

Ricardian Register



Richard III Society, Inc.

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King Richard III



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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.

To manage your account and make payments online, enter the member portal from the Member's only page on American Branch website: r3.org, or if you do not have internet access, send changes of address and dues payments to:

Sally Keil, Membership Chair

June-November send mail to: 1219 Route 171, Woodstock, CT 06281-2126

December-May send mail to: 2221 Pasadena Place South Gulfport FL33707

2016 General Membership Meeting (GMM)

Richard III Society, American Branch

September 23—25, 2016

The Rocky Mountain Chapter along with the Tidewater and Illinois Chapters are extremely excited to announce that the 2016 GMM will include both **Dominic Smee**, Richard III's modern day body double, and **Ian Churchward** of The Legendary Ten Seconds.

Dominic Smee will be the 2016 GMM Keynote speaker. Dominic is well known to Richardians as Richard III's present day body double, since he has the same type and degree of scoliosis that Richard did. He generously volunteered to undergo a series of challenges to prove that Richard was the formidable warrior we all know that he was. If you haven't seen it, watch the Youtube video of the show "Richard III—The New Evidence", which shows Dominic's journey through these challenges. This was also seen on PBS in the US in the series "Secrets of the Dead—Richard III Resurrected".
<https://youtu.be/fDHDvnnK4nI>

Dominic's mother, Christina Smee, will also be in attendance. She is the author of *The Rose of Middleham* which is available on Amazon.com. She also appears in the video and she and Dominic are volunteers at the Bosworth Battlefield Heritage Center.
<http://www.bosworthbattlefield.com/>

Marriott hotel(s) offering your special group rate: **SpringHill Suites Denver Downtown** for 159.00 USD per night plus 14.75% tax.

Book online for the Richard III Society group rate here: tinyurl.com/j8svhpl

QRcode link for smartphones



HOTEL: Springhill Suites Denver Downtown

1190 Auraria Parkway

Denver, CO 80204

springhillsuitesdenver.com

Last day to book: 8/30/16

This group rate is available for 3 days before and after our meeting. If you wish to book additional nights besides the 23rd and 24th, please call Ashley Wray directly at 720.439.2888.

Hotel room rate includes:

hot breakfast each morning in the ground floor lobby

free internet

free local shuttle (to Union Station)

Local airport: Denver International Airport

Ground Transportation: Light rail trains will operate between the airport and Union Station downtown. Union Station is 4 blocks from our hotel and the hotel shuttle will pick up at Union Station on request. Taxis and airport shuttles are also available.

SCHEDULE: *Workshops and Events*

Friday, September 23:

All of our events will be on the second floor of the hotel. All event times are tentative at this time and will be finalized before the event.

6:00 to 9:00 pm— Registration and Reception - second floor meeting room.

Saturday, September 28:

7:00 to 9: am— Please partake of the hot breakfast in the ground floor lobby.

9:00 am to 10:45 am—Sally Keil, *Heraldry, Blazonry and the Plantagenets*, second floor meeting room, coffee and tea will be provided

10:45 am – Morning Break

11:00 am to 12:00 pm—Business meeting. Financial report, Officers’ reports, individual Society members’ input.

12:00 noon to 1:00 pm—Lunch

1:00 pm to 2:30—Keynote address by Dominic Smee.

2:30 pm to 3:00 pm—TBA

3:00 pm to 6:00 pm— Free time, relax or explore downtown Denver. We will have suggestions for activities and sight-seeing.

6:00 pm to 7:00 pm-- Cocktail Hour, second floor meeting room

7:00 pm to 11:00 pm—Ricardian Banquet, second floor meeting room (medieval dress encouraged, otherwise business casual). Banquet program includes: music by Ian and Elaine Churchward, who are *The Legendary Ten Seconds* featuring music about Richard III's life and times, and *Ricardian Jeopardy!* Game.

Sunday, September 29:

7:00 am to 9:00 am—hot breakfast, ground floor lobby

9:00 am to 11: am—Fundraiser, speaker to be announced, coffee and tea will be provided

[Program updates and registration form will be published and distributed with the June Bulletin and Ricardian and published on the American Branch website.]

Message from American Branch Chairman

Jonathan Hayes
Chairman, Richard III Society, American Branch
Vice President, Richard III Society (UK)

2016 will be an exciting year for your Society. A major revision of the Bylaws is being submitted to the membership for their consideration and approval. The Board has noted the low and falling attendance at recent AGMs. This is due to aging of the membership and the expense of attendance. We have therefore decided to go to biennial meetings. The bulk of the changes revolve around this.

This year's General Membership Meeting (GMM) will be held in Denver, September 23rd through 25th. The Colorado Chapter is putting together a terrific program. The highlight will be attendance and a talk by Dominic Smee. Dominic is the young man whose scoliosis is identical to Richard III's. Those of you who have had the opportunity to meet him know what an impressive young man he is. This will be a GMM which you will long remember.

This is also the year for Board elections and there are three positions that need to be filled. Our current secretary, Mary Retallick has done really great work as Secretary and has decided not to run again. We will miss her. Your humble servant will complete his maximum four years as Chairman and the Vice Chairman is currently open. The following descriptions and responsibilities are copied from our bylaws (posted on the members' only page here: <http://www.r3.org/members-only/by-laws/>).

Chairman— duties outlined in section 6.2 of the bylaws (reprinted below):

- (a) To preside at all meetings of the American Branch and the Executive Board.
- (b) To appoint appropriate officers and Standing Committee Chairpersons with the advice and consent of the Executive Board
- (c) To execute all contracts, deeds and other legal instruments on behalf of and in the name of the American Branch when authorized by the Executive Board.
- (d) To have general supervision over all officers and Standing Committees, and to be an ex-officio member of all committees.
- (e) To oversee the planning of the AGM.
- (f) To have other powers and authority as shall be vested in the Chairman by the Executive Board
- (g) To appoint tellers to count ballots and to certify elections at the AGM.

Vice Chairman— duties outlined in section 6.3 of the bylaws (reprinted below):

- (a) To preside at meetings of the American Branch and the Executive Board in the absence or incapacity of the Chairman.
- (b) To prepare the Agenda for all Executive Board Meetings and the AGM.
- (c) To act as Bylaws Committee Chairman.
- (d) To perform other duties as required by the Executive Board.

Secretary—duties outlined in section 6.4 of the bylaws (reprinted below):

- (a) To record and keep all minutes of official meetings, and to transfer records to the archives as appropriate.
- (b) To conduct all correspondence as directed by the Executive Board.
- (c) To be the official custodian and distributor of all records except those relating Membership and Finance.

- (d) To keep the American Branch’s contact information current with the department that oversees charities in the state where the Society is incorporated.
- (e) To request the Annual Reports from all Officers and Committees in mid-August yearly, and to ensure that they are distributed to the membership in the Ricardian Register or on the website following the AGM.
- (f) To perform other duties as required by the Executive Board.
- (g) To send greetings yearly to the parent Society on the occasion of their AGM.
- (h) To arrange the conference call for Executive Board Meetings.

Please feel free to nominate yourself—no shrinking violets!

Charlie Jordan has been doing a marvelous job in Sales, but he would really like to get an assistant to help him.

Message from Sales: “Do you have a penchant for finding items that friends like? Good at finding suppliers who’ll sell items of interest to Ricardians? The sales team for the Richard III Society, American Branch is looking for volunteers who can pitch in with the sales effort. That could be anything from scouting out new items and determining if cost/profit margins are feasible, storing merchandise and processing incoming requests, or contacting vendors to refill current supplies. If you’d like to volunteer your time and expertise, please contact Charlie at sales@r3.org to find out how you can help.”

The Society is dependent on volunteers from the membership in order to run and your Board has been greatly heartened by the way Society members have stepped forward in the recent past.

~ToC~

ByLaw Revisions

The following are proposed amendments to our bylaws. Deletions are shown with strike-through and additions are shown underlined. The bylaws can be found on the member’s only page at <http://www.r3.org/members-only/by-laws/> You will need a password to access this page. If you do not know the password, please contact Sally Keil, membership chair at membership@r3.org

4.1. ~~Annual~~ General Membership Meeting

4.1.1. Date: The ~~Annual~~ General Membership Meeting, hereafter called the AGM GMM, of the American Branch is held yearly biennially on the Saturday which falls closest to October 2nd, the birthday of King Richard III, or such other date which, in the Board’s opinion, furthers the aims of the Society. Care in scheduling should be taken to avoid conflict with the Jewish holidays.

4.1.2. Location: The AGM GMM site should be rotated geographically around the continental United States in such fashion that it does not take place in the same area more than once in every three (3) years, whenever possible. The ~~Executive Committee Chapter Coordinator~~ determines the date and location of the AGM GMM and publishes the information in the Ricardian Register and or other appropriate print or electronic media at least six (6) months in advance of the meeting. This announcement shall constitute the official call to the membership.

4.1.3. Function: The AGM-GMM shall:

- (a) Be held in conjunction with the efforts of local chapters whenever possible.

(b) Receive reports of all officers and committees.

(c) Adopt a budget for the forthcoming ~~year~~ biennium.

(d) Conduct the election of the Chairman, Vice Chairman, Secretary, Membership Chairman, and Treasurer, or whichever of these offices are to be filled.

~~4.1.4, 4.3.1, 6.3 (b), 6.4(g), 6.6(k), 8.3, 8.3.2, 9.1, 9.1.3, 10.1.1, 10.1.3—Strike the term “AGM” and replace with “GMM”.~~

4.3.1. Voting for Elections of officers: A ballot containing those nominated for officers will be sent to all members well in advance of the ~~AGM~~ GMM by the Chairman of the Nominating Committee. Those ballots returned are counted as votes during the elections process. (See 5.2)

5.2. Officers: The Chairman, the Vice-Chairman, the Secretary, the Membership Chairman and the Treasurer of the Executive Board shall be elected by the membership by proxy ballots sent from the chairman of the Nominating Committee to the members at least six

(6) weeks prior to the ~~AGM~~ GMM.

*Note: The following paragraph printed in error and has been corrected in this online version.

5.3. Nomination: ~~The Membership Chairman will send out a call for nominations to all members in good standing, advising of open positions and the requirements for each such position. Members may nominate themselves or someone else with the prior approval of that person, by replying to the Membership Chairman with information about their interest in the position and suitability for that position. This call for nominations will go out at least twelve (12) weeks before the scheduled date of the GMM. All prospective nominees will be reviewed by the Board and will appear on the ballot to go out to all members per section 5.2 above. Nominations are made with the prior or subsequent written consent of the nominee, either: (a) By a petition or petitions signed by a total of no fewer than ten (10) members in good standing, or by E-mailed agreement to a petition, or (b) By the president and secretary of a chapter or chapters with the consent of the members, or (c) By the Executive Committee, or (d) By the Nominating Committee.~~

~~5.3.1. Nominating Committee: The Executive Board appoints a Committee of at least two (2) persons for the purpose of selecting nominees. The Committee is appointed yearly by February 1. Nominations may be accepted from February 1st through May 15th. (See 6.7)~~

~~5.3.2. Chapter Nominations: A chapter or a signed petition may nominate only one person for each officer being elected.~~

~~5.3.3. Deadline for Nominations: All nominations are to be selected by the Chairman of the Nominating Committee by July 1st.~~

5.5. Vacancies: A vacancy which occurs in any office following the ~~AGM~~ GMM will be filled by appointment of the Executive Board.

~~6.2(e), 6.7(b) delete in entirety and renumber subsequent sections.~~

Add:

~~7.1.7. Chapter Coordinator: The Chapter Coordinator is responsible for:~~

~~(a) Assist and advise members who wish to set up a chapter.~~

~~(b) Ensure the published chapter list is accurate and contact information is up to date.~~

~~(c) Obtain written reports of chapter activities each year which will be published in the Ricardian Register and may be included in the GMM information packet.~~

~~(d) Serve as Chair of the General Membership Meeting Standing Committee, which is hereby established. The Chair, in consultation with the Subcommittee heads,~~

shall have the responsibility of setting the registration fee, bearing in mind that the fee is intended to be set at an affordable level which will also permit the GMM to be self-supporting. The Committee shall have but not be limited to the following subcommittees:

(i) Venue/Location Subcommittee which shall be responsible for selecting the meeting site and negotiating hotel room rates, meeting space and all necessary catering arrangements. This subcommittee will also be responsible for creating and assembling attendee welcome packets and providing necessary pace for Sales and silent auction tables. At least one of the members of this subcommittee will be in easy transportation distance of the selected site to be able to inspect it in person.

(ii) Transportation Subcommittee which shall be responsible for researching and disseminating to the membership information regarding transportation options to the GMM site and to arranging any transportation arrangements necessary for any GMM program activities.

(iii) Entertainment and Catering Subcommittee which shall be responsible for arranging Friday evening social hour and entertainment, Saturday breakfast/lunch buffets, break refreshments, Saturday evening social hour, banquet and entertainment and the Sunday morning fundraiser breakfast. The subcommittee will also be responsible for organizing the silent auction.

(iv) Program Subcommittee which shall be responsible for arranging for two scholarly presentations Saturday morning, a scholarly presentation Saturday afternoon (which may also be a site visit) and a scholarly presentation at the Sunday fundraiser breakfast. Honoraria of \$150 or such other amount as shall be approved by the Board is authorized.

The Committee will report to the Board on the status of the GMM planning and provide a final presentation of all Subcommittee activities and projected attendance no later than two (2) months prior to the GMM.

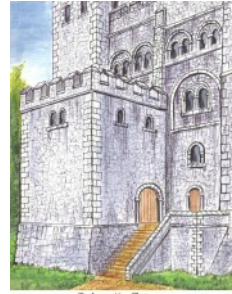
~ToC~

Why it Had to be the Tower of London

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To celebrate the new year, I've thrown caution to the winds and set my imagination free to recount a purely invented scenario. It concerns one of the most baffling incidents of the Richard III story: the plot that resulted in the execution of William, Lord Hastings.

First let me run through the *factual* circumstances of the incident itself. We've had far too much smoke and mirrors already. Forget Tudor stories of witchcraft and withered arms; forget the small-talk of strawberries suddenly transmogrified into murderous fury; forget convenient self-incrimination provided by go-betweens. Colourful as these devices are, any creative writer will recognize them as classic misdirection. They're calculated to distract from the pretence at the



heart of the Tudor fabrication: that a Protector of the Realm, a mere five weeks into his appointment, could get away with unprovoked daylight murder of a peer in the middle of London, in front of witnesses, and still retain the complete confidence of the King's Council and the Three Estates of Parliament who then collectively elected him King of England.

By contrast, there is a credible, gold standard, on-the-spot report, written in 1483, and available to us since the 1930s. If only it had been known 400 years earlier, all that Tudor fiction might have been exposed (or maybe the document would have been destroyed along with so much else, who knows?). Anyway, we have it now and we ignore it at our peril. It was provided by the Italian cleric Dominic Mancini who was in London at the time, as an agent for the French court, and reporting within a few months of the event. Although not present himself, he would have gleaned information immediately. So, stripped of editorial opinion,* and translated from his original words, Mancini's report provides the following information:

1. Hastings was executed for a treasonable attempt on Richard's life, having brought hidden weapons into a meeting so that he could launch a surprise attack on his victim.
2. Two other influential ringleaders were arrested with him for the same offence, but being in holy orders they escaped with their lives thanks to Benefit of Clergy. One was Archbishop Rotherham, a man of authority and ability; the other was Bishop Morton, a man of great resource and daring, with a career in party intrigue dating back at least twenty years to the Lancastrian era of Henry VI (mark those words).
3. These men were reported to have been assembling together previously in each others' houses.
4. The incident took place at about 10.00 a.m. at a meeting in the Tower of London, several other witnesses being present.
5. Men at arms, stationed nearby, were summoned by Richard upon his cry of 'ambush'.
6. A public proclamation to the above effect was issued right away.
7. Richard at the time had made no claim on the throne.

*I feel I need to add that *in Mancini's opinion* the charge of treason was a 'false pretext', but it should be noted that this visiting Italian was not qualified to pass judgement on the treason laws of England. By contrast it was Richard's special prerogative, as High Constable

of England, to try the crime of treason in his own Constable's Court, to pronounce on guilt and to pass sentence without the possibility of appeal. The evidence for this appears in my recent book on the offices of Protector and Constable.

We have a couple of other facts provided by the *Crowland Chronicle*, written following Richard's death some two years later. The author expostulates over the beheading and arrests, on which he spends many words of personal opinion and judgement. But it's significant that he provides very little *factual* detail, especially compared to Mancini. From what he writes, it is clear that he was no more present in the Tower than the Italian was. Let us again strip away editorial opinion and look at the chronicle's two relevant facts:

1. The meeting was a Council meeting called for 13 June.
2. Council attendance had been divided in advance (by the Protector) so that one group met at Westminster and another at the Tower. I shall examine this insinuation that it was Richard who laid the trap, which should be compared with Mancini's comment that his cry of 'ambush' was prearranged.

To complete the preliminary scene-setting, it hardly needs re-stating that from early May 1483 the Protector and Council represented the legally constituted government of England during the king's minority. We have no eyewitness account that contradicts the facts officially announced, and recorded by Mancini, i.e. that Hastings was the aggressor in a treasonable assassination attempt. Nevertheless it is glaringly obvious that this treasonous attack was early on parlayed into entrapment of blameless individuals by the wicked Lord Protector. Even when the aggression by the conspirators is admitted, it is sometimes claimed that the plot to assassinate Richard could not have been treason because they were acting 'to protect Edward V'. Any such motive belongs purely in the realm of speculation, and against it must be set Mancini's testimony that Richard at this time had made no move against the king or his crown.

Working with these background facts, I have my own ideas of what the conspirators had in mind. And it had everything to do with why they chose to attack Richard *at the Tower of London*. My imagined scenario starts with the question of motive. They may have had varied personal goals, but I see it as an attempted *coup d'état* by a disaffected group who agreed in that they saw themselves slighted, and their lucrative status sidelined, by the incoming Protector's charmed circle. All had hitherto enjoyed influential roles within the court and the Prince of Wales's council, and their collective strategy was a familiar one: to encircle the underage king and exert power through him. All it required was to eliminate the Protector.

- A. Hastings had found himself yesterday's man, losing his valuable royal influence while the young Duke of Buckingham, busily collecting offices and rewards, now had the ear of Richard in the same way that Hastings had once enjoyed the ear of Edward IV.
- B. Archbishop Rotherham, a protégé of the Woodville queen's family, had lost his office of Chancellor to Bishop John Russell, an extremely able candidate by all accounts. Like many others, Rotherham could no longer look for patronage to the Woodvilles, now absconded, disgraced and excluded from government after their failed attempt to oust Richard.
- C. The demonstrated long game of Bishop John Morton, that supreme political operator, certainly centred on grasping any opportunity for subversion in the interests of his Lancastrian patron, Lady Margaret Beaufort, and her son Henry Tudor. Ambition is a far more credible motive than supposedly tender feelings

for Edward IV's heir, and it's worth reflecting that Morton's preferred patrons created him both Archbishop of Canterbury and a cardinal.

