed that Margaret enter into an alliance with Warwick against Edward IV.⁴³ During their stay, Louis's queen gave birth to a boy, the future Charles VIII. Edward served as his godfather.⁴⁴

Their parents having entered their unlikely, and unlucky, partnership, Edward and Anne were betrothed at Angers on July 25, 1470.⁴⁵ A proxy may have stood in for Anne, who might not have yet arrived at Angers: Sforza de Bettini, the Milanese ambassador in France,

wrote from Angers on July 24, 1470, that Warwick, Margaret of Anjou, and Edward were at Angers, but he did not mention Anne's presence.⁴⁶ On July 28, 1470, he wrote that Anne had been "sent for" to Amboise, where the marriage would be consummated.⁴⁷ In fact, between the need for a papal dispensation and the need of Warwick to take England for his new Lancastrian allies, the marriage itself would not take place for months.

A papal dispensation was issued on August 17, 1470, but Michael Hicks suggests that this was found wanting in some respect, as another dispensation was issued on November 28, 1470.⁴⁸ In the meantime, Warwick had restored Henry VI to the throne. With the dispensation granted and Warwick's mission accomplished, the last obstacles to the couple's marriage had been removed.

Paul Murray Kendall, treating Anne as a sacrificial victim to her father's ambition and Margaret's vengeance, paints a pathetic portrait of the fourteen-year-old Anne as bride-to-be: "Richard Neville could doubtless guess his daughter's bewilderment and fear... Warwick could guess, too, the coldness with which Anne would be welcomed into the household of Margaret of Anjou."⁴⁹ As is all too often the case when Kendall writes about Margaret of Anjou and her son, this depiction of Anne as a frightened bride is unsupported by any historical evidence. In fact, we have no idea of what either spouse felt about the other or about their marriage. No contemporary recorded the private interactions of the two teenagers or was inclined to speculate upon their thoughts; all eyes were on their parents.

The dispensation was being sought as Warwick re-established Lancastrian rule in England. At the same time, Edward, Anne, and their mothers lived at the Chateau of Amboise at King Louis XI's expense. Louis himself was in residence.^{50 51}

Edward and Anne were married on December 13, 1470, by the Grand Vicar of Bayeux.⁵² Kendall with his usual bias describes the marriage as "something of a hole-and-corner affair,"⁵³ though it is hard to understand how a marriage performed by the Grand Vicar of Bayeux at a royal palace where the French king himself was present can merit such a description. Indeed, we know far more about this "hole-and-corner" marriage than we do about Anne's subsequent marriage to the Duke of Gloucester, for which we don't know the date, the location, the identity of the person who officiated, or the identity of any of the guests.

Whether the couple consummated their marriage is unknown. The ubiquitous Kendall believed that they had not: "Queen Margaret, perhaps under pressure from Louis XI, fulfilled her bargain, but left herself as free as possible to disavow or annul [the marriage] later. In all probability, Anne never shared a marriage bed with the Prince."⁵⁴ In fact, the evidence hardly bears out this confident assertion by Kendall, who perhaps simply liked the idea of leaving Anne unsullied by the hands of Lancaster for the benefit of her second husband, Kendall's much-admired Richard III. Although the agreement between Margaret and Warwick did indeed specify that the marriage would not be "perfected" until Warwick had gone to England and recovered it or most of it for King Henry,⁵⁵ Warwick fulfilled his part of the bargain in October 1470 by restoring Henry VI to the throne. The dispensations that were procured hardly give the impression that anyone was trying to leave a loophole so that the marriage could be easily annulled. Margaret was heavily dependent upon both Warwick and Louis; to defy their wishes by refusing to allow the marriage to be consummated would have been to court disaster. Sforza de Bettini of Florence, an ambassador at the French court, gave no impression on December 19, 1470, that anything was amiss following the wedding ceremony: "The Queen of England and the Countess of Warwick, with the prince

and princess their children, have left and returned to England, to the unspeakable satisfaction and content of his said Majesty.”⁵⁶ On the other side of the Channel, nothing indicates that Warwick was dissatisfied with Margaret’s conduct in any way. All in all, then, it appears that the marriage was duly consummated, or if for some reason it was not, no one seemed particularly bothered about it.

The day after their marriage, the newlyweds and their mothers went to Paris, where Louis had arranged for them to be greeted by city and university officials. They entered the city through the Porte Saint-Jacques, passing through streets that in their honor were lavishly decorated with tapestries and other hangings, before arriving at their lodgings at the Palais.⁵⁷ From Paris, the couple went to Rouen.

Edward at War

On December 17, 1470, Henry VI, reestablished on his throne thanks to the Earl of Warwick, issued a warrant for Warwick “with an army of ships and men to pass into the parts of France for the bringing home of our most dear and entirely beloved wife, the queen, and of our son, the Prince.”⁵⁸ Warwick, however, never did return to France. Rather, on February 16, 1471, the Prior of St. John’s and others were sent to escort Edward and his mother to England.⁵⁹ The royal party did not cross the Channel until April.⁶⁰ When they arrived in Weymouth on April 14, 1471, their cause had already been halfway defeated: the Earl of Warwick had been killed at the Battle of Barnet that morning. Undeterred, Margaret and her son began raising an army.

Edward had been appointed Lieutenant of the Realm of England on March 27, 1471.⁶¹ In this capacity, once he arrived at Weymouth, he sent letters to potential supporters, such as John Daunt of Wotton-under-Edge in Gloucestershire, asking them to fight against Edward IV, described as “Edwarde Earl of March the Kings great Rebele our Enemy.”⁶² Edward also carried with him an agreement he had signed with the King of France, in which the Prince of Wales promised that he would aid in the war against Burgundy and that he would urge his father the king to declare war against that country. The agreement was later found in his baggage after the battle of Tewkesbury and was sent by Edward IV to Charles of Burgundy.⁶³

The Lancastrian army reached Tewkesbury on May 3, 1471. There, the next day, they faced the Yorkist troops. The Prince of Wales was in nominal command of the center, aided by John, Lord Wenlock and Sir John Langstrother, Prior of St. John.⁶⁴ It would be the prince’s first, and last, battle.

What part Edward of Lancaster took in the fighting is not recorded. There are multiple, and contradictory, accounts of his death with some accounts having him slain during the battle, others in the rout. According to the *History of the Arrival of Edward IV in England and the Final Recovery of His Kingdoms from Henry VI*: “In the wynnynge of the fiede such as abode hand-stroks were slayne incontinent; Edward, called Prince, was taken, fleinge to the towne wards, and slayne in the fiede.”⁶⁵

The Crowland Chronicler states: “In the end King Edward gained a famous victory while of the queen’s force, either on the battlefield or afterwards at the avenging hands of certain persons, there were killed Prince Edward himself, King Henry’s only son [and others].”⁶⁶

George, Duke of Clarence, wrote on May 6, 1471, to Henry Vernon: “my lord hath had goode spede nowe in his late journey to the subduyng of his enemyes, traitours and rebelles,

of the which Edward late called Prince, the late Erl of Devon with other estates, knightes, squiers, and gentilmen, were slayn in playn bataill, Edmund late Duc of Somerset taken and put to execucion, and other diverse estates, knightss, squiers, and genlihen taken.”⁶⁷ Three days later, London officials informed Thomas Fauconberg, “Also Sir the saide Edward late called Prince [was] sleyne upon Saturday last passed at Tewkesbury.”⁶⁸

