

Ricardian Register



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Christmas Sunset: Richard and Anne at Wensleydale.

Mary Kelly

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Articles: The Search for Richard: Some Personal Impressions • Work On
Online Edition of Edward IV Roll Now Complete • Elizabeth, Lady Scales:
The First Wife of Anthony Woodville • Medieval Christmas • Torture and
Revelation in Arthurian Tradition

Annual Reports

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(not printed)

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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 \$60 annually for U.S. Addresses; \$70 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 sales when available. Papers and books may be borrowed from the US fiction and non-fiction libraries. Papers only are available from the English Librarian. 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:

Sally Keil, Membership Chair

1219 Route 171 • Woodstock, CT 06281-2126

membership@r3.org

Chairman's Letter

Jonathan A. Hayes

Chairman, Richard III Society, American Branch

The 2012 Joint Canadian-American Annual General Meeting in Toronto was a huge success—due in large part to the organization and hard work of our Canadian friends. Tracy Bryce and Victoria Moorshead, in particular, did outstanding jobs. Our most sincere thanks go to them and to all the members of the Canadian Branch (and their reluctant Ricardian spouses) who did so much to make it a memorable occasion for all of us.

The 2013 AGM will be held in Richmond, Virginia and I know you'll all want to attend. Even at this point in the planning, it looks to be a really exciting event.

Your Board has voted to increase the annual dues to \$60. We didn't like doing this as we recognize the cost of membership is a significant factor in these straitened financial times, but the fiscal situation of the American Branch dictates it. We are very seriously looking at ways to lower our costs. Far and away the most significant cost item in the budget is the cost of publications that go out to the members, both from the American Branch and the Parent Society. We have already started to move to fully electronic distribution—the Sales Catalog will be only available in electronic form—and we will be considering distribution of the *Ricardian Register* strictly electronically in the future. We recognize this may cause difficulties for members who do not have computer access. However, computer access is readily available through most libraries and the great majority of our membership already has computer access on their own. The cost differential of electronic distribution versus print is vast and, although our primary interest is the fifteenth century, as a Society we need to join the 21st century. Please give your input on this (or any other) matter to any Board member; we want to hear from you. We have approached the Parent Society in this regard in the past and will be continuing to discuss it with them.

It's a great time to be a Ricardian. The recent discoveries at Bosworth and the results of the Leicester dig (which would not have occurred but for the efforts of Philippa Langley of the Scottish Branch) are truly amazing. I know you are all as thrilled by it as I am.

On a final note, the Society is an all-volunteer organization. We only exist because dedicated members put their time and effort into all the things that keep the Society going. Volunteers are always needed and I would request that all of you who value what our Society is doing for Richard consider how you could help. Please contact any Board member. I know many of you don't have a lot of time, but any amount will be of great assistance.

Best Ricardian regards to all of you in the holiday season,



Errata

Missing attribution for Reviews on p. 39. Should have Myrna Smith, Ricardian Reading Editor.

The Search for Ricard III: Some Personal Impressions

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It was the last week of August, 2011. I'd just returned home after book-signing at the Bosworth Battlefield commemoration event, retrieved my best friend Bella from kennels, and started to look at resuming work on my new book. That's when Philippa Langley called me: "Can you come back to Leicester at the weekend and do a piece to camera? It's the official start of our search for Richard III, and we're doing some filming."



This was the first time we had spoken, although of course we'd corresponded by email and I knew that Philippa, a professional screenwriter from Edinburgh, had inaugurated this incredibly brave attempt to find King Richard's lost grave. At that time it wasn't a Richard III Society project, although they had helped with a grant towards desk-based research. But this actual work in Leicester – Ground Penetrating Radar at the site thought to be the Greyfriars – was a seriously expensive step. Evidently Philippa had not only raised funds for it, but had a film crew standing by as well!

Naturally I said I would help if I could. The idea was to film a brief, 5-8 minute taster of what the project was about, with a view to getting a documentary commissioned for one of the main TV channels. Having worked for most of my career in media communications – television, PR, advertising and the like – immediately my antennae got busy. Soon we were talking about the script, discussing which experts could be brought to Leicester in time, what still photographs we could beg or borrow, and how to get hold of footage of battle re-enactment to add colour to the presentation.



Philippa Langley
John Ashdown-Hill

This was all to be done out of our own pockets, so I let my flexible friend take the strain and set about booking Bella back in kennels and myself back in Leicester. As well as meeting Philippa there, I also had the pleasure of encountering Dr John Ashdown-Hill for the first time, someone I had long hoped to meet. Fortunately I'd already read *The Last Days of Richard III*, in which he wrote of the Leicester Greyfriars and of tracing Richard's mtDNA. I knew this had inspired Philippa to believe it could be possible to locate Richard's grave and also identify him if he should be found.

From that meeting we became Philippa's back-up team, pooling our various talents as occasion demanded, although the ongoing leadership of the project was hers alone, along with surmounting all the many hurdles and frequent setbacks. When the local role-players in Leicester at last agreed they were interested – mainly the university and the city council – dates were tentatively suggested for the archaeology to start in April 2012. But then everything was put on hold again while various organisations dickered and negotiated, logistics were called into question, and funding continued to be a major obstacle.

In June 2012 John and I were called to arms once more when Philippa announced that the search would be launching in August, and that Channel 4 were interested enough to underwrite the costs of a two-man camera crew to film it. Everything was on track – and this time we had rather more notice to organise our presence in Leicester! However, almost immediately we were hit by the last-minute withdrawal of £10,000 on the part of one of the backers. We were now in early July, and if funds weren't in the bank during the week ending the 27th, Philippa wouldn't be able to meet essential bills necessary for the work to commence on schedule.

Luckily I have a bit of experience producing printed material for my animal welfare charity, so within 48 hours we had a two-page leaflet and appeal letter ready to be circulated

via the internet. All the branches and groups rallied round marvellously – Joan Szechtman made a special effort on behalf the US branch – plus friends, families and other Ricardians chipped in. To be frank we thought it was a long shot... but in this quest we've found that long shots seem to convert rather astonishingly into happy outcomes... and amazingly we reached the target figure within the two weeks available. The bills were paid, the machinery hired, and we were all set for the launch on 24 August (with more work for yours truly on media strategy and press communications!).

Looking back, I suppose the reaction by TV news, radio and press at the launch has paled in comparison to the furore that accompanied the later announcement that we had found someone who might prove to be King Richard. But for those of us who were there in August, giving interviews, explaining Richard's story, dispelling myths and focusing on his life and achievements, it was a surreal experience. So refreshing to be pressed by the media for facts and information rather than treading the well-worn paths of his so-called crimes.

What was most impressive was that the launch story immediately went world-wide, not only to English-speaking countries but to places like Russia, India and Iran. It quickly went viral on Twitter, and spent that weekend in the top handful of stories on the websites of BBC News and most other news channels. Within days Leicester University had received a 20 percent increase in applications to its archaeology department, and was destined to leap 100 places in the international league table of universities.

Meanwhile Channel 4 had been hesitating about commissioning the long-discussed documentary, so with typical drive Philippa organised a multiple email onslaught on their website, with Ricardians bombarding them with demands that they **MUST** make a programme about the search for Richard. At first their reply was they had "no such plans", but on the opening Saturday when we first broke ground, doubtless encouraged by the media blitz, C4 came to the party and issued a firm commitment to go ahead.



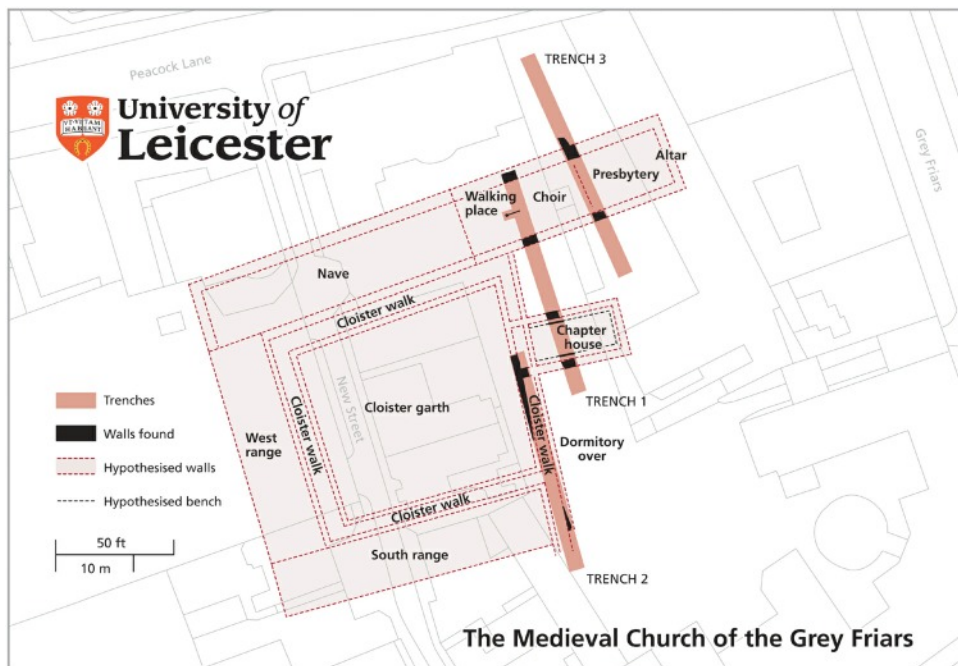
Digging a Trench

Members will know by now how incredibly successful the search proved to be, for which all credit to John Ashdown-Hill's painstaking and accurate research. Reports have been appearing in the Society's quarterly Bulletin throughout this year, culminating in this December's edition, so I need not repeat the contents.

At this moment I am not authorized to impart anything other than what has already been made public, which is understandable of course, because at this delicate stage it wouldn't be right for anyone to be sounding off unofficially. I think I can safely confirm we are all incredibly optimistic, but quite a lot of media reports have already made unwarranted assumptions, so it has to be remembered that even the experts cannot reach safe conclusions about identity based on a few preliminary impressions.

The big press conference on 12 September, announcing the discovery of human remains, was organized by Leicester University... and if you blinked you would have missed Philippa Langley sitting at the extreme left of the platform. The university's various experts took the lead about the dig and its findings, giving the impression that it was essentially their project. But although they deserve great credit for their fantastic work, it has to be said (so I'm going to say it!) that their involvement came only at the end – after years of groundwork had been done whipping up enthusiasm in a climate of recession and cutbacks, pounding away getting permissions and clearances, and obtaining the green light from the council for the site to be excavated.

Most importantly, the money had to be found: to pay for the opening of the ground and closing it again afterwards, to bring the archaeologists on site, and to hire the necessary equipment. I can only take my hat off to Philippa Langley for the kind of indomitable determination that manages to overcome all opposition. King Richard could not wish for a better champion.



Site map of the Medieval Church of the Grey Friars

Credit - University of Leicester

Editor's note:

The New England Chapter met Saturday, October 20th and had the opportunity to conference with Philippa Langley to talk about this dig.

We reached Philippa Langley via Skype from England. She is the Richard III Society member who instigated the dig to find his remains beneath a car park where once stood the Grey Friars Church. Richard was buried in the choir area of the church after he was killed at the Battle of Bosworth. She explained how the entire project was conceived and brought to fruition, and that it nearly got scrapped twice due to lack of funding, but donations from Richard III Society members around the world donated sufficient funds to cover the £10,000 shortfall so the work could continue. (Members of the New England Chapter expressed our gratitude for being able to contribute to the project.)

Philippa told us that DNA testing will take around 12 weeks to finalize, although they are confident the remains are Richard's, as they contain characteristics consistent with battle wounds, such as the skull having been damaged by a bladed instrument. The skeleton has scoliosis of the spine that caused the right shoulder to be higher than the left. They hope to re-inter his remains with a fitting burial for a king in Leicester Cathedral, although York also holds a claim. Westminster Abbey has not been considered as his final resting place, as it contains no more room for remains and because of political repercussions.