Having learned that Hastings, Rotherham and Morton were meeting together, Richard was concerned enough to write to his northern supporters, a few days before the Hastings attack, requesting armed support. It would not have been a great tactic to suggest threats emanating from inner-circle councillors and clerics, especially if he didn't know precisely who was involved, so he named his opponents as the usual suspects: the Woodvilles. In subsequent centuries suspects would have been picked off one by one with the knock on the door in the small hours of the morning, but we know of no arrests in the days leading up to 13 June. In order to submit them to the full force of justice, I conclude that Richard needed the conspirators to commit an overt act of aggression. So he and his aides would have been on full alert waiting for someone to show their hand. The key would then be to play along, ready to counteract any move when it came.

This is why Richard would not have been the one to split the Council into two groups. He wouldn't want anything out of the ordinary to tip off his opponents that he was forewarned. By my calculation *it was the Hastings group* whose plan of attack, as recounted by Mancini, required them to have Richard attend a meeting that was smaller than usual, and peopled as far as possible by their own supporters. A small group in a small room, rather than a large council-chamber. We don't know anything about the agendas or purposes of particular Council meetings, and we can safely ignore misinformation by Tudor writers. But we do know preparations were well in hand at this time for Edward V's forthcoming coronation. Although the Crown Jewels were kept at Westminster Abbey, much of the State Regalia was held at the Tower of London; so an examination of long-disused regalia, preparatory to formal approval by the king, might well have provided the excuse for a high-ranking select committee meeting at the Tower. Meanwhile Chancellor Russell's group could be making arrangements with Abbot Esteney to take an inventory of the priceless jewels at Westminster.

This is just a random idea – there could have been any number of excuses for a division of the Council. Richard would agree innocently and plan accordingly. As a tactician he would have sized up the likelihood that this was to be the chosen moment. He was a great believer in the pre-emptive strike. All he needed to do was wait until all were assembled, meanwhile having loyal men stationed nearby, armed and listening to respond to his call. Then he would enter the room and present himself as a target.

I've covered motive, means and opportunity, but the most difficult thing about history is to figure out what was intended compared to what actually panned out. For example: if we didn't know it was true, we would surely disbelieve that Julius Caesar's opponents assassinated him personally and publicly on the steps of the senate. What were they thinking?! In terms of politics (and it's politics that particularly interest me) a decision depends not only on what to do, but what you can get away with: who is for you, who against, and who will support the winning side. Hastings and his co-conspirators would have made their judgements accordingly, and this brings me to the question of why two clerics had to be involved.

We know there were six or seven arrests – quite possibly more – and quite possibly others were never caught. But why would Hastings, the old war-horse, involve men of the cloth like Morton and Rotherham in an assassination attempt, and how were they recruited? This last question is answered in the person of Morton, whose skills as a life-long political operator were reported even by the foreigner Mancini (remember Morton's later recruitment of Buckingham to the Tudor cause!). He was just the man to bring in an already disgruntled

Rotherham. And why? The aim was to bolster the group's credibility in the plan of action to be followed once Richard was despatched.

To be secret, sudden and swift was the key. Hastings would have stationed a number of retainers to back up his attack, unaware of course that Richard had quietly set his own men on the alert. The take-over must be instant, replacing the Protector's leading position in the government. This meant gaining immediate control of the king. *Which explains why the fatal encounter HAD to take place at the Tower.* If they'd done it anywhere else (despite the misdirection of Tudor writers) they'd have had no access to the king, and how would they have managed the aftermath? So the scheme was to take swift action at the Tower, while the rest of the Council was elsewhere, leaving no one any chance to object. A group headed by the Archbishop of York and Bishop of Ely, moving swiftly and commandingly, had the authority to sweep all before them unchallenged as they proceeded to the royal apartments ... and likewise the presence of leading prelates would reassure Edward V right away that he need fear no plot against his own life. If any guards did ask questions, a plausible excuse was that they were hurrying to ensure the king's person was still safe – something the Tower guards would accept and probably assist in.

The plan rested on a vacuum being left after Richard was removed, with little option but to accept the new regime – one that strongly resembled the state of play before the protectorate had been established. It might have worked; but, as with the Woodvilles' earlier attempted *coup*, Richard was clever enough to prevent it. And because he escaped with his life while punishing the perpetrators, his enemies were able to twist the events to portray him as the guilty party.

~ToC~

Richard, Duke of Gloucester, as Admiral and Constable of England

A. C. Reeves, Ph.D., F.R.Hist.S.

Professor Emeritus of History, Ohio University

Abstract

Before becoming King Richard III of England, Richard held two martial offices: Admiral of England, to which was attached the Admiralty Court, and Constable of England, to which was attached the Court of Chivalry, sometimes called the Constable's Court. Records surviving from both courts are rare, but this essay examines the development of both offices and their affiliated courts and considers how holding those offices could have influenced the man who in 1483 unexpectedly became king.

Admiral and Constable

Richard, duke of Gloucester (the future King Richard III), was appointed by his eldest brother, King Edward IV, to two martial offices: Admiral and Constable of England. The purpose of this essay is to gain an understanding of those offices, and to consider how holding the offices might have affected Richard. The post of Admiral of England, Ireland, and Aquitaine was the first to which Richard was appointed. Richard was created duke of Gloucester by King Edward on 1 November 1461, and it was as duke of Gloucester that Richard was appointed for life to the office of Admiral of England on 12 October 1462.¹ Since Richard was born on 2 October 1452, it is most unlikely that the king expected his ten-year-old brother actively to exercise the office. The work would be carried out by others. This was an appointment that would honour Richard, as well as provide him with some income. Richard had, in fact, been referred to as 'admiral of the sea' (*maris admirallus*) a

few months before his formal appointment as Admiral of England.² The formal appointment granted Richard no powers within the kingdom, but cognizance of crimes committed on ships on large rivers and within ports, together with the customary profits of the office.

The office of Admiral of England, Ireland, and Aquitaine was not an ancient one. The word 'admiral', incidentally, comes from the Arabic term for 'commander of the sea',³ and it would appear that the title of 'admiral' did not come into use in England until the fourteenth century.⁴ The importance of naval military power was fully appreciated by King Edward III, and after the English capture of Calais in 1347 it became vital to maintain naval control of the Channel if Calais was to be held and further war carried to France.⁵ The eleven-month siege of Calais, for example, had involved 743 recorded ships and 15,185 mariners.⁶ Of necessity, Edward III was concerned with naval matters, and may well have seen naval warfare as a distinct military discipline: his ships and mariners won naval victories at Sluys (1340) and, with Edward present, at Winchelsea (1350). One of Edward's innovations was the office of clerk of the king's ships and another was making the position of admiral permanent.⁷ Edward's admirals, appointed in times of war and for a specific time of service, were described by such titles as 'admiral of the north' or 'admiral of the west', rather than as 'admiral of England'. Although Edward managed to maintain twenty to thirty king's ships at any time (and they would be supplemented for military purposes by assorted requisitioned merchant and fishing vessels), it was impossible financially for the Crown to maintain a fleet of ships.⁸ A responsibility of Edward's admirals was to arrest from various ports the ships needed by the Crown and prepare them for warfare, and also to supervise the selection and impressing of mariners.⁹ Admirals also had some disciplinary authority over men in naval service. With the assistance of the clerks of the king's ships, the admirals saw to the securing of needed provisions for men and ships.

The title 'Admiral of England' was first used, so far as the records indicate, in the reign of Edward III's unwarlike grandson and successor Richard II. In a number of royal letters patent, beginning in 1387, Richard fitz Alan, earl of Arundel and Surrey (d. 1397), is called Admiral of England or the king's admiral.¹⁰ Before the time Earl Richard was admiral of England, the powers exercised by admirals had evolved into a Court of Admiralty to deal with maritime cases that did not fall within the authority of English common law. It was, in fact, during Edward III's reign that the Admiralty Court achieved definition.¹¹ The law administered by the Admiralty Court was not English common law, but the law of the sea, and was in essence the long-developed customs and usages agreed upon by mariners that grew out of an amalgamation of the ancient law of Rhodes, the law of the island of Oléron, the laws of Wisby, elements of Roman law, and doubtless other influences.¹² Piracy and prizes captured at sea were especially within the purview of the admiral and his court, reflecting the intention of keeping the king's peace beyond the shores of the kingdom.¹³ The later fourteenth century and into the fifteenth century was a period of resolving jurisdictional disputes between common law courts, the franchisal courts of assorted seaports, and the admiralty court. In the end, the Admiralty Court came to have jurisdiction over criminal, shipping, and mercantile cases arising from torts and offences on the high seas, on English seas, and in ports affected by tides, that is, in water beyond lands encompassed within the English counties. Such cases were piracy, wreck, felonies, injuries, ships and goods picked up at sea, ships and goods of enemies coming into English possession, ownership of cargoes and ships spoiled, flotsam, jetsam, and lagan (treasure found on the seabed), and derelicts found within the admiral's jurisdiction.¹⁴ Admirals and their courts were also concerned with obstruction of rivers, the possession of royal fish (whales, porpoises, dolphins, and other such large creatures of the sea), and, of course, the arresting of ships and mariners for the king's enterprises and the sharing of prizes.

Cases in the Admiralty Court came to be heard before the judge alone, without a jury. Admirals could hear cases in person or act through appointed agents. The earliest surviving royal letter patent appointing a chief judge in the Court of Admiralty was issued by Edward IV in 1483, less than a month before the king's death and while Richard of Gloucester was admiral of England.¹⁵ The judge appointed was Master William Lacy, a Cambridge-educated civil lawyer.¹⁶ It may be presumed that Richard of Gloucester had a voice in the selection of Lacy. Richard may not, because of his youth, have had a voice in the appointment of another man who served as Richard's lieutenant and commissary general in the Court of Admiralty. William Goodyer, an Oxford-educated doctor of civil law,¹⁷ appears in a reference to the Admiralty Court in 1468.¹⁸ The record naming Goodyer is of the appointment of a commission to hear an appeal lodged by Thomas Blake, a citizen and salter of London, from a sentence Goodyer had made in a cause between Blake and a mariner called John Wellys. Goodyer was not a recent graduate, and could have been working in the court for some time before the appeal process of 1468 was recorded. Goodyer's name appears over several years in notices of additional appeals made from his judgments in maritime cases as he acted as the lieutenant of Richard, duke of Gloucester: in 1469, twice in 1470, in 1475, and 1478.¹⁹ In several of the appeal notices it is mentioned that Goodyer presided over court meetings held in Southwark in the parish of St Olave in a high hall at Horton Key by the tideway. In a commission appointed in 1472 to hear still another appeal from a decision by Goodyer concerning the non-delivery of white soap by a Spanish merchant to a London draper, it was mentioned that Goodyer had heard the case in the White Hall at Westminster.²⁰

Duke Richard did not simply collect his fees and the rewards of office as Admiral of England, Ireland, and Aquitaine while leaving the labour to others. In 1472 Richard's obligation to enforce royal authority as admiral was the reason for his presence on the south coast where he is known to have been in Southampton and Lydd.²¹ In December 1477 Richard was commissioned as admiral, with the assistance of other royal officers, to arrest and bring before the king and council the Irish owners and captains of three ships that had been involved in an act of piracy against *la Mary London*, a ship owned by the London merchant Bartholomew Couper.²² When war with Scotland began in 1480, there was a deployment of naval forces to support the land campaign.²³ Being part of a raid into Scotland in 1481 and commander of the 1482 invasion that reached Edinburgh and captured Berwick,²⁴ Duke Richard was necessarily cognizant of the naval aspect of the campaigning. Having been Admiral of England from his youth, it would be most surprising had Richard not developed an interest in naval matters. It is known that as duke of Gloucester, Richard owned at least two ships: the *Mayflower* is noted in 1475 and the *Anne of Fowey* in 1481.²⁵

What influences beyond holding a naval office could have stimulated Richard's interest in maritime matters? Three influential men seem obvious for that role. Richard spent several years in his youth, probably from September 1465 until late 1468,²⁶ in the household of his cousin Richard Neville, earl of Warwick. Virtually nothing is known of Richard's time in Warwick's household, but Warwick was by that time famous for his naval exploits, and his reputation (and perhaps his personal influence) would have been inescapable for Richard. In 1457 Warwick had been named keeper of the seas by King Henry VI, to the distress of the hereditary admiral of England, Henry Holland, duke of Exeter.²⁷ Warwick had been appointed captain of Calais in 1455 in the aftermath of the Yorkist triumph at the battle of St Albans, and in 1461 Edward IV named him constable of Dover, warden of the Cinque Ports, and admiral of England.²⁸ Warwick commanded considerable wealth, and he came to own a fleet of ships with tonnage estimated at 2,300, second only among Englishmen to the Bristol merchant William Canynghes.²⁹ Warwick's ships were engaged in piracy against

foreign ships in 1457 and 1458, perhaps to help finance his fleet and the Calais garrison, and certainly resulting in popular acclaim for his exploits.³⁰ In 1460 it was Warwick's naval strength that enabled Richard of Gloucester's father, Duke Richard of York, to return to England from Ireland in his abortive bid to become king.³¹ Richard of Gloucester would have been well aware of these events, and would have understood that his brother, King Edward IV, relied heavily upon Warwick's ships in the early 1460s.³²

Edward IV was also a very likely stimulus for Richard of Gloucester's interest in naval power. Edward was interested in maritime commerce, not only for the benefit of the English economy, but also through his personal engagement in the exporting of such items as wool, cloth, and tin, and the importing of a variety of items.³³ Edward engaged in trade through factors, mostly Italians, and also on his own. Moreover, Edward cultivated the favour of merchants, especially those of London, and his reign witnessed considerable legislation fostering mercantile and industrial interests. Edward also strove to reconstitute a royal navy, an entity greatly neglected since the time of Henry V earlier in the century. From the late 1460s when the loyalty of Richard, earl of Warwick, was becoming suspect, culminating in his leadership of the rebellion that led to Edward's exile of 1470-71,³⁴ Edward began to acquire ships, mostly by purchase. He used his ships for commerce and convoying, as well as for military purposes. Edward had two or three ships in the late 1460s, then about five in 1475, to which he added three more by 1480.³⁵ In 1480 Edward appointed Thomas Roger (d. 1488), a king's mariner and a former captain of the late earl of Warwick, to be clerk of the king's ships, an office that had not been occupied perhaps since 1452.³⁶ By the spring of 1481 the king's ships numbered fifteen or sixteen, and Thomas Roger was at the centre of naval operations in the war against Scotland. And now, under King Edward's directive, English ships were being used to patrol the waters off England's shores.

A third man who, like Warwick and Edward IV, was older than Duke Richard of Gloucester, and who is a clear candidate for influencing Richard's interest in naval matters was the Suffolk gentleman, John Howard, who was knighted at the coronation of Edward IV in 1461 and then after nearly a decade of devoted service to King Edward was created Baron Howard.³⁷ In the 1450s Howard became a ship-owner and engaged initially in the carrying trade, transporting the goods of merchants. His ships, like those of other owners, could be requisitioned by the crown.³⁸ Howard also commissioned the building of ships, an early one being a carvel built at Dunwich and then fitted at Harwich, which was completed in 1466, and named *Edward* in honour of the king.³⁹ The completion of the *Edward* led to commissions to supervise the building of additional ships that would be royal ships. Howard was important to King Edward's efforts to reconstitute a royal navy. About 1463 Howard was named vice-admiral for Norfolk and Suffolk to serve under the admiral of England, Richard of Gloucester.⁴⁰ King Edward called increasingly upon Howard for ships as time passed. In 1472 Howard became a member of the Order of the Garter and soon after commanded a fleet that captured and burnt a hostile squadron of Hanse ships from Lübeck, thereby preventing an attack upon English shipping.⁴¹ In 1475 Howard provided at least three ships, the *Margaret Howard*, the *George Howard*, and the *Thomas Howard* for King Edward's invasion of France.⁴² Then in 1481 Lord Howard was given command of the naval fleet that was to complement the invasion of Scotland by land, and he captured and burned Scottish ships and carried out raids on the Scottish coast.⁴³ The admiration Richard, duke of Gloucester, had for Lord Howard is demonstrated by Richard elevating Howard to the duchy of Norfolk just after Richard claimed the throne of his deceased brother in 1483. A few weeks later, on 25 July 1483, King Richard III named the new duke of Norfolk Admiral of England, Ireland, and Aquitaine.⁴⁴ Norfolk's son, Thomas Howard, became one of Richard III's Knights of the Garter, and both Howards fought for

Richard in the battle of Bosworth, Norfolk being killed and his son captured.⁴⁵

King Richard III did not deviate as king from his brother's interest in naval matters, although the admiralship of England passed to the duke of Norfolk. Thomas Roger was taken on by King Richard to continue as clerk of the king's ships.⁴⁶ As king, Richard owned perhaps ten ships in 1483 and eight in 1484, although he is known to have bought three during his reign: the *Garsia*, purchased in 1484, and in January 1485 Richard purchased the *Nicholas* from the London merchant Thomas Grafton for 100 marks and the *Governor* from Grafton and two other men for £600.⁴⁷ It is evident then, in spite of a regrettable lack of specific documentation, that Richard's world encompassed ships and sea power.

The second martial office to which Edward IV appointed his youngest brother was that of Constable of England. Constables had a long pedigree. Even Charlemagne had in his household a '*comes stabuli*', his 'count of the stable', who supervised the royal stable and was concerned with cavalry matters when on campaign. The Constable of England in the late fifteenth century had different responsibilities, and Richard, duke of Gloucester, was appointed to the office for life on 17 October 1469.⁴⁸ This was seven years after Richard had been named Admiral of England, and Richard was now a more mature seventeen-year-old. The notion behind the function of such a constable was that of someone who would develop strategy and tactics in military actions, assisted by a marshal who would maintain discipline and enforce martial law on campaign.⁴⁹ Led by these two officers, there had emerged in the fourteenth century a Court of Chivalry, also frequently called the Constable's Court, presided over by two judges: the Constable of England as the superior judge and the Earl Marshal as his subordinate judge. It was a summary, prerogative court, not a court of English common law, and did not act upon indictment or employ jury trials. The purview of the court extended to the use of coats-of-arms, treason, cases arising from military actions, such as prisoner and ransom disputes, and safe conducts.⁵⁰ The Court of Chivalry was fundamentally, but not exclusively, a military court which applied the law of arms, the international law of soldiers based upon Roman law, canon law, and the wisdom and experience of veteran warriors.⁵¹ Even before Richard, duke of Gloucester, was appointed Constable of England, he had been named to a commission of oyer and terminer to judge two men, Sir Thomas Hungerford and Henry Courtenay, who were indicted of high treason for conspiring to enable Henry IV's queen, Margaret of Anjou, and their son Edward to return from exile and facilitate the overthrow of Edward IV.⁵² In a session held at Salisbury in January 1469 before Duke Richard and the other justices, both men were found guilty and were executed. This case is a useful reminder that most cases of high treason were handled not by the Court of Chivalry but by justices doing their work as commissioners of oyer and terminer.