Sforza di Bettini of Florence, the Milanese Ambassador in France, reported on June 2, 1471, “Yesterday his Majesty here heard with extreme sorrow, by clear and manifest news from England, so it appears, that king Edward has recently fought a battle with the Prince of Wales, towards Wales, whither he had gone to meet him. He has not only routed the prince but taken and slain him, together with all the leading men with him.”⁶⁹

A source entitled “Yorkist Notes: 1471” indicates: “Eodem anno mensis Maii die iiii Bellum iuxta Tewkysbury, vbi occisi fuerunt Edwardus, dictus princeps, filius Henrici sexti.”⁷⁰

Warkworth’s Chronicle states, “And there was slain in the field Prince Edward, who cried for succour to his brother-in-law the Duke of Clarence.”⁷¹ The *Chronicle of Tewkesbury Abbey* speaks of “Lord Edwarde, prince of Kyng Henry, in the felde of Gastum besyde Tewkesbery, slayne and buried in ye mydst of y covent quiere in y e monastery ther: for whom god worketh.”⁷²

An addition by Robert Cole to his *Rental of All the Houses in Gloucester* states, “This Kyng [i.e., Henry VI] tooke to his wyfe Margarete, the Kyngus doujtur of Cicile, whit wham he had his sone Edward, Pryns of Wales, bat aftur bat he come from Fraunce with his modur with a gret ost was sley at be Batel by syde Tewkesbur[y]”⁷³

Uniquely, an entry in the Norwich register for 1470/71, cited by James E. Thorold Rogers in *A History of Agriculture and Prices in England*, states, “Ad guerram Tewkesbury, ubi adjudicatus fuit Edvardus filius Henrici nuper regis Anglix, et mater ejus capta.” As Rogers pointed out, the wording suggests that the prince did not fall in battle, but was tried before a military tribunal.⁷⁴

Except for the Norwich account, which suggests that Edward of Lancaster was executed after a trial, all of these contemporary and near-contemporary sources simply report that Prince Edward was slain; none implicates a particular person. As Peter Hammond has pointed out, however, not long after the battle, another tradition began to develop: one where the prince, taken alive, is haled into the presence of Edward IV and killed. In 1473 in the “Histoire de Charles, dernier du de Bourgogne,” for instance, the victorious Edward IV orders that the prince be disarmed, demands his sword, and strikes him across the face with it, after which everyone present joins in murdering the unfortunate prince. According to Hammond, other continental sources, long predating the Tudors, have Edward IV questioning the prince, who replies defiantly and is promptly killed by those present.⁷⁵ Indeed, a shortened French version of the *Arrivall of Edward IV* contains an illustration of a crowned Edward IV confronting Prince Edward, apparently with murderous intent.⁷⁶

In the sixteenth century, the story of Edward of Lancaster being killed in the presence of Edward IV infiltrated the English accounts. *The Great Chronicle of London* reports that both the prince and his mother, Margaret of Anjou, were taken to the king: “after the king had questioned a few words of the cause of his so landing within his realm, and he gave unto the king an answer contrary to his pleasure, the king struck him on the face with the back of his gauntlet, after which stroke so received by him, the king’s servants rid him of

his life forthwith."⁷⁷

In Polydore Vergil's account, the Dukes of Gloucester and Clarence, as well as William Hastings, do the deed: "Two days later all these, save for Margaret and her son, paid with their heads in that same village. A little later Prince Edward, a very excellent young man, was taken to meet Edward, and was asked why he had dared invade his kingdom and trouble it with arms. He had the presence of mind to reply he had come to claim his ancestral realm. Edward made no response this, he only waved the lad away, and immediately those who stood around him (these were Dukes George of Clarence, Richard of Gloucester, and William Hastings) cruelly butchered him."⁷⁸

Edward Hall in *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustrious Families of Lancaster and York* adds Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset, who was Elizabeth Woodville's eldest son by her first marriage, to the murderers:

After the felde ended, kyng Edward made a Proclamutio, that who so euer could bring prince Edward to him alyue or dead, shoulde haue an annuities of an. C. l. duryng his lyfe, and the Princes life to be saued. Syr Richard Croftes, a wyse and a valyaut knyght, nothing mistrusting the kynges former promyse, brought furth his prisoner prince Edward, beyng a goodly femenine & a well feautered yonge gentelman, whome when kyng Edward had well aduised, he demaunded of him, how he durst so presumptuously enter in to his Realme with banner displayed. The prince, beyng bold of stomacke & of a good courage, answered sayinge, to recouer my fathers kyngdome & enheritage. from his father & grandfather to him, and from him, after him, to me lyneally diuoluted. At which wordes kyng Edward sayd nothyng, but with his [hand] thrust hyin from hym (or as some say, stroke him with his gauntlet) whom incontinent, they that stode about, whiche were George duke of Clarence, Rychard duke of Gloucester, Thomas Marques Dorset, and Willia lord Hastynges, sodaynly murthered, & pitiously manquelled. The bitterness of which murder, some of the actors after in their latter dayes tasted and assayed by the very rod of Justice and punishment of God.⁷⁹

Raphael Holinshed's version is similar to Hall's.⁸⁰ It is interesting to note that none of the Tudor histories has Gloucester alone murdering Edward of Lancaster, but implicate Hastings (executed without trial by Richard in 1483) and Dorset (a Woodville) as well, so while these accounts may be fanciful, they cannot be dismissed simply as Tudor attempts to blacken Richard III's name.

In 1882, Edward Marshall commented in *Notes and Queries* that Samuel Rudder in his 1779 *New History of Gloucestershire* had written, "The Prince of Wales is supposed to have been murdered in the house belonging to, and in the possession of, Mr. Webb, an ironmonger."⁸¹

The most peculiar version of the death of Edward of Lancaster appears in a Flemish chronicle cited by Sir George Buck in his *History of King Richard the Third*. After recounting the scene where the prince mouths off to Edward IV, and Clarence, Dorset, and Hastings move in for the kill, Buck adds:

And whereas it is said by the adversaries of the Duke of Gloucester that only he slew this prince with his sword, the contrary hereof is true. For I have read in a faithful manuscript chronicle written of those times

that the Duke of Gloucester only, of all of those great persons, stood still and drew not his sword. And for this his forbearance there my divers good reasons be given. And first that it grew out of the mere conscience of honour and out of this heroical and truly noble detestation of base murders. And secondly because there was no need of any more swords, there being too many already drawn. For where there was need of his sword to defend the king his brother, there was no man's sword more ready. And chiefly, he abstained to be a fellow homicide in this act in regard of this prince's wife, who (as Johannes Meyerus saith) was in the room with him and was near akin to the Duchess of York, his mother, and whom he loved very affectionately, though secretly.⁸²

This account seems highly unlikely, as the contemporary sources that mention the matter are agreed that Edward of Lancaster's wife, Anne Neville, and his mother, Margaret of Anjou, were not found until several days after the battle and were brought to Edward IV at Coventry.⁸³ It also seems rather implausible that Edward IV would allow Edward of Lancaster to be murdered in the presence of the fourteen-year-old Anne.

Despite the more colorful later sources, the most likely scenario of Edward's death is probably the most prosaic: he either fell in the heat of battle or was slain while trying to flee after the rout. His body, all are agreed, rests at Tewkesbury Abbey.