Work on Online Edition of Edward IV Roll Now Complete

Laura Blanchard

“A grant! a grant! my kingdom for a grant? Well, no, but certainly noteworthy and very much appreciated are the vision and support of the American Branch of the Richard III Society for making possible an innovative website for the transcription of Penn’s Ms. Roll 1066. Historical artifacts can be scarce; examining them can be difficult; understanding them even harder, but the Society has opened a kingdom for all to explore.” – Nancy Shawcross, University of Pennsylvania Library Curator of Manuscripts

At the 2009 American Branch AGM, the Board presented a request for funding support for an online edition of the University of Pennsylvania Library’s recently acquired Edward IV Roll. (It’s remarkable to me that Philadelphia libraries should become the home of not one but two of these magnificent propaganda genealogies.) The library offered an interesting proposition: it would create not only a set of images but also a complete transcription of the text and identification of all the images, with a searchable index of personal names. The contribution of \$2,500 from the American Branch treasury, coupled with \$750 in additional contributions from individual members, encouraged Penn to make the additional investment, and the project is now complete.

I’ve always been frustrated by all the barriers that separate me as a “general reader” from understanding Latin texts such as those in this manuscript. I can’t read the writing, to start with – I can’t tell the letter m from the letters n or u followed by an i. Even if I could, I can’t figure out which letters the scribes left out to save time. These obstacles have been cleared away by the work of Marie Turner, doctoral candidate in English literature, and Amey Hutchins of the library staff.

When I asked Marie Turner to say a few words for us on extremely short notice to meet the *Register*’s deadline, she was more than happy to oblige. “I’m not quite ready to let go of Edward,” she commented to me, and promised us at least one blog post. But here is Marie, in her own words:

“Over the past three years, it has been my task and my privilege to undertake the transcription of a fifteenth-century Latin genealogical chronicle of the kings of England known as University of Pennsylvania Ms. Roll 1066. The transcription, now complete, is part of a freely available internet resource that makes the manuscript accessible to a larger international audience. I would like to share with you some of what we have learned over the course of the project.

“Likely produced in London sometime around Edward IV’s coronation in 1461, the Penn roll is a compilational tour de force of the greatest hits of medieval historians, assimilating the work of (among others) Geoffrey of Monmouth, William of Malmesbury, and Ranulf Higden. It unfurls a staggering 1122 cm (that’s nearly 36 feet) over thirteen vellum membranes, tracing the king’s genealogy back to Adam and Eve. In contrast to 12th-century Latin chronicles, 13th-century encyclopedias, and 14th-century universal histories, 15th-century genealogical chronicles are often seen as the bastard children of the historiographical family: derivative, crude, and aesthetically impoverished. The factionalism of late fifteenth-century England leads scholars to be interested in these kinds of chronicles mainly for their perceived propagandistic value, the ways in which they bolstered claims to the throne during the Wars of the Roses. The Penn roll presents a challenge to some of these modern scholarly assumptions. As a Yorkist document, we expect the roll to draw rigid claims to power, but this is

simply not the case. Approaching the mid-fifteenth century, the central Yorkist genealogy descending from Lionel of Antwerp, 3rd son of Edward III, becomes interwoven with the competing Lancastrian claim descending from his younger brother, John of Gaunt. This may not seem so very strange – after all, without accounting for John of Gaunt, the line of regnal descent would be broken – but when we compare MS 1066 with its contemporaries, things become more complex. A similar roll held by Harvard provides a compelling counterpoint: both manuscripts gesture toward the Lancastrian claims, but the Harvard version puts Lionel of Antwerp in a position of privilege among the issue of Edward III; his name is accompanied by a small portrait, denoting him as a crucial historical figure and progenitor of kings, while John of Gaunt is merely named. The Penn roll, on the other hand, shows no such deference to Lionel: he and John occupy identical roundels and there is nothing visually suggestive of bias in the depiction of their descents. The almost-ambivalent presentation of the Lancastrian and Yorkist lines here is then oddly compelling, showing how a single historiographical work is capable of accommodating multiple versions of the past while maintaining an argument for right rule. The suggestion is that while propaganda may underwrite the production of these rolls, it is no longer a wholly satisfying answer to the question of popularity and function.”



The Penn Roll project may be accessed here:
<http://sceti.library.upenn.edu/msroll1066>

<http://1.usa.gov/S111qe>)



showing expansions of the abbreviations in brackets. Clicking on an image (depicted here) will bring up an identifying label.

Elizabeth, Lady Scales: The First Wife of Anthony Woodville

Susan Higginbotham

Anthony Woodville, Earl Rivers, married twice: the first time to Elizabeth Scales, the second time to Mary FitzLewis. This article discusses Anthony's first marriage—a match that owed nothing to the royal alliance Anthony's sister Elizabeth made.

Elizabeth was the daughter of Thomas, Lord Scales, and his wife Ismania, whose name is also spelled variously as Imania, Ismanie, and Esmania. Ismania was a daughter of a Cornishman by the name of Whalesburgh. [1] Described in Anthony's inquisitions postmortem as 24 or older at her father's death in 1460, [2] Elizabeth Scales was born around 1436. Besides Elizabeth, Lord Scales and his wife had a son, Thomas, who predeceased his father. [3]

Elizabeth Scales's mother was among those ladies sent to escort Henry VI's new bride, Margaret of Anjou, to England in 1445, and was one of her principal attendants, receiving forty pounds per annum in 1452-53. [4]

Lord Scales, born around 1399, had a long record of military service in France, where he remained almost continually from 1424 to 1449. He was made lieutenant-general of western Normandy in 1435; it is possible that Elizabeth was born there. [5] One source estimates his wealth in 1436 as 376 pounds per year. [6] At Rouen in 1442, Lord Scales had served as a godfather at the christening of the future Edward IV. [7]

During Christmas of 1445, Lord Scales was at his principal manor at Middleton when the mayor and council presented a nativity play there, with a cast that included a John Clerk as the Virgin Mary and a person with the surname of Gilbert as the angel Gabriel. [8] Nine-year-old Elizabeth would have been at an age to enjoy this thoroughly.

Elizabeth's father had strong ties with the Woodville family from early on. Created a Knight of the Garter in 1425, Lord Scales successfully nominated Anthony's father, Richard Woodville, Lord Rivers, as a Garter knight in 1450. [9] That same year, King Henry VI appointed Lord Scales, Lord Rivers and other men to put down Jack Cade's rebellion. [10] Interestingly, when Richard, Duke of York placed his grievances before the king that autumn, Lord Scales and Lord Rivers were said to have accompanied him. [11]

However, Lord Scales remained loyal to Henry VI during the upheavals of the 1450's. In the summer of 1460, when the exiled Earls of March, Warwick, and Salisbury returned to England with the intention of seizing power, Lord Scales and Robert, Lord Hungerford, held the Tower for the king. Besieged by the Yorkists, the forces inside the Tower shot guns and cast wild fire into the city, to the injury of "men and women and children in the streets," as reported by the *English Chronicle*. [12] When the Yorkists, having defeated the Lancastrians at Northampton, returned to London with Henry VI in their power, Scales and Hungerford surrendered on July 19. [13]

Uncertain how he would fare at the hands of the Londoners, Scales, accompanied by three others, found a boat late that evening and rowed toward Westminster, with the intention of taking sanctuary there. Tipped off by a woman who recognized Lord Scales, a group of boatmen surrounded him, murdered him, and dumped his naked body at St. Mary Overy at Southwark. He lay there for several hours before his godson the Earl of March (later Edward IV) came upon the scene and arranged a proper burial for him. It was, as the *English Chronicle* noted, a "great pity" that "so noble and worshipful a knight," who had served so valiantly in France, should meet such an ignominious death. [14]

Chroniclers seldom bothered to record the reactions of the wives and daughters of those slain during the Wars of the Roses, and they made no exception in the case of Elizabeth

Scales. By this time, she was a widow, having been married previously to Henry Bouchier, the second son of the Earl of Essex by the same name. An August 27 letter in the Paston collection announcing his sudden death at Ludlow from an unspecified cause probably dates to 1458. [15] If any children were born to the couple, they did not survive.

Exactly when Elizabeth married Anthony Woodville is unknown, but contrary to what is sometimes claimed, it is beyond dispute that the marriage took place well before Anthony's sister became the queen of England. The couple had certainly married before April 4, 1461, when William Paston reported mistakenly that Anthony, Lord Scales—the title that Anthony took in right of Elizabeth—had been killed at the battle of Towton. [16] Richard Beauchamp, Bishop of Salisbury, writing three days later, also reported that the dead included “Anthony, son of Lord le Ryver, who was recently made Lord le Scales.” [17]

Earlier, following the Lancastrian victory at the second battle of St. Albans on February 17, 1461, the Londoners had included Jacquetta Woodville, Duchess of Bedford, Anne Stafford, Duchess of Buckingham, and Lady Scales in a delegation sent to Margaret of Anjou to beg for mercy for the city. [18] Does “Lady Scales” refer to Elizabeth or to her mother? Ismania had been prominent among Margaret's ladies and would thus be a natural candidate for the task of negotiating with the queen, but it is not certain that she was still alive at this date; there is no indication that she held any lands in dower or jointure, as she would have if she had survived her husband. It may be, then, that “Lady Scales” refers to Elizabeth Scales and that she had joined the Duchess of Bedford, Anthony's mother, in the negotiations.

Whether Anthony and Elizabeth's parents helped bring the couple together, or whether the couple themselves initiated their marriage, is unknown. Elizabeth's inheritance as Scales's only surviving child was of obvious interest to Anthony, and his own status as the eldest son was of obvious interest to Elizabeth, but there is nothing to indicate whether personal attraction played a role in the marriage as well. Their age difference is not certain. Anthony was listed in his mother's 1472 postmortem inquisition as being “of the age of thirty years and more,” which would put his birth date at around 1442 (to Elizabeth Scales's probable birth date of 1436), but “the more” allows plenty of hedge room and leaves open the possibility that he was born earlier in his parents' marriage, which took place by March 23, 1537. [19]

Elizabeth's inheritance included lands in Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, Hertfordshire, Essex, and Suffolk. [20] The heart of the Scales estate was Middleton, near Bishop's Lynn (later King's Lynn). The town of Lynn often sent gifts of wine or fish to Lord and Lady Scales, whose minstrels also appear in the records. [21]

Lady Scales features in the household books of John Howard, who later became the Duke of Norfolk. In September 1464, Howard rewarded her messenger in the amount of six shillings and eight pence for bringing him a letter from Elizabeth. When with the king at Reading in November, Howard lent Elizabeth, who was also there with her husband, eight shillings and four pence to play at cards. The party moved on to spend Christmas at Eltham with the king; there, on January 1, 1465, Howard gave twelve pence to “my lord Scales chylde.” Anne Crawford has pointed out that the “child” was probably a page who was bringing a New Year's gift to Howard from Anthony and Elizabeth, as opposed to the offspring of either Lord or Lady Scales, although Anthony did have an illegitimate daughter. [22]

Meanwhile, of course, Elizabeth Woodville, Anthony's sister, had married Edward IV, the godson of Thomas, Lord Scales. Lady Scales was prominent among the attendants of

her sister-in-law the queen. In 1466-67, like the queen's sister Anne, who was married to William, Viscount Bouchier, Lady Scales received forty pounds per annum for her services (the same rate that her mother had received when serving Margaret of Anjou). She and Anne were the highest paid of the queen's attendants; the next tier of ladies received only twenty pounds a year. [23]

In 1466, Anthony and Elizabeth engaged in a series of complex legal maneuvers, detailed in his inquisitions postmortem, to ensure that if Elizabeth predeceased Anthony without having borne him a child, the Scales estates would stay in Anthony's hands instead of going to Elizabeth's heirs. While this did have the effect of subverting the normal laws of inheritance, there is no reason to assume that Elizabeth was forced into the transaction by her husband or that she would have preferred that the land go to her rather distant cousins instead of to Anthony. [24]

When Edward IV's sister Margaret traveled to Burgundy to marry its duke, Charles, in July 1468, Anthony Woodville served as her presenter. [25] Prominent among the English ladies accompanying Margaret to her wedding was Lady Scales. The marriage took place with all the ceremonial splendor one could expect of the Burgundian court. It certainly overawed John Paston, who wrote in a letter home, "And as for the duke's court, as of lords, ladies and gentlewomen, knights, squires and gentlemen, I have never of none like to it, save King Arthur's court. And by my troth, I have no wit nor remembrance to write to you, half the worship that is here." The festivities featured jousting, in which Elizabeth would have seen her husband take a leading role. [26]

Anthony and Elizabeth's return to England was soon followed by tragedy: in August 1469, Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, having rebelled against Edward IV and taken the king temporarily into his custody, ordered the executions of Anthony's father, Earl Rivers, and of his younger brother John—executions that were entirely illegal, as both Earl Rivers and John had been supporting the king that Warwick himself still recognized as his ruler. Anthony and Elizabeth now had each suffered the murder of a father.