Edward IV, faced with challenges to his kingship, was interested in the potential usefulness of the Constable of England. On 7 February 1462, Edward appointed John Tiptoft, earl of Worcester, to be Constable of England and the next month Tiptoft was nominated to be a Knight of the Garter.⁵³ Tiptoft was an experienced administrator, having been appointed by King Henry VI to be Treasurer of England (1452-54), a member of the king's council and, of interest in the present context, keeper of the sea (1454-57).⁵⁴ Tiptoft was also a well-educated man, having studied at Oxford in the early 1440s.⁵⁵ In 1458 Tiptoft left England for a pilgrimage to the Holy Land and, following his brief pilgrimage, resided in Italy to continue his studies, most likely in arts, at Padua, Ferrara, and Florence.⁵⁶ Tiptoft returned to England in September 1461, and was immediately drawn into King Edward's administration, becoming a councillor to the king, chief justice of North Wales, and constable of the Tower of London before becoming Constable of England. Edward also returned Tiptoft to the position of Treasurer of England (1462-63, 1470).

About the time Tiptoft was made constable, a conspiracy was discovered to overthrow King Edward and return Henry VI to the throne. The conspirators were condemned of high treason in the Court of Chivalry under the Earl of Worcester, and on 20 February 1462 Aubrey de Vere, son and heir of John de Vere, earl of Oxford, was beheaded on Tower Hill.⁵⁷ Three days later the same fate befell Sir Thomas Tudenham, William Tyrrel, and John Montgomery. The earl of Oxford was beheaded on 26 February. Tiptoft came to have a reputation for ruthlessness.⁵⁸ He nurtured that reputation in the aftermath of the victory of Yorkist forces over Lancastrian troops loyal to Henry VI at Hexham in Northumberland on 15 May 1464. Among the defeated and captured were fourteen men who were condemned and beheaded in York on 26 May upon the authority of Constable Tiptoft.⁵⁹ Other summary executions also followed in the aftermath of the battle of Hexham in an effort to crush Lancastrian resistance to the kingship of Edward IV. Following up on Hexham, Edward moved to take from Lancastrian control the Northumberland castle of Bamborough, held under the command of Sir Ralph Grey and Sir Humphrey Neville. Edward set siege to the castle with artillery and bombards, and when it fell to the attackers Neville managed to negotiate a pardon but Sir Ralph Grey was tried and condemned before the earl of Worcester at Doncaster and was executed on 10 July 1464 for treasonously bearing arms against the king.⁶⁰

Tiptoft remained Constable of England until he surrendered the office in order that King Edward might bestow the office, with its £200 yearly together with other profits, upon his father-in-law Richard Woodville, Earl Rivers.⁶¹ The grant was made for life to Rivers on 24 August 1467 with reversion after his death to his son Anthony Woodville, Lord Scales. Incidentally, two months after the grant to Rivers, it was noted that payment to Worcester for his service was woefully in arrears.⁶² In the letter patent to Rivers, purporting to be reciting the powers granted to the earl of Worcester in 1462, King Edward was emphatic about the judicial powers inherent in the constable's office.⁶³ It would appear that King Edward was pleased with the firmness with which John Tiptoft had infused the office of constable in dealing firmly with the challenge of rebels and insurrection within the kingdom. King Edward (or whoever drafted the letter patent on his behalf) stated three times that the role of constable and his court dated (to give his words antique authority) from the time of William the Conqueror, emphasized the crime of treason (*crimine lese majestatis*), and stated that treason cases were to be heard "summarily and plainly, without fuss and argument, [only upon] a true inspection of fact" (*summarie et de plano sine strepitu et figura judicii sola facti veritate inspecta*). There was to be no jury trial, and cases were to be determined by the full power of the Constable of England.

Earl Rivers tenure as Constable of England was to be brief. A conspiracy against Edward IV led by the Earl of Warwick and some powerful allies in 1469 resulted in the capture of the king and also of some of the royal favourites, among them Earl Rivers, who was summarily executed on Warwick's orders on 12 August. For several months Warwick was able to rule in the king's name, but he was unable to control the kingdom, and King Edward managed to regain his freedom. Richard, duke of Gloucester, would have been an interested observer during the constablings of both the Earl of Worcester and Earl Rivers. It was after King Edward shook off the control of Warwick that Duke Richard, on 17 October 1469, was granted for life the office of Constable of England to replace Earl Rivers.⁶⁴ Richard acted in office for only a brief period. King Edward very soon appointed Richard to a variety of offices in North Wales (chief justice), South Wales (steward of the Duchy of Lancaster lordships), and the March of Wales, and Richard found himself engaged in representing royal authority in Wales and in the bordering English counties.⁶⁵ Perhaps because of the demands of Richard's responsibilities in Wales, King Edward appointed

John Tiptoft, earl of Worcester, on 14 March 1470 for a second time to be Constable of England and a few days later to be king's lieutenant in Ireland.⁶⁶

In July Worcester, by then also Treasurer of England, was with the king in Southampton where twenty seamen who had been involved in Warwick's efforts to overthrow King Edward were turned over to the Earl of Worcester in his capacity of Constable of England. The men were condemned for high treason and brutally executed. They were hanged by the neck briefly, taken down and disembowelled, and beheaded. Then the bodies, as a chronicler records, were "hanged uppe by the leggs, and a stake made sharpe at bothe endes, whereof one ende was put in att bottokys, and the other end ther heddes were putt uppe one."⁶⁷ It was in the autumn following that the latest conspiracy of the Earl of Warwick came to fruition. King Edward barely escaped from England, finding refuge in the Low Countries, as did his brother Richard, duke of Gloucester. The Earl of Worcester was not so fortunate in his attempt at escape. He was captured while hiding in Huntingdonshire and taken to London. During the readeption of Henry VI the man appointed Constable of England was John de Vere, earl of Oxford, younger son and heir of the earl of Oxford Tiptoft had condemned to death in 1468. Tiptoft was condemned to death for treason, was beheaded on Tower Hill on 18 October 1470, and his head and body were taken together for burial in the Blackfriars church at Ludgate.⁶⁸

King Edward, his brother Richard, and others who had fled England in early October 1470 found refuge with Duke Charles of Burgundy, who was married to Margaret of York, the sister of King Edward and Duke Richard. Meanwhile, King Henry VI, who had been captured in 1465, was freed from the Tower of London and began what is known as his readeption for seven months as king. The power behind the restored king was Richard Neville, earl of Warwick, who was the prime mover in overthrowing King Edward and who became King's Lieutenant of the Kingdom, Admiral of England, and held other powerful offices as well. While efforts were being made to re-establish King Henry's government in England, King Edward was making preparations, with Burgundian aid, for a return to England. Edward landed on the Yorkshire coast at Ravenspur on 14 March 1471 and claimed, disingenuously, that he was returning only to claim his inheritance as duke of York. Any modestly perceptive person realized that a show-down was in the offing. Edward IV had never lost a battle in which he fought, and he was destined to maintain that record. The first climactic clash took place on Easter Day (14 April) at Barnet, a battle in which Warwick lost his life. The very same day as the battle of Barnet, Henry VI's queen, Margaret of Anjou, and their seventeen-year-old son Edward returned from France, landing at Weymouth. Edward moved west with his army to meet this threat, and a second climactic clash, and another triumph for Edward IV, came at Tewkesbury on 4 May. In the battle of Tewkesbury, Prince Edward, the hope of Henry VI's dynasty was killed, and Queen Margaret was captured.

Richard, duke of Gloucester, fought both at Barnet and Tewkesbury. At Barnet, Edward and his army arrived on the scene as night was falling on the day before the battle.⁶⁹ Guessing at the position of Warwick's Lancastrian forces, Edward positioned his army in three groupings or battles, with Richard of Gloucester commanding Edward's right wing, which was a misalignment that happened to place his battle to the left of the opposing army. When the battle began at first light on a misty Easter Sunday, it became apparent that the action was taking place to Richard's left, and he shifted his men to make a flanking attack on the left wing of Warwick's army, which was under the command of Henry Holland, duke of Exeter. Richard's courageous, and ultimately successful, move put him in the thick of the fierce fighting in which he was slightly wounded and several men fighting close to him were killed. Henry VI, who had been with the Lancastrian forces, was taken into custody

by the victors. After the battle King Edward rested his army briefly and then went to London where Henry VI was placed once again in the Tower of London.

It was not quite three weeks after Barnet, on a Saturday, that the battle of Tewkesbury was fought. King Edward had sufficient confidence in this brother that Duke Richard of Gloucester was given command of the vanguard.⁷⁰ When the armies were aligned facing one another, Duke Richard was on the Yorkist left facing the Lancastrian right wing under the command of Edmund Beaufort, duke of Somerset. King Edward opened the battle with gunshots and arrows. Somerset responded to the provocation with an attack that left his men open to a flanking assault by Gloucester that in turn brought on a cascading collapse of the Lancastrian line. The battle ended with many casualties, both in the battle and in the pursuit of the defeated. Two days after the battle a group of captives were tried before Richard, duke of Gloucester, in his role as Constable of England, seconded by John Howard, duke of Norfolk, as Marshal of England and second justice of the Court of Chivalry. No letter patent survives to note a new appointment of Duke Richard as Constable of England after Edward's recovery of the throne, and it was likely considered acceptable that Richard had not surrendered the letters patent of 1469 and that since the two men who had held the office since Richard's appointment in 1469, Earl Rivers and the earl of Worcester, were no longer living, the office had therefore reverted to Richard. Men captured in battle who were brought before the Constable and Marshal in Tewkesbury on 6 May were presumed guilty of treason by the fact that they had been in arms against the king with the king as witness. There is some variation, as would be expected, in the lists of those killed in battle and those executed afterwards.⁷¹ It seems to be agreed that those executed by beheading on a scaffold in the centre of Tewkesbury following judgment in the Court of Chivalry included Edmund Beaufort, duke of Somerset, and Somerset's standard bearer, John Flory, Sir William Cary of Cockington, Sir Gervaise Clifton of Brabourne, Sir John Delves of Doddington and his eldest son, also called John, John Gower of Clapham, who had been the sword bearer to Prince Edward of Lancaster, Sir John Langstrother, the Grand Master of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem in England, Lewis Miles, a squire, Sir Hugh Courtenay of Boconnoc, Sir William Newburgh of East Lulworth, Sir Thomas Tresham of Sywell, and perhaps Sir Henry Roos of West Grinstead, and the rather obscure Robert Clerke and Thomas Cruwys. Some captives were pardoned or fined or imprisoned. King Edward allowed the burial of those executed, without the dismemberment of their bodies or the public display of severed heads.

Richard, duke of Gloucester, had played a prominent part both in the battle of Tewkesbury and in the aftermath of the battle. At Barnet and again at Tewkesbury he had demonstrated military competence, and he had performed his duties as Constable of England. The Constable of England, as the office was envisioned by Edward IV in suppressing insurrection, was fully on display. A far less intense issue came to Richard of Gloucester's attention as constable in 1473. A nasty quarrel had been continuing in London for several years between David Panter, a goldsmith, and an apprentice goldsmith with a record of angry behaviour, Edward of Bowdon.⁷² The two men were neighbours, and their quarrel threatened the tranquillity of the Goldsmiths' Company. Ill-temper and defamatory words were apparently commonplace. The wardens of the Goldsmiths' Company tried to quiet things by binding each man with a threat of £40 to be forfeit to the company alms by whichever of them might first again behave outrageously. The threat failed in its objective, and the two fell to such further wrangling that the king heard of it and, perhaps suspecting some threat to the Crown, sent the constable of England to investigate. Richard of Gloucester determined that it was just a wretched dispute between incompatible neighbours, and placed the matter in the hands of the Goldsmiths' Company. Perhaps a *douceur* of £2 to one of

Richard's men helped to support the opinion that it was a Company matter and not an issue for the Crown. Both men had to beg for pardon before all who wore the livery of the Goldsmiths' Company, were required to pay alms of £12, and were also bound in £20 against future strife. Edward of Bowden seems to have quieted down, and David Panter, who hailed from England's border with Scotland, appears in records over the next decade as a goldsmith and citizen of London.⁷³

In the spring of 1475 an appeal from the Court of Chivalry of an award made in May 1474 offers some insight into the court.⁷⁴ The case involved two citizens and drapers of London, Robert Parker and John Kirkeby. The two merchants had an argument over a merchandise matter, and Kirkeby charged in the "court of the constableness" that Parker had detained £200 that should have gone to Kirkeby. The award went in favour of Kirkeby and Parker appealed. Of interest relative to Richard of Gloucester is that the award was made by Dr John Aleyn, the lieutenant or commissary of the Constable of England who acted as arbiter in the case. As someone affiliated with Gloucester, John Aleyn is of interest. In the 1440s Aleyn had gone to Italy to study law at Padua and Bologna, and he became a doctor of civil law in the latter university in 1452.⁷⁵ After his return from Italy, Aleyn practised law in London, Surrey, and East Anglia.⁷⁶ Aleyn sat several times with the commons in parliament and apparently lived until 1490.⁷⁷ Another judgment by Dr Aleyn, acting a deputy for Gloucester, was appealed, and a commission was appointed in 1476 to hear the appeal.⁷⁸ The case arose in Picardy, and the appeal was made by John Forster, provost of the king's army. The case the commission was to consider had to do with a safe-conduct.

In late winter 1477 a commission was appointed with Richard, duke of Gloucester, at its head in his capacity as both Constable and Admiral of England.⁷⁹ The commission was to hear a complaint lodged by Bartold Foolkerdenek, who was a merchant and was acting as factor and attorney for a group of Lübeck and Hamburg merchants. The complaint was that their ship called *le Jacob* of Hamburg was sailing along the Yorkshire coast toward the port of London when it was halted by low water, and while waiting for the tide to lift the ship on 31 August 1478, a group of evildoers led by Thomas, Lord Lumley, assaulted the mariners, broke up the ship, and made off with the merchandise, which included fish from Iceland. King Edward was keen on maintaining good relations with merchants of the Hanse towns, and he wanted the pillagers arrested and imprisoned, and restitution to be made. Unfortunately, no record is extant of the results of the work done by the commission.

King Edward promoted the use of the Admiralty Court and also that of the Court of Chivalry. In October 1482 a king's servant called Robert Rydon was appointed during pleasure to an office through which he would promote causes civil and criminal, together with treason, which could be brought before those courts.⁸⁰ Rydon is the first person known to have held this office, but his appointment, as if it were no novelty, noted the accustomed profits of the office as well as 20 marks annually from the Exchequer. About a year later the office was bestowed for life upon Master William Biller. When Duke Richard was to be out the kingdom on campaign in Scotland, in November 1482, a commission made up of three knights and four civilians was appointed to carry out the work of the constable.⁸¹ In the spirit of keeping the constableness viable, Richard of Gloucester while protector after the death of Edward IV, appointed Henry Stafford, duke of Buckingham, to be Constable of England.⁸² The appointment was made on 15 July 1483, and was among the many offices and rewards lavished upon Buckingham, who demonstrated profound ingratitude by rebelling against the new King Richard III in the autumn. In the meantime, it will be recalled, Richard had appointed John Howard, duke of Norfolk, to be Admiral of England, Ireland, and Aquitaine. To deal with Buckingham as a rebel constable, Richard appointed Sir Ralph

Ashton on 24 October 1483 to be Vice-Constable of England with a remit to proceed against anyone guilty of lese majesty.⁸³ As distressed and offended as he must have been by Buckingham's rebellion, Richard was demonstrating profound trust in Ashton to employ him on such a mission. Ashton was a Yorkshireman by birth, had been sheriff of Yorkshire, was made a knight banneret by Gloucester on the Scottish campaign of 1482, had attended Gloucester's coronation as King Richard III, and was a knight of the body to King Richard.⁸⁴

A responsibility of the Constable of England that has been mentioned in passing, but requires more attention fell in the realm of heraldry. Issues about the proper use of coats of arms fell within the purview of the Court of Chivalry. Richard, duke of Gloucester, has left abundant evidence of his interest in heraldry and chivalric matters. His white boar badge was carved on building works he patronized, such as those at Barnard Castle in County Durham and Carlisle Castle in Cumberland.⁸⁵ Richard owned two heraldic rolls of arms that do not survive.⁸⁶ Richard was probably familiar with three heraldic manuscripts in which he is featured: the *Salisbury Roll of Arms* and the *Warwick* or *Rous Roll*, and the *Beauchamp Pageant*.⁸⁷ In 1466 Richard was inducted into the Order of the Garter, a chivalric military fellowship of international prestige. Edward IV gave great support to the Order of the Garter, and his grandest effort at architectural patronage was the building of a new Chapel of St George at Windsor Castle, the chapel of the Order, and it was in that chapel the Edward's remains were laid to rest. Edward was thus very likely an encouraging factor in Richard's chivalric interests. Richard Neville, earl of Warwick, who was also a potential influence on Richard, was a lover of heraldry.⁸⁸ John, Lord Howard, Richard's friend and, like Warwick and Richard himself, a member of the Order of the Garter, had notable interest in heraldic matters such as livery and badges.⁸⁹ King Edward also commissioned manuscripts decorated with the garter insignia.⁹⁰ Duke Richard, while Constable of England, had his own herald of arms, called Gloucester herald, and a pursuivant of arms called Blanc Sanglier (White Boar). Gloucester herald was Richard Champney, who became a king of arms and principal herald of Wales after Duke Richard became King Richard.⁹¹

The Constable of England had oversight over the officers of arms employed by the Crown, and thus Richard had more than just his personal herald and pursuivant to oversee. Richard was active in this capacity. He presided, for instance, in a 1478 dispute over the issue of four recently dubbed knights who did not pay the expected fees to the officers of arms. At some time during his constablership, Richard issued a set of ordinances to give directions to the Crown's officers of arms.⁹² The ordinances are organized in nine sections and are not especially detailed directions. The officers of arms are to acquire knowledge of the lineages of families, their estates, and make accurate record of the arms of the families in their territory of responsibility. The kings of arms and heralds are to be courteous to one another. Only kings of arms are to license any new arms. Learning is encouraged among the officers of arms by Richard's ordinances; they are encouraged to study books of deeds and feats of arms, chronicles, and treatises on eloquence and manners. Officers are also to learn the language, colours, animals, and insignia of heraldry. The ordinances were thus fairly general directives, but the ordinances were without precedent.