Burial

Edward of Lancaster's approximate resting place today is marked by a Victorian plaque in the choir of Tewkesbury Abbey. Translated, its Latin inscription reads, "Here lies Edward, Prince of Wales, cruelly slain while but a youth, A.D. 1471, May 4th. Alas, the savagery of men. Thou art the sole light of thy mother, and thy last hope of thy race."⁸⁴

It is likely, however, that Edward once had a grander monument. On December 15, 1488, Henry VII made the following expenditures for pall cloths to be laid upon the hearses of Edmund, Duke of Somerset, who had been executed after the battle of Tewkesbury, his brother John, who was killed in the battle, and Edward of Lancaster, Prince of Wales:

The king to the treasurer and chamberlains of the Exchequer. Whereas we be endetted vnto Lewys Bouvys marchaunt of Luke in the somme of xxxvii £. x. s. ix. d. for xxii. yerdes and di. of blak veluet, price the yerde xi. s. vi. d.; summe xii. £. xviii. s. ix. d. Item for xxii. yerdes and di. of blak veluet, price the yerde x. s. iiiii. d.; somme xi. £. xii. s. vi. d. Item for xxii. yerdes and di. of blak damaske, price the yerde vii. s. viii. d. ; summe viii. £. xii. s. vi. d. Item for fower yerdes of white damaske at viii. s. the yerde ; summe xxxii. s. Item for v. peeces of blak bokeram, price the pece v. s.; summe xxv. s., by hym deluered vnto oure wardrobe of the robes for paleclothes whiche we haue doon to be made and set vppon the herses of prince Edward in hys lyf son vnto our good vncler of blisshed memorie king Henry the Sext, our cousinges Edmund late due of Somerset and lord John of Somerset, and xxx. s. for making of the same paleclothes, which amounteth in al to the said somme of xxxvii. £. x. s. ix. d.:—Mandate to the said treasurer and chamberlains to pay the said total sum forthwith to the said Lewys Bouvys, without prest or other charge. Given at the palaice of Westminster. P. S.⁸⁵

A hearse could be an elaborate four-sided structure with an ornamental roof erected

around an existing tomb, and could be large enough to allow mourners to stand inside it.⁸⁶

Edward's tomb seems to have even been visited by pilgrims. In 1502, Henry VII's queen, Elizabeth of York, gave her chaplain five shillings to be offered at Prince Edward's tomb, a sum larger than that he was given to offer at Henry VI's tomb (two shillings and sixpence).⁸⁷ N. J. Rogers states that in 1513, a Richard Cokkes willed that his wife should undertake several pilgrimages for him, including one to "Prince Edward at Tewkesbury." Rogers also notes that an antiquary, Thomas Dingley, sketched what he identified as Edward of Lancaster's tomb, which has long since disappeared.⁸⁸ The sketch, which Rogers describes as showing "a man in a full-length gown, a scroll at his feet, under a buttressed canopy flanked by four shields and surrounded by a marginal fillet," can be found in *History from Marble*, complete with an edifying reference to "Richard Crookback" stabbing the prince with a dagger.⁸⁹

Images of a Prince

In addition to the French *Arrivall* mentioned earlier, Edward is shown in *The Beauchamp Pageant*, where Anne Neville is pictured between her two husbands, Edward on the viewer's left and Richard, Duke of Gloucester, on the right. Edward, wearing a cap of estate and holding a scepter, is identified as "Prince Edward, son to Kyng Henry the VI, first husband of Anne."⁹⁰

Edward also features in the Latin Rous Roll, where he is shown "in a full suit of Armour, standing on a Lion, with Sceptre in his right hand and Royal Crown upon his head, surrounded by the crests of Jerusalem, Arragon, and Anjou, on his right, and Sicily, Naples, and Lorraine, on his left." Beneath is written: "Excellentis memorie Edwardus Princeps Wallie filius et heres Gemme Regum Amatoris Pauperum omniumque fidelium Illustris Regis et Almi Henrici sexti, unica proles: primus maritus prenobilis Anne secunde filie et une heredum Illustris Ricardi Nevill Comitis Warwici et laudabilis Anne uxoris sue Comitisse."⁹¹ The image is reproduced by Michael Hicks in his biography of Anne Neville.⁹²

Conclusion

Edward of Lancaster was but seventeen when he died. His father, Henry VI, died on May 21, 1471, probably by the hand of a murderer; his mother was imprisoned in the Tower that same day. Eventually allowed to return to France, she died on August 25, 1482. Edward's widow, Anne, married Richard, Duke of Gloucester, and became his queen when he took the throne as Richard III.

Despite the legions of historical novelists who paint Edward in various shades of villainy, little is known about Edward's character; he died before he could make much of an impression upon the world. If he did indeed speak of nothing but battle, as one hostile source said of him when he was but thirteen, at least it can be said that when faced with the brutal reality of war, he did not shy away from it, but fought and died for the crown he believed was his birthright.

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Endnotes:

- ¹ Dunn.
- ² Wolffe, pp. 261, 370.
- ³ Myers, p. 144.
- ⁴ Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 698-99.
- ⁵ Maurer, *Margaret of Anjou*, p. 45.

- ⁶ Flenley, p. 140.
- ⁷ Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 719.
- ⁸ Gairdner, vol. 2, pp. 295-96.
- ⁹ Gairdner, vol. 3, p. 13.
- ¹⁰ Hinds, March 27, 1461, No. 76. In his previous dispatch, the ambassador dutifully passed along the rumor that Henry had abdicated and that Margaret had poisoned him.
- ¹¹ Flenley, p. 141.
- ¹² Maurer, *Margaret of Anjou*, pp. 45-46.
- ¹³ Rosemary Horrox, ed., "Henry VI, Parliament of 1455, Text and Translation," in *The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*, item 47..
- ¹⁴ Maurer, *Margaret of Anjou*, p. 44.
- ¹⁵ Griffiths, ODNB; Anne Curry, ed., "Henry VI, Parliament of 1453, Text and Translation," in *The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*, item 48.
- ¹⁶ Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 726.
- ¹⁷ Griffiths, ODNB.
- ¹⁸ Maurer, *Margaret of Anjou*, p. 116; Gairdner, vol. 2, pp. 320-21.
- ¹⁹ Maurer, *Margaret of Anjou*, p. 133.
- ²⁰ Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 816.
- ²¹ Quoted in Lander, pp. 63-64.
- ²² Dockray, pp. 87-88.
- ²³ *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, 1452-61*, p. 535; Laynesmith, p. 147.
- ²⁴ *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, 1452-61*, p. 567.
- ²⁵ Jordan, p. 3.
- ²⁶ Dockray, p. 95.
- ²⁷ Dockray, p. 95.
- ²⁸ Dockray, p. 95.
- ²⁹ Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 866.
- ³⁰ Rosemary Horrox, ed., "Henry VI, Parliament of 1460, Introduction," in *The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*.
- ³¹ Maurer, *Margaret of Anjou*, p. 192.
- ³² Cron discusses this episode in detail on pp. 602-03.
- ³³ For Margaret's movements see Scofield, vol. 1, pp. 250, 261-62.
- ³⁴ Scofield, p. 293; Dockray, p. 121.
- ³⁵ Scofield, pp. 293-94; Bates, pp. 438-43.
- ³⁶ Kekewich, "Court in Exile," p. 107.
- ³⁷ Kekewich, "Court in Exile," p. 100.
- ³⁸ Everett Green, pp. 170-71.
- ³⁹ Hinds, February 14, 1467, No. 146.
- ⁴⁰ Kekewich, *The Good King*, p. 224.
- ⁴¹ Chrimes, pp. 3-5.