The continuing political upheaval led to Edward IV fleeing England in October 1470. A number of loyal supporters went into exile with him, including Anthony (now Earl Rivers). Where Elizabeth Scales spent the next few months is unknown. She may have joined her mother-in-law, Jacquetta, and Queen Elizabeth in sanctuary at Westminster, but I know of no source placing her there.

After Edward scored a Yorkist victory at Barnet, he returned to London briefly before marching out to encounter Margaret of Anjou's forces. Anthony Woodville and the Earl of Essex, Elizabeth Scales's father-in-law from her first marriage, were left to defend London from an attack by the Bastard of Fauconberg. Queen Elizabeth and her children were lodged in the Tower for their safety; perhaps Elizabeth Scales was with them.

Edward IV was back on his throne in May 1471, but Elizabeth Scales had little time to enjoy the peace that followed. According to Anthony's inquisitions post mortem, she died on September 2, 1473. [27] She did live long enough to join in the festivities that took place when Louis de Bruges, Lord of la Gruthuyse, who had assisted Edward IV and Anthony while they were in exile, visited Edward's court in September 1472. At a banquet in the queen's chamber, Lady Rivers "sat at one mess" with the king and the queen, their daughter Elizabeth, the Duchess of Exeter, and Louis de Bruges himself. [28]

Anthony married Mary FitzLewis around 1480. He was executed on orders of the future Richard III at Pontefract on June 25, 1483.

In his will, written at Sheriff Hutton two days before his death, Anthony, having left the Scales lands to his brother Edward, asked that 500 marks be used for prayers for the

souls of Elizabeth Scales, her brother Thomas, and the souls of all of the Scales family. [29] This provision has been interpreted as a slight by Lynda Pidgeon, who wrote that in his will, Anthony “makes no affectionate mention of [Elizabeth] or desire to be buried beside her” and that he appeared to do only the bare minimum to provide for her soul and those of others. Pidgeon concluded, “The will was business like: it met the requirements of his soul and those of his family and little else.... Perhaps he simply did not have feelings for anyone else.” [30]

Pidgeon’s judgment overlooks the fact that many wills of the period are businesslike documents, without sentimental effusions; it also fails to consider that Anthony, unlike testators expecting to meet a natural death or preparing for the eventuality of dying honorably in battle, was under the enormous stress of facing execution for a crime he most likely did not commit. Moreover, as he was about to be executed, he could expect his lands to be forfeit to the crown and would have to hope that arrangements would be made to pay his debts and honor his bequests. He was hardly in a position to make extravagant provisions for the dead. As it was, it does not appear that his will was ever admitted to probate during Richard III’s reign.

Anthony, possibly anticipating that he would be brought to London for the trial before his peers that was his right as an earl, initially asked in his will that if he died beyond the River Trent, he be buried in the chapel of St. Mary the Virgin besides St. Stephen’s College at Westminster, known familiarly as the Lady of Pewe. The Pope himself had recognized Anthony’s “singular devotion” to this chapel in 1476. [31] Contrary to Pidgeon’s surmise, Anthony’s failure to request burial beside Elizabeth Scales (whose burial place is not known) need not show lack of affection for her; it may simply indicate a strong devotion to the Virgin or to the chapel that took precedence over earthly attachments. Moreover, as a condemned man Anthony could not expect that the crown would go to the expense and trouble of bringing his body to lie beside that of Elizabeth, unless she had been buried at a convenient place for her husband’s burial. He had, in fact, little choice in where he would be buried, as he implicitly acknowledged at the end of his will, when having learned that he would be executed at Pontefract, Anthony asked to be buried there with his nephew Richard Grey, who was also facing execution, before an image of the Virgin Mary. [32] We can only guess at how close Anthony and Elizabeth Scales were to each other, but it is hardly fair to infer based only on this will that he was an indifferent husband.

In her thirty-seven years on earth, Elizabeth Scales lived through the violent deaths of her father, her father-in-law, and political upheaval; yet as with so many other women of her day, she left little behind to give us a clue about the woman behind her title. At the very least, it would have been nice to know what was in the letter her servant brought Lord Howard.

Endnotes:

1. Myers, p. 182 n.1.
2. TNA: C 142/1/36 (Cambridge); C 142/1/37 (Hertford); C 142/1/38 (Norfolk); C 142/1/39 (Suffolk).
3. He is named in Anthony’s will, PROB 11/8. Printed in Pidgeon, p. 43.
4. Griffiths, p. 486; Myers, p. 182.
5. Castor.
6. Wilkins, p. 194 n.17.
7. Scofield, vol. I, p. 1.
8. Lancashire, p. 227; *Report on the Deeds and Records of the Borough of King’s Lynn*, p. 88.

9. Castor; Smith, p. 46.
10. Harvey, p. 81.
11. Griffiths, p. 707, n.108.
12. Davies, p. 96.
13. Scofield, vol. I, p. 92.
14. Scofield, vol. I, p. 92; Davies, p. 98.
15. Castor; *Paston Letters*, no. 574, part II, p. 175.
16. *Paston Letters*, no. 90, part I, p. 165.
17. Milan, no. 80, April 7, 1461,.
18. Kingsford, p. 173; Milan, no. 65, February 22, 1461.
19. C 140/42/49; Calendar of Patent Rolls 1436–1441, p. 53. A handwritten note by Robert Glover, Somerset Herald on a late fifteenth-century visitation suggests that Anthony may have been the Woodvilles' oldest child. *Visitations of the North*, part 3, p. 58.
20. See n. 2; Pidgeon, pp. 30, 35.
21. *Manuscripts of the Corporations of Southampton and Kings Lynn*, pp. 224–25.
22. Crawford, *Household Books*, pt. I, pp. 281, 480–82; Crawford, *Yorkist Lord*, pp. 41–42, 156.
23. Myers, p. 288.
24. See note 2; Pidgeon, p. 35. The heirs in 1485 were John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, returned home after a long exile and imprisonment, and William Tyndale. Ross, p. 91.
25. Phillips, pp. 327, 329.
26. *Paston Letters*, no. 330, part I, p. 539. I have modernized the spelling.
27. See note 2.
28. Madden, p. 278.
29. PROB 11/8; Pidgeon, p. 43.
30. Pidgeon, p. 41.
31. *Calendar of Papal Registers*. 1476. 5 Kal. May. (27 April.) St. Peter's, Rome. (f. 99v.).
32. TNA PROB 11/8; Pidgeon, pp. 43, 45.

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Medieval Christmas

Jonathan Hayes

Medieval celebrations were religious in origin, as we recognize in our word "holiday"—"holy day". Christmas was the most festive of the celebrations in a year; in large part because of its length. The celebration continued for the entire 12 days.

The Puritans banished Christmas as a celebration. Most of the traditional Christmas practices died as a result of this and of the change of religion. The majority of our current Christmas customs originated in Victorian England. So our celebrations have greatly changed from those of the medieval period. If you wish to get a flavor of the original, "Old Christmas" in "The Sketchbook of Washington Irving" describes a "traditional" Christmas as celebrated in Bracebridge Hall.

There are some things about our current celebrations that Richard III would recognize, however. The castle hall would have been decorated with greenery—evergreens and holly—as we do today. There also would have been mistletoe with the same custom as today. By the end of the feast each guest was expected to have gotten, and given, at least twelve kisses.

Christmas time was a “time of twelves”. During the twelve days of Christmas, each guest should give and get twelve presents (that would be popular with today’s children), there would be at least twelve different foods, tables would be set for twelve, twelve candelabras would light the hall, etc. It was also the Time of the Bee as the bee is active at least twelve hours a day and all twelve months. The bee also has great Christian symbolism as producer of sweetness (honey) and light (beeswax candles). Christ’s teachings were the sweetness of honey and the light that of faith. The Church was the hive into which all Christians were gathered.

Traditionally a Yule log would be burned. It had to be quite large as it had to be kept alight for the entire twelve days of the Christmas celebrations. At the end of the twelfth day, it would be extinguished and carefully saved to start the fire for the Yule log the next year.

All celebrations, no matter what time of year, were theatrical and ceremonial, carefully orchestrated according to traditional custom and consisted of decoration, feasting and entertainment. The entertainment would differ depending on the traditions of the particular celebration, but would include singers, musicians, jugglers, acrobats, dancers, and frequently a play. The entertainment would also vary according to the temperament of the lord in whose household the celebration occurred. In some households the entertainment would have a strong religious bent; in others perhaps less edifying, but of a festive nature in all.

Although these were family celebrations, the guest lists were far more inclusive than ours, including retainers and those economically dependent on the lord. It was an opportunity for a lord to show not only his hospitality but also his social status. It was still common in my own youth for long-term friends of family members and single employees of family enterprises to be included in the holiday celebrations.

These were not small affairs; for a feast given by Richard II and the Duke of Lancaster in 1387, the provisions included 16 oxen, 120 sheep, 140 pigs, 210 geese, 3 tons of salt venison, 100 dozen pigeons, 120 gallons of milk, 12 bushels of apples, 11 thousand eggs and much, much more. We don’t know how many guests were invited, but obviously many more than are likely to join our own festivities. However, it was important to have plenty of leftovers for the servants and the poor.

All guests would be dressed in their finest attire. The servants would also be well-dressed, it being a mark of the lord’s distinction that his household should reflect his own affluence. Seating would be by social rank; the most noble guests and the host at the high table, raised above the other tables. Forks were unknown. Both sexes carried sharp knives for cutting food and there were spoons for soups. Hands were washed at the table before the food was served. Most foods were eaten with the fingers. Finger etiquette was elaborate—which fingers were used for picking up meats, fish, or fruits was specified. One finger had to be kept clean of sauces and gravies for dipping into the spice dishes.

When one reads the list of courses at a typical medieval banquet, one can be pardoned for thinking medieval people were a race of gluttons only saved from terminal obesity by their generally active lives. However, all dishes were served by the servants and the portions were quite small. Although there were many courses, the actual amount of food consumed was probably similar to the amount we would eat today.

The colors and shapes of the different dishes were as important as their tastes. Meats would be frequently “endored”: coated with a mixture of egg yolk, saffron and flour to give a gilded appearance. The cook was considered to be an artist as well as a chef. Natural vegetable food colorings would be added to enhance dull colors or to give a special effect. Pastries and sweet dishes also gave an opportunity for the cook to display his ingenuity in

creating different shapes, either imitations of natural shapes or fantastic inventions. In planning the courses, artistic contrasts were favored. A sweet food would follow a sharp and spicy one, a heavier meat after a lighter vegetable, a brightly colored food after a blander one. Medieval banquets were as much theater as they were meals. There would also be a spectacle dish—a peacock might be skinned, the meat cooked and stuffed into the peacock skin to imitate the live bird. The Christmas feast would also feature the ceremonial presentation of a boar's head. It is still possible in some cultural traditions for a whole roast suckling pig to be served for an especially festive occasion.

Kitchens were large by our standards. There would be a roasting spit—in a noble household this would need to be large enough to handle a whole ox—turned by a crank, a boring job. In the later Middle Ages the spit was turned by a dog on a treadmill. The kitchen contained mortars and pestles of all sizes (many foods as well as herbs and spices were pounded to powder or paste) and pots and pans of all sizes. Cooking was done on an open hearth in several pots and Dutch ovens with coals or small fires under them. A bread oven would be built into the fireplace. Of course, in a royal establishment, such as Richard would have known, there would have been many of each of these. I have no doubt that then, as now, the chief cook put a heavy emphasis on the sharpness of his knives.

“Subtleties”—elaborate presentations not meant to be consumed—were also a significant item in the whole theatrical production. In these the imagination could really run wild. The “four and twenty blackbirds baked in a pie” obviously weren’t actually baked—it was a “subtlety”. When the crust was pierced, the birds would fly out singing happily at being released. We still do these; ice sculptures are a form of subtleties and ice sculptures could very well have decorated the feast at Christmas, 1484.

