Ricardian Register

Richard III Society, Inc. Vol. 50 No. 2 September, 2019

King Richard III

In this issue:

Inside cover

(not printed)

Contents

❖ ❖ ❖

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:

Cheryl Greer, Membership Chair
1056 Shady Avenue
Pittsburgh, PA 15232

False paternity and the Wars of the Roses

Peter Stride MB BS, FRCP, D.Med
Senior Lecturer, University of Queensland School of Medicine

Introduction

The advent of DNA testing has enormous implications for Ricardians and indeed for all historians way beyond the possible future analysis of the 'Bones in the Tower.' The recent transfer of a British title from an illegitimate branch to the true heir following the discovery of false paternity by DNA testing and following judicial advice by order of the monarch is a precedent with potential far-reaching consequences.[1]

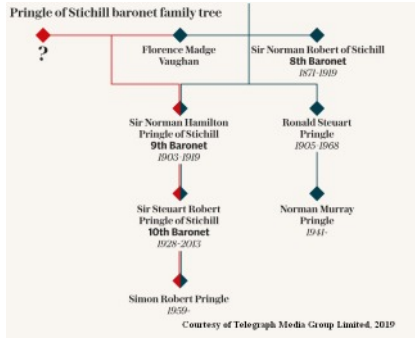
Deoxynucleic acid

Deoxynucleic acid (DNA) is the architectural design plan of all life forms. Most human DNA including the sex hormones is located within the cellular nucleus in a spiral formation. The male sex chromosome, the Y chromosome, runs down the generations in a patrilinear line. Similarities between the remaining nuclear DNA decays over generations as meiosis and fertilization mixes and matches different DNA from male and female parents.

The cellular energy source is found in the extranuclear mitochondria. Mitochondrial DNA is only found in ova as sperms have no mitochondria once the tail driving sperm mobility drops of before fertilization. Thus, mitochondrial DNA runs down the generations in a matrilinear line.[2]

The Precedent

The Pringle Baronetcy of Stichill in the county of Roxborough, Scotland, was created during the reign of Charles II in 1683 for Robert Pringle of Stichill and *'ac heredibus masculis de suo corpore',* (his male heirs from his body). The apparent 10th Baronet, Steuart Pringle, died in 2013 and his eldest son, Simon, expected to inherit the title. <family tree>



However, his second cousin, Norman Murray Pringle, contested the inheritance and claimed the title for himself on the basis of DNA testing. Steuart's father, Sir Norman Hamilton Pringle, 9th *de facto* Baronet, was the son of Steuart's grandmother Florence Madge Vaughan but was not the biological son of Sir Norman Robert Pringle, 8th Baronet. Norman Hamilton had been conceived in an adulterous relationship with an unknown male.

Poor Florence, so discreet in her life time, has been exposed over a century later by technology that was not even dreamed of in her life time.

The matter was referred to the Queen, who acting under the Judicial Committee Act 1833, referred the matter to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. It delivered its ruling on 20 June 2016, determining that DNA evidence proved that Sir Norman Hamilton Pringle, 9th *de facto* Baronet, was conceived adulterously and was not the biological son of Sir Norman Robert Pringle, 8th Baronet. The title was granted to Norman Pringle.[1] Steuart and Norman Hamilton Pringle were removed from the Official Roll of the Baronetage. *Sic transit Gloria mundi*!

The extent of false paternity amongst the British nobility is essentially unknown. Scandalous whispers about week-end house parties in aristocratic establishments suggest

the Pringle story may not be unique. Thus, the most eminent titles in the land could become the subject of similar challenges.

The Bones in the Tower

The bones found under the White Tower in the Tower of London in 1674, and now in an urn in Westminster Abbey, have not been subject to carbon dating nor DNA analysis. Any attribution of these bones to a specific past person or animal is predominantly conjecture. Any excessive veneration is currently unwarranted. Calling the skeletons 'Edward' and 'Richard' in the publication of Tanner and Wright's 1935 examination lacks the rigor of modern peer-reviewed science.[3] The congenital absence of molar teeth found in these skulls is an extremely rare congenital abnormality which was absent in the skull of Richard III reducing the possibility of consanguinity.