- ⁴² Hicks, p. 48.
- ⁴³ Hinds, June 29, 1470, No. 189.
- ⁴⁴ Kendall, *Louis XI*, p. 232.
- ⁴⁵ Scofield, vol. 1, p. 530.
- ⁴⁶ Hinds, July 24, 1470, No. 191.
- ⁴⁷ Hinds, July 28, 1470, No. 192.
- ⁴⁸ Clarke, p. 1021; Hicks, 87-88.
- ⁴⁹ Kendall, *Warwick the Kingmaker*, p. 310.
- ⁵⁰ Hinds, December 5, 1470, No. 198.
- ⁵¹ Erlanger, p. 221.
- ⁵² Calmette and Périnelle, p. 133.
- ⁵³ Kendall, *Richard the Third*, p. 123.
- ⁵⁴ Kendall, *Richard the Third*, p. 123.
- ⁵⁵ Kekewich, ed., *Politics*, p. 218.
- ⁵⁶ Hinds, December 19, 1470, No. 199.
- ⁵⁷ Calmette and Périnelle, pp. 133-34;
- ⁵⁸ Scofield, vol. 1, pp. 558-59.
- ⁵⁹ Scofield, vol. 1, p. 563-64.
- ⁶⁰ Dockray, p. 130.
- ⁶¹ Hammond, p. 68.
- ⁶² Hammond, p. 81.
- ⁶³ Scofield, vol. I, p. 558.
- ⁶⁴ Hammond, p. 94.
- ⁶⁵ Bruce, p. 30
- ⁶⁶ Pronay and Cox, p. 127.
- ⁶⁷ Historical Manuscripts Commission, Rutland, p. 4.
- ⁶⁸ Sharpe, p. 390.
- ⁶⁹ Hinds, June 2, 1471, No. 218.
- ⁷⁰ Kingsford, p. 374.
- ⁷¹ Dockray, p. 133.
- ⁷² Kingsford, p. 377.
- ⁷³ Cole, p. 125.
- ⁷⁴ Rogers, p. 713 n.1.
- ⁷⁵ Hammond, pp. 124-25. Hammond devotes an appendix in his book to discussing the various versions of Prince Edward's death.
- ⁷⁶ Hicks, pp. 97-98, Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, *Richard III's Books*, pl. IX.
- ⁷⁷ Dockray, p. 136.
- ⁷⁸ Sutton, <http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/polverg/24eng.html>.
- ⁷⁹ Ellis, p. 301.

- ⁸⁰ Holinshed is quoted in Hammond, p. 126.
⁸¹ *Notes and Queries*, pp. 166-67.
⁸² Kincaid, p. 134.
⁸³ E.g., Bruce, pp. 31-32.
⁸⁴ Bannister, p. 82. The photograph shown here was taken by Jules Frusher.
⁸⁵ Campbell, p. 380.
⁸⁶ Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, *Reburial*, pp. 4-5.
⁸⁷ Nicolas, p. 3.
⁸⁸ Rogers, pp. 187-88.
⁸⁹ Nichols, p. cccxlvii; Rogers, p. 188.
⁹⁰ Sinclair, pp. 160-61.
⁹¹ Rous, Introduction pg. “b” and last page of “Description of the Plates” (unpaginated).
⁹² Hicks, plate 15.



A Short History of Crosby Place’s Great Hall

Margaret Nelson

Sir John Crosby built Crosby Place in 1466. Its original, modern day address was 38 Bishopsgate, London, just north of St. Helen’s Church. The house was leased to Richard III when he was Duke and later Protector and he lived there as late as 1483. From examining foundations, old photos and the remains of the building, the ground floor originally contained a great hall, great chamber, parlour, kitchen, and possibly a chapel and other household rooms, all on three sides of a courtyard. The fourth side was a wall that contained the gatehouse through which Richard could pass from the courtyard into Bishopsgate Street. You can examine some of the old pictorial maps of London and see portions of Crosby Place at its original location there on the eastern side of the city of London.

Time has not been good to Crosby Place. Parts of the building have been demolished or moved away and there are no obvious traces of the structure at its original site. The great chamber and parlour were still intact in 1800 but they are now gone and their fate is not known. Only the great hall remains, as it was moved brick by brick to Roper’s Garden, Chelsea, in 1910. When we visited the great hall in 1984, it was part of a building used by the British Federation of University Women who allowed self-guided tours of the room. The hall we saw was about 30’ by 60’ with a wooden screened passage separating the main outside door from the room. Originally only a central hearth stood in the middle of the hall, which necessitated a high vented ceiling to allow the smoke to exit. The ceiling had elaborate fan vaulting, wooden and painted with gold, red and green. This was a modern touch in 1466 and is part of the transition from plainer ceilings to the later elaborate ones in Hampton Court Palace.

The hall walls rose two stories except for the oriel window. The other windows were in the “second story” of the room with solid wall below. This wall is where tapestries would have been displayed, with wall benches for seating. The fabulous ceiling and large oriel window looking out onto what would have been the courtyard side of the room gave some idea of how luxurious it was during Richard of Gloucester’s residency. Richard would have

used this hall as a sort of staff living room/dining room and as an office to deal with advisors on legal and administrative matters. It is too bad the other rooms no longer exist.

Crosby Hall has a new owner. In 1988, financier Christopher Moran, the first person in 300 years to be barred for life by Lloyd's of London for "dishonorable conduct," bought the buildings and site and has incorporated Crosby Great Hall into his new, Tudor-palace style, 85-room mansion. His vision was "to put the great hall back into its historical context as part of a great mansion." The general public may no longer view the interior of Richard's once great hall. Even the hall's exterior cannot be seen as Moran has enclosed the property so it has a courtyard whose wall borders the street. Barring a personal invitation from Mr. Moran, we will have to make do with old photos and drawings of Crosby Hall.

Sources:

1) *The English Medieval House* by Margaret Wood, Harper Colophon Books, New York, 1983.

2) *Ricardian Britain* by Carolyn Hammond, Richard III Society, 1984 ed.



The Last Plantagenet King

A Journal from the 2011 Ricardian Tour

Linda Treybig

This year, our tour began on Sunday, June 19th. Leaving Manchester airport, we made our way to North Yorkshire, viewing historic Towton Battlefield en route and spending a couple of delightful hours in ancient York., The day ended at our pleasant and comfortable inn with our first dinner together as a group—mmmm, delicious!

Today, we had a whole day to explore York for ourselves, and what a great time we all had—both newcomers and repeat visitors. In addition to lots of shopping, our day included various pursuits such as a visit to glorious York Minster or the Merchant Adventurers' Hall, an opportunity to see the famous Middleham Jewel at the York Museum, an enjoyable walk on the city walls, or tea at Betty's. Libby, a new member of our group, was finally able to satisfy her goal of visiting Micklegate Bar, where the heads of Richard's father and brother were displayed after their deaths.

We all enjoyed spending most of the next day with members of the Yorkshire Branch on our day at Middleham and at Bolton Castle (home to Lord Scrope)—always a special occasion for our group members.

On the fourth day, we explored Conisbrough Castle and visited marvelous Hardwick Hall, especially fascinating to Jane, who has an avid interest in Arbella Stuart, once considered to be a possible successor to Queen Elizabeth the First.

The next day, we were pleased to be joined by a large party from the East Midlands Group for our special day at Bosworth Battlefield, where we were able to stand at the site and listen to an excellent narrative on its discovery. We all also enjoyed a relaxing visit to Kenilworth Castle that day.