Drink was wine mixed with water. For those seated at the high table separate flagons of water and wine were provided so that the guests could mix their own to their taste. Those seated among the less exalted social classes were served with the wine and water already mixed. While we don’t know for sure what medieval wine was like, it can’t have been that great if they needed to add water. The ancients were worse; the Greeks mixed their wine with sea water. I shudder to think what that must have tasted like. This was the formal part of the liquid refreshment. Ale was much more freely poured. Overindulgence did not have the social stigma then that it does now, but both the watered wine and the low alcoholic content of most ale would have militated against things passing beyond the convivial stage. (As an aside, ale was unhopped—generally when it is hopped, it is called beer. Hops were not used as flavoring or preservative in medieval times. It was believed that the hop plant was the only one plant created by Satan instead of by God and was therefore not to be used by Christians. In the Low Countries, a mixture of herbs and spices called “gruut” was used. The production of “gruut” was a highly profitable local monopoly. It accounted for the prosperity of Louis Gruuthuis—the friend of Edward IV and Richard III—whose mansion still exists in Bruges. Gruut is still added to Belgian beers and accounts for their unique taste.)

The entertainment was as carefully orchestrated as the food servings. The Surveyor of Ceremonies was the banquet master, but there were many others officiating. The Pantler, for example, served the bread. The list of these people is rather daunting, and while the full complement would have only been present in the highest households, even lesser nobles would have had quite a number. The entertainers were frequently itinerant; a troupe which made a good impression at one celebration would be encouraged to return for others. The Surveyor of Ceremonies would be careful to vary the entertainment. A juggler might be followed by an instrumental ensemble, for example. If there were a play, it would probably be near the end of the feasting.

Recreating A Medieval Christmas

The first difficulty in recreation of a medieval Christmas today is our own traditions. In most families there are traditional foods and customs which are similar to the laws of the Medes and the Persians, not to be altered under any circumstances. The easiest way around this is to find a hotel which will do a “medieval” Christmas and go away for the holiday. You’re on good ground; frequently British families go to hotels for Christmas. The hotel’s “medieval” Christmas isn’t likely to be very authentic as it will be adapted to modern tastes. Still, it will probably have better entertainment than you can do at home and you can enjoy it without having to do any work.

To do it at home: it’s most probable that you will not have the number of guests that would have been present at even a modest medieval celebration. Be thankful. Decorations are easy. You probably already have a lot of greenery festooned about your abode and a mistletoe sprig. Try to ignore the Christmas tree—a Victorian addition. Other medieval-style wall hangings are easily improvised. Candle light is always an attractive lighting option and quite authentic. Dress in your most luxurious medieval finery.

For food, go with a roast prime rib—that’s a good medieval choice rather than turkey. Although since “grete birds” were popular fare in medieval celebrations (the bustard was rendered extinct this way), turkey is certainly also an appropriate choice. Several courses of nuts, fruits and cheese can fill out the menu. Ending, of course with the Christmas pudding. If the food is served in bite-size portions, eating with the fingers (sure to be a hit with the younger set) can add to the authenticity.

Since it is unlikely that you will have a troupe of professional entertainers (and the amateurs are usually best avoided), go electronic. Recorded medieval Christmas music is readily available. Hook your computer to your wide-screen TV; YouTube has quite a number of films of jugglers, acrobats, etc.

Whatever you do, DO NOT forget a toast to the memory of His Most Gracious Majesty, Richard, Third of That Name.

Further Reading:

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Torture and Revelation in Arthurian Tradition

Larissa Tracy
Associate Professor, Longwood University
Kalamazoo 2012

“That ay is hende is not to hide”:

One of the most pervasive modern assumptions about the Middle Ages is the proliferation of interrogatory torture carried out in secret—deep in dark dungeons stocked with cruel instruments. Critics and historians have argued that torture was a common occurrence in the medieval world, and that medieval people became immune to the more violent tenor of daily life. However, some secular literary texts include torture only as a motif to criticize its use in medieval jurisprudence (particularly in France). In the few Arthurian texts where it appears, like many medieval literary texts, torture is portrayed as a tool of the barbarian Other—employed only by those who do not live by either civilized or chivalric ethos. In the French Arthurian text, *Cligès*, Chretien de Troyes briefly engages in the discourse of interrogatory torture, soundly condemning it when the torturers are defenestrated by the infuriated women of the court. In texts like the fourteenth-century Anglo-Latin *Arthur and Gorlagon*, King Arthur encounters foreign powers who *do* resort to torture, and they are demonized and reviled as corrupt authorities who operate outside the laws and *mores* of Arthur’s native England. This aversion to torture is tied to a nascent sense of national identity where evolving nations place themselves in opposition to the powers that rely on it as a means of legal ‘discovery.’ Most texts of the Arthurian tradition do not cross that boundary at all. While martial violence is a systematic trait in the majority of Arthuriana, that violence never exceeds a certain level. This reveals a distaste for excessive and illegitimate brutality in the romance tradition, particularly in those texts concerned with the reign of Arthur. His court (with all its flaws) is still a model of correct and legitimate justice that does not need to resort to torture to find truth. This resistance to torture and judicial brutality is particularly evident in Middle English texts like the *Stanzaic Morte Arthur* and Malory’s *Morte D’arthur* which involve a great deal of legitimated martial violence, but maintain the English legal aversion to judicial torture and preserve a sense of English identity.

Within both Malory’s *Morte* and the *Stanzaic* (one of Malory’s acknowledged sources) there is a pronounced interest in justice amid all the catalogues of battlefield violence and adventurous wounding. Specifically, the episode of “The Poisoned Apple” recorded in each text illustrates an interest in following correct legal procedure in the face of circumstantial evidence and determining the guilt of the accused—Guinevere. In each text, Guinevere is accused of poisoning a guest at her table in full view of the other invited knights, and she must yield herself to a trial by combat or be burned at the stake. There is no suggestion that Guinevere will be “put to the question” or “put to pain”, as are the duplicitous queens in *Arthur and Gorlagon*. Guinevere will not be tortured to confess her crime. This may partly be due to the constraints of canon law that required at least two “half-proofs” before the accused could be subjected to torture to obtain the “Queen of Proofs”—the confession. However, it is more likely that the *Stanzaic*-poet and Malory reflect the prohibition of torture in *English* common law, especially against citizens of good repute. In the *Stanzaic*, once Guinevere’s innocence is established, the guilty party will be ferreted out according to *lese majesty* (the King’s right) and torture is used in one brief, almost circumspect instance that taints King Arthur and his justice. But in Malory that reference is excised entirely, and the truth is revealed without resorting to torture. Malory, in adapting the *Stanzaic Morte*, rejects

the use of torture out-of-hand, replacing it with a magical revelation that preserves a sense of both Arthurian and *English* justice.

The late-fourteenth century *Stanzaic Morte*, [1] a condensed version of the French prose *La Mort Artu* (another one of Malory's sources), provides a template for justice in trying Guinevere through a trial by combat, rather than subjecting her to an interrogation or any form of interrogatory torture. According to Jacqueline Stuhmiller, the duel of chivalry emerged under Edward III and became very fashionable during the reign of Richard II when it was usually (but not always) fought by "aristocratic combatants" over allegations of treason. [2] Thus is the case here. Once she has been accused of murder by Sir Mador, the victim's brother, Guinevere must find a champion to fight for her since the King, 'full sore then gan him drede/ For he might not be again the right' (912–13). Though she is innocent (of murder) 'she moste there beknow the deed/ Or find a man for her to fight,/ For well she wiste to dethe she yede,/ Yif she were on a quest of knightes' (916–19). She must confess, (despite her innocence) or find a knight to acquit her through combat because she fears she will be put to death if it is left up to a knightly jury. Beverly Kennedy explains that the knights *must* find her guilty because they can "judge only on the basis of circumstantial evidence" and many of these knights actually *saw* her give the poisoned apple to the victim. [3] This is only one half-proof, and a rather dodgy one at that. But there is also a serious chance of bias. For a late-fourteenth/early fifteenth-century audience, her fears were justified. As J.G. Bellamy explains, people believed that juries could be bribed, so trial by battle was preferable. [4] The poet emphasizes Arthur's conundrum, that he cannot 'be again the right' (921) and that she will 'either to dethe her yeld/ Or put her on a quest of knightes' (924–5) if he cannot find her a champion. As king and as her judge he must remain impartial and uphold the law, even against his wife. Arthur must carry out justice, and once Sir Mador and Sir Gaynor 'both their hands upheld/ And trewly their trouthes plight' (926–7), Arthur is committed.

Both Arthur and the queen entreat their knights—Gawain, Bors, Lionel, and Ector—to fight for her. They answer that they all witnessed the event: the 'knight when she with poson slogh,/ And sithe, in herte is not to hide,/ Sir Gawain over the borde him drow/ Agin the right we will not ride,/ We saw the sooth verily ynow' (1335–9). Each one of them refuses (not all of them nicely), suggesting that the law regarding circumstantial evidence is not her only problem. Bors even says that she deserves to be burned for driving Lancelot away (never mind about the murder), though he will relent later and offer to do combat on her behalf. In fact, only Gawain seems concerned about the death of the Scottish knight and repeats: 'Again the right will I not ride' (1370). The others are far more annoyed that Lancelot has left them because of her. In this instance, the personal antipathy of all the knights except Gawain prevents them from fighting for her cause; they plead the exception of law because they *believe* she is guilty. But not one of them suggests that she be interrogated to reveal the truth.

Luckily, Lancelot returns (in disguise) in time to champion Guinevere, defeating Sir Mador who nearly proves his equal in battle. Lancelot gives 'a dint with might' (15966) and Mador falls to the ground, pleading for mercy. Lancelot grants it, revealing his identity and exonerating the queen. Mador openly forgives her, but still requires justice for his brother's death. Back at the castle,

'The squiers then were taken all,
And they are put in harde pain,
Which that had served in the hall
When the knight was with poisun slain.
There he graunted among them all

(It might no lenger be to laine)
How in the apple he did the gall,
And had it thought to Sir Gawain' (1648–55)

According to Kennedy, "it does not seem to bother anyone that the squire's confession was exacted by torture." [5] But this brief reference is only one of a handful in the general Arthurian tradition and a singular event in the Middle English corpus. Here it is used in its judicial capacity as a means of discovery by the king (who was allowed), but it is not celebrated as the best means of finding truth. Kennedy argues that Arthur employs it because he doesn't believe the judgment of the trial by combat—the judgment of God—was sufficient proof. [6] But the duel only exonerates Guinevere; it doesn't reveal the identity of the murderer, and so logically and legally another culprit must be sought. The poet does not dwell on this process, but merely recites it as a means to an end. Bellamy cautions against saying late medieval man exulted in bloodshed: "when medieval men were cruel there was usually a good reason for it. Rarely were they brutal out of sheer sadism." [7] According to Thomas Langbein, in medieval England, "tortured confession never became part of the ordinary criminal procedure." [8] Bellamy confirms this, pointing out that those in England who used torture "had little in English common law to copy from. Only when the accused stood mute in court refusing to plead was a form of torture used." [9] And even though, as a case of *lese majesty*, the application of torture was permissible in this literary episode it is a legal aberration that would have been recognized as such by the *Stanzaic's* audience.

The brief reference to torture in the *Stanzaic* is similar to that in Chaucer's *Man of Laws' Tale*. As I have argued elsewhere, torture is only applied against a messenger (not the true murderer whose identity is revealed through divine intervention) after the discovery of the deceptive exchange of letters that results in Custance's exile—an act that *tarnishes* Alla's association with English justice and "gode olde lawe." Alla transforms from fair, just and law-abiding to one who uses torture in desperation. Chaucer does not dwell on the torture but merely says: 'This messenger tormented was til he/ Moste biknowe and tellen, plat and pleyn' (lines 885–6). It is a means to an end carried out by proper authorities, but it is contrary to English law and makes their decision to use it problematic. Chaucer says nothing about the methods employed in 'tormenting' the messenger, only that it leads to answers: 'And thus, by wit and sotil enquiryng,/ Ymagined was by whom this harm gan sprynge' (lines 888–9). The use of 'sotil' suggests deceptive, shadowy means, implying that, while understandable in the context of the tale, the use of torture taints the reputation of an otherwise admirable king. [10] The use of torture in the *Stanzaic* has a similar effect, casting a shadow on Arthur's capacity to exercise true justice.