The number of individual complete or partial skeletons in the urn is uncertain. A historical parallel is the tomb of George of Clarence in Tewksbury Abbey. Historical legend relates that it contained two skeletons, but recent exhumations discovered the bones of three or four persons.

Willard Libby, a Nobel Laureate for his discovery, developed radiocarbon dating in the late 1940s. It is based on the continuous formation of the radioactive carbon14 isotope of normal elemental carbon12 from the action of cosmic rays on atmospheric nitrogen, N14. It is incorporated into plants by photosynthesis, and then enters the human food chain as a known detectable but very small proportion of carbon in all life forms.

Death then terminates the exchange of carbon in all living matter. The carbon14 isotope then begins to decay. Death triggers the internal nuclear clock. The quantity of detectable radiation diminishes over time. A high marine diet with low carbon14 content gives a falsely older age, as was found with the bones of Richard III. It takes 5730 years for the emission of radiation to fall to half the amount. Thus, radiation measurements enable calculation of the date of death back to 50,000 years ago.

Nuclear DNA comparisons of the Westminster bones to Richard III will however not be straightforward. The Greyfriars skeleton has been identified as Richard III not only by legend, battle injuries and carbon dating, but most accurately by the exact matching of mitochondrial DNA in Richard III and Michael Ibsen, a seventeenth generation relative, down a matrilinear line.[2] Both share a common mitochondrial DNA inherited from Cecily Neville by both Richard and his sister Anne of York, and subsequently seventeen generations down to Ibsen. The 'Princes in the Tower' will have a different mitochondrial DNA inherited from Elizabeth Woodville.

In theory both Richard III and the princes will share a Y chromosome inherited from Richard Duke of York. Should the improbable rumours of Cecily Neville's affair with the archer Blaybourne and Edward's illegitimacy be correct, Richard and the princes will not have the same Y chromosome. However, there should be enough similarity in the twenty-two somatic chromosomes to confirm or refute consanguinity between Richard and the bones.

The Mystery

Geoffrey, the Count of Anjou, by his marriage to the Empress Matilda, daughter of Henry I, introduced the name Plantagenet to the English dynasty of that name. His nickname came from the sprig of broom or planta genista he wore in his hat. The English patrilinear line descends from his son, Henry II, through to Edward III and on to the major male protagonists in the Wars of the Roses. They all should have the same Y chromosome as Geoffrey. The Yorkists from Edward of Langley, the Lancastrians and Beauforts from John of Gaunt.[2, 4]

Three males are currently available for Y chromosome analysis. Firstly Richard III. Secondly Patrice de Warren, a member of the old Loire Anglo-Norman family, the de Warrens, patrilinear descendants of Geoffrey of Anjou. Thirdly, five patrilinear descendants of Henry Somerset, the 5th Duke of Somerset (1744-1803), himself descended in a patrilinear line from John of Gaunt. They should all be identical. They should be the same as Geoffrey of Anjou and Edward III.

They are all different!

Four of the five Somerset descendants have the same Y chromosome and one is different, indicating additional false paternity in the Somerset family within the last two and a half centuries. The four recent Somerset Y chromosomes are not the same as Richard III's which is different again from de Warren's.

False paternity must have occurred at least twice in the more distant past though the identity of the women and date of occurrence remains obscure.

The Suspects [4]

1339: Philippa of Hainault

Wife of Edward III, she bore 13 children. John of Gaunt, her fourth son, was born in Ghent on 6/3/1340. In later life when his popularity was declining it was rumoured that he had been fathered by a butcher in Ghent and that Edward III did not attend the birth.

Joshua Barnes, a medieval writer,[5] said "Queen Philippa was a very good and charming person who exceeded most ladies for sweetness of nature and virtuous disposition." Jean Froissart [6] described her as "The most gentle Queen, most liberal, and most courteous that ever was Queen in her days." Sweetness and courtesy are not virtues that would necessarily repel other would-be lovers. Although there is no veritable evidence against Phillipa, her mother-in-law, Isabella of France, and her daughter-in-law Joan of Kent were widely believed to be adulteresses.

If John of Gaunt was not the son of Edward III, the whole house of Lancaster's and subsequently, the Beaufort's claim to the throne would be invalid.