In Wales, we were properly impressed by William Lord Herbert's Raglan Castle, medieval Tretower Court, sturdy Kidwelly Castle, and splendid Pembroke Castle, Henry Tudor's birthplace, spirits not too diminished by a heavy "pea-soup" fog that enshrouded us both days. Our guesthouse there was a quirky but amazing place with hundreds of signed

Hollywood portraits on the walls dating from the 1930s to the present and a life-size replica of John Wayne gracing reception.

Heading back towards England, Tintern Abbey and mighty Chepstow Castle both received our full attention and appreciation on this perfect summer day.

What a treat it was to visit magnificent Wells Cathedral, which claimed our morning! Legendary Glastonbury Abbey occupied most of the afternoon, with a few of us finding the time and summoning up the energy to climb to the top of Glastonbury Tor.

That day included such interesting sites as rugged Corfe Castle and medieval Athelhampton House with its picturesque dovecote and fine gardens.

It was hard to believe that we had come to the last day of our tour. At the special request of Marcie, we began with a short photostop at Stonehenge, followed by a visit to Salisbury Cathedral. Then, finally making our way towards London, we exited the medieval era and entered that of Regency England with a visit to Jane Austen's charming birthplace at Chawton.

Arrival at our London hotel brought to a conclusion our goal to become better acquainted with Richard III, his cohorts and his era but also (less nobly) to search for our favorite English dessert, locate a good book or two, absorb the beautiful countryside, or just to enjoy a great vacation. And now, it was back home again, bearing lots of lovely memories

Tour Participants: Evelyn Fair, Libby Frost, Marcie Ladrach, Jane Munsie, John O'Farrell, Bettina Ortiz, Lynda Ryan, and Linda Treybig, tour coordinator. ***Yet another great group; Ricardians are quite simply wonderful travel companions!***

Linda



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Our great selection of other sites this year includes the touching “Plague Village” of Eyam, beautiful Haddon Hall, Rievaulx and Whitby abbeys, Castle Howard and Levens Hall, Wenlock Priory, Stokesay Castle, Lyddington Bede House, Berkeley Castle and Falconry UK's ever-popular Birds of Prey Centre in Yorkshire!!

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American Branch 50th Anniversary AGM Report

September 23-25, 2011 AGM, hosted by the Illinois Chapter

Joyce Tumea

Illinois Chapter

Richard III Society, American Branch

Revenge was sweet—literally—when attendees at the Friday night reception marking the beginning of the Illinois Chapter-sponsored 2011 AGM were rewarded with candy for bashing a special piñata made to look (somewhat!) like Henry VII. Of course, the candy was not released from inside the piñata until enough attendees had broken it open with heavy blows, a process that was both therapeutic and entertaining. This activity was just one of several throughout the weekend which showed the thought and care that Illinois Chapter members had put into planning the 2011 AGM.

It was at the reception in the Essex Ballroom of the Doubletree Hotel in Oak Brook, outside of Chicago, that members picked up their registration packets Friday night. These contained the schedule for the weekend and a magazine listing nearby attractions. They were accompanied by favors—decorated bookmarks, Richard III pencils and pens, a crossword puzzle, and small handmade magnets.

AGM Chair Nita Musgrave and Chapter President Jane Munsie were on hand to greet people, along with other chapter members – Janice Weiner, Mary Ann Dion, Debbie Guptill, Marcy Ladrach, Mary Nair, Kate Skegg, Marie Stanley, Joyce and Tony Tumea, and Mary Ann Vissers. Guests began the evening by browsing the sales tables, buying raffle tickets, and enjoying a variety of snacks. They admired the sheet cake decorated with white roses and lettered to say, “Happy 50th Anniversary, American Branch of the Richard III Society.” Nita led all present in a toast to Richard and the Society, after which the cake was cut and served.

Attendees then viewed a slide presentation and took part in a discussion on achievements and highlights of both the national branch and individual chapters, which was both lively and informative. A few people had their pictures taken with the Fabric Photo Figures, inserting their own faces in holes cut into suspended, life-size cloth depictions of a jester and a Medieval lady.

The next morning began with a Continental breakfast, followed by the first speaker at 9 a.m.; this was Richard III member Jonathon Hayes, who spoke very knowledgeably about “Heraldry” and had several very helpful handouts. The next speaker was Dr. Robert Holst,

a music director and teacher, who talked on “Music in England in the time of Richard the Third.” He also had handouts, and played selections of music to illustrate points he was making. The third speaker that morning was scheduled to be Barbara Underwood, but she had to cancel due to health complications. Debbie Guptill did a very nice job of stepping in and presenting Barbara’s talk on “A History of Otherness: Disability in the Middle Ages,” in her stead.

These workshops were followed by a break and then luncheon, after which attendees were treated to Mary Miller’s very well-researched talk on “The Role of Scotland in the Wars of the Roses.” Dave Luitweiler handled the Power Point aspect, as he did for the talk on disabilities, while Mary enthusiastically shared all she had unearthed about how the politics within Scotland affected its relations with England and hence impacted, in ways both big and small, Richard’s career and the War of the Roses.

The business meeting which followed was well-attended; after National Chair Jacqueline Bloomquist called it to order, much of the agenda centered on finances, as they affect membership, the amount of publicity which can be produced, upkeep of a website, the publications, and so on. A by-laws committee will be formed and other actions taken to keep the organization on track and viable. The board then held its own meeting, while others used the time to regroup or explore before the evening’s festivities were to begin – which they did at 7 p.m., followed by dinner at 8 p.m.

In addition to good food and socializing, the meal was enlivened by the announcing of raffle and silent auction winners, who were all delighted with their “loot.” At about 9 p.m., the entertainment took the stage. Illinois Chapter member Joyce Tumea wrote the 45-minute “Modern-Medieval” play, “Rescuing Richard,” as well as its six original songs. The cast of ten (which included Joyce and her husband Tony) was rewarded at the presentation’s conclusion with a standing ovation and many compliments. Then the final drawings were made for the remaining raffle and silent auction items, bringing the evening to a happy conclusion.

The Sunday morning Schallek Breakfast featured a talk and Power Point presentation on the Oxford War of the Roses weekend by attendees Dave Luitweiler, Nita Musgrave, and Pam Butler. Dave mentioned highlights of the event, and Nita and Pam added their perspectives and observations for a very thorough and thoughtful program.

Illinois Chapter Chair Jane Munsie then closed the AGM by thanking everyone who attended. Illinois Chapter members were applauded for their efforts, but wish to share credit for the event’s success with those who attended. Although registrations numbered only thirty-one, income from the raffles and sales added up to an impressive amount, enabling the chapter to make a profit. Indeed, the generous nature of Ricardian members was apparent as far back as the previous year’s AGM when Illinois Chapter members were already scouting out potential speakers and topics for this year, and those approached all agreed to present! The Illinois Chapter thanks all those who attended, presented, donated, bought items, and participated in any way in this year’s AGM. Thank You!

“Rescuing Richard”

presented at Illinois AGM Banquet

Joyce Tumea

Ignominy and death are what the “rescuing” in the “Rescuing Richard” title refers to; that title was of the post-banquet entertainment provided at the Illinois Chapter-hosted 2011 AGM. “Rescuing Richard” is a full-length original “Modern Medieval” play with

music, written by Illinois Chapter member Joyce Tumea. A 45-min. excerpts version, with some narration inserted to compensate for the scenes left out, was presented by the PriMerry Players (PMP), with a cast of ten, including Joyce and her husband Tony. Attendees showed their appreciation for the program by giving it a standing ovation along with favorable comments.