Also unprecedented was King Richard's grant on 2 March 1484 of corporate status to the officers of arms.⁹³ As a corporate body the officers of arms could have a common seal with which to authenticate documents, could as a body sue and be sued in courts of law, could have their own coat of arms, and could own property. Corporate status also clarified the distinction between the Crown's officers of arms and private officers serving various noblemen. Moreover, Richard provided the officers of arms as a corporation with a London residence, a house called Coldharbour. This proved to be a short-term gift, for after Richard III's death in 1485 Henry VII gave the house to his mother, Margaret Beaufort. The heralds

did not get another permanent home until 1558, and it was destroyed by the great fire of 1666. The present-day College of Arms does now have a permanent home near the Thames. While there is an absence of evidence for Richard's hearing of cases concerning coats of arms while Constable of England, there can be no doubt of his interest in heraldry.

There is a regrettable lack of evidence concerning Richard, duke of Gloucester, for his carrying out of the duties of Admiral and Constable of England. The nature of those offices and the fact of Richard being impacted by holding them can, however, be asserted with confidence. Men who were associated with Richard had interests in naval and heraldic subjects, and also with maintaining order in the kingdom, to say nothing (with the distinctive and eventful exception of Warwick) of the survival of the Yorkist dynasty: Edward IV, Richard Neville, earl of Warwick, John, Lord Howard, and John Talbot, earl of Worcester. It is curious that among the small number of Englishmen who went to Italy to expand their learning in the fifteenth century, two have appeared in the present discussion: John Talbot, earl of Worcester, and Dr John Aleyn. To those two names should be added John Gunthorpe, a counsellor to Edward IV who served throughout Richard III's reign as keeper of the privy seal.⁹⁴ In every case, these were men older than Richard from whom he could learn and from whose service he could benefit. Emphasis has been placed upon the men with whom Richard would have interacted while he held the offices of Admiral and Constable of England. What Richard might have learned from any books he might have read, heard read, or encountered through their contents being discussed is fundamentally beyond proof. Richard as king owned a copy of the late fourth-century Roman writer Flavius Vegetius Renuatus's *Epitoma rei militaris*, commonly known as *De re militari*.⁹⁵ He was presumably made familiar with the contents of Vegetius as a youth, as would have been the case with any lad of the knightly class. William Caxton, England's first printer, dedicated his translation of Ramon Lull's *Livre de l'Ordre de Chevalerie* to King Richard.⁹⁶ The *Order of Chivalry*, in Caxton's translation of Lull (d. 1315), would have been very agreeable to Richard. William of Worcester's *Boke of Noblesse*, originally written for King Henry VI and later presented to Edward IV, was a third chivalric treatise owned by Richard as king.⁹⁷

As to the juridical aspects of his offices, it may be noted that no law books are known to have been among the books Richard possessed.⁹⁸ Here again, as with matters naval and military, it seems fitting to accept the authority and impression made by the men with whom Richard associated and who informed his views. And on the matter of the enforcement of law, it can be nothing but a speculative issue as to Richard's being influenced by the form of justice administered under the offices of Admiral and Constable of England when he ordered, as Protector of England, the summary execution of William, Lord Hastings on 13 June 1483.

Endnotes:

¹ *Calendar of Patent Rolls (1461-1467)*, p. 214. Hereafter cited as *CPR*.

² *CPR (1461-1467)*, p. 197.

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⁴ R. G. Marsden (ed.), *Select Pleas in the Court of Admiralty* (2 Vols., London: Selden Society 6, 11, 1892-1897), 1: xi.

⁵ See Graham Cushway, *Edward III and the War at Sea* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2011) for a comprehensive account.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 126, 153.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 50, 219-24.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 56, 225-35.

- ⁹ May McKisack, *The Fourteenth Century, 1307-1399* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), p. 245.
- ¹⁰ *CPR (1385-1389)*, pp. 285, 289, 292, 297, 302, 305, 308, 323, 338, 416, 434, 444, 446, 449, 464, 480. See also Chris Given-Wilson, "Richard (III) Fitzalan, fourth earl of Arundel and ninth earl of Surrey (1346-1397)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (60 Vols., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 19: 769-72. Hereafter cited as *ODNB*.
- ¹¹ H. M. Jewell, *English Local Administration in the Middle Ages* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1972), p. 135.
- ¹² William McFee, *The Law of the Sea* (London: Faber and Faber, 1951), pp. 59-75; Mears, "Admiralty Jurisdiction," 2: 321-22.
- ¹³ Marsden (ed.), *Pleas of Admiralty*, 1: xiv-xv, xlv, lii.
- ¹⁴ *Idem.*, 1: liv; Mears, "Admiralty Jurisdiction," 2: 318-20, 328-38; Michael Oppenheim, *A History of the Administration of the Royal Navy* (London: J. Lane, 1896), p. 65.
- ¹⁵ Marsden (ed.), *Pleas of Admiralty*, 1: lv; *CPR (1476-1485)*, p. 346.
- ¹⁶ A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), p. 346.
- ¹⁷ A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500* (3 Vols., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957-59), 2: 791.
- ¹⁸ *CPR (1467-1477)*, p. 52.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid. (1467-1477)*, pp. 171, 184-85, 201, 488-89, 495; *Ibid. (1476-1485)*, p. 102.
- ²⁰ *Ibid. (1467-1477)*, pp. 307, 599.
- ²¹ Rosemary Horrox, *Richard III: A Study of Service* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 85.
- ²² *CPR (1476-1485)*, pp. 78-79.
- ²³ C. D. Ross, *Edward IV* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), p. 280.
- ²⁴ M. A. Hicks, "Richard, Duke of Gloucester: The Formative Years," in *Richard III: A Medieval Kingship*, ed. John Gillingham (New York: St Martin's Press, 1993), p. 33.
- ²⁵ C. F. Richmond, "English Naval Power in the Fifteenth Century," *History* 52 (1967): 11, n. 54.
- ²⁶ Hicks, "Formative Years", p. 23.
- ²⁷ M. A. Hicks, *Warwick the Kingmaker* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), pp. 100, 133, 138.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 138, 221.
- ²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 227, 250-51; *Idem.*, "Bastard Feudalism, Overmighty Subjects and Idols of the Multitude during the Wars of the Roses," *History* 85 (2000): 393. Sherborne estimated Canynges fleet at "over 2000 tons:" James Sherborne, *William Canynges, 1402-1474* (Bristol: Bristol Branch of the Historical Association, 1985), p. 11; whereas Burgess estimates Canynges fleet at "just short of 3000 tuns:" Clive Burgess, "William Canynges (1402-1474)," *ODNB*, accessed online 1 May 2015.
- ³⁰ Hicks, *Warwick*, pp. 146-47; Richmond, "Naval Power," p. 8.
- ³¹ Hicks, *Warwick*, pp. 176, 186.
- ³² Richmond, "Naval Power," pp. 8-9.
- ³³ Hannes Kleinede, *Edward IV* (London: Routledge, 2009), pp. 187-90; Ross, *Edward IV*, pp. 351-62.
- ³⁴ It should be noted that during Edward's exile, the so-called Readeption of King

- Henry VI, Warwick held the office of admiral of England. This was naturally ignored when Edward recovered the throne, and the fiction was maintained that Richard of Gloucester had not been replaced as admiral.
- 35 Richmond, "Naval Power," pp. 8-9.
- 36 *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10; *Idem*, "Thomas Roger, Clerk of the King's Ships," *The Ricardian* 25 (2015): 14-15.
- 37 John Ashdown-Hill, *Richard III's 'Beloved Cousyn': John Howard and the House of York* (Stroud: History Press, 2009), p. 15.
- 38 Anne Crawford, *Yorkist Lord: John Howard, Duke of Norfolk, c. 1425-1485* (London: Continuum, 2010), pp. 161-64.
- 39 *Ibid.*, pp. 165-67; Ashdown-Hill, 'Beloved Cousyn', pp. 50-53.
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- 41 *Ibid.*, p. 71; P. J. Begent and H. Chesshyre, *The Most Noble Order of the Garter, 650 Years* (London: Spink, 1999), p. 313.
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- 43 *Ibid.*, pp. 91-95; Sean Cunningham, "The Yorkists as War: Military Leadership in the English War with Scotland 1480-82," in *The Yorkist Age*, ed. Hannes Kleineke and Christian Steer (Donnington: Shaun Tyas, 2013), pp. 187-88.
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- 45 A. C. Reeves, "Richard III's Knights of the Garter," *The Ricardian* 24 (2014): 98-100, 112.
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- 50 J. G. Bellamy, *The Law of Treason in England in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, (1970), pp. 158-59; M. H. Keen, "Treason Trials under the Law of Arms," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Fifth Series, 12 (1962): 99; *Idem.*, "The Jurisdiction and Origins of the Constable's Court," in *Idem*, *Nobles, Knights and Men-at-Arms in the Middle Ages* (London: Hambledon, 1996), pp. 135-48; M. J. Russell, "Trial by Battle in the Court of Chivalry," *Journal of Legal History* 29 (2008): 335-57; A. C. Reeves, "A 1453 Court of Chivalry Incident," *The Ricardian* 25 (2015): 71-72.
- 51 On the law of arms, see M. H. Keen, *The Laws of War in the Late Middle Ages* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1965), Part One
- 52 Bellamy, *Law of Treason*, p. 165; Ross, *Edward IV*, pp. 397-98.
- 53 R. J. Mitchell, *John Tiptoft, 1427-1470* (London: Longmans, 1938), pp. 84-85; C. L. Scofield, *The Life and Reign of Edward the Fourth* (2 Vols., London: Frank Cass, 1923), 1: 217; *CPR (1467-1477)*, p. 19.
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- 55 Emden, *Register of Oxford*, 3: 1877-79.
- 56 Roberto Weiss, *Humanism in England during the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1941), pp. 112-22.
- 57 Mitchell, Tiptoft, pp. 88-89; Scofield, *Edward the Fourth*, 1: 232-33.
- 58 Ross, *Edward IV*, pp. 65, 396-97.
- 59 Scofield, *Edward the Fourth*, 1: 334.
- 60 *Ibid.*, 1: 337; Mitchell, Tiptoft, p. 99; Ross, *Edward IV*, p. 61.
- 61 *CPR (1467-1477)*, p. 19.

- ⁶² *Ibid.* (1467-1477), p. 43.
- ⁶³ Bellamy, *Law of Treason*, pp. 160-61; *Idem*, "Justice under the Yorkist Kings," *American Journal of Legal History*, 9 (1965): 141-42. The full text of the 1467 letter patent is printed in L. W. Vernon-Harcourt, *His Grace the Steward and the Trial of Peers* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1907), pp. 407-11, and since this essay was written, the letter patent with an English translation has appeared in Annette Carson, *Duke Richard of Gloucester as Lord Protector and High Constable of England* (Horsead: Imprimis Imprimatur, 2015), pp. 70-84.
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- ⁶⁹ P. W. Hammond, *The Battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury* (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1990), pp. 73-79; M. K. Jones, "Richard III as a Soldier," in *Richard III*, ed. Gillingham, pp. 96-97. See also Devin Fields, "1471: The Year of Three Battles and English Gunpowder Artillery," *Journal of Medieval Military History* 13 (2015): 193-211.
- ⁷⁰ Hammond, *Barnet and Tewkesbury*, pp. 93-101.
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- ⁷² T. F. Reddaway, *The Early History of the Goldsmiths' Company, 1327-1509* (London: Edward Arnold, 1975), pp. 150-53.
- ⁷³ *Calendar of Close Rolls (1476-1485)*, pp. 252, 330.
- ⁷⁴ *CPR (1467-1477)*, p. 511.
- ⁷⁵ R. J. Mitchell, "English Law Students at Bologna in the Fifteenth Century," *English Historical Review*, 51 (1936): 272-73, 286.
- ⁷⁶ C. F. Richmond, *John Hopton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 196-97.
- ⁷⁷ J. C. Wedgwood, *History of Parliament: Biographies of the Members of the Commons House, 1439-1509* (London: HMSO, 1936), p. 6.
- ⁷⁸ *CPR (1467-1477)*, p. 591.
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- ⁸⁰ Bellamy, *Law of Treason*, pp. 162.-63.
- ⁸¹ *Idem*, "Justice under the Yorkist Kings," p. 142.
- ⁸² *CPR (1476-1485)*, p. 361.
- ⁸³ *Ibid.* (1476-1485), p. 368.
- ⁸⁴ A. F. Sutton and P. W. Hammond (eds.), *The Coronation of Richard III: The Extant Documents* (Gloucester: Sutton, 1983), pp. 304-05.
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- ⁸⁶ A. F. Sutton and L. Visser-Fuchs, *Richard III's Books* (Stroud: Sutton, 1997), pp. 141-44.
- ⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 144-50.
- ⁸⁸ Hicks, *Warwick*, p. 234.
- ⁸⁹ Ashdown-Hill, 'Beloved Cousyn', pp. 20-23.
- ⁹⁰ Reeves, "Richard III's Knights of the Garter," pp. 93-95, with references.
- ⁹¹ Ramsay, "Richard III and the Office of Arms," pp. 144-46.
- ⁹² *Ibid.*, pp. 147-48, 154-63.
- ⁹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 148-51.

- ⁹⁴ A. C. Reeves, “John Gunthorpe: Keeper of Richard III’s Privy Seal, Dean of Wells Cathedral,” *Viator*, 39/1 (2008): 307-44.
- ⁹⁵ Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, *Richard III’s Books*, pp. 77-80.
- ⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 2, 75, 80-85.
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~ToC~

Can a Coin from 1483 Solve a Ricardian Mystery?

Susan Troxell

Did Richard Aim to Take the Crown from Edward V?

Ricardians are frequently confounded by Richard’s actions in the Summer of 1483, and we look to secure answers about his intentions. He had been stalwartly loyal to his brother Edward IV throughout his reign. But the sudden turn of events in June, 1483, culminating in the assembled Three Estates stripped the erstwhile Prince of Wales of his inheritance and instead offered Richard the crown. This has perplexed us in the five centuries since that moment. Historians and writers have suggested that, upon Edward IV’s sudden and unexpected death on the 9th of April, 1483, Richard—for reasons ranging from personal to pragmatic—premeditated to usurp the throne from his nephew, the 12-year old Edward V. The theory finds dramatic presentation in Shakespeare’s play, but some 15th century chroniclers say it had actually been in circulation from the very beginning of the boy’s 11-week reign.

Dominic Mancini, an Italian cleric and diplomat who was sent to London to report intelligence back to the French king Louis XI, wrote in 1483 that the fear of usurpation found root even before Richard left his castle in Yorkshire to accompany the young king to London for his coronation. Mancini writes of a widespread belief that the appointment of a Lord Protector for the boy inevitably placed the uncle in a position to take the crown because “it had been found that no regent ever laid down his office, save reluctantly, and from armed compulsion, whence civil wars had often arisen. Moreover, if the entire government were committed to one man he might easily usurp the sovereignty.”¹ Mancini then observes: “Having entered the city [of London] the first thing he [Richard] saw to was to have himself proclaimed, by authority of the council and all the lords, protector or regent of the king and realm. Then he set his thoughts on removing, or at least undermining, everything that might stand in the way of his mastering the throne.”²

Some scholars even suggest that Edward IV did not intend a protectorate at all, saying it was his intention for his young son to be immediately anointed in a coronation ceremony and henceforth rule on his own behalf with the assistance of a royal council. Professor Rosemary Horrox takes this viewpoint in her biography of Richard III in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography and in her book *Richard III: A Study of Service* where she writes that the man who authored the Crowland Chronicle, a man who was likely a member of Edward IV’s inner circle and possibly a member of the royal council, voiced no objection to Edward V’s hasty coronation and the bypassing of Richard having a dominant role in his nephew’s reign.³

Both Mancini and the Crowland chronicler were writing in retrospect, following Richard’s accession to the throne on June 26, 1483, after the shocking news broke that the children of Edward IV and Queen Elizabeth were illegitimate by virtue of their parents’ bigamous marriage. Thus, it is no surprise that this hindsight shaped their narratives;

inevitably they both make suppositions about Richard’s true intentions in order to view the events of May-June, 1483 within some logical framework. It is a commonplace difficulty when examining any written account of historical events, whether written by a diplomat, a cleric, or a merchant in his personal correspondence.

This is why physical evidence from the period can be much more enlightening than letters, missives or chronicles written by contemporaries. Perhaps no more dramatic proof of this can be found than in the discovery of Richard III’s skeletal remains, the information they’ve provided and the myths they have already dispelled. Examination of those remains has already proven that Richard did not suffer from a “hunchback”, withered arm, or a horribly disfiguring physical impairment.

In this vein, I would like to discuss another piece of physical evidence that lends silent testimony to the difficult question as to Richard’s intentions in May and June, 1483. I believe this evidence confirms that Richard was more widely accepted as Lord Protector than previously reported and there was no premeditation to remove Edward V.

A Most Curious Coin

In preparing my talk on the symbolism of Richard’s boar badge for the Richard III Foundation in October, 2015, I ran across a very surprising discovery: a coin that was minted and distributed in 1483—also known as the “Year of Three Kings: Edward IV, Edward V and Richard III”. It was arrestingly beautiful and, given that it was struck at the Tower Mint in London during one of the most controversial periods in English history, I felt compelled to research it further.

This is the front or “obverse” side of the coin, a monetary currency established in 1465 by the first Yorkist king, Edward IV, and called the Angel. The Angel was a very valuable gold coin, and intended to replace the gold Noble coins circulating in England since the reign of Edward III. The image on the obverse side of Angel coins depicts the Archangel Saint Michael slaying a dragon. Around the edge of the coin are words in Latin announcing the name of the ruling monarch and his titles—king of England, France and Lord of Ireland. In the above image, those words indicate that the monarch’s name is Edward.



Taking a closer look at the coin, I immediately noticed a *boar’s head* between the saint’s halo and the first letter of Edward’s name. I wanted to know the reason for a boar’s head on an Angel coin that declared the king’s name as Edward and whether it had any symbolic meaning that could tell us something about the politics of the day. In other words, why would the well-known device of Richard as Duke of Gloucester and later King Richard III, appear on a coin during his brother’s or his nephew’s reigns?

What I discovered is that Edward IV’s early reign saw not only the inventing of the Angel as a new currency, but also the development of a new system of “initial marks” or “privy marks” or “mint marks” on coinage. Prior to 1461, English coins routinely had mint marks on them to signal where they were struck (there were multiple mints in England, including York, Canterbury and London) to give some information about their age, and which “run” of coin stamping they were produced in. The minting of coins in the medieval age was a combination of artistic skill, basic manufacturing and quality control. Bullion or plate would be brought into the mint, fashioned into blanks and then stamped with coin dies to produce officially sanctioned images. The dies were created by skilled craftsmen with the approval and under the careful eye of the Mint Master.