1370: Katherine Swynford

Katherine's first husband, Sir Hugh Swynford died on 13th November 1371. John of Gaunt's first wife Blanche died in 1368, and his second wife, Constance of Castile died in 1394. Katherine and John were finally able to marry in 1396.

John Beaufort, first child of John of Gaunt and Katherine Swynford, was born between 1371 and 1373. The date is uncertain. Therefore, the first Beaufort could have been fathered by Hugh Swynford. This is suggested as a reason why the Beauforts were barred from the throne. John Beaufort was the father of John, the First Duke of Somerset, father himself of Margaret Beaufort, the mother of Henry Tudor. He was also the father of Edmund Beaufort, the 2nd Duke of Somerset, who may have been the father of Edmund Tudor.

Katherine and John of Gaunt claimed their affair commenced after the death of their respective first spouses, but as has been said elsewhere, 'they would wouldn't they.'

1374: Isabella of Castile, Duchess of York

Isabella, the daughter of King Peter of Castile, and his mistress Maria de Padilla married Edmund of Langley, the fourth son of Edward III. Her sister Constance married John of Gaunt, the third son. Isabella was known for her sexual indiscretions. She had an affair with John Holland, 1st Duke of Exeter, half-brother of Richard II. It is possible that Holland may be the father of Richard of Conisborough and Cambridge, born 20/7/1375, and therefore the grand-father of Richard, Duke of York. The Yorkist claim to the throne via the paternal line may therefore be invalid. The claim through the second son of Edward III, Lionel of Antwerp, 1st Duke of Clarence remains valid.

1429: Catherine de Valois

Catherine, the widow of Henry V, was widely rumoured to have had an affair with Edmund Beaufort, 2nd Duke of Somerset. Her son Edmund Tudor, born 11/6/1430 may have been fathered by Owen Tudor or Edmund Beaufort. Margaret Beaufort, mother of Henry Tudor, was the daughter of John Beaufort, 1st Duke of Somerset. Edmund and John were brothers; thus Margaret Beaufort and Edmund 'Tudor' may have been first cousins. Both Beauforts, the illegitimate descendants of John of Gaunt and Catherine Swynford. There may have never been 'Tudors', only Henry 'Tudor', a Beaufort on both sides of the family, barred from the throne.

1441: Cecily Neville, Duchess of York

Rumours suggest the father of Edward IV may have been an archer named Blaybourne as Cecily and Richard, duke of York were not residing together around the time of his conception. Thus, there may have been no Yorkist, only Hollands, no Tudors, only a double dose of Beauforts, or even no Beauforts, only Swynfords!

There are few references or sources for this section as infidelity and adultery are not usually peer-reviewed activities. Much of this section is based on scurrilous rumours to denigrate those in positions of power and their heirs. The evidence for this section lies in the irrefutable Y chromosome data. At least two of these women, mostly discreet in their life time, except perhaps the indiscrete Catherine de Valois and Isabella of Castile, have been exposed. Somewhere along the line probably in the 15th century there were at least two incidences of false paternity.

The Solution

False paternity may have occurred at so many places. DNA testing of several male skeletal remains would be the only method of resolving this genetic dog's dinner

The first key figure is Edward III. He should bear the Y chromosome of Geoffrey of Anjou. If not, he is still the founding father of the cousins' war. His is the template that would be sought to clarify the other personnel's' parentage. His remains are in Westminster Abbey.

The second key figure is John of Gaunt. If he bears the Y chromosome of Edward III, he and his successors by his first marriage to Blanche Lancaster, Henry IV, Henry V, and Henry VI are legitimate. His remains are in St Pauls Cathedral in London.

The third key figure is John Beaufort, was his father John of Gaunt or Sir Hugh Swynford. He is buried in St Michael's Chapel, Canterbury Cathedral.

The fourth key figure is Richard of Conisborough and Cambridge. Did he pass on the Y chromosome of Edmund of Langley to Richard Duke of York or is the Yorkist claim based only on the descent from Anne of Mortimer. He was buried in St Julien Church, Southampton following his execution for treason.

The fifth key figure is Edmund Tudor. Was he a Tudor, or a Beaufort by both his mother and his father? His remains are in St David's Cathedral, Pembrokeshire.