The program's action takes place present day in a theater space, around rehearsals of a new play on Richard the Third and the Wars of the Roses. The "play-within-a-play" presents a different outcome to the Battle of Bosworth, but not the expected version where Richard wins and lives. The fictional playwright, Jack Mercer, arranges with noted director Nora Lane to stage a presentation of his script in order to fulfill a requirement for a grant, the prize in a playwriting competition. At this point in the rehearsals, the cast is not yet "off book" or in full costume.

Since this script was performed at the AGM banquet, where Ricardians wear costume, one unusual aspect of it is that audience members were in costume while cast members were not! The script shared basic information on Richard and on the RIII Society, while also including some humor and six original songs. These ranged from solos ("Revering Richard" and "Cecily, the Rose of Raby,") to a duet ("What Matters Most"), an all- male number ("Nearly Noble Knights"), an all-female number ("Medieval Mamas"), and a mixed ensemble number ("Hail Ricardians.")

Joyce, a former newspaper columnist, feature writer, and creative writing teacher, is also a singer/songwriter, actress, local cable TV host/producer, and scriptwriter for historical programs, mainly on women. She has been a member of the RIII Society since the Illinois Branch was formed in 1993. She has presented (often with fellow chapter members!) workshops or programs at a few previous AGMs, including "Medieval Women With Moxie," "Plots and Ploys to Reclaim Richard the Third's Good Name," and "What Was That," featuring Sir Gaylord the Gambling Ghost.

Lyrics from two of the songs performed as part of this year's entertainment, "Rescuing Richard," are reprinted here with her permission.

"Revering Richard"

by Joyce Tumea, 5/24/'11 copyrighted

Verse 1:

Of the House of York, its symbol the White Rose
Richard Plantagenet to England's throne rose.
Then ruled he the kingdom, briefly but well,
and this is what hist'ry should rightfully tell.
With the white boar his badge, and loy'lty his creed,
noble Richard showed valor by word and by deed.

Verse 2:

The long Wars of the Roses, years of bloody strife,
ceased with the end of Richard's reign and his life.
The last English King in battle to die
was badly maligned by many a lie.
Today, Richard intrigues on more than one count,
as his true worth's revealed, the more scholars find out.

Chorus:

Let us revere good King Richard the Third, a most notable king.
Of Richard, the king, may sweet voices sing.

Sing sadly for long life denied;
sing gladly for courage, tested and tried.
Now let us revere, all in good cheer,
King Richard the Third!—Good King Richard the Third!

“Hail Ricardians”

by Joyce Tumea, 5/ 24/’11 copyrighted

Verse 1:

For King Richard the Third, we Ricardians
are his reputation’s sincerest guardians.
We await the day when King Richard is cleared
in the case of the princes who disappeared.
Now the Tower of London has a mystery
that is infamous in English history.

Verse 2:

The Society’s members all read a great deal
on white boards to cooking a Medieval meal.
Many chapters meet across several lands,
plus we members will travel to AGMs.
There we seek to present a much more balanced view
of the Richard that Will Shakespeare never knew!

Chorus:

Hail all Ricardians everywhere,
lovers of all that is right and fair.
Whether as scholar or sometime-sleuth,
we are all seekers of justice and truth-
we are all seekers of justice and truth!

Save these dates for the next AGM:

You are cordially invited to the 2012 Joint US-Canada AGM of the Richard III Society. The Canadian Branch of the Richard III Society of Canada is thrilled to be hosting the American Branch for the 2012 AGM from **September 28 to September 30, 2012** in Toronto, Ontario. Please visit our blog spot, r3toronto2012.blogspot.com/ for the latest news on speakers, silent auction items, and updates.



Reviews

Myrna Smith

*The English, the English, the English are best
I wouldn't give tuppence for all of the rest.*

- **Song of Patriotic Prejudice**, Michael Flanders & Donald Swann

*The Welshman's dishonest and cheats when he can,
And little and dark, more like monkey than man.
He works underground with a lamp in his hat
And he sings far too loud, far too often, and flat!* – Ibid, and passim

THE KING'S GRACE – Anne Easter Smith, Touchstone, NY, 2007

The title of this book refers not to the King's person, as the term was commonly used in the medieval period, but to Lady Grace Plantagenet, illegitimate daughter of Edward IV, sired on a pretty but insignificant girl, who went into a nunnery to bear her child and died shortly after. But Edward was aware of his daughter, and before his death had made his queen promise to take the child into her household. The author takes Grace's existence from a single document which names Grace as one of the attendants on a barge bearing Elizabeth Woodville's remains to her final resting place. From this mere mention, Smith sculpts a lively, living person. Petite, dark-haired and brown-eyed, so unlike her tall, golden half-sister, Grace takes her place at Sheriff Hutton with the other Yorkist children as Richard III rides to Bosworth.

Grace is accepted and loved by Bess and Cecily and remains close to them throughout the book. Bess is portrayed as at least being infatuated with Richard, but once married to Henry she quietly proclaims her love and devotion. Henry shows her some tenderness but is mainly away. He is a cold fish, never secure on the throne, aware of how the English people hate him.

Perkin Warbeck is portrayed from his first appearance as a pretender. Groomed by Margaret of York, he is her "secret boy," her "dearest boy." She believes him to be George's bastard and rescues him from an evil stepmother. She genuinely loves the boy, and yet uses him cruelly to further her Yorkist ambitions. Throughout the story, people who knew Richard express their disbelief that he had his nephews murdered, but no clue is given as to their fate.

Elizabeth Woodville takes Grace with her when she is dismissed to Bermondsey, as her loving attendant. The former queen loves Grace. She admits that she loved her first husband, Sir John Grey, never loved Edward but enjoyed being queen. She is a more fully developed character in Smith's hands than is usual, and despite her pettiness she is pitiable.

Grace is a bastard, on the fringes of the royal scene. She first loves John of Gloucester, who regards her as a little sister. She meets John's mother, Smith's other heroine, under the scaffold where he dies. Still loving John, she is guided into a marriage with Tom Gower, a Yorkshire man attendant on Cecily's husband, Sir John Welles, Henry Tudor's uncle. Grace falls in love with her husband. They make love in several unconventional places, a bit of spice in the narrative.

Grace is sent twice to Margaret, once by Elizabeth Woodville and once by Henry, to determine if Perkin is really Richard, Duke of York. At first, she is convinced that he is Richard, but later realizes that he isn't. However, she is so touched by him and his beautiful wife that she attends his execution as she did John's.

Grace is an attractive character, intelligent, inquisitive, loyal and loving. She does not hesitate to use her position as the queen's sister to go where and do what she wants. The book is rounded off with Perkin's death, and with Bess pitiable, worn out with childbearing and fading. Henry is pushing the alliance with Spain, and we all know how that ends.

This is a well-written, historically accurate, and well-developed story, with lifelike, consistent characters – a very good read. – Dale Summers

*The English, the English, the English are best.
So up with the English and down with the rest.*

Dale also sends a few brief remarks on Michael Wood's **IN SEARCH OF THE DARK AGES**, (Checkmark Books, UK, 2001) and declares herself to be pro-Saxon. The author, she says, along with William the Bastard:

“ignored the Whitan and the representative nature of Saxon law...he didn't understand why the Normans were assimilated by the Saxons rather than the

other way around, as the Normans controlled the countryside. But the Normans left the towns alone. They did not have enough men to conquer the towns, where the Saxon spirit, language and values remained vibrant. Henry II reinstated the Saxon common law, but translated it into French. Finally, in 1483-4, Richard's law put English law into English. When Edward wanted to go on crusade, it was the middle class, artisans and merchants, who had the cash to loan him, for which they required power. The rest is history."