The *Stanzaic*-poet is even less descriptive than Chaucer, explaining only that the squires were 'put in harde pain' (1649). When one of them confesses, the guilty party is then publicly put to death 'As it was bothe law and right,/ Drawen and honged and for-brende' (1664–6). The text implies that this is a case of treason, and thus a certain set of laws and punishments apply: being hanged, drawn and burnt. Bellamy writes that treason was "most clearly distinguished from other serious crimes by the punishment inflicted on the guilty party." [11] Legal treatises of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries like Bracton, *Fleta*, and the *Mirror of Justices* agree that the guilty man was to suffer physically the extreme penalty of pain and death. [12] Even then, the laws of fourteenth century England were far less punitive than those of the Norman period. As Bellamy points out, comparatively, the "English later Middle Ages was a time when penal brutality was uncommon." [13] In the fourteenth century, despite the severity of the punishments for treason, there was active resistance to introducing interrogatory torture in English judicial

proceedings, like that of Edward II who refused to bow to the demands of the papacy and France in the case of the English Knights Templar. The reference to torture in the *Stanzaic* would not have sat well with an English audience aware that torture was illegal. The *Stanzaic*-poet is not simply repeating his French source. In the *Mort Artu*, Lancelot's victory is the end of the matter. [14] In fact, once the battle is over, there seems to be no interest in finding out who actually *did* murder the poor knight (even though the narrator tells us at the beginning of the episode, like Malory does). [15] Thus this reference highlights the extremity of the crime that kills a knight and nearly costs Guinevere her life.

In the very next stanza of the *Stanzaic*, Mordred and Agravain argue about revealing the treasonous affair of Lancelot and Guinevere. The two events are juxtaposed: In the first instance Guinevere is innocent of murder, and is proven so by combat and by the torture of the squires; in the following, she is judged guilty by the king without trial, as soon as the adultery is made public. The pyre is hastily built and she is led there for execution, which the poet fully suggests she deserves because there is no question of her guilt (no matter how much she and [later] Lancelot protest). Unlike the adulterous queens in *Arthur and Gorlagon*, one of whom is threatened with torture and punished with equine quartering, and the other who is handed over to the 'inquisitors to be tortured constantly, exhausted with torments, and allowed neither food nor drink' (230:31–3), Guinevere will *not* be tortured into a confession. Her guilt is established by the eyewitness accounts, and so all that remains is her punishment for adultery and treason, perfectly in keeping with English law at the time.

While this rare instance of torture is striking, what is more striking is that Malory does not repeat it, even though the *Stanzaic* (with the *Mort Artu*) is his source for this episode. In Malory, Guinevere is still accused, the knights still doubt her, and Lancelot still arrives in time to fight on her behalf. But once she is exonerated, the truth is not revealed through torture. Instead, Nynyve (the Lady of the Lake) 'tolde it opynly that she was never gyilty, and there she disclosed by whom hit was done, and named hym sir Pynel, and for what cause he ded hit' (621.3–5). The process of interrogation in the *Stanzaic* is replaced by 'sorcery and enchauntementes' (621.1). Nor does Malory just move on as the French *Mort Artu* does. Kennedy asserts that this allows him to confirm the queen's innocence "without throwing into question the generally accepted validity of the judgment of God in King Arthur's day." [16] But it also allows Malory to reject a method of interrogation common in France (though not his *French* source) that crept into English royal procedure by the end of the fifteenth century and threatened to undermine the exercise of *English* justice.

Malory is very concerned with justice. As Stuhmiller explains, Malory was a descendant of a fourteenth-century justice of the king's bench and had an "unusual amount of direct experience with the law." [17] Malory outlines the law under which Guinevere will be burned: 'so the queen was than put in the conestablis awarde and a grete fyre made aboute an iron stake, that an sir Mador de la Porte had the bettir, she sholde there be brente; for such custom was used in tho dayes: for favoure, love, nother affinity there sholde be none other by ryghtuous jugement, as well upon a kynge as upon a kynght, and as well upon a queen as upon another poure lady' (618.5–11). The constable court was a court of chivalry (active in Malory's time), which continued to play an important role in the suppression of insurrection. [18] Malory emphasizes the consistency and continuity of justice, and its equality. But justice in Malory is always something of a "crapshoot." [19] Because fifteenth century justice could be somewhat arbitrary—especially from Malory's perspective—he goes to great lengths to establish that the "political intrigues, legal methods, and terrible barbarity" of Arthur's Logres "belong squarely to the fifteenth century." [20] Edward IV, against whom Malory presumably turns in his allegiance to Warwick, began using torture

as an interrogation method in certain cases, supervising the suppression of treason very closely. [21] In adapting the *Stanzaic* Malory clearly rejects the encroachment of French legal practice (torture) into English jurisprudence, revealing an aversion to employing torture even (or especially) in the Arthurian world. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, this could have been part of a developing sense of English (or perhaps British) identity in opposition to France. By the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it may have been a deliberate and considered rejection of continental practices and a reminder of the frailty of English justice during times of upheaval and war.

Endnotes:

1. Extant in Harley MS 2252, Fols. 86a–133b; late fourteenth century. Larry D. Benson, *King Arthur's Death: the Middle English Stanzaic Morte Arthure and Alliterative Morte Arthure*.
2. Jacqueline Stuhmiller, "'Iudicium Dei, iudicium fortunae': Trial by Combat in Malory's 'Le Morte Darthur,'" *Speculum* 81.2 (April 2006): 427–62; p. 429.
3. Beverly Kennedy, *Knighthood in the Morte Darthur* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1992), p. 281.
4. J.G. Bellamy, *The Law of Treason in England in the Later Middle Ages*, Cambridge Studies in English Legal History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), p. 143.
5. Kennedy, *Knighthood*, p. 289.
6. Kennedy, *Knighthood*, p. 289.
7. John Bellamy, *Crime and Public Order in England in the Later Middle Ages*, Studies in Social History (London: Routledge, 1973), p. 66.
8. Langbein, *Torture and the Law of Proof*, p. x.
9. Bellamy, *Crime*, p. 67.
10. Larissa Tracy, *Torture and Brutality in Medieval Literature: Negotiations of National Identity* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2012), p. 171.
11. Bellamy, *Law*, p. 20.
12. Bellamy, *Law*, p.20.
13. Bellamy, *Crime*, p. 181.
14. Kenneth L. Hodges, *Forging Chivalric Communities in Malory's Le Morte Darthur* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005), p. 58.
15. As Donaldson first noted in 1950, "the English versions attempt a rationalization of the murder mystery—something the French altogether neglects." E. Talbot Donaldson, "Malory and the Stanzaic 'Le Morte Arthur,'" *Studies in Philology* 47. 3 (July 1950): 460-472; p. 466-7.
16. Kennedy, *Knighthood*, p. 289–90.
17. Stuhmiller, "'Iudicium Dei,'" p. 432.
18. Bellamy, *Law*, p. 162.
19. Stuhmiller, "'Iudicium Dei,'" p. 434.
20. Stuhmiller, "'Iudicium Dei,'" p. 462.
21. Bellamy, *Law*, p. 164.

22ND ANNUAL TOUR FOR MEMBERS & FRIENDS OF THE RICHARD III SOCIETY

The Ricardian Rover

In the Footsteps of Richard III

June 16-27, 2013

THESE ARE EXCITING TIMES FOR RICARDIANS! In late August and early September of 2012, we saw the excavation of a council parking lot in the city of Leicester, under which lie the ruins of the medieval monastery of the Greyfriars. The archeological team involved has found the remains of a person who is almost certainly King Richard III! At the present time, DNA tests are in progress to confirm this marvelous historical discovery. GOOD NEWS: Our 2013 tour will feature a visit to the site of Richard's re-interment, whether Leicester or York!

This exciting tour will include an entire day in ancient York, a visit to Richard's favorite castle at Middleham, our always fascinating guided tour of the true battle site, and many other fine Ricardian sites! Also included will be a rich variety of other sites such as Hexham Abbey, Hadrian's Wall, Ely Cathedral, the Bronte parsonage, historic St. Albans, and much, much more!

Here's your opportunity to travel along back-roads through England's countryside and villages with people who share your keen interest in Richard III. You'll stay in comfortable, attractive smaller hotels and inns, enjoy delicious meals, and rub shoulders with the locals while discovering the best of both medieval and contemporary Britain. We always have a grand time together, so why not join our little band of fellow Ricardians for a tour you'll never forget? ***You are guaranteed a warm welcome!***

PLEASE NOTE: Group size is limited to a maximum of 12, and space is available on a "first come, first served" basis. Several persons are already committed to next year's tour, so you'll want to reserve your place as soon as possible! Reservation deadline: February 16, 2013. Full brochures are now available for the asking and are also posted on the Society website.

For more information, please contact one of us! *Bettina Ortiz*, phone: (440) 740-0571, e-mail: culinarybee@gmail.com; *John J. O'Farrell, Jr.*, phone: (718) 252-4214; or *Linda Treybig*, phone: (216) 889-9392, e-mail: ltreybig@att.net

The 2013 Ricardian Rover Tour Team

Reviews

Myrna Smith

Ricardian Reading Editor

Since brevity is the soul of wit, I will be brief. – William Shakespeare, Hamlet

Life being very short, and the quiet hours of it few, we ought to waste none of them in reading useless books. – John Ruskin, Sesame and Lilies

Last quarter's column ran a little long, so I am trying to make up for it by doing a shorter-than-normal one this time. Not that much shorter, I'm afraid.

Why do they call it a legal brief?

An incompetent attorney can delay a trial for years or months. A competent attorney can delay one even longer. – E.J. Younger, Attorney General of California

THE HARPER'S QUINE - Pat McIntosh, Constable, UK, 2004

THE NICHOLAS FEAST – Pat McIntosh, Constable, UK, 2005

THE MERCHANT'S MARK – Pat McIntosh, Constable & Robinson, London, 2006

THE ROUGH COLLIER – Pat McIntosh, Soho Press, NY, 2008

THE STOLEN VOICE – Pat McIntosh, Soho Press, NY, 2009

Another book in this series about young lawyer Gil Cunningham, **ST MUNGO'S ROBIN**, has been reviewed here previously. If there are others, I will search them out and review them for you.

THE HARPER'S QUINE is the first story in the series. Opening in Glasgow in 1492, Gil, at 26, is about to be priested. Not that he has a vocation, but he needs a job. His family is genteel, but shabby genteel. In this, he meets Maistre Pierre Mason, who will be his friend an assistant, and Pierre's daughter Alys, who will be more. Naturally, Gil loses whatever interest he had in a church career. But it is Alys who makes the first moves. There will, of course, be complications, including opposition from Gil's family, but all will be worked out. The story involves the eternal triangle, with a few extra angles, and a clash of cultures - in this case Highlands v. Lowlands. Oh, and there's a baby too, but not Gil's.

THE NICHOLAS FEAST is set in Spring, not around Christmas, and just as well for the participants in the playlet put on by the school of which Gil is an Old Boy. Although they do complain about having to wear their heavy academic robes. A rather dislikeable young actor gets murdered, Gil solves the crime, and in the process finds another member of his detection team, Socrates the dog, of mostly wolfhound derivation and shaggy coat. Things are not entirely settled with regard to Gil & Alys, but she is already showing herself to be a skilled investigator.

In **THE MERCHANT'S MARK**, Gil has just become formally engaged to Alys, the daughter of master-mason Pierre, Gil's talented assistant, and proves herself a worthy addition to the team. The mystery involves a barrelful of books, which turns out to contain no books, just money and a severed head, which must be identified before the murderer can be sought. There is also a romance, between the merchant of the title and Gil's supposedly unmarriageable sister.

In **THE ROUGH COLLIER**, Gil and Alys are married, and she takes an even larger part in the investigation. Again there is an unidentified body, this time found in a peat bog. It is first identified as a collier who has gone missing, and an elderly woman is accused of procuring his death by witchcraft. Then the collier turns up again, but not alive. Alys gets involved in a physical confrontation with the murderer. The way of life of the coalminers is well-shown, and a rough life it was, then or now. But that of the peat-diggers wasn't much better.