Every three months, the English Exchequer would conduct the “Trial of the Pyx”—random coins from various Mint runs were carefully examined and weighed against official exemplar coins kept in the Pyx Box. Coins found unequal in weight to the Pyx exemplar, or with imperfections in their hammered images, told the examiners that there was a problem with a particular die or a particular run of coins coming out of the Mint. Sometimes, it was a corrupt moneyer who provided bullion or plate that did not contain the right amount of silver or gold in the alloy, thus cheating the Crown by skimming off small amounts of precious metal, a practice that often brought with it the death penalty. If this was the case, the examiners at the Pyx Trial could then go back and “recall” the coins bearing similar mint marks from the production batches.

The secret language of “mint marks” was usually in the form of crosses (saltires), loops, or pellets. During Edward IV’s reign, a new system was developed: the addition of uniquely heraldic mint marks. This practice was truly innovative and continued for over two hundred years thereafter, until the practice of hammering coinage was discontinued. Consistent with this new Yorkist practice, coins during the reign of Edward IV, especially those of great value like Angels, would contain mint-mark symbols of significance to his royal house. The Rose and the Sun in Splendor were particular favorites, both being heraldic badges of Edward IV.

When changing the mint mark, an artisan would sometimes just re-carve the new image over the previous one. This saved time and money instead of creating an entirely new coin die. Even more confusingly, I discovered that newly crowned English kings sometimes just used their predecessor’s coin dies: the artisans at the Mint would pick up the prior dies, make necessary changes (if any) and continue hammering out new money until the new king’s administration developed a design for his own coinage.

So that’s a very basic summary of minting coins in the 15th century. But here’s the rub: *Edward IV never used the boar’s head on any of his coinage, as a heraldic mint mark or otherwise in the symbolic imagery of his reign.* I had to ask myself what I was looking at. Was it a coin from Edward IV’s, Edward V’s or even the early days of Richard III’s reign? The balance of evidence suggests it was from that most precarious of periods in the Plantagenet dynasty: the few short weeks when Edward V was king and his uncle Richard was recognized as Lord Protector.

A Gold Angel from the Lord Protectorate Period: May-June 1483

In October of 1955, two workmen reported that they had dug up 83 gold and 22 silver coins at the corner of the Zandstraat in Herentals, a province of Antwerp, Belgium. “They had been engaged in foundation work for a new building to be erected on the site of an ancient house and had found the coins about 5 feet below street level.”⁴ It turns out the workmen falsely reported their discovery; what they’d actually found was an ancient broken vase that contained a hoard of 225 gold and 22 silver coins that was probably hidden by someone during the Spanish-Dutch wars in the late 16th century. When I read the article concerning this discovery in the *British Numismatic Journal*, written by preeminent coin expert Herbert Schneider in 1955, my eyes immediately jumped to a sentence describing the origin of the coins, coming from “no less than 36 different countries, provinces, seigneuries, or towns, including 20 English gold coins, among them a George Noble of Henry VIII *and an Angel of Edward V.*”⁵

Schneider proceeded to catalogue and describe each of the English coins:

“Apart from the obvious rarity of a rather crinkled and somewhat battered George Noble which has normal features and legends, only **an Angel of Edward V** (Pl. XXV, 19), is of outstanding importance and interest. This is the fifth known

specimen and was struck from the same pair of dies as the British Museum coin, illustrated in Brooke's *English Coins*, Pl. xxxv. 2, which had hitherto been on a plane of its own, for the **other three Angels of Edward V** are all from a different altered obverse die of Edward IV combined with a different reverse die of Blunt + Whitton's Type XXII. On Whitton's list we find their obverse under No. 7, and the reverse is Blunt + Whitton Type XXII, reverse of No. 6, whereas the British Museum and the Herentals specimens were struck from the dies listed by Whitton under No. 4, the reverse of which tallies with Blunt + Whitton Type XXII, reverse of No. 7.⁷⁶

Although I am not a numismatist by any stretch of the imagination, this description told me that there were, indeed, gold Angels produced during the short reign of Edward V. More surprisingly is how Schneider went on to describe the appearance of the Edward V Angel found in Herentals, Belgium:

Edward V (1483)

ANGEL. *Obv[erse]*. **Initial mark Boar's Head (over Sun + Rose)**. Read DI FRANC*/*. Saltire stops.

Rev[erse]. Initial mark Sun+Rose. Reads /DRVCEM REDEMP* otherwise no stops. Whitton No. 4. (Cf. Brooke's *English Coins*, Pl. xxxv, 2.)⁷

So now I had an expert saying that during Edward V's reign, gold coins such as Angels were minted *with the boar's head mark on them*. And, with regard to the particular coin found in the Herentals treasure trove, the Edward V Angel showed that a prior coin die from Edward IV's reign had been altered to the extent that the pre-existing mint mark of a Sun+Rose had been re-carved over with the boar's head.

Reading further, I found an article from 1949 in the *British Numismatic Journal*, written by F. O. Arnold, which addressed the controversy over Angel coins bearing the boar's head mark.⁸ The controversy mainly arose because Edward V's reign was only 11 weeks long, which was not long enough in some numismatists' minds to produce coinage. Some argued that such coins were produced during the end of Edward IV's reign. However, Dr. Arnold disagreed and said the Tower Mint records showed in Edward V's reign "some 49 lb. in gold coins and 434 lb. in silver coins were in fact minted, and Hawkins himself and most other numismatists subsequently agreed that coins bearing the name of Edward and a boar's head upon them were definitely assignable to the reign of Edward V."⁹

Hundreds, if not thousands, of coins still exist today that are known to come from the reign of Edward IV. None of them contain a boar's head. This fact, along with the opinions of Schneider and Arnold and the British Museum, suggest that the coin shown above was in fact minted during Edward V's reign. At the very least, it shows that a coin die was created with the name of King Edward and a boar's head on it. Can there be any explanation other than it was made between April 9 and June 26, 1483?

It turns out that some coin experts, and indeed one who gave a presentation at a meeting of the British Numismatic Society in the mid-1980s, have the opinion that the gold Angel with a boar's head and bearing the name of Edward was actually made during the early months of Richard III's reign. They argue that the mint men simply picked up a die from the prior Edward V's coinage, and stamped a boar's head over what had been there originally. But that theory and its presentation were never published in the Society's journal. And, given the way in which Richard III came to the crown—following the deposition of Edward V—it would seem illogical and even contrary to commonsense for Richard III's new coins to bear the name of a king who was just declared a bastard, although it is always possible that some errant coins were produced. If it was a matter of convenience to be re-using old

dies and carving a boar's head over a previous mint mark, then why didn't the goldsmith *also carve over the name Edward with Ricard*? Since all the coins producing during Richard III's reign spelled his name as "Ricard", all it took was etching over *three letters*!

Finally, I located an article from 1934 in the *British Numismatic Journal* written by Christopher Blunt that addressed more broadly the coinage of Edward V.¹⁰ There, he catalogues not only an Angel coin from the Protectorate period, but also a Groat, Half-Groat, and Penny—all bearing the boar's head with the name Edward on the obverse. So it appears that the Angel coin I was looking at wasn't just a "one off" event. Coinage during the short reign of Edward V indisputably bore (forgive the pun) boar's head mint marks.

What does this all mean? Can we deduce any political messages from the imagery contained on the Edward V coins? I think we can.

Political Symbolism of the Edward V Gold Angel

It would be stating the obvious that images and symbols were widely used for political propaganda in the 15th century. We need look no further than the Edward IV roll at the Free Library of Philadelphia to observe how the Yorkists used the power of images to maximize political messaging. Examining the multiple images in the Edward IV Roll is notable for its utter lack of a boar or boar's head as a heraldic or family device. It belonged, uniquely, to Richard when he became Duke of Gloucester and later King.

Coins, like genealogical rolls, promoted political messages. Even in the few months of Henry VI's "readoption" in 1470-71, Edward IV's Rose and Sun-in-Splendor mint marks were removed from the Angel coin and supplanted with Henry's Fleur de Lis, a symbolic statement of a regime change.¹¹ The coins bearing the name of Edward V and boar's head mint mark announce very strongly that Richard was recognized to be the singular powerful lord supporting his reign. Not only was he personally subsidizing it by supplying it with his own money and administrative talents, but he was the undoubted "power behind the power" in maintaining his nephew's realm. There is no dispute that in the period from May 9 to mid-June, the crown's administrative machinery was kept in smooth working order.

Rosemary Horrox contends that there is no evidence showing a panicked mind or insecurity between Richard's assumption as Lord Protector and events leading up the first sermons preached about Edward IV's precontracted marriage to Eleanor Talbot. In fact, she says, the council operated in apparent harmony and without controversy; Richard made every attempt to maintain continuity with the prior regime, without promoting his own partisans into the mix.¹² Sir John Wood, formerly the Speaker of the Commons in Edward IV's 1483 parliament, was made Lord Treasurer of the Exchequer to replace the deceased Earl of Essex on the 16th of May. William, Lord Hastings, was re-ordained in his position as Master of the Tower Mint on the 20th of May. Coinage struck at the Tower Mint in May and June was made under the mandate of the Lord Treasurer, John Wood, showing that perhaps Hastings was either distracted with other issues or perhaps falling out of favor.¹³ In any case, Horrox comments that at this time, "most Englishmen seem to have acknowledged" Richard's authority, as he was able to command former men from Edward IV's household in dicey situations where orders issuing from a suspected usurper would have been met with a decided lack of enthusiasm.¹⁴

That Richard was widely accepted as Lord Protector and as the "power behind the power" of Edward V's nascent regime is even more strongly supported by the speech prepared by John Russell, bishop of Lincoln and the new Chancellor under Edward V. This speech was prepared in anticipation of the Parliament scheduled for the 25th of June, and was probably written somewhere between the 5th and 10th of June, a month into Richard's occupation of his new role. As Charles Ross has commented, this speech carries with it not

only the personal viewpoint of Russell, but “may be regarded as official government policy”.¹⁵ Russell’s speech castigates the Queen’s relatives as being unreliable support to the new regime, and casts Richard as Lepidus, twice consul of Rome, who was elected by the Roman senate to have guardianship of the boy Ptolemy, king of Egypt and to not only provide for his education and physical well being but also to address himself to the administration of all great things concerning his realm. As Annette Carson explains in her treatise, *Richard as Lord Protector and High Constable* (2015), this was a proposition that gave even more power to Richard as guardian of Edward V.¹⁶ Certainly, there is no evidence here of any suspicion that he was grasping to usurp his nephew’s crown.

Coins from the reign of Edward V thus provide us a glimpse into a stable period, where Richard’s authority as Lord Protector was not controversial and where the new government seemed poised to solidify and even magnify his guardianship. The disclosure of Edward V’s bastardy arose outside the inner workings of Richard’s administration, and must have been just as surprising and shocking to him as to the public.

Endnotes:

- ¹ C.A.J. Armstrong, *The Usurpation of Richard the Third by Dominicus Mancinus* (Oxford University Press, 1936), 87.
- ² *Ibid*, 103.
- ³ Rosemary Horrox, *Richard III: A Study of Service* (Cambridge University Press, 1989), 93.
- ⁴ Herbert Schneider, “An Angel of Edward V in the Herentals (Belgium) Treasure Trove”, *British Numismatic Journal*, Vol. 28, No. 25 (1955), pp. 312-316.
- ⁵ *Ibid*, 312.
- ⁶ *Ibid*, 313-314.
- ⁷ *Ibid*, 314.
- ⁸ F. O. Arnold, “The Regnal Attribution of the Initial Mark Rose and Sun Dimidiated,” *British Numismatic Journal*, Vol. 26, No. 14 (1949), pp. 164-170.
- ⁹ *Ibid*, 164.
- ¹⁰ Christopher Blunt, “The Coinage of Edward V with Some Remarks on the Later Issues of Edward IV”, *British Numismatic Journal*, Vol. 22, No. 16 (1934), pp. 213-225.
- ¹¹ John Ashdown-Hill, “The Red Rose of Lancaster?”, *The Ricardian*, Vol. X, No. 133 (June 1996), 406, 414-415.
- ¹² Horrox, 109-110.
- ¹³ Blunt, 214.
- ¹⁴ Horrox, 103.
- ¹⁵ Charles Ross, *Richard III* (University of California Press, 1981), 75.
- ¹⁶ Annette Carson, *Richard Duke of Gloucester as Lord Protector and High Constable of England* (Imprimus Imprimatur, 2015), 39-77.

Eviscerating Terry Breverton...

Richard III: The King in the Car Park—Terry Breverton, Amberley, 2013

The second paragraph of the preface to this book brings up politics, citing Princess Diana and Margaret Thatcher, whose death “was generally regretted by those in the south of England, but not in many other parts of the country... There will never be a factual biography of Mrs. Hilda Margaret Thatcher?”—Never? Even in 500 years?—“because our opinions and experience alter both writers and their audiences.” But what has this to do with Richard III, his life and times? Is there some mystery about Mrs. Thatcher?

In the third paragraph, racism and colonialism are introduced, and Bishop Stubbs castigated. “Stubbs glamorized the barbarian Angles, Saxons and Jutes in their genocide of the Christian Britons...” Wait a bit. Isn’t this, if not racism, an extreme form of ethnocentrism? How dare he imply that Christianity is better than the worship of Thor and Odin? Isn’t that bigotry? He also takes a swipe at the progenitor of the current Royal family, a “minor princeling from Hanover, a country the size of the Isle of Wight.” Hmm... sizeism! If size confers moral superiority, has he looked at the relative sizes of England and Wales?

Mr. Breverton, incidentally, sometimes uses “Britain” and “British” to refer to what is now Great Britain, sometimes to mean England and the English, and sometimes to apply to Wales and the Welsh only. No worries; one can usually tell by the context.

In paragraph four, the author brings up militarism, and Mr. Anthony Charles Lynton Blair. Who? Oh, he means Tony Blair. Note to aspiring political pundits: You get Brownie points for using politician’s full names, especially if they are multiple (George Herbert Walker Bush), alliterative (Hubert Horatio Humphrey), or at all odd-sounding (Margaret Hilda Thatcher). I mean, isn’t there something screamingly funny about being named Hilda, even if you never use that name?

In para number five, he attacks historical novelists. “A major problem is that historical novelists often stray from fact [doesn’t all fiction?] to form a hypothesis [a hypothesis is a scientific term, and can be tested by experimentation. A novel has a plot—usually—not a hypothesis], which will in turn sell more books.” ... which is a Bad Thing. Didn’t he write this book to sell? And didn’t he sell a copy of it to the Richard III Society Library? He disapproves of much non-fiction writing as well. “When a non-fiction writer resorts to derogatory adjectives... describing one king, say Henry VII while his protagonist Richard III is a heroic warrior... one has to beware. The more adjectives there are... the more it usually betrays its author’s biases.” I’ll tell you what betrays Breverton’s biases. “... facts are disguised and stage-managed for the benefits of the corporation instead of the state.” Ah yes. ‘Everything for the state.’ Wonder who said that? Perhaps he meant to say “people,” but slips of the pen often betray one’s true viewpoint.

In the next paragraph, he gets personal. “Even with a track record of writing over forth well-received non-fiction books... it is increasingly difficult for this author to be published.” He admits this is not all attributable to conspiracy. There are fewer people who enjoy reading nowadays. Another self-revealing remark and an example of the argumentum *ad oppresum*: I don’t get published because I’m being discriminated against. Maybe it’s just because he is not that polished a writer? More on that below.

Next he goes after the Church: “We seem to be returning to medieval times, with tourists (pilgrims) being attracted to pay to see holy relics, thus giving the Church and its environment an additional income stream.” (Money is the root of all evil, you know.) In

the next sentence, with apparently no realization that he is writing of a different Church, he goes on: “Roman Catholicism in Richard’s day allowed one to go to Heaven if one confessed to one’s sins and endowed the Church with money and/or estates.” Though not a Catholic, I believe this misrepresents Catholic doctrine. For one thing, it omits any mention of penance.

Next (I’ve lost count of the paragraphs) he excoriates Thomas Penn, the author of *The Winter King*, about Henry VII. The way Breverton goes after Penn, Michael Hicks, et al. one would think they were wild-eyed Ricardians. They are not, but they do not overmuch admire Henry VII, “...there is a case to be made for Henry VII being the wisest and greatest king of England,” per Breverton. Yet he assures us he can be even-handed and dispassionate.

All this and we have only arrived at the beginning of the Introduction! Only 176 pages left. Need I go on? I’m prepared to take up my lance and do battle for the cause. Just for the cause of puncturing the Breverton ego, if nothing else.

Part 2

Being an elaboration, with examples, of some of the points made in Part I, let’s get the more trivial criticisms out of the way first.

Grammar: Pg. 82—“Her son was only 14 years younger than her.” It should be “than she (was).” I can’t help it. I paid attention in English Composition.

Here’s one of my favorite gripes: “Devout believers in the Roman Church could literally get away with anything and still go to heaven if they confessed and paid enough to the Church. In Richard’s case his gifts to the Church, in exchange for forgiveness for his sins, came from illegal confiscations of properties and fees.” Literally? *Literally*?? You mean Richard is actually, literally, in Heaven right now, at the right hand of God? And more particularly, right next to Henry Tudor, who certainly made lavish gifts to the Church—which were a waste of good money, according to Mr. Breverton. More about that later. For right now, let’s just say that people who confuse ‘literally’ and ‘figuratively’ are quite annoying.

More a matter of syntax than grammar is the way the author, 99 times out of 100, uses ‘upon’ for ‘on’, as in ‘upon 20 January 1487.’ Another annoyance, if a minor one.

Further, he doesn’t seem to be able to count. Pg. 115: “Arthur was probably conceived two months before the couple wed. [My decimal digital computer says one month.] , and recent Ricardian novelists are attributing this to forcible rape.” [That’s one ‘Ricardian’ novelist, Philippa Gregory—who writes mostly about the Tudors.]

Did I mention that there are no footnotes or endnotes, and only a “Partial List of Sources?” And no index! Grr-rrr!

To go on to more factual criticisms: Terry Breverton hates Richard, to be sure, but not half as much as he hates Ricardians, it would seem: “Ricardians claim that [the Beaufort line] had been bastardised by Parliament” (not just Ricardians claim this) “so Henry, the son of Margaret Beaufort, had no claim to the throne. The same could be claimed against Richard—no recent books seem to mention that. Anti-Henry writers decry the fact that Henry’s real claim came via his mother, whereas in fact Richard’s real right also came via his mother. Both inherited through the female line.” No recent book mentions this, because it is simply not true. Richard’s mother, Cecily Neville, had Beauforts in her family tree, but Richard’s, and his brother Edward’s, claim did not come through her. Breverton had just spent the better part of a paragraph telling us about Philippa, the daughter of Lionel of Clarence, and Anne Mortimer, without mentioning that they were from senior lines. Richard’s father, from whom he derived his right to the throne, was the Duke of York, and he was descended from Edmund, Duke of York, third surviving son of Edward III. John of

Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, Henry's great etc. grandfather, was the fourth surviving son. Even if the Beauforts were unquestionably legitimate, Richard had primogeniture on his side.