There's more to the book than that, of course. It covers a large chunk of history, from Boadicea to Alfred the Great. It's available in paperback from Amazon and others, and do doubt through libraries.

As to another notable Saxon, Dale has researched St. Frithuswith, or Frideswide, or Frevisse, on Wikipedia. Among her many adventures was hiding out from a persistent suitor in a pigsty. If Richard didn't include her among his favorite saints, he should have. Francis Lovell had a sister named Frideswide. Wonder if he called her Frevisse, or Fris for short?

*The English are noble, the English are nice,
And worth any other at double the price.
...The Germans are German, the Russians are red,
And the Greeks and Italians eat garlic in bed!*

THE KINGS & QUEENS OF ENGLAND – Ian Crofton, Metro Books, NY, 2006

A DARK HISTORY: THE KINGS & QUEENS OF EUROPE, From Medieval Tyrants to Mad Monarchs – Brenda Ralph Lewis, Metro Books, NY, 2008

These two were sold as remainders by Barnes & Noble. Both are lavishly illustrated, and the former contains useful time-lines. The latter is more international in scope, but also narrower, concentrating on "the dark side," as per the title. This can range from outright murder to misfortune (hemophilia in the British royal family), to the almost ludicrous (Ludwig of Bavaria and Lola Montez – and her subsequent career in the Wild West). There is almost an embarrassment of riches. Vlad Dracula gets only a two-page spread in the chapter on Elizabeth Bathory. Now *there* was an evil woman!

The Crofton volume is much tamer. He tries to give a balanced view of Richard III, and succeeds to an extent, referring only to the "disappearance and supposed murder" of the princes. Both bring their histories down to modern times, Lewis ending with the Grimaldis of Monaco and Crofton with Elizabeth II. At \$9.98, they were bargains of the coffee-table book variety, although I might have paid full price for the **Kings & Queens of England**, as it is useful as well as decorative. At any rate, neither will break the bank.

*And crossing the Channel, one cannot say much
Of the French and the Spanish, the Danish or Dutch.*

QUEEN BY RIGHT – Anne Easter Smith, Touchstone, NY, 2011

Cecily, youngest and favorite of the huge family of Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmorland, grows from a hoydenish, "impromptu" little girl to a mature woman, but one still inclined to speak her mind, whether anyone likes it or not. Her husband, Richard, Duke of York, does like it, generally. Theirs is a true love story and also a meeting of minds. At times Cecily seems to be egging him on in his ambitions, but as she grows older, wiser, and more maternal, she tends to urge caution.

As a girl, Cecily says she wants only two children, a boy and a girl. After she witnesses a birth, she amends this to one. As a married woman, she wants to keep having them "as long as my body holds out." York needed heirs! After the 12th or 13th (Richard),

she begins to think the time had come to wind down. Perhaps frequent but relatively easy pregnancies with few unpleasant side-effects (morning sickness, swollen ankles, etc.) were preferable to losing a week out of every month, as protocol demanded of a “lady.” (Common folk couldn’t afford this.)

Cecily seems to spend more time with her children than was usual for a 15th-century noblewoman. Maybe Ms. Smith just lets us look in on her more on those occasions. Without being tiresome, she shows the reader much of the everyday life, as well as the high drama, in Cecily’s story. Her children get head lice, just like peasant children do – and as modern children do, too.

Smith invents some incidents in Cecily’s life, and explains them in the afterword. Cecily could have met Joan of Arc, so why not? She would be almost alone among the English in thinking of her as a saint rather than a witch, but hardly unique in having nightmares about her death afterward.

Cecily’s relationship with her mother, who despairs of her headstrong daughter, but becomes a friend when she is an adult, is well-drawn. Eventually, she becomes her mother. Don’t we all? Though Margaret of Anjou is initially kind to her, this soon passes as the Wars of the Roses (not called that at the time) draw on. Jaquetta Woodville is never a friend, and indulges in cat-fighting with Cecily. Yes, Cecily can be catty, too – well, more like a royal leopard!

A compelling book about a *grande dame* but a very human woman.

*The English are moral, the English are good,
And clever and modest and misunderstood.*

RICHARD III AND EAST ANGLIA: Magnates, Gilds, and Learned Men, Livia Visser-Fuchs, Richard III Society, 2010

It’s good to read that someone could show loyalty to Richard III in a hostile political climate without suffering for it. At the end of ‘*As dear to him as the Trojans were to Hector: Richard Iii and the University of Cambridge*, A.F. Sutton and L. Visser-Fuchs describe a brave and adroit demonstration of respect for “the memory of Richard III and his wife during the reign of the first Tudor king.” Thomas Barowe, who had been Richard duke of Gloucester’s councilor and chancellor, make a remarkable contract with Cambridge University. In return for 240 pounds, the University would honor the memories of Richard III, Thomas Barowe, and “...on the 21st day of August...every year before the full congregation of regents *Placebo* and *Dirige* will be sung with music...with the bells tolling, as is the custom, and on the next day...be celebrated and sung a solemn mass in the choir for the souls of King Richard III and Anne his consort, his parents, his brothers, and all his deceased servants...” Just four years after Bishop Stillington died under house arrest, and in the same year that Sir William Stanley was executed for supporting a Yorkist pretender, Barowe dared to put this expression of “enduring loyalty to Richard Iii and his university” into writing.

Also of interest is Barowe’s will, which includes a bequest of 5 nobles and 40 shillings to Thomas Lynham, second husband of Elizabeth (Jane) Shore, whom Richard III had reluctantly permitted Lynham to wed. evidently Barowe, like Richard III, considered Lynham worthy of generosity, despite his politically incorrect love match. Bequests of 50 pounds to Robert Brackenbury’s son and 40 pounds to John Kendall’s son demonstrate Barowe’s close connection to Richard’s household. Forty marks were left to pay “Bekard or his heir” if they should claim that Barowe or his executors owed them money “for some

lands which King Richard had.” This payment was designated “for the relief of his [Richard’s] soul and mine...though I am not obliged to pay anything by right.”

In *Richard of Gloucester’s Lands in East Anglia*, A.F. Sutton describes the duke’s East Anglian holdings, the men who administered them, and some of the conflicts they fought. The conflict over Gregories, a property within the Essex manor of Theydon Garnon, is noteworthy because letters Cecily Neville wrote about this conflict survive. In one letter, she reproached Gloucester for failing to join her and Edward IV at Berkhamsted, beseeching God to have Gloucester in governance. (Did she beseech God to have Clarence in governance in her letters to that difficult and self-serving son?)

The men who fought for possession of Gregories were not from Essex; they were prosperous Londoners establishing country estates. In an effort to win the dispute, Thomas Withihale, goldsmith, included Gloucester in a group of feoffees formed to take Gregories from John Prince, Cecily Neville’s servant. The early stages of this dispute did not involve Gloucester, but after his mother wrote him on behalf of Prince, Gloucester reprimanded Withihale and his agents severely. Despite this reprimand, Withihale continued to harass Prince, his wife, and his tenant. Resisting Withihale’s harassment, Prince’s wife affirmed her belief in Gloucester’s fairness: “I wote right well my lord knoweth not of this your demeaning. And if he did, my lord would not be pleased therewith, for it besemeth full ill many of you to wear the livery of such a prince.” Eventually the conflict had to be settled by Edward’s council, which ordered all combatants to drop their suits and obey the arbitrator’s decision.