Finally, **THE STOLEN VOICE** is based on the return (from the Good People?) of a young Highlander who disappeared as a boy 40 years before, and is now very little older, his voice not broken yet. If there are echoes of Perkin Warbeck here, it's nothing like that. Margaret of York is in it though, offstage. The differences between Gil's Lowland culture and that of the Highlanders are well depicted, without taking sides. The murder is almost incidental, and there is a rational explanation for the reappearance.

All three books delineate Gil's family life so that you feel you know them, or someone very like them. Recommended to all detective-story fans.

Brevity is very good when we are, or are not, understood. – Samuel Butler

THE RED QUEEN: Margaret of Anjou and the Wars of the Roses – Ruth S. Perot, 1st Books Library, Bloomington, IN, 2000

A sympathetic treatment of the life of Margaret of Anjou, regarded by Yorkists as a virago. It doesn't necessarily contradict that viewpoint, but shows what made her that way, and possibly what made Henry VI the way he was:

"His mother's departure from court when he was little must have wounded him more than anyone had realized (Margaret) decided... Margaret could not know the plight of the sensitive six-year-old, son of a dead hero-father whom he could never hope to equal, abandoned by his widowed mother's withdrawal from court in order to pursue her own life with a new marriage and a new family. The most famous and powerful knights in the kingdom had charge of the young ruler's upbringing and education. There had been rough discipline and sterile ceremony, but little love and affection."

In spite of this Freudian analysis (which may well have been true) centuries before Freud, Margaret doesn't always have insight into her own motivations. In the early years, though, she and Henry are reasonably happy together. Political infighting is always going on, however, and Margaret learns to do it as well as anyone, before progressing to actual fighting. We are privy to the thinking of both her friends and enemies, and this, with the author's choice to write in good modern English, makes them all seem very contemporary.

Richard appears briefly at the end of the book, to announce Henry's death, and is treated neutrally, perhaps with a bit of sympathy.

Let thy words be few. – Ecc. 5:2

THE STORY OF ENGLISH IN 100 WORDS – David Crystal, St. Martin's Press, NY, 2011

From the first word that can fairly be called an English one, *roe* (5th century, meaning a type of deer, helpfully inscribed on a bone of that animal) to *twitterverse* (21st century), this is a study of the ins *and* (8th c) *outs* (9th c) of the *English* (10th c) language. It includes *polite* (17th c) words and impolite ones, such as *arse* (11th c) and *bloody* (17th c). For 1600 years, English has been going its *merry* (9th c) way, borrowing from French (*pork*, 13th c), Yiddish (*schmooze*, 19th c), Indian languages (*lakh*, 17th c), African (*trek*, 19th c), Australian (*dinkum*, 19th c), from Japan (*Sudoku*, 21st c) from America (*skunk*, 17th c, and *Americanism* itself (18th c), and from its own *dialects* (16th c). There is even a *wee* (14th c) contribution from Scotland. It is fitting that *what* (10th c) is a pidgin language itself should have contributed to the making of several pidgins (*mipela*, 19th c), each with its own *grammar* (14th c). It is even *doable* (15th c) to mix two languages in one word. Among the hundred are words that you no doubt use every day (*hello*, 19th c) and some you are unlikely to use in your lifetime (*unleaf*, 16th c) even if Shakespeare did.

If you enjoy history and enjoy words, get a copy of this book. It will be well worth the *money* (14th c).

Along the same lines is **THE ENGLISH IS COMING**, by Leslie Dunton-Downer (Simon & Schuster, NY and London, 2010). Yes, the title is perfectly grammatical. It goes back further than **100 WORDS**, tracing the family tree of our language to its Indo-European roots. (Actually, it looks more like an orchestra chart.) She starts with *Hello*, goes on through *Jazz*, *Credit Card*, *Cookie*, *Relax*, and many others, and, finally, *Bye*. We get a look at the Phoenician alphabet, and learn how to hail a cab in several varieties of global English. Though we may not be able to carry on a conversation in Old English, or even Middle English, we learn something about them, too. As the jacket blurb tells us, it is interesting for “culture buffs, arm-chair travelers and language lovers alike.” We fit in there somewhere!

People do not care how nobly they live, only how long. – Seneca

JOHN HOWARD, RICHARD III’S BELOVED COUSIN – John Ashdown-Hill, The History Press, Stroud, Glos, 2009

As the author explains in the introduction, this book arose from his research for a PhD dissertation, based on John Howard’s household accounts. That it originated as a dissertation explains the rather pedantic style. That the book is based on the household accounts means that occasionally we get a glimpse of the man behind the payments.

John Howard V (he had four ancestors with the same name) rose from a Suffolk gentleman to a knight, to a member of the Order of the Garter, to a Baron, to a Duke, through his unbroken loyalty to the House of York. He was about the age of Duke Richard of York and his wife, Cecily. After the Duke’s death, he continued to serve Cecily and Edward IV. Howard married twice. His first wife, Catherine De Moyens, gave him two sons and four daughters. At her death in 1465, she was buried without a tomb monument, but her husband established a chantry to say masses for her soul. In 1467, he married Margaret Chedworth, who gave him a daughter.

He was acquainted with Eleanor Talbot and presumably knew of Edward IV’s marriage to her, but let Bishop Stillington break the news (of the bastardy of Edward’s children) to Richard III. Howard did not hesitate to support Richard as king; in fact, Ashdown-Hill heads a chapter as “Father Figure,” in which he records contacts between the two. He apparently avoided George of Clarence.

There are no extant portraits of John Howard. The few that exist were taken from stained glass in the churches he sponsored. Ashdown-Hill specifically denounces the one at Arundel Castle, which I traveled so far to see. It shows a man of indeterminate age with a stern expression, long black hair, and a Mandarin mustache.

The furnishings of his home are described, including a harp on which he played. John Howard’s religious activities were what were to be expected of a man of his stature. Whether he was sincere, or simply doing what was the ‘done thing’ is a question the author asks, and he comes down on the side of sincerity, particularly in connection with the Virgin Mary. Among other things, Howard was a ship-owner. He owned docks and a house at Harwich, where he oversaw the building of caravels, ships that could carry cannon. Ashdown-Hill is somewhat annoyed that the credit for Howard’s ships is wrongly attributed to Henry VII.

After Richard’s coronation, Howard put down half-hearted rebellions in London and kept the Kentish rebels in Kent. He hurried to Richard’s aid at Buckingham’s rebellion, which fizzled out quickly. From this book, we know where John Howard went, what he bought, what properties he owned and acquired through patronage, but his character eludes us. The author concludes that he was stubborn and had a quick temper, but does not provide evidence. Of his unfailing loyalty, we are all aware. The book is padded by descriptions of John’s friends and servants, parliamentary representatives, a list of men at arms who served

him. The book is properly researched and annotated. But John Howard, knight, baron, Admiral and Duke of Norfolk, is but a shadow. – Dale Summers

They are not long, the weeping and the laughter

Love and Desire and hate. – Ernest Dowson, “*Vitae summa brevis...*” he he

PALE ROSE OF ENGLAND – Sandra Worth, Berkley Books, NY, 201

This is Sandra’s last book on Richard III and his sorrows. Since she is my very good friend, I am going to abandon the formality is usually use in reviews and write from the heart.

With each of her books, I have thought “This is her best.” But **PALE ROSE** is definitely her best. Taking one sentence from Lady Catherine, “‘Tis the man, not the king, I know,” Sandra creates a beautiful woman of steadfast love, intelligence, and courage. Sandra has always excelled in describing human emotion. I remember too clearly how I suffered with my king after the death of his wife, in **FALL FROM GRACE**. In **PALE ROSE**, Queen Elizabeth reappears, as Catherine realizes that the queen is as much a prisoner as Catherine herself. Like many men, Henry VII appreciates his wife only after her death, but that does not stop his pursuit of Catherine. Because Henry has her child, Dickon, Catherine must be careful in her rejection.

There is never a doubt that Catherine’s husband is exactly who he claims to be, Richard, Duke of York, son of Edward IV, placed for safety’s sake in a humble household. In a curious parallel, Henry VII places Catherine’s son in a humble household in Wales. Richard is executed despite Henry’s certain knowledge that he is the rightful King of England. Henry’s fear of regicide, a mortal sin, “ages him twenty years.” In fact, Henry is always motivated by terror – terror that the people will revolt and he will lose his crown, so he rules by terror. Catherine comes to understand that and feel some pity for him. I do not.

Henry grants Catherine a manor, the ownership of which is in some doubt. There is a de la Pole clan, but since the de la Poles were Yorkists, they will all be executed by Henry VIII, if not Henry VII.

Catherine marries three more times. Her second husband, James Strangeways, had been Henry VII’s emissary to her, but he seems to have changed. She needed a man about the estate, but her feelings for him are summed up in her will when she called herself “his some time wife.” Her third marriage was to Matthew Craddock, a pirate and privateer for the monarch. The book ends with Catherine’s meeting with her fourth husband, Christopher Ashton, who is younger than she. Then they will revolt against Mary Tudor.

The book is beautifully written, with natural settings. Mount St Michael is wonderfully described in the beginning of the book, as is Fyfield Manor, Catherine’s home. This is a book not to be missed. – Dale Summers

Dale also sends some printouts from BBC World News about the discovery of some bones in Leicester that may be those of Richard III, as the skeleton shows evidence of scoliosis. Aside from the fact that we don’t know if the historical Richard suffered from this disease, the only sure way to determine this is by DNA comparison, which the present royal family has been unwilling to allow in connection with the supposed bones of the Princes. It’s certainly interesting, though. [Editor’s note: There is an example of Richard’s mitochondrial DNA (mtDNA) that John Ashdown-Hill had traced back to Richard’s sister.]

...solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short. – Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*

VANISHED KINGDOMS – Norman Davies, Viking, NY, 2011

They haven’t vanished, of course. Aragon is still there, as part of Spain; Alt Clud has been absorbed into Scotland, which was in turn incorporated into Great Britain. But the nations studied here no longer exist as separate entities, nations in their own right. Some

were contemporary with Richard III – Burgundia, for example – some long gone even then (Tuloso, the Kingdom of the Visigoths). The British royal family has its roots in the romantically-named Rosenau, not so romantic as Saxe-Coburg-Gotha. And speaking of royal families, what price the Hohenzollerns, the Jagiellons, the Trastamaras? Useful family trees are appended for these, and others.

It's not all dry history. Indeed it can be fascinating, though probably better taken in small doses. Only Europe is covered, but at 830 pages, including the index, pictures, maps, etc. this is a real doorstop book, seemingly larger than some of the countries profiled. (Not, of course, the CCCP, or USSR, Mr. Davies' most recent example.)

Davies ventures a guarded prediction, interesting in the light of what has happened in the last year: "Judging by its current dysfunctionality, Belgium could become Europe's next Great Auk, or perhaps Italy. It is impossible to say." We could yet witness the rebirth of the Kingdom of Aragon.



From the Editor

As was noted in the Chairman's letter, we depend on volunteers to perform the functions that keep the American Branch viable. According to our bylaws, each officer is elected to a two year term and may only serve two consecutive two year terms for a total of 4 years. This last election, three positions were terminating: Secretary, Membership Chair, and Treasurer, of which we were able to fill two. Please extend a warm welcome to Sally Keil, Membership Chair and Mary Retallick, Secretary. We still need someone to volunteer for Treasurer. Diane Hoffman has agreed to continue in this position temporarily. **Treasurer is one position that we cannot do without.** If no one volunteers to be our next treasurer, we are at risk of having to liquidate the American Branch. If anyone reading this has some knowledge of accounting and is interested in seeing the American Branch remain a viable non-profit, please don't hesitate to send an email to Diane Hoffman at dkhoffman42@qwest.net. (Note: all links and email addresses are live in the digital version of the *Register*.)

We currently have several staff positions that are un-filled. They are Chapter's Advisor, Research Officer, and Web Content Manager. If you are interested in any of these positions, please contact Mary Retallick at mretalli1966@gmail.com or any other board member listed under contacts at the back of the publication.