“(T)he Richard III Society had always disputed that Richard had a crookbacked appearance, as usual blaming ‘Tudor propaganda..’, but the skeleton is the same as the body depicted by Richard’s contemporaries and later writers.” Most Ricardians accepted that Richard may well have had uneven shoulders, though not knowing the cause until his skeleton was discovered. Breverton is careful to use the words ‘crookbacked appearance’ in the text, but the blurb on the back cover clearly calls Richard a hunchback. The author thus confuses scoliosis (curvature of the spine) with kyphosis (commonly called ‘hunchback’) and hopes we won’t notice. Or maybe he doesn’t notice himself.

“A blog was recently set up called ‘The Henry VII Appreciation Society. Unlike the Richard III Society, with its royal patronage, it is a one-man-band... This is one person facing the members of two national groups of the Richard III Society, plus their American, Continental, Australian, Canadian and New Zealand branches.” He thus argues, on the one hand, that Richard was certainly guilty—“What we can say is that nearly every important death in his time was connected with Richard contemporaneously”—and the majority is always right—and also argues from poverty and minority status. Poor little brave David, against the Goliath of the Richard III Society. You’re not going to root for Goliath, are you? (I have checked out that blog, which seems to be mainly a recording of significant dates in early Tudor history.)

That’s not enough for TB (I’m tired of typing out full names), who decries ‘hagiographies’ of Richard, but proceeds to author one of Henry. “...Henry in his long reign was never involved in any estate-grabbing scandals, Richard was immured in them.” The reader picks his/her jaw up off the floor, and reads on: “Henry redistributed estates illegally confiscated by Yorkists, but had no truck with upsetting the balance of the great houses and creating potential resentment and conflict.” He contrasts Richard’s shabby treatment of his mother-in-law, Anne Beauchamp, with Henry’s: “In November 1487 [when Henry had been king for over two years—he was in no hurry to do right by our Nell] an Act of Parliament...restored to her the family estates. One month later, the countess conveyed most of her lands back to the Crown...This led to the effective disinheritance of her grandson, Edward, Earl of Warwick.” And Breverton doesn’t find that just a little peculiar? Doesn’t necessarily mean that Henry bullied her, as TB accuses Richard of doing. He may simply have been a king of flim-flam artists (a viewpoint I rather favor, since I thought of it myself!).

On those occasions when Richard III and Henry VII did pretty much the same thing, such as post-battlefield executions, Breverton finds excuses for the latter, or points out that they are not the same thing at all, or Henry only did it a little bit. Henry’s inactions are held up as virtues: He did not display Richard’s head on a pole, “as Plantagenets were wont to do.” Yes, and many of those Plantagenets were Lancastrians, Henry’s ancestors and partisans. He deserves some credit for not being Margaret of Anjou, I suppose.

There is also the ‘man of his times’ argument, sometimes used in defense of Richard III. Breverton turns that argument on its head: “Plantagenet history is drenched in bloodshed and intrigue, whereby power was more important than legitimacy. This is Richard III’s background...Several of Richard’s predecessors had murdered their way to the crown or been usurpers, so his so-called royal bloodline was tangential at best...” Henry Tudor’s background? “Over 200 years of fighters for independence.” Welsh independence, he means. Honesty compels him to admit that Henry was twice as English (Boo! Hiss!) as he was

Welsh, but he elides the fact that Henry actually did very little for the independence of Wales, though he did remove some of the anti-Welsh laws.

TB quotes copiously from Welsh poetry, hardly an unbiased source when dealing with an English king. One bard refers to King Richard (“the boar”) as a ‘Jew,’ a “Saracen,” and an “ape,” none of which he was, and as “little,” which was no doubt accurate. Breverton would not use such racial epithets himself, but the fact that someone in his own, less enlightened, time did, proves how much Richard was justifiably hated, and deservedly so!

Finally, TB gives an annotated list of Richard’s crimes. Some so-called crimes might more accurately be described as civil torts (such as the Countess of Oxford affair). Some were undone almost as soon as they were done (the arrest of Stanley, et al). Some are just plain reaching. George Neville, Richard’s ward, ‘died in mysterious circumstances,’ so he was murdered? The circumstances are a ‘mystery’ because no record survives of his cause of death, which would seem to lend credence to the conclusion that it was a natural death. If Richard did kill him, he did so at the worst possible time for his long-term benefit, so it can be put to simple bloodthirstiness. Same with the death of sister-in-law Isabel Neville, for which he had no motive whatever. (He does name Richard’s guilt in her death as “unknown,” which, translated, means “ridiculous.”) He forgets to list Isabel’s infant son, who died at the same time she did.

Terry Breverton does bring up some points that pro-Ricardian, or neutral, historians should probably give more attention to, such as the executions of Rivers, Grey, Vaughan, et al, But when one has said that, one has said just about everything. Not quite everything—the above is just a ‘partial list.’

Just to show how ecumenical and even-handed I am, I am now preparing to eviscerate John Ashdown-Hill—well, mildly anyway. If there is such a thing as a mild evisceration.

...and John Ashdown Hill

The Mythology of Richard III—John Ashdown-Hill, Amberley Publishing, Stroud, Glos, 2015

In the first paragraph of his Introduction, Mr. Ashdown-Hill says: “Richard III’s life story was rewritten...by the propagandists of his victorious opponents...Should anyone have the slightest doubt that such things still happen today...they have only to look at how the story of the rediscovery of the king’s remains...has been edited...the story seems to have been chiefly manipulated by the University of Leicester Press Office and its associates in order to claim maximum kudos in respect of the discovery...Evidence of this activity is presented in part 7 and the appendices (of this book.)” It is understandable if JAH (I’m giving him the same initial treatment) feels he has not gotten the proper credit for his efforts, and that he would want to set the record straight But why does he not just do so, and then drop the matter? Instead, it seems to have become a sort of King Charles’ head with him.

Just as TB dragged Margaret Thatcher and Tony Blair into his thesis, the author finds modern parallels, in the late Shah of Iran and in the Perons (with photographs in the picture section). He criticizes Charles Ross, not so much for writing a critical history of the king, but for accepting the story that Richard’s bones had been thrown into the river, although at the time of his writing, he most likely believed this to be true. He criticizes the Leicester Visitors’ Centre for not referring to Eleanor Talbot as Queen of England. Really, did he suppose that they would? As she never made any claim to be, and was never anointed, the most one can say is that she was queen *de jure*, but not *de facto*.

He finishes: ... “But in the end, it is always far better to be left with an open question to which we know that we can offer no simplistic answer, rather than to be palmed off with an easy ‘answer’ for which, in reality, there are is absolutely no historical basis.” All this,

and we are only at the end of the Introduction! And, true, Ashdown-Hill is going to destroy myths, some of which we didn't even know were myths. Was Richard born in Fotheringhay? No proof of this, the author says, even though Richard probably wrote it himself in his *Book of Hours*. If he didn't know (albeit by hearsay) who did? Need we dig up his long-form birth certificate? The story that the King rode a white horse at the Battle of Bosworth, which we have come to accept, is likewise a myth. But he had to ride a horse of some color, and it probably does no harm to consider it a white one, at least in a fictional setting.

In spite of his claim to present the absolutely proven truth, and nothing but the truth, the author unconsciously indulges in a little myth-making of his own. The evidence of the bones, JAH states, proves that Richard was 5'8", above average height for the 15th century. No, they prove he would have been about that height if his spine was straight. Later, when discussing his burial site—the original one, he claims that '(p)resumably an average-sized grave was dug, but when Richard's corpse arrived it proved to be of somewhat above average height." So he grew post-mortem from average to tall! George, says the author, was the real shrimp of the family. This is based on a guesstimate by the chronicler Jehan de Wavrin, of the ages of George and Richard when the latter was about eight. He thought that George was the older, but only by about a year, rather than three years. Children grow at different rates, and de Wavrin might have been judging on factors other than height. JAH overlooks the fact that the Scottish prelate Archibald Whitlaw referred to Richard's slightness to his face.

Thanks to Ricardian fiction, we have come to think of Cecily Neville as being tall and blonde and Richard of York as being short and dark. All a myth, with no proof. Ashdown-Hill thinks it was the other way around, but there is no proof of this either. Genetically, it was quite possible for both parents to be short, or for both to be tall, and the offspring to show a variety of statures.

Part 2

I will admit that the following are simply quibbles, but as JAH has seen fit to quibble about them, so will I. On page 31, he castigates a headline writer for stating that Richard III had kyphosis (which he did not) and intestinal parasites (which he did, but so did most people at the time). The first is simply not true, the second 'terminological inexactitude,' as parasites do not 'infect,' they 'infest.' That would seem to be a distinction without a difference.

On page 74, he writes "Henry IV seized the throne from Richard II by force in 1399. Edward IV took the throne from Henry VI in battle in 1461. Henry VII took the throne from Richard III at the battle of Bosworth... Yet, curiously, not one of them is normally called a usurper, either by modern historians, or by the general public..." Really? I have never read a history in which Henry IV is not described as a usurper, and even Tudorophiles admit that Henry VII had only a weak genealogical claim.

On page 104, he examines the evidence that Richard ate a lot of fish, as Catholics were obliged to at certain times. Then he tells us about the Bryene family, who ate fish not only on Fridays, but also on Wednesdays and Saturdays. "The Howard household did not go that far. But maybe Richard III did—making him one of the truly pious in terms of his diet." And maybe he didn't. Without a baseline, we can draw no conclusions on how many times a week he ate fish, much less his reason for doing so. Several times, JAH draws conclusions on similarly flimsy evidence or none at all. "Elizabeth [of York] was delighted at the prospect of a foreign royal marriage." There is no proof of how she felt about a betrothal to Manuel of Portugal, and the very fact that she wrote to John Howard asking him to run interference for her would seem to prove the contrary. "One result of [Richard's defeat and

death] was that Joanna [of Portugal] never married and became a religious. But that was not necessarily caused by Richard's death.

This brings up one of the themes that JAH returns to time and again. Richard was a Catholic who is now buried in a Protestant cathedral. Blasphemy, blasphemy! No, according to him, Richard was not a 'Roman Catholic.' "...the new, independent 'Church of England' coined the term 'Roman Catholic' to refer to the now opposed Catholic ('Romish') Church, while at the same time highlighting the fact that its English adherents were...of dubious patriotic loyalty." Couldn't it just be a retronym, along the lines of 'land-line phone,' or even 'Eastern' or 'Orthodox Church?' But no, it was all spin doctoring by those bad, bad, blasphemous Anglicans, who were responsible in the seventeenth century for 'inventing' (out of whole cloth) the festival of Guy Fawkes day.

Since Richard had the full funeral rites, if not the full panoply, of the church to which he belonged, and we have to assume that they "took," what difference does it make what someone else decides to do 500 years later? It does make a difference to JAH. He uncovers another evil motive for Richard's burial in the Cathedral: encouraging the tourist trade, and 'profit-making.' In this, he is very much like Terry Breverton. Profits are bad, money is bad. This seems special pleading, coming from an adherent of a church that is not exactly impoverished.

Don't get me wrong, JAH is entitled to hold forth on his belief, as TB is to publicize his (Welsh nationalism). They are both free to proselytize for their viewpoints But it doesn't seem to have occurred to either one that you don't win converts by insulting a large proportion of your readers.

Have I nothing positive to say about *Mythology*? Quite a bit, actually. JAH has done meticulous research on the possibility, promoted by Michael Hicks, that the bones are not those of Richard III, and finds an 85% probability that they are. He devotes the first of his appendices to this. He also points out the blood relationship of Lord Hastings to the royal family, which most historians miss. Given my natural bias in favor of Richard, I would have given this book four stars to begin with, then added a star for the completeness of his research. But then I must subtract stars for committing some of the same sins Terry Breverton does: illogical arguments, begging the question, and making the book more about him than about its presumed subject. Final verdict: 3.5 stars.

Maybe it's not possible to write a completely neutral biography of Richard III, neither a hagiography nor a demonology. Ricardian novelist Mathew Lewis comes close in *The Wars Of The Roses: The Struggle for Supremacy* (Amberley, 2015), and Michael Jones in *Bosworth: The Battle that Transformed England* (Pegasus, NY, 2015). Neither of these is, of course specifically a biography of Richard alone. I hope to review these in the next issue, as I am afraid that reviewing them in such close proximity to Mr. Ashdown-Hill's and Mr. Breverton's offering may color my reaction, one way or the other. In the meantime, here are a couple of quick overviews,

Kings & Queens of Great Britain: A Very Peculiar History (With added blue blood) (Antony Mason, Scribo, Brighton, no date given) [ed. Note: Amazon lists the publisher as Book House, with the date of April 1, 2014]

This is a pocket-sized compendium of all the rulers from Saxon times to the present, with varied typography and cartoonish illustrations. The section on Richard III has him saying: "You'll be hearing from my lawyers, Mr. Shakespeare...and my lawyers have swords." The text, however, admits that "(w)e shall probably never know." Mostly but the authors may soon be hearing from Princess Anne, due to the proofreader having apparently fallen asleep. The section on the Princess Anne has her having a child seven years before

her marriage. The front cover aims for ecumenicism, featuring a Saxon, a Plantagenet, a couple of Tudors, a trio of Stuarts, a Hanoverian, and Queen Victoria, as well as the present monarch.

The Tudor Tutor: Your Cheeky Guide to the Dynasty—(Barb Alexander, Skyhorse Publishing, Delaware, 2015).

This is written by a woman who hosts a blog of the same name, and illustrated with non-cartoonish portraits by Lisa Graves, who co-owns the copyright. In fact, the portraits, which include one of Richard III and one of James I and VI, might be called a bit flattering. Naturally narrower in scope than the previous book, and a bit thicker (but still only 148 pages), it opens with a run-down of the Wars of the Roses, "...a series of civil wars between two sides of the same family. (This is known in some families today as "the holidays.")" That is very much the spirit throughout. A few errors creep in, such as dating the Battle of Bosworth on August 7, thus going Henry Tudor a couple of weeks better in pre-dating! No doubt this is the result of translating from the Gregorian calendar to the Julian, but other dates, such as birthdates, are not changed. The reader should not beware, perhaps, but read with care.

Eviscerating chick-lit...

Cicely's Sovereign Secret: A Story of King Henry VII's Private Matter—Sandra Heath Wilson, Buried River Press, London, 2015

This is the fourth in Sandra Heath Wilson's series about Cicely Plantagenet, sister of Elizabeth of York, and a bit more serious than the preceding three. It is less of a bedroom romp, though there is a fair amount of bedroom activity involved.

The cover of this book, like the previous ones, does not run to the buxom belle in ropable bodice typical of the genre. Instead it features a stylized dragon twisting around to bite its own back. A metaphor? But what does that have to do with a "Sovereign Secret?" Nothing really. Cicely's secret, which she is trying desperately to keep any Tudor from finding out, is that she has borne a son to Richard III. That, however, was revealed to us early in the series. Ms. Wilson has promised that we would learn certain things in this volume: (1) the identity of the woman (or one of them) 'who taught Henry Tudor the arts of lovemaking.' We do learn her name, but she does not appear as a character, having died. (2) The identity of the mysterious older man known as Tal. He is not Taliesin ap Gruffyd, though possibly partially Welsh, as he has written Welsh poetry. But 'Tal' is short for something else.

We also learn that John ("Jack") de la Pole has an almost feline talent for survival. He 'dies' and is resurrected twice, so far. But the secret of the title would seem to be the secret of Cicely's sovereign, Henry VII, and it would be about the son he left behind in Brittany. What is so secret about that? Almost all noblemen had at least one by-blow. There has to be more to the story than that, and there is. There is a subplot involving that by-blow, Roland de Vielleville, and Cicely's 12-year-old sister, a precocious flirt and even more precocious schemer. Even his own father calls Roland "an insufferable little prick." (Pot, say hello to kettle! Acorn, meet tree!) But let's be fair. Henry was not responsible, except genetically, for how Roland turned out, as he didn't raise him. Nor is Roland's character a deep dark secret.

It may strike the thoughtful reader that the real secret Henry is trying to hide from the world is himself. One character describes him as "unbalanced," or, as we would say nowadays, schizoid. He does seem, at times, to do or say things that he has no memory of afterward, although at other times he is quite conscious and deliberate. Cicely realizes all this, yet she sees another side to Henry. He can be "loving, warm, amusing, engaging."

Perhaps Ms. Wilson, and therefore Cicely, literally sees this. The upper classes of the Renaissance had begun to use portraiture as later centuries would use photography: for propaganda purposes, but also just to mark the passage of time. We have a series of portraits or sketches of Henry, including those dating from his stay in Brittany and France. Can we see in them a hopeful and vulnerable young man who, with a little effort, could be quite charming? And who gradually morphs into the grasping old cynic of the Sittow portrait?

At least, that's one theory. He might have been, as Ms. Wilson points out in a previous book, as dull as ditchwater and about as opaque. But then why write about him at all?

Perhaps to resuscitate something of that early vulnerability, or to work up some sympathy for Henry VII, the author has given him a number of illnesses. In a previous book, she admits 'causing' Henry to come down with TB years before he actually did. In this book, she really piles it on. Though only in his early 30s, he already has gout and bad eyesight. The latter he acquired by checking his account books by candlelight. Couldn't he do that in the daytime? Reading glasses, he thinks, are for old people, so he uses a magnifying glass instead. I know spectacles were in use in the 15th century, but were magnifying glasses? Somehow the idea of a Sherlock Holmes in deerstalker and doublet, carrying a magnifying glass, is a bit ludicrous. Eventually, Henry breaks down and gets a pair of specs.

That's only a minor problem, though. To advance the plot and no doubt so that Cicely can save his life, the author gives Henry a particularly nasty and painful digestive upset. This is not the result of premature aging, nor the fickle finger of fate, but of the flickering fingers of a poisoner. Like other monarchs in his position, Henry had tasters, so the culprit had to be someone close enough to him to slip poison into his wine after it had been tasted. It wasn't Cicely, and it wasn't the same person who poisoned Edward IV, so who? (This is what is known as a teaser. I know, but you will have to read the book to find out.)

There is much plotting and counter-plotting, both dynastic and personal. Richard III appears only near the end of the book when Cicely conjures him up (from her imagination—no witchcraft here) to give her some good advice. There are one or two mild anachronisms. Elizabeth, for example, wears the new French hood, but still shaves her eyebrows and forehead in the old fashion. All her portraits, admittedly painted later, show a normal hairline.