Loyalty and conflict also appear as themes in Anne Crawford’s paper on the Howard family, James Ross’s paper on the de Vere family, and Sean Cunningham’s paper on the de la Pole family. David Dymond’s *Socio-religious Gilds of the Middle Ages* describes the gilds’ contribution to social stability until their destruction in 1547.

Ricardians can find a lot to appreciate in this collection of papers presented by the Eighth Triennial of the Richard III Society, held at Cambridge, 15-17th April, 2005. Numerous whimsical vignettes, based on fifteenth century badges, arms, and manuscripts, embellish the text. This interplay of text and images offers welcome relief from worn-out stereotypes of Richard III, wicked uncle. Instead, readers are given a rewarding view of Richard as duke of Gloucester and king interacting as a human being with his contemporaries. – Marion Davis

*The Scotsman is mean, as we’re all well aware,
And bony and blotchy and covered with hair.
He eats salty porridge, he works all the day,
And he hasn’t got bishops to show him the way!*

JAMES III: A POLITICAL STUDY – Norman Macdougall, Edinburgh, John Donald Publishers, c. 1982

Anyone who has asked why the Scots didn’t attack England during the crisis following Edward IV’s death can benefit from reading **JAMES III: A POLITICAL STUDY**. Norman Macdougall offers his readers a balanced, thorough account of the conflicts underlying the Scots’ seeming restraint in 1483. These conflicts had evolved from power struggles – among magnates, among churchmen, between kings and varying combinations of magnates and churchmen – rooted in long-term resource shortages. In its effort to resolve such conflicts, the 1455 Scottish parliament had observed that “The poverté of the crowne is oftymis the caus of the poverté of the Realme.” Like their English counterparts, the Scots wanted their king “to live of his own.” Because that goal was seldom met, both James III and his father provoked civil war by killing and disinheriting rich, powerful agnates. Ironically, Scottish

kings couldn't afford contract armies; James III had to somehow form alliances against the magnates he wanted to overthrow.

In 1482, support for James III wasn't equal to his opponents' strength. As his rebellious brother, Alexander duke of Albany, returned from exile with Richard, duke of Gloucester's army, an alliance of Stewart half-uncles and southern magnates imprisoned James III. His captors not only opposed his attempts to enrich himself at their expense; they objected to his effort to remain at peace with England, because treaties and truces interfered with their profits from raiding northern England. Apparently they saw the English invasion as an opportunity to force James to make concession. Nevertheless, a coalition formed by James III's queen, Margaret of Denmark, with the newly repentant duke of Albany and magnates loyal to the crown obliged the king's captors to release him. As James reclaimed power, his renewed peace negotiations with England prevented Scots from taking advantage of Edward IV's death.

Albany's political and diplomatic clumsiness contributed to James III's revival. By July 1483, loss of credibility forced Albany into exile again. After his defeat at Lochmaben in July 1484, Albany fled to France, where he died fighting in a tournament. James III's continuing conflicts with selected magnates led to his death at Sauchieburn in 1488. Alexander, duke of Albany, was a sort of Scottish Clarence. In an effort to rehabilitate his father's reputation, John, duke of Albany, encouraged the Scottish counterparts of Richard III's Tudor detractors to blacken James III's reputation. Although these authors belonged to a variety of conflicting factions, they all agreed that James III was a tyrant. A version of James as a Scottish Caligula emerged from this consensus. The last chapter of the book is Macdougall's evaluation of the king's detractors and the myth they created. This chapter and the paper Macdougall presented at the *Richard III: Loyalty, Lordship, and Law* symposium compare favorably to Jeremy Potter's **Good King Richard?**

Macdougall is refreshingly respectful of Gloucester's good qualities. He describes him as an "able commander" of the 1482 English army, and contrasts Gloucester's understanding of conditions in Scotland with Edward IV's lack of realism. He suggests that Gloucester's protectorship during Edward V's minority would be good for Scotland because it removed "the most effective of the English leaders" from northern England.

Although Macdougall concludes that James III was in many ways a bad king, he discredits the Caligula myth. His view of Richard's interactions with the Scots – both as duke and as king – discredits distorted criticism of Richard III as well. Ricardians may find it well worthwhile to acquaint themselves with Macdougall's interpretation of 15th century Anglo-Scottish relations and Scottish versions of James III's reign.—Marion Davis

*And all the world over, each nation's the same.
They've simply no notion of playing the game.
They argue with umpires, they cheer when they've won,
And practice beforehand, which ruins the fun!
It's not that they're wicked or naturally bad.
It's knowing they're foreign that makes them so mad.*

Please, help me prove that Mr. Flanders and Mr. Swann were wrong, and we do know how to play the game, by sending in your reviews in plenty and in good time – and please note the new deadlines! Also note, please, that practicing beforehand does not ruin the fun. You simply get better with practice, or it gets easier, or it gets to be more fun, or all three.—Myrna Smith

Letters to the Editor

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.

Marion Davis



Sales Catalog–December, 2011
Richard III Society, American Branch

Merchandise

Item Description	Item #	Price (USD)	Shipping (USD)	Image (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. Acrylic. (UK 34 = US "Very Small.) <i>Only 1 available.</i>	2	\$10.00	\$5.00	
Sweater. Black with embroidered boar logo. UK size 34 only. Acrylic. (UK 34 = US "Very Small".) <i>Only 1 available.</i>	4	\$10.00	\$5.00	
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	
Boar badge (pin). Made from lead-free pewter each board badge is approximately 1 5/16" long and 5/8" inch high.	156-1	\$11.00	\$3.75	
"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)	Shipping (USD)	Image (where available)
Window sticker. Blue background with white boar logo; 3" diameter. Apply on window facing out.	54-1	\$2.50	\$1.00	
Window sticker. Red background with white boar logo; 3" diameter. Apply on window facing out.	54-2	\$2.50	\$1.00	
"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	
NEW				
Pendant, blue (pin). Blue background with enameled boar logo. 1" diameter. Has pin latch.	67-2	\$5.00	\$1.00	No photo. Same design as loop-style blue pendant.
Scarf – quincentenary. 25" x 27" blue background with crown, boar, and rose logos. Polyester. <i>Limited quantities.</i>	52-1	\$7.50	\$1.00	

Books and Periodicals

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

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 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
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 R3 member, Joan Szechtman. Paperback. ISBN 978-0-9824493-0-1. Signed by author.	16	\$15.00	\$4.00
Loyalty Binds Me. Arrested for a 500 year-old murder, Richard III must defend himself without revealing his true identity. By Joan Szechtman. ISBN 978-1-935188-25-4. Signed by author.	17	\$12.00	\$4.00
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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
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.

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<p>The following books will no longer be regularly stocked in the US sales office, but are still available from the UK. To order from the UK see www.richardiii.net and select Society Shop and then Catalogue for UK pricing and ordering details. Or contact US sales for assistance.</p>			
<p>Richard III: Loyalty, Lordship, and Law. Paperback; edited by PW Hammond; ISBN 1900289377. Paper from the second Richard III Symposium in April 1984.</p>			
<p>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."</p>			
<p>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."</p>			
<p>The Merchant Taylors' Company of London: Court Minutes 1486-1493. Hardback; edited and introduced by Matthew Davies; ISBN 1900289369</p>			
<p>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 o to all 55 folios of line drawings.</p>			
<p>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</p>			

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Inside back cover
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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.

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