As you will see while reviewing the Treasurer's report (board reports follow), the American Branch has been operating at a deficit for the past few years. This is due in large part to printing and distribution expenses of the UK publications (*Ricardian Journal* and *Bulletin*) and the *Ricardian Register*. While we have no control over the UK expenses, we can control our own publication expenses. The Sales Catalog will only be available online on the Members only page of the American Branch website located with digital issues of the *Register* starting with this issue. Past issues of the *Register* and soon the catalog can be found here: <http://www.r3.org/members/register/index.php>. If you do not currently have a user id and password to access the members only page, please email Pam Butler, Online services (sarabandelabere@gmail.com) for access.

Going forward, we anticipate that 2013 will be the last year we will print the *Register*. As you can see from the Treasurer's report, the *Register* costs over \$3,000/year to print and distribute. We also recognize that some members will continue to want print copies of the *Register*, so I will be investigating a way to have a combined printed issue available at year end, where at their own expense, members can order them on demand.

2012 Annual Reports: Richard III Society, American Branch

Chariman's Report

Jacqueline Bloomquist

This was a busy year for me and for the Society. We welcomed Joan, who has taken over the duties of getting the Registered printed and mailed out. The meetings about one every other month, kept us all up to date on what was happening in the Chapter and the issues that we needed to take care of. Because of ill health, I suggested that Jonathan and I change places, with Jonathan taking over as President and I taking over his spot as Vice-Chairman. I have received a few e-mails from fellow Ricardians, especially my friends in England. I am sorry not to be able to join you in Toronto, but I will think of all of you.

Vice Chairman's Report

Jonathan Hayes

6.3. Vice Chairman: *The duties of the Vice Chairman shall be as follows:*

(a) *To preside at meetings of the American Branch and the Executive Board in the absence or incapacity of the Chairman.*

Presided at one meeting of the Executive Board in the President's absence.

(b) *To prepare the Agenda for all Executive Board Meetings and the AGM.*

So prepared agendas.

(c) *To act as Bylaws Committee Chairman.*

Initiated review and preparation of proposed amendments to the ByLaws for consideration by the membership at the 2012 AGM

(d) *To perform other duties as required by the Executive Board.*

None were directed.

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. Due to a recurrence of my breast cancer in July, I have handed over the membership chair duties to Joan Szechtman and Jonathan Hayes who have admirably stepped in. Pamela Butler has continued to respond to each new member who joins the Society by the website by e-mailing out electronic copies of the Register.

We have had 46 new members join the Society in the past two months due to the exciting dig at Leicester to locate the remains of Richard III. Our membership has grown to approximately 315 members.

I have enjoyed my time as the membership chair over the past four years and look forward to making a smooth transition to the new chair.

Secretary's Report

Nita Musgrave

During the past year I have arranged the conference calls for the board meetings, during which I have taken the minutes. Prior to subsequent meetings I distribute the minutes to the board members and include a reminder of the date and time of the next meeting.

I have responded to and investigated inquiries sent to me via the discussion group.

Prior to the AGM I send greetings to the officers and members of the parent society.

I have requested annual reports from all officers and committees and printed them for distribution to AGM attendees. These files are also forwarded to the Editor for inclusion in the Register.

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

When I receive a message from the parent society I forward it to the discussion group site.

Each year I prepare a report of the Branch activities for the parent society.

Treasurer's Report

Diane Hoffman

For the past several years, our revenues have not kept 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 £18 per member, which is lower than the UK discounted rate of £20 for seniors, but at an exchange rate of 1.65, this is \$29.70 – almost 60% 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 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, the expenses for some AGMs have exceeded revenues. AGM 2009 exceeded revenues by 50%; AGM 2008 exceeded revenues by 33%. The 2010 and 2011 AGM covered expenses with a small profit. We must make sure fees cover the actual costs because our dues and gifts are not providing any cushion to cover any excess expenses.

Third, our membership is decreasing. We had 231 paid memberships in 2011. I have estimated 200 paid memberships for 2012.

We can no longer delay raising membership dues. I am recommending that we raise them immediately to \$60 per year.

The 2011 balance sheet shows UK membership fees for three years and shipping expenses that included some bills from previous years. The funds to pay these fees accumulated over the years we were disputing the publishing and shipping costs of the UK publications. Since we settled our disputes with the UK Society, we have paid off all outstanding invoices.

Finally, when Carole Rike died in August 2010, Word Catering was behind in billing us for publishing and mailing the *Register*, as well as mailing the *Bulletin* and the *Ricardian*. 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. Jim Rike decided to close Word Catering and because Carole's records were in some disarray at the time of her death, he has decided not to issue any invoices for any outstanding debt. So the Richard III Society, American Branch is now clear of all debts.

Financial Assests 2011 (Jan. 1 - Dec. 31)

Fund or Bank Acct	Beginning Balance Jan 1 2011	Mutual Fund Purch's	Mutual Fund Redemp's	Ending Balance Dec 31 2011	Total Earnings	Gain or Loss or Fees	Notes
Calvert Social Money Market Fund	\$5,861.85	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$5,861.94	\$0.09	\$0.00	
DWS Target 2013 Fund	\$10,650.96	\$0.00	\$10,774.09	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$123.13	Redemption on July 14, 2011
Franklin Templeton Foreign Fund	\$16,164.54	\$0.00	\$15,932.96	\$0.00	\$0.00	-\$231.58	Redemption on October 27, 2011
Putnam Growth & Income Fund	\$13,679.52	\$0.00	\$13,444.60	\$0.00	\$106.35	-\$341.27	Redemption on October 28, 2011
Putnam Voyager Fund	\$17,110.84	\$0.00	\$16,858.26	\$0.00	\$0.00	-\$252.58	Redemption on July 13, 2011
Vanguard Total Bond Mkt Index Fund	\$76,633.97	\$27,632.00	\$0.00	\$110,408.55	\$3,231.08	\$2,911.50	
Chase Bank Checking Account	\$48,323.35			\$14,811.46	\$0.00	\$0.00	
Chase Bank Savings Account	\$922.59			\$30,317.54	\$17.04	\$0.00	
Paypal Account	\$2,117.33			\$419.28	\$0.00	\$0.00	
Totals	\$191,464.95			\$161,818.77	\$3,354.56	\$2,209.20	

2011 Balance Sheet (Jan. 1 - Dec. 31)

Income	Detail	Amount	Totals
Dues			\$11,623.55
Gifts	General Fund	\$2,571.37	
	McGee Fund	\$535.00	
	Schallek Fund	\$155.00	
	Website	\$45.00	
	Weinsoft Fund	\$296.00	
Gifts Total			\$3,602.37
Investment Income	Dividends, Interest, Capital Gains Distributions		\$3,354.56
AGM Income			\$4,358.55
Ricardian Register Ads			\$292.14
Sales			\$1,359.99
Total Income			\$24,591.16
Expenses	Notes		
AGM Expenses			\$3,858.55
Board Expenses			\$607.43
Conference Calls			\$386.38
Library			\$426.09
NY State Fees			\$60.00
Ricardian Register Publishing & Mailing	Also includes mailing UK Publications within US		\$8,535.63
Sales	Purchase Inventory		\$1,222.92
UK Society Membership Fees	Membership fees for 3 years, from Oct 2, 2008 through Oct 1, 2011		\$32,667.02

2011 Balance Sheet Continued

Income	Detail	Amount	Totals
UK Publications, Shipping	From UK to US; Includes payments of disputed invoices from previous years		\$8,682.52
Total Expenses			\$56,446.54
Income minus Expenses			-\$31,855.38
Net Assets, Jan 1 2011			\$191,464.95
Other changes in Net Asset	Realized & Unrealized Gains & Losses		\$2,209.20
Net Assets, Dec 31 2011			\$161,818.77

Financial Assets 2012 (Jan. 1 - Sept. 20)

Fund or Bank Acct	Beginning Balance Jan 1 2012	Mutual Fund Purch's	Mutua l Fund Rede mp's	Ending Balance Sep 20 2012	Total Earnings	Gain or Loss or Fees
Calvert Social Money Market Fund	\$5,861.94	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$5,861.99	\$0.05	\$0.00
Vanguard Total Bond Mkt Index Fund	\$110,408.55	\$20,000.00	\$0.00	\$134,071.13	\$2,179.89	\$1,482.69
Chase Bank Checking Account	\$14,811.46			\$6,290.74	\$0.00	\$0.00
Chase Bank Savings Account	\$30,317.54			\$10,347.63	\$30.09	\$0.00
Paypal Account	\$419.28			\$2,891.48	\$0.00	\$0.00
Totals	\$161,818.77			\$159,462.97	\$2,210.03	\$1,482.69

2012 Balance Sheet (Jan. 1 - Sept. 20)

Income	Detail	Amount	Totals
Dues			\$7,670.49
Gifts	General Fund	2434.98	
	Schallek Fund	25	
	Weinsoft Fund	100	
Gifts Total			\$2,559.98
Investment Income	Dividends, Interest, Capital Gains Distributions		\$2,210.03
Sales			\$228.71
Total Income			\$12,669.21
Expenses	Notes		
Board Expenses			\$226.33
Conference Calls			\$363.16
Library			\$171.20
NY State Fees			\$60.00
Ricardian Register Publishing & Mailing	Also includes mailing UK Publications within US		\$3,360.68
Sales	Purchase Inventory		\$145.03
UK Society Membership Fees	291 memberships for year Oct 2, 2011 through Oct 1, 2012		\$9,067.05
UK Publications, Shipping	From UK to US		\$3,114.25
Total Expenses			\$16,507.70
Income minus Expenses			-\$3,838.49
Net Assets, Jan 1 2012			\$161,818.77
Other changes in Net Asset	Unrealized Gains		\$1,482.69
Net Assets, Sep 20 2012			\$159,462.97

Proposed Budget - 2013

Income	Amount	Notes
Dues	\$12,000.00	200 * \$60 = \$12,000; 231 paid memberships for 2011
Gifts	\$3,600.00	12,000 * 0.3; recent gifts have totaled about 30% of dues
AGM 2013 Registrations & Sales (Projected)	\$4,780.00	Reg fee 30 * \$85 = \$2550; Sat banquet 30 * \$45 = \$1350; McGee Brkfst 15 * \$32 = \$480; Raffle tix 30 * \$5 = \$150; Other sales = \$250; Total = \$4780
Sales	\$600.00	
Investment Income	\$3,000.00	Vanguard interest payments avg \$250 per month
Income Total	\$23,980.00	
Expenses	Amount	Notes
AGM 2013	\$4,780.00	This assumes we actually cover all our costs
Board Expenses	\$625.00	Office supplies, postage
Conference Calls	\$450.00	
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	\$400.00	Google Ads; Ads in other History magazines
Sales	\$200.00	Replenish inventory
Memberships in UK Society	\$6,831.00	230 * £18 = £4140; £4140 * 1.65 = \$6831 (£1 = \$1.65 approx)
Shipping for UK Publications, UK to US mailing house	\$4,175.00	3 * £520 = £1560 (for Bulletin only); £970 for Bulletin & Ricardian Journal; Total £2530 * 1.65 = \$4175 approx
Edward IV Roll Project	\$100.00	
Expenses Total	\$23,971.00	

Editor's Report

Joan Szechtmann

Duties performed:

- Solicit articles and chapter reports and work with the research officer to obtain articles and to vet articles where necessary
- 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
- Generate distribution lists for *Register* from membership database.
- Distribute digital complimentary copies to those receiving complimentary *Registers*.

Notes:

I recently acquired access to the membership database and was able to eliminate sending complimentary print copies to about twenty recipients here and in the UK, a few through attrition (deceased or wanted to be taken off the list) and most preferring the PDF file.

Because of UK publications (*Ricardian Journal* and *Ricardian Bulletin*) distribution issues we and other branches experienced, the UK established a Print Distribution Working Party where representatives from each branch were supposed to attend electronically—presumably via email. Although the issues we had regarding this distribution have been resolved, thanks to Stephen York's diligence, I had not been included in any of the discussions and actually don't know if any took place.

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!

Webmaster's Report

Lisa Holt-Jones

A Spreadsheet will be created detailing the main pages of the current R3.org website which should make it a simple matter to decide what needs to be transferred over to the new site. I will endeavour to create this spreadsheet for the November Board Meeting.

Following a discussion on the forum I successfully managed to amend both the Welcome & the (duplicate) Index webpages, with details of the Leicester Dig & the New Bosworth Site. There is a strange 3rd 'home' page if one types in just www.R3.org - which hasn't been touched since 2002 according to the source details, however I have been unable to locate this page in the database. I checked with Joan & Laura & they were unable to shed any light on this - so I will contact Will to see if he can help.