My chief complaint about this book is that there are too many loose ends. Cicely complains of being barren, but in real life she had children during her marriage to Lord Welles ('Jon'), though they did not live very long. And speaking of long lives, how many more will Jack of Lincoln have? What will happen to Cicely and Richard's son, Leo Kymbe? He is much too young to be 'Perkin Warbeck,' who isn't even a gleam in Margaret of Burgundy's eye here. Could Leo turn out to be the bricklayer of Eastwell, assuming he could fudge his age by a decade or so? Maybe he just decided to lie low. In this story, he is in as much danger from so-called 'friends' as from Henry Tudor. Relations between Henry and his Queen are worse than ever, but he would seem to be devastated when she died. Was this faking? Did he lock himself away so nobody could see him turning gleeful cartwheels? Figuratively, of course. Gout would have prevented actual acrobatics.

But the big question is: How many more books will there be in this series? And, given that I am no longer in my first youth, am I going to be able to read them all? Come on, can't we hustle it up a bit?

Plantagenet Princess, Tudor Queen: The story of Elizabeth of York—Samantha Wilcoxson, Middleton, DE, 2015

Both this book and *Cecily's Sovereign Secret* might be classified as chick-lit, but could not be more different. The cast of characters have the same names, but divergent

personalities. There is a different Elizabeth, a different Cicely, a different Anne, and definitely a different Henry VII. The one point of similarity is the character of Richard III. Elizabeth is confused as to her feelings toward her uncle, and he does not make any ‘after-death’ appearances to straighten her out.

Elizabeth is a truly pious and a truly good person (the two do not always go together). Her chief preoccupations seem to be doing good works, keeping the peace, and acting as matchmaker for her sisters, her cousins, and her aunts. But she is not entirely a goody-two-shoes. She is vain enough to regret the onset of crows’-feet and additional chins, but is philosophical about it. At times, she can indulge in a little minor pettiness; for example, refusing to move over on a bench to make room for her husband, and enjoying the minor power this gives her. Since she is highly pregnant at the time, he doesn’t mind too much. She is a little irritated with her colicky second child. Henry shows more patience with little Margaret.

Elizabeth is even a little ditzzy at times. “The child robs me of my brain. I always wondered why my mother claimed that, but now I know...” I didn’t have to have twelve children to know this is true, but it is only temporary. I think. At other times, she can be quite prescient: “Elizabeth loved Henry, but recognizes that at times he appeared as though he was a merchant playing king for the day. One reason that many avowed and devoted Ricardians, like Ms. Wilcoxson and myself, are fascinated by Henry Tudor, is that he seems to wear a Harlequin mask, which we yearn to peel off to reveal—what? The good man, buried however deep? Some unimagined horror? Or nothing but air? Is it just masks all the way down?”

Their marriage is fairly happy to begin with, but undergoes some rough patches later. Most marriages do, but probably not for the same reason. Few men are in a position to execute their wife’s relatives.

Elizabeth always had doubts about her brother’s fate. She sets out to do some detective work. It’s a slow process, and when she is incapacitated by pregnancy or childbirth, she uses the help of her faithful servant, Jayne. Eventually, she does find out. Although the solution is not unique—I have met it before—it is not one of the usual suspects.

By contrast with Sandra Wilson, Ms. Wilcoxson is not comfortable with writing sex scenes, so this is implicit rather than explicit. That is not a problem. The problem here is that there is little conflict or contrast. The good people are not 100% good, and there are few outright villains. Even the murderer of the princes is not totally evil. A black-and-white, good vs evil melodrama may not be realistic, but it is possible to go too far in the opposite direction, and wind up essentially pale grey.

...and dude-lit...

The Doom Assigned—Richard Unwin, Middleton, DE, 2015

Unlike the previous books, this is dude-lit, with all that involves. Mr. Unwin has written a series of historical novels about the de la Halle family, armourers. This is an alternative history about alternative de la Halles. His father, Laurence, was the King’s armourer, going to Bosworth Field in that capacity. Robert is an apprentice armourer, and also a squire—too young to be a knight, but still a soldier. He will be knighted by Richard, deservedly.

Henry Tudor, though defeated, does escape the field. It is the Earl of Oxford whose body is slung over the back of a horse and taken away to a hasty burial. But don’t worry; Henry will come to a sticky end—literally. Jasper Tudor and Rhys ap Thomas are captured and executed. Richard earns his sobriquet of Good King Richard by commuting their deaths to simple hanging, without the drawing and quartering. If the author intended this as irony, it went over my head.

John Howard, Duke of Norfolk, is killed on the field and succeeded by his son Thomas. But he is still in command as late as page 227, and then the Duke is referred to as Thomas, then John, then back again to Thomas. Please, proofreader needed here! Like Ms. Wilkinson, Unwin doesn't go in for sex scenes. Wilkinson is writing about a young virgin of good family. Robert may be a virgin—he's only 15—but isn't that when youths are at their randiest? Mind you, he is mature for 15, fighting like a grown man.

Robert has many hairsbreadth adventures, meeting his future stepmother, who just happens to be the daughter of Ankarette Twynho, and his own future wife, who is an attendant of Joanna of Portugal. There is an attempt, thwarted by Robert, to poison Joanna. But to what purpose is never explained. And while it is understandable that Margaret Beaufort would want to go on fighting, simply for revenge, why do the French and Scots stay in the fight, with no figurehead to back? A maddened Margaret makes an attempt on Richard's life, which is unsuccessful, indirectly because of Richard's scoliosis.

There is a modern-day epilogue where the 21st century Robert Hall and his family visit Morecambe Bay, and Robert feels a sense of *déjà vu*. We learn that there have been ten King Richards in all (goodness, isn't eight enough of anything?) The fifth one doesn't appear to have been any prize—according to legend, he walled his wife up. Richard VIII was pretty much a no-goodnik, too. Richard X is now ruling, one of an unbroken line of English kings. No Welsh, Scots or Germans need apply. We also learn that Richard became known as Good King Richard because "...his policy was to strip the nobles of their and rely on the goodwill of his people. He made a series of laws that benefited commerce rather than landed interest." We would like to learn just how he did that. The real Henry VII made an attempt to break the power of the nobles and support commerce, and not even his most ardent supporters calls him Good King Henry.

A fun adventure, but if you are looking for accuracy, why are you reading an alternate history?

The Arrival of Richard III—Kari August, Mountain Track Publishing, Denver, Co, 2015

...in Estes Park, CO, in 2012. How did that happen? Simple. He is 500+ years late showing up in the ante-room of Heaven, and discovers that his bad reputation has preceeded him, and may result in his being sent to the Wrong Place. Management agrees that mistakes were made and Richard deserves a chance to make his case. He is sent back to the home of a relative, his first cousin, 18 times removed, Ned York. The nerdish but likeable Ned is disbelieving at first, then frustrated. His cousin, both imperious and impulsive, can drive him to banging his head on the dining room table. ("You'll hurt yourself if you keep on doing that," says a solicitous Richard.) But what can he do? Blood is thicker than water, after all. And there are compensations. Somewhere along the way, Cousin Dickie has become melded with the reincarnation of Felix Under. He quickly masters the use of the vacuum cleaner and kitchen appliances (automobiles not so much) and turns out to be a gourmet cook. (Maybe Ms. August should have included some recipes? The English shortbread cookies with caramel frosting sound delicious. Yes, I know shortbread is Scottish. Try to convince Richard of that!) He also becomes addicted to a shopping channel on TV. Even that has an upside, as Richard York becomes quite the businessman. Oh, and there is romance, and a Cousin George, and the Estonian Mafia, and...you name it.

Many amusing situations result from the clash of cultures. On learning that German barbarians now occupy the English throne, Richard wants to raise an army to reclaim his kingdom. Richard's old-fashioned sense of morality and honor leads him to matchmake for his relative, and his relative's relatives and friends. There is a satisfactory ending for all

concerned, even George, and yes, including Richard, who decides that the mending of his reputation is not as important as the happiness of his kin. Blood is thicker, after all.

I am happy to report that there are some people in the land of Twain and Hemmingway who understand the rules of grammar and punctuation, if there are those in the land of Shakespeare and Dickens who do not.

Utterly ridiculous—by intent—but fun.

Eviscerating a hero...

Henry V: The Life of the Warrior King & the Battle of Agincourt 1415—Teresa Cole, Amberley Publishing, Strout, Gloucestershire, 2015

I must admit that Henry V has never been one of my favorite monarchs, being a bigot and a persecutor of Lollards, so I approached this books with more a sense of duty than anything else. Ms Cole has made me realize that I have been projecting modern attitudes onto the 15th century. By the standards of his own time, Henry would have been regarded as tolerant and even-handed. And the Lollards were not entirely without stain. John Wycliffe's original intent was to reform the Catholic Church, which he regarded as corrupt. (Doubly so, since there were two separate and distinct popes in his time, both corrupt. It is correct to regard Wycliffians as proto-Protestants, perhaps. But the movement soon became as much political as religious. Nor is it correct to regard Wycliffe's followers as democrats (small 'd'—or small-r republicans either). He was not for the separation of church and state, in the Jeffersonian ideal—the government should keep its nose out of the church's business. He believed that the state should step in and reform the church if it wouldn't reform itself. This was only a step, as the author points out, from the belief that the people should step in and reform the state, if it showed no signs of reforming itself. Hence the Peasant's Revolt. Like Martin Luther later, Wycliffe was no doubt shocked by what he had indirectly brought about.

This was before the beginning of Henry V's reign, of course, but an important part of the background, as was the invasion and usurpation of Henry's father, Henry IV, or Henry of Bolingbroke. Up front, Ms. Cole gives us a Cast of Characters, and in appendices, mini-biographies and family trees. The average reader may still find the relationships a bit confusing. Everybody seemed to be related to everybody else in the upper classes at least six different ways. Henry and his brothers might have been their own uncles in one way or another, but they were very close and supportive as a family. The author suggests that one reason for this might have been that they lost their mother so early, when Henry was only seven, and all four of them were born between 1386 and 1390. Thomas and John were raised, like their older brother, to be soldiers, and the youngest, Humphrey, to be a scholar. Whether this was arbitrary or reflected a natural bent on their parts cannot be known. Not every king had such loyal brothers.

Ms. Cole writes concisely, in a straightforward, informal manner, but without inserting personal opinion into the matter. She makes the convoluted politics of the time as clear as anyone can, and gives a very good overview of the titular battle—which of course was far from being Henry's only battle or even the only battle of that campaign. Agincourt does, however, take up several chapters: "Preparation," "Harfleur..." the battle itself, and the aftermath. Henry was a skilled general, but he could have achieved little or nothing without good troops, and more specifically, longbowmen. One archer by himself wasn't much, but "a force of several thousand longbowmen could send a storm of some 30,000 arrows a minute towards an enemy, 'so thickly and evenly that they fell like snow.'..." In effect a super-weapon, the WMD of their day.

One thing she omits that I think should have been included is a portrait of the king, other than the half-face that appears on the dust-jacket. (Why do publishers do that?) Henry may have chosen to be painted in profile because of an arrow scar that disfigured one side of his face. It may have been a badge of honor, but it wasn't pretty. The author describes the probable method of removing the arrow point from his face, which I will not quote here, both for reasons of space and the *euuew* factor. Other pictures are well-chosen, however.

Ms. Cole doesn't doubt that Henry had charisma; a great war-leader must have that. But little can come across on the printed page. She tries to ameliorate, as far as possible, his stiff and priggish image, without giving him the kind of fictional past that Shakespeare did. Cole thinks that there are so many reports of his rowdiness as a young man that there must be a little truth to them, but it would seem to have been very little. He had no reported mistresses or illegitimate children. Not surprising in his monkish son, but Henry V? A soldier? A man's man?

Teresa Cole sums up Henry's legacy this way: "When we want to be inspired by a national hero he is more accessible than Alfred the Great, more English than Richard the Lionheart, more stirring than Lord Nelson. It was not a coincidence that in the dark days of the Second World War Churchill demanded that a film be made of Shakespeare's Henry V..." One of his legacies is that he was English, and thought of himself as such. Closer to his own time, Henry had a great influence over his successors, who all, in their own way, tried to emulate him, some militarily, some in his probity, some in their Englishness. At least this was true until 1603. The Stuarts came from a different tradition.

I can't say that I have come to love Henry (it seems undue familiarity to think of him as Hal) but I certainly have a new-found respect for him, and for the author as a biographer/historian. Will she possibly tackle his father, Henry IV, next? It might be difficult to make the tubby little man with the funny beard (as he appears on his effigy) into a leading man, but he does deserve a readable biography. And speaking of effigies, what happened to Henry V's head? Not his real one, but the one on his effigy. The one there now is a replacement, the original, made of solid silver, having been stolen. Melted down long ago, I suppose.

One final comment: besides the battles and the politics, Ms. Cole gives us a glimpse of life in this period (late 14th—early 15th centuries). If time travel ever becomes possible, my advice is to give that period a miss. Between revolting peasants, revolting hygiene, war, and the very real threat of starvation—for the nobles as well as the peasants—it was a hellish time to live. No doubt the men and women of the late 15th and early 16th centuries thanked their lucky stars that they lived in a more advanced and modern society.

On eviscerations in general, and other medical (?) procedures...

Dragon's Blood and Willow Bark: The Mysteries of Medieval Medicine—Toni Mount, Stroud, Glos, 2015

This began as the authors MA thesis in medieval medicine. The origin of medicine goes back much farther than the Middle Ages, of course. Even animals practice it in a way, e.g. by eating grass to help digestion. Ms. Mount puts some of the blame for communicable disease on animals. We catch them by living in close proximity to domestic animals, as farmers. "The flu epidemic of 1914-18 may have originated in ... distemper or rinderpest." But even hunter-gatherers got sick. Otzi the Iceman carried a laxative in his baggage.

So why should we be reading a book about Medieval Medicine? Just to make us feel good about ourselves? Partly, but let's not be too smug. Blood poisoning, which was responsible for many deaths in earlier centuries, and which was one of the complaints that

‘dragon’s blood’ was supposed to alleviate, accounts for approximately 37,000 deaths in the UK every year. Nor were the physicians of the 15th and 16th centuries entirely ignorant about hygiene. The Tudor physician John Caius blamed ‘dirt and filth’ for the spread of the ‘English sweat.’ If it was what we now call hanta virus, spread by rodents, he was quite right. Much of medieval medicine is still with us, in so-called ‘alternative treatment.’ Willow bark, for instance, was what people used for aspirin before there was aspirin. By experimentation, I have proved that if you are allergic to aspirin, you will also be allergic to willow bark, and if you find aspirin ineffective, you will also find willow bark ineffective. Leeches are also making a comeback. I have not experimented with this.

Ms. Mount gives us a run-down on the hierarchy of medieval healers: physicians, surgeons (doubling as barbers), apothecaries, not to mention midwives, wise-women, amateur healers, astrologers, etc. We may consider the theory of the four humours a bit ridiculous, but what of the ‘government food pyramid,’ which seems to change every few years. The ob/gyn field is covered at length. Why did medical books of the period show the foetus in the womb as a miniature adult, when they surely knew what a newborn baby looked like? “Another mystery,” says Mount, but maybe it was just artistic convention.

The author has studied the post-mortem reports of several royals, including a section headed “A Most Unfortunate King—Richard III,” but also including Mary I, Edward VI, Charles II, and others. The most poignant, however, is the skull of a soldier from the mass grave at Towton, pieced together and fleshed out, much as Richard’s was. This is a citizen-soldier, a top-sergeant type, a middle-aged veteran of several battles, much like your relative who fought in France, or Vietnam, or Kuwait, or... We have to assume that he, and all the others buried at Towton, had at least minimal funeral rites, and that modern forensic scientists treated his remains with respect. But did he, and they, have a re-burial ceremony? If so, under the auspices of what faith? And would it make any difference to Breverton or Ashdown-Hill?

The author issues a disclaimer on the dust jacket: “No animals, large, furry, or mythological, were harmed during research for this book.” That is, unless you consider humans a large furry animal. Of course, the research was not done by Toni Mount, but by inquiring minds such as those of the Emperor Frederick II, who determined to raise a selected group of children with minimal human contact, to see what language they would speak in a state of nature. (James IV of Scotland is supposed to have done something similar.) Nobody should knock medical experimentation, though. The author offers this example:

In 1747 James Lind conducted an experiment to find a cure or preventative for scurvy, by using a control group and dividing his experimental subjects into six different groups. Only one was given the specific which eventually worked (oranges and lemons)...The total size of his experimental group? Twelve sailors.

A most interesting study. I think I’ll stay in the 21st century, thanks.

~ToC~

The Secrets of the House of York—Marylynn Salmon, Bernards Township, NJ: Liberty Corner Press, 2015...Review by A. C. Reeves, Ph.D., F.R.Hist.S.

Marylynn Salmon has read widely in the literature related to fifteenth-century England, and in other subjects as well. The book is nicely produced, and includes numerous color illustrations. There are events of the historical record about which Salmon wishes for greater clarity, and she has therefore set about to create an historical narrative more meaningful to her, admitting that she has proposed answers “beyond the reach of current proof techniques.”

(p. xii) Salmon is especially interested in “irregular sexual relationships at the highest levels of English society,” (p. 11) and what implications such relationships had in the unfolding of English history in the era of the Wars of the Roses.