I note that Phil Stone has sent an updated message that I will incorporate onto the old site within the next few days.

Public Relations Officer's Report

Joyce Tumea

My background as a writer, in addition to my writing fiction and a newspaper column, includes writing press releases for many organizations; I am not a marketing expert nor well-versed in using Facebook, creating websites, and so on, but could write content for such.

For the RIII Society, I believe the main purposes of PR (print – newspapers, magazines, books, brochures, e-mail websites, Facebook, etc./, non-print - radio, TV, movies, live performances, meetings, library programs, etc.) are to:

1. Increase fairness (a more balanced view of Richard) by increasing awareness (the more people know of him that is true, versus Shakespearean or other skewed depictions, the more balanced their view of him will be) and
2. Educate people and promote research about the Medieval Period in general, and about Medieval England, with Richard as a focal point, both of which hopefully will
3. Entice more people to join the society **and** encourage membership retention, thereby creating an even larger base of people to promote #s 1 and 2 (fairness, education and research) and attract even more members (success breeds success).

Publicity efforts can be made on a personal, chapter, and national level for the society. Briefly, each member should use and even create opportunities to share information on Richard and the Society through conversation, book discussions and movies, press releases, websites, cable TV shows, live programs and talks, etc. Members of chapters can, as a chapter, band together to interest non-members in the society in these and other ways, such as hosting informational coffees, creating promotional brochures to put in public places, listing activities and contact information on a website, and so on. Again, the national board can also do this, with more of an overview on its activities.

My goals include outlining what can be done and how, then identifying individuals willing to help with this at the personal, chapter and national levels, and creating not only more publicity for the organization, but a system by which future board members and chapter members and individuals can continue to do so easily and effectively. Tips and short reports will be sent to member publications and communicated online. Meantime, anyone willing to help with this is encouraged to contact me via phone (630-964-4269) or email (JoyTumea@sbcglobal.net).

Fiction Librarian's Report

Gilda Felt

Because I'd managed to previously acquire many of the more rare books, this was a slow year for Ricardian fiction, as it only grew by six editions. There were:

- *Bright Son of York* by Pamela Bennetts
- *The Lady of the Rivers* and *the Kingmakers Daughter* by Phillipa Gregory
- *Loyalty* by Matthew Lewis
- *Paxton at Bosworth Field* by Stanley Lombardo
- *Loyalty Binds Me* by Joan Szechtman

I'm hoping with the news from Leicester, more mainstream fiction writers will try their hand at telling Richard's tale.

One project which is coming along well is the covering of the hardback's dust jackets and the adding of protective coverings to the paperbacks. I'm hoping it will be complete by year's end.

Immediate Past Chairman's Report

Wayne Ingalls

The vote count for the Nominations and the By-Laws changes:

46 ballots were cast (34 by mail, 12 by email).

For Chair, Jonathan Hayes: 44 Votes [Approved]

For Vice Chair, Jacqueline Bloomquist: 44 Votes [Approved]

Approval of the By-Laws changes: 42 votes [Approved]

Discussion on the changes to the By-Laws:

- One member suggested modifying section 6.6.b to add "in a timely manner" as the member stated checks were taking 3 – 6 months to clear.

- One former Executive Board member agreed with all changes, except deletion to surety bonds (section 6.1.2)
- One former Executive Board member felt that the change to the eligibility requirements (section 8.1.2) would destroy their chapter and saw no need for the change.

Notes:

- Surety bonds were discussed at the general meeting and this was rejected for reasons of expense and obligation.
- The eligibility requirements were deemed reasonable because anyone who can vote needs to be a member. The public may attend American Branch functions and chapter meetings but have no voting rights.

Appointed Officers

At the time the ballots were distributed, there were no volunteers or nominations for Membership Chair, Secretary, or Treasurer. When Amber McVey had to resign due to recurrence of breast cancer, two people volunteered. Thank you Sally Keil for accepting Membership Chair Duties and Mary Retallick for agreeing to be our Secretary. Their contact information is listed at the back of the publication in Board, Staff, and Chapter Contacts. However, we still don't have anyone to replace Diane Hoffman for Treasurer. Diane's term has expired, but she has graciously agreed to continue for a limited time (not more than a year) until a replacement can be found. She has also agreed to work with the new treasurer for a smooth transition. It is imperative that a member volunteer for this position. We cannot operate without a treasurer. I'm sure that no one wants to see the end of the American Branch, but that is exactly what will happen if we can't find a replacement for Diane Hoffman. We ask anyone who is considering volunteering to please email any officer listed in the contacts.

Advertise in *The Ricardian Register*

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

Classified advertising rates for each insertion:

Back Cover color (about half page size): \$80, Full Page: \$80; Half Page: \$40; Quarter Page: \$20, dedication box (2.25" x 1" approx.): \$10; memorial box (to fit): optional donation.

Send digital files to Joan Szechtman at infor@r3.org. Do not send payment until you agree with the ad format and placement and receive instructions as to where to send payment.

Copy Deadlines:

March • January 15 / June • April 15 / September • July 15 / December • October 15

Board, Staff, and Chapter Contacts

EXECUTIVE BOARD

CHAIRMAN: **Jonathan Hayes**

5031 SW Hollyhock Circle • Corvallis, OR 97333
541-752-0498 • chateaugosaurus@att.net

VICE CHAIRMAN: **Jacqueline Bloomquist**

1829 Corleone Drive • Sparks, NV 89434
(775) 355-1704 • bloomquistbloom@gmail.com

SECRETARY: **Mary Retallick**

401 S G St. #408 • Tacoma, WA 98405
253-589-8527 • mretalli1966@gmail.com

TREASURER: **Diane Hoffman**

2580 S. University, #903, Denver, CO 80210
dkhoffman42@qwest.net

MEMBERSHIP CHAIRMAN: **Sally Keil**

1219 Route 171, Woodstock, CT 06281-2126
membership@r3.org

IMMEDIATE PAST CHAIRMAN:

W. Wayne Ingalls

704 NW Euclid Ave, Lawton, OK 73507
(580) 353-6315 • wayne.ingalls@us.army.mil

COMMITTEES

CHAPTERS ADVISOR: pending

LIBRARIAN: Fiction: **Gilda E. Felt**

3054 Lantana Court SE, Kentwood, MI 49512
gildavf@comcast.net

LIBRARIAN: Research, Non-Fiction, and Audio-

Visual: **Susan Higginbotham**

405 Brierridge Drive, Apex, NC 27502
mail@susanhigginbotham.com

RESEARCH OFFICER: **Open**

PUBLIC RELATIONS OFFICER: **Joyce Tumea**

JoyTumea@sbcglobal.net

ON-LINE MEMBER SERVICES: **Pamela J. Butler**

8608 Hampton Ave. NE, Albuquerque, NM 87122
(505) 821-5241 (Leave Message)
sarabandelabere@gmail.com

SALES OFFICER: **Charlie Jordan**

3870 Highland Bluff Drive • Groveport, OH 43125
pending • pcajordan@live.com

VOLUNTEER CO-ORDINATOR: **Peggy Allen**

1421 Wisteria, Metairie, LA 70005
(504) 837-0974 • peggyvall@cox.net

SCHALLEK MEMORIAL/GRAD:

Laura V. Blanchard

2041 Christian St, Philadelphia, PA 19146
(215) 985-1445 FAX (215) 985-1446
lblanchard@rblanchard.com

WEB CONTENT MANAGER: pending

WEBMASTER: **Lisa Holt-Jones**

508 Chebucto St. • Baddeck
Nova Scotia • BOE IBO Canada
902-295-9013 • lisa.holtjones@gmail.com

REGISTER STAFF

EDITOR: **Joan Szechtman**

917 Ward Lane, Cheshire, CT 06410
u2nohoo@gmail.com

ASSISTANT EDITOR: **Diana Rubino**

333 Fox Run Road, Hudson, NH 03051
diana@dianarubino.com

Copy Editor: **Ruth Roberts**

Ruthstitch@aol.com

RICARDIAN READING EDITOR.: Myrna Smith

2784 Avenue G, Ingleside, TX 78362
361-332-9363 - myrnasbook@cableone.net

Mr./Mrs./Ms./Miss		
Address:		
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Honorary Fotheringhay Member	\$ 75.00	
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Honorary Bosworth Member	\$300.00	plus \$5 for each additional family
Plantagenet Angel	\$500.00	member residing at the same address.]
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Mail to: Amber McVey, 4681 Angeline Lane, Mason, OH 45040-2907		

Chapter Contacts

ARIZONA

Marion Low
14926 N 133rd Ln
Surprise, AZ 85379
(623) 547-7358 • dickon3@cox.net

EASTERN MISSOURI

Bill Heuer
111 Minturn
Oakland, MO 63122
(314) 966-4254 • bheuer0517@sbcglobal.net

ILLINOIS

Janice Weiner
6540 N. Richmond St.
Chicago, IL 60645
jlweiner@sbcglobal.net

MICHIGAN AREA

Larry Irwin
5715 Forman Dr
Bloomfield Hills, MI 48301
(248) 626-5339 • fkatycdc@yahoo.com

NEW ENGLAND

Sally Keil
1214 Route 171
Woodstock, CT 06281
(860) 974-2641 • sallybkeil@gmail.com

NEW MEXICO

Lori J. Braunhardt
4931 Story Rock St. NW
Albuquerque, NM 87120
lori_richard3@hotmail.com

NORTHWEST

Jean MacDonald
bonnyj@frontier.com

NEW YORK-METRO AREA

Maria Elena Torres
3216 Fillmore Avenue
Brooklyn, NY 11234
elena@pipeline.com

SOUTHWEST

Elizabeth York Enstam
Enstam@sbcglobal.net

Inside back cover
(not printed)

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

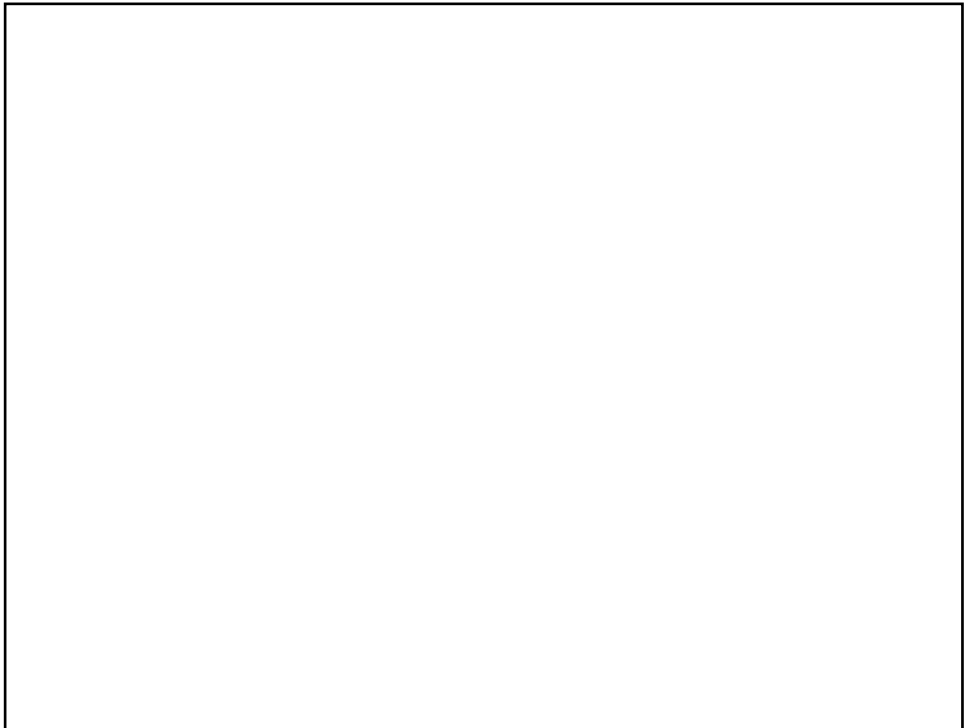


Front cover: *Christmas Sunset: Richard and Anne at Wensleydale* by Mary Kelly

Prints of this painting, and others of Richard III and the Wars of the Roses, are available from Mary Kelly at thisismillreef77@yahoo.co.uk

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

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