One major focus in the narrative is the 1464 marriage of King Edward IV and Elizabeth Woodville. As background, Salmon rejects the historically accepted dates for the birth of Edward and his brother Edmund, earl of Rutland, as 28 April 1442 and 17 May 1443, respectively. She asserts that the brothers were born between 1430 and 1432 when their father Richard, duke of York, was living in France. (p. 20) Moreover, Salmon believes that the mother of the brothers was not York’s wife Cecily, daughter of Ralph Neville, earl of Westmorland, and his second wife Joan Beaufort, daughter of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, and Katherine Swynford. The proposed mother of the boys is Jacquetta of Luxembourg (d. 1472), daughter of Pierre de Luxembourg, count of St Pol, and Marguerite del Balzo, although Salmon admits that there is no evidence for an affair between York and Jacquetta. (pp. 11-12) Jacquetta was the niece of Louis de Luxembourg, bishop of Théroutanne and Henry VI’s chancellor in France, who in 1433 presided over the marriage of Jacquetta to the recently widowed John of Lancaster, duke of Bedford and uncle of Henry VI. John of Bedford died in 1435, and his wealthy young widow went on to marry the young and handsome Sir Richard Woodville (d. 1469). The marriage to Bedford was childless, but not so that to Woodville, for at least thirteen children were born to the couple. The first child of Sir Richard and Jacquetta was Elizabeth Woodville, born about 1437, who became the queen of Edward IV. Thus, according to the supposition of Salmon, the marriage between Edward IV and Elizabeth was incestuous because they had the same mother. One reason Edward IV was drawn to Elizabeth was her links through her mother to the House of Lancaster, and a marriage would be a peaceful bridge between the House of Lancaster and that of York. (p. 308) Beyond that, however, Salmon asserts that Elizabeth’s father was not Sir Richard Woodville but rather Edmund Beaufort, duke of Somerset, and the marriage to Woodville was just a cover so that an affair between Jacquetta and Somerset could continue. We are then informed that Richard, duke of York, wished to renew his affair with Jacquetta, and thus the true reason for the rivalry between York and Somerset was not a matter of power politics as historians have long believed but a contest for the sexual favors of Jacquetta. (p. 310)

But why did Woodville consent to play cuckold in this imagined affair for the benefit of Somerset? It was to pay off Woodville’s ransom after being captured at Gerberoi in 1435 as well to be the beneficiary of patronage. (pp. 331-34) Henry VI, Salmon tells us, believed that a clandestine marriage existed between Somerset and Jacquetta, and the disapproving Henry ordered Woodville to be Jacquetta’s true husband. (pp. 329, 332) Jacquetta’s father, incidentally, did not just die from illness but was assassinated in 1433 on orders from Duke Philip of Burgundy, who was outraged at the marriage of Jacquetta to the duke of Bedford because that impeded Burgundy’s defection from his alliance with England in favor of joining forces with King Charles VII of France. (p. 308)

Another reason for the incestuous marriage between Edward IV and Elizabeth Woodville was alchemy. (p. 482) The spiritual side of alchemy appealed to Edward, and was a pathway to immortality. (pp. 483-84) Alchemy had as an objective the making of gold from base materials, and was of interest in an era of bullion shortage. Quoting Salmon: “According to alchemical principles, the conjunction of metals that had their origin from the same source and therefore were the most similar of all opposites was the union most conducive to transmutation and the production of gold, the perfect metal. The belief that substances arising from the same source could produce perfection when conjoined may have arisen from the tradition of vitalism in alchemy.” (p. 533) Thus an incestuous union

of a man and woman with a common parent would be the way to produce a perfect child. (p. 537) Edward and Elizabeth, thinking in terms of alchemy, may have been seeking to initiate a return to the human perfection lost by the expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden. (p. 550)

Returning to the duke of York's son Edward, Salmon wishes us to remember that the younger brothers George, duke of Clarence, and Richard, duke of Gloucester, knew that both Edward and Edmund were illegitimate. George thought that he therefore was the lawful heir of York, and that explains the trouble George caused for Edward while Edward was king. (pp. 34-35, 139) Still, the duke of York just might have legitimized his two eldest sons (p. 37), although there is no proof either that they were illegitimate or were legitimized. When Edward became king in 1461, his father and brother Edmund were no longer living, having died in battle, and George (d. 1478) was the next brother in line.

In 1464 Edward IV married Elizabeth Woodville. Richard Neville, earl of Warwick, who had been a great supporter of Edward, was distressed by the marriage. Part of the distress, as is generally accepted, was because Warwick wanted to arrange a French marriage for Edward while Edward was favoring good relations with the duke of Burgundy, and also because Warwick was busy negotiating for a marriage when Edward was already married. Another reason for Warwick being upset, by Salmon's reckoning, was that the marriage of Edward and Elizabeth was incestuous. (p. 114, 135) Incestuous relationships were alluring for Edward (p. 11), and if a papal dispensation had been obtained for the irregular marriage, Salmon thinks it must have been destroyed (in the papal archives as well as the English?) (p. 114) It is also suggested that the incestuous marriage was the reason the daughters of Edward and Elizabeth were not married when Edward died in 1483. (p. 112) Knowledge of the incestuous nature of the royal marriage was apparently current among the political classes (p. 162), by Salmon's reckoning, but somehow no record or comment about it has survived in the historical record.

Richard, duke of Gloucester, the only surviving son of Richard, duke of York, and a man of sexual virtue (p. 183), assumed the throne in 1483 as King Richard III following the death of Edward IV. Richard III could appropriately bypass the two sons of Edward IV and Elizabeth Woodville because he was the representative of the legitimate York family line. (p. 174) Salmon does not believe that the sons of Edward IV, Edward (who is commonly known as Edward V) and Richard, duke of York, were murdered by or on the orders of Richard III. (p. 192) Salmon proposes that the two boys were spirited away from England during Richard III's coronation banquet into the protective care of King Richard's sister, dowager Duchess Margaret of Burgundy. (p. 193) The young brothers, we are asked to believe, grew up with secret identities. (p. 196) The older boy, Edward V, grew up to be the humanist scholar Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam. (p. 367) A considerable amount of biographical information is presented on Erasmus, which is relevant to the story of the House of York only if one can accept that Erasmus and Edward V are the same person. Richard, the younger brother, was not of a scholarly disposition like Edward and wanted to be the champion of his family legacy. Richard also had a double, the pretender Perkin Warbeck. Richard, with the aid of James IV of Scotland, staged a brief invasion of England in 1496 and was present for the Cornish revolt of 1497. (pp. 414-35) Warbeck was present as well, and was captured by the forces of King Henry VII. Richard of York may have escaped to become a sanctuary man at Glastonbury Abbey or Henry VII may have managed to capture and execute him. (pp. 436-39) York's wife, Katherine Gordon, lived until 1537, and their son lived his life as a commoner in Reynoldson near Swansea in Wales under the name of Richard Perkins. (p. 268)

King Richard III, as everyone accepts, was killed at the Battle of Bosworth in 1485, and the victor of that battle was Henry, earl of Richmond, who became King Henry VII, the first king of what is by tradition called the Tudor dynasty. Henry's mother was Margaret Beaufort, a descendant of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster and Katherine Swynford. Margaret Beaufort's parents were John Beaufort, duke of Somerset (d. 1444) and Margaret Beauchamp of Bletsoe. We have earlier met Duke John's younger brother and successor Duke Edmund, who was killed at the Battle of St Albans in 1455. Margaret Beaufort holds considerable interest for Salmon. Margaret's son Henry was born early in 1457 soon after the death of her husband Edmund Tudor, earl of Richmond. Salmon suggests that Edmund Tudor as well as Edmund Beaufort were murdered by Edward, earl of March and future King Edward IV. (p. 260-62) Margaret in time was married to Henry Stafford (d. 1471) and later to Thomas Lord Stanley (d. 1504). Salmon presents Margaret Beaufort as a staunch enemy of Richard III and a woman who wanted to kill the sons of Edward IV and who was determined to place the Lancastrian line back on the English throne. (pp. 195, 215-23)

The historical consensus is that Margaret Beaufort had only one child, Henry VII, and that complications with the birth likely prevented the conception of additional children in subsequent marriages. Salmon has an alternative narrative. Salmon suggests that Edward, earl of March, seduced Margaret Beaufort and they contracted a secret and never announced marriage about 1453. (pp. 250-61) When Edmund Tudor married Margaret, he forced Margaret to disavow Edward, and Tudor conveniently died soon after. When the young widow married Henry Stafford, Edward convinced Stafford that he was the legitimate husband so the secret marriage could continue. (p. 266) The marriage to Lord Stanley was also a cover for the Edward-Margaret affair. (pp. 224-26) This was the secret marriage, Salmon believes, that made the children Edward and Elizabeth Woodville illegitimate, not the marriage to Lady Eleanor Boteler (d. 1468) that has attracted the attention of historians. Lady Eleanor was a convenient ruse in 1483 for keeping secret the marriage of Margaret Beaufort and Edward of March. (pp. 276-78) Salmon boldly offers the names of possible sons born to Margaret and Edward: Archbishop William Warham of Canterbury, Archbishop Matthew Parker of Canterbury, Cardinal Thomas Wolsey, and Bishop John Fisher of Rochester. (pp. 268-76)

This review has concentrated on Salmon's theme of the unknown secrets of the family of York. Other byways of Salmon's book include: possible incest between Edward the Black Prince and his wife Joan of Kent because the father of both was King Edward III (p. 570); the founding of the Order of the Garter by Edward III may have been influenced by spiritual alchemy (p. 568-69); Richard II had a malformed leg or foot and had a messiah complex (pp. 573, 579); possible incest between Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, and his wife Eleanor Cobham because both were the children of King Henry IV (pp. 580-86); the Lancastrian SS livery collar may have had hidden and forbidden religious meaning (pp. 560-64); possible incestuous sexual relations between Edward IV and his sister Margaret of Burgundy (pp. 564-68); the Jewish Cabbala (pp. 518-33); Richard III might have gotten his niece, Elizabeth of York, pregnant (p. 212); Zoroastrianism (pp. 541-49); and that the imposter Lambert Simnel truly was the son of George, duke of Clarence (pp. 411-14).

Beginning from a foundation of accepted historical knowledge, a narrative has been offered by Salmon that has been augmented by speculation, extended by imagination, supplemented by whole-cloth fabrication, and compounded by fantasy. The result is historical fiction.

Music about Richard

Three CD albums by *The Legendary Ten Seconds*, review by Elke Paxson

As Ricardians we are probably here to read and learn what we can about Richard III—his life, his times and the places connected to him or his reign. Richard and music about him was certainly nothing I had thought about before.

If I may, here are some notes and thoughts about the music of *The Legendary Ten Seconds*, who write and perform Ricardian-era music. Perhaps many of you know about this English group that produced not one, but three full CD albums with music about the life and times of Richard III. That's quite an accomplishment in itself. If you haven't listened to their songs you are missing out big time. So was I, until I read the review of their second CD, *Tant Le Desiree*, in the March 2015 *Ricardian Bulletin*. I thought it might be interesting to listen to something that would certainly be different. I purchased their first CD and it really surprised me as to how much it impressed me. All the lyrics are pithy and meaningful. They tell stories of Richard's life, his struggles and his fate. Soon thereafter I purchased their second CD that I enjoyed likewise. The music and the sound are diverse, catching, and dynamic with some beautiful harmonies. You will hear a great mix of English folk, rock and elements of medieval music with a modern touch. Some incorporate a few fitting and nicely done sound effects. If the sound is difficult to imagine you might want to go to the internet and listen to *The Boar Lay Slain* and/or *Loyalty Binds Me* to give you an even better idea of this special and beautiful music by Ian Churchward and *The Legendary Ten Seconds*.

Listening to their music I was curious about how one gets the idea of writing and making music about Richard III so I asked Ian Churchward who wrote most of the songs. With his permission, here is his reply: "The Richard III music all started with a song idea. A nice flute sounding keyboard melody played by Lord Zarquon. We managed to work out the structure for the verse of a new song idea one evening. We didn't have any ideas for words or the chorus. A few days later I saw a documentary on TV about the discovery of Richard III's grave in Leicester so I thought I would see if I could make the song idea into a song about Richard III. That song idea became a song called *The House Of York*. When we had finished recording the song I suggested that we try to write a whole album about Richard III. I read lots of books about Richard III, ... it was great fun reading those books and then composing the songs. My wife wrote some of the words and Lord Zarquon helped to write some of the melodies. I managed to write so many songs about Richard III that we had enough for a second album and then a third."

Ian Churchward and the musicians of the *Legendary Ten Seconds* have treated us to an astonishing set of 3 CDs—the latest is simply called *Richard III*—with lively, sometimes exciting, thoughtful, soothing, entertaining songs that are quite unique.

The first 2 songs—*Sheriff Hutton* and *Richard Liveth Yet* are dynamic songs with a swinging rhythm. *Written At Rising* has wonderful sound effects of running water, yet its instrumentation gives it a beautiful medieval flair. Other songs are striking with their beautiful harmony. *The Year of 3 Kings* and *Hollow Crown* have a nice swinging rhythm. They are accompanied with diverse instruments, but the acoustic guitar and a lively flute stand out as does an electric keyboard. *Remember my Name* is filled with beautiful harmonies that strike a chord inside. *Lord Lovell's Lament* is a slow song that stands in its sweet presentation. There are other songs, but the last song on the CD—*How Do You Rebury a King*—perfectly rounds out this album. Ian Churchward and musicians of *The Legendary Ten Seconds* have created an astonishing set of thrilling, thoughtful, sometimes soothing and always lively songs. The lyrics are pithy and meaningful. Some have nicely flowing

melodies while others have a rocking beat that make you tap your fingers. They tell stories of Richard's life, his struggles and fate. I certainly would not want to miss any more of their CDs, and I don't think you will be disappointed with their work.

The Legendary Ten Seconds donate their profits to a British Scoliosis Organization

~ToC~



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Susan Troxell, Research Librarian

New Library Acquisitions

Matthew Lewis, *The Wars of the Roses: Key Players in the Struggle for Supremacy* (donated by author)

Toni Mount, *Dragon's Blood and Willow Bark: Mysteries of Medieval Medicine* (donation from former Society member)

Sir William Hardy (ed.) *Recueil Des Croniques Et Anchiennes Istories de La Engleterr* (Jean de Wavrin's chronicle)

Annette Carson, *Richard Duke of Gloucester as Protector and Constable*

John Ashdown-Hill's *Mythology of Richard III*

The Paston Letters, Selected Letters (The World's Classics) **Author:** Davis, Norman

Grey Friars Research Team, *The Bones of a King: Richard III Rediscovered*

Harlaxton Medieval Conference (2013), *The Yorkist Age* (Essays)

Marylynn Salmon, *The Secrets of the House of York* (2015) (donated by author)

Grey Friars Research Team, *The Bones of a King: Richard III Rediscovered*

David Grummitt, *The Wars of the Roses* (2013)

David Horspool, *Richard III: A Ruler and His Reputation* (2015)

Matthew Morris, *The King Under the Car Park* (2013)

Mike Pitts, *Digging for Richard III* (2015)

Kristi Dean, *The World of Richard III* (2014)

Michael Hicks, *The Family of Richard III* (2015)

Geoff Davidson, *The Middleham Requiem*— Compact Disc recording of performance given on 26 March 2015 (donated by composer)

We're pleased to announce that British composer Geoff Davidson has donated an audio recording of the March 26, 2015 concert of his *Middleham Requiem*. The Richard III Society sponsored the performance, and its patron, the current Duke of Gloucester, along with Lady Gretton, the Lord-Lieutenant of Leicestershire, were in attendance among hundreds of other Society members at St. James the Greater church. The *Middleham Requiem* is a dramatic oratorio telling the life, reign and death of the last Plantagenet king of England. It was premiered in Fotheringhay in 1993.

In the words of Phil Stone, "It is a mixture of the spoken word and sung pieces, the words being taken from contemporary documents and interspersed with the Latin text of the mass. The first part of the *Requiem* tells of Richard's early life from his plan to found a College at Middleham, hence the work's title, then through to the battle of Barnet until his coronation, celebrated by the populace singing the 'Rex tremendae'. The second part begins with the death of Richard's son, followed by that of Queen Anne, when Richard cries aloud 'Libera me', followed by the words known today as King Richard's Prayer. With appropriate martial music, Richard goes to meet with Henry Tudor at Bosworth, the battle being fought against the words of the 'Dies irae'. After the death of the king, the choir quietly sing 'Requiem aeternam'—Richard III is at rest."

Four copies of the concert are available in audio CD format for American branch members to borrow. Our non-fiction librarian also has a copy of the Program Notes which contain the full libretto and biographies of the performers. Please contact Susan Troxell at researchlibrary@r3.org if you are interested in borrowing one of the CDs. Note: the composer has asked us to be mindful that no copies are to be made of the CD in any format whatsoever. This recording has not been licensed for commercial sale or broadcast, and is only available to members of the Richard III Society.

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TREASURER: Lisa Pince
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membership@r3.org
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IMMEDIATE PAST CHAIRMAN:
W. Wayne Ingalls
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(580) 353-6315 • immediate_past_chairman@r3.org

COMMITTEES

CHAPTERS ADVISOR: Nita Musgrave
630-355-5578 • chapters@r3.org

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RESEARCH OFFICER: Dr. Compton Reeves
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research_officer@r3.org

PUBLIC RELATIONS OFFICER: Wayne Ingalls
public_relations_officer@r3.org

ON-LINE MEMBER SERVICES: Open
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SALES OFFICER: Charlie Jordan
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WEB CONTENT MANAGER: Open

WEBMASTER: Lisa Holt-Jones
508 Chebucto St. • Baddeck
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REGISTER STAFF

EDITOR: Joan Szechtman
917 Ward Lane, Cheshire, CT 06410
info@r3.org

ASSISTANT EDITOR: Diana Rubino
333 Fox Run Road, Hudson, NH 03051
assistant_editor@r3.org

Copy Editor: **Ruth Roberts**
copy_editor@r3.org

RICARDIAN READING EDITOR: Myrna Smith
401 Northshore Blvd, #713, Portland, TX 78374
361-332-9363 • ricardian_reading_editor@r3.org

CHAPTER CONTACTS

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 • fkatydc@yahoo.com

NEW ENGLAND: Ms June-Ann Greeley
80 Talcott Rd. • Guildford, CT 06437
(203) 738-0525 • juneann@gmail.com
Website: r3ne.org

NORTHWEST: Carol Smith
richardiinw@yahoo.com

NEW YORK-METRO AREA: Maria Elena Torres
3216 Fillmore Avenue • Brooklyn, NY 11234
elena@pipeline.com

Tidewater (VA): Bob Pfile
rpfile43@gmail.com

Texas Regional: Elizabeth York Enstam
Enstam@sbcglobal.net

Arizona: Marion Low
dickon3@cox.net

Rocky Mountain (CO): Dawn Shafer
dawn_alicia_shafer@yahoo.com

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~ToC~

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~ToC~

From the Editor

I want to take this opportunity to thank everyone for their wonderful contributions to this issue of the *Ricardian Register*. I think your scholarship and attention to detail is exemplary. Please continue to take note of the submission guidelines (below) to help me concentrate on the content instead of the format. Do contact me if you have any questions about formatting your document. I'd be delighted to help.

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- Word doc or docx file type or Open Office Writer odt file type, or rtf file type
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- Use standard fonts such as Times New Roman, Calibri, or Verdana. Avoid fonts that you had to purchase. I use Times New Roman throughout the publication.
- Images that are in the public domain should be stated as such, those that are not require permissions and attributions
- Image size should be at least 300 dpi, which means a 1" X 2" image at a minimum should be 300 pxls X 600 pxls
- Paper must have references in the form of endnotes or footnotes (which I'll convert to endnotes) and/or Bibliography. Papers that do not require references are travel notes (e.g. report on a Ricardian tour), review of a lecture, and essays.
- Copy deadlines (submissions may be accepted for each issue after stated deadline, but not guaranteed):
 - March issue is January 1
 - September issue is July 1

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(not printed)

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***King Richard III* by Jamal Mustafa**

Stained Glass Studio, Birmingham UK , stainedglassic.com, email: theportraitartist@gmail.com

Richard III

Photo of reconstruction from skeleton taken by Joan Szechtman from display at York Museum

Richard III Forever



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Richard III Society, American Branch

September 23—25, 2016

The Rocky Mountain Chapter along with the Tidewater and Illinois Chapters are extremely excited to announce that the 2016 GMM will include both **Dominic Smee**, Richard III's modern day body double, and **Ian Churchward** of The Legendary Ten Seconds.

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Book online for the Richard III Society group rate here: tinyurl.com/j8svhpl

Details on [page 2](#).