Therefore, none of the keys figures is lost to history. Their burial sites are known and accessible. The mystery only remains a mystery if we choose to keep it so. Tombs are opened intermittently for restoration. Even the tomb in which Jesus's body is believed to have been interred after his crucifixion was reopened last year after a nine-month renovation project. [7]

Even the exhumations and examinations can and should be discreet and respectful. The team of archaeologists and geneticist of Leicester University have a track record of skill and respect. I expect they would be delighted to head further investigations if requested.

Currently the bones of previous monarchs are not the possession of the subjects they ruled. Permission to allow genetic testing of these long-deceased noble and royal males rests with an authority motivated by conservative tradition, religion and not 'rocking the boat', rather than the curiosity of a scientist. A few members of the Royal Family have attended university receiving arts degrees. None have a science degree, though the Prince of Wales studied anthropology, archaeology and history, and may have an abstract interest in establishing a much greater accuracy of true paternity and correct inheritance than we have today.

There is a crisp reason why these tests should be performed soon.

Modern scientific technology can now change DNA. CRISPR, the acronym for clustered regularly interspaced short palindromic repeats, with the Cas 9 enzyme is a new tool that can remove and replace segments of DNA. Most developments in science are subject to global ethical peer-reviewed analysis to ensure safety before widespread authorised use. However, in the last months of 2018 we discover CHRISP-Cas9 technology has been utilised by a Chinese scientist to produce twin children resistant to HIV, but perhaps prone to other problems in contravention to standard procedures.

This technology probably could be used for financial gain by the same laboratory equally inappropriately to alter a person's DNA sample from that of the actual biological father to that of the male ancestor of a noble family to support a false claim to a title. DNA analysis of the relevant historical characters needs to be performed before CRISPR-Cas 9 is widely available.

The author unashamedly espouses what some see as the abrasive shotgun of scientific veracity. Unfortunately, as the late Stephen Hawking said, *'it seems as if we are now living in a time in which science and scientists are in danger of being held in low, and decreasing, esteem.'* Many prefer the more genteel culture of the humanities. Many prefer the apparent wisdom of uninformed celebrities, or the expensive pseudo-science of 'alternative medicine', at least untill serious illness prevails. However, as a cult TV program says, '*the truth is out there*.' Many surprises may follow a comprehensive scientific ancestry investigation.[8]

Endnotes:

1. https://www.jcpc.uk/cases/docs/jcpc-2015-0079-judgment.pdf
2. King T, Fortes G, Balaresque P et al. Identification of the remains of King Richard III. *Nature Communications* 2014, 2 December: DOI:10.1038
3. Lawrence E. Tanner, William Wright I.—Recent Investigations regarding the Fate of the Princes in the Tower. *Archaeologia,* 1935, 84: 1-26
4. Ormrod W M. The DNA of Richard III: False Paternity and the Royal Succession in Later Medieval England **Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 2016: 60: 187–226
5. Barnes J. The history of that most victorious monarch Edward III. Cambridge 1688
6. Froissart J. Froissart's Chronicles c 1362. Cambridge 1688
7. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/mar/21/jesus-tomb-to-be-unveiled-to-public-after-4m-restoration
8. Ornsby Hyde. *Dr William Hobbys—The promiscuous king's promiscuous doctor.* Dorrance Publishing 2017

~ ToC ~

Archive Reprint: WHODUNIT

FORWARD:

Significant developments have occurred since *Whodunit: The suspects in the case* by Helen Maurer was published in the *Ricardian Register*, Summer 1983 Ricardian Register Vol. 18 No 3, including sequencing of Richard III's mitochondrial DNA through John Ashdown-Hill's genealogical research, ability to more accurately determine when bones/remains were interred, the age of the person at the time of death, and the person's sex. Thus, when Richard III's remains were found in 2012, the scientists were able to confirm through isotope and DNA analysis, that they were indeed his.

When Maurer's article was published, it was assumed the bones found in 1664 under a stair well in the White Tower, were those of the Edward IV's sons, aka, the Princes in the Tower. Maurer's basic assumption that the Princes were murdered, rests in part on this assumption, for without the bones being those of the Princes, there is no body.

However, we are now not convinced these bones are those belonging to the Princes, or that all the bones are those of males. Setting aside the lack of bodies, Maurer's analysis of a murder still holds up and bears serious consideration.

Formatting notes: the original was typed and italics were not available. As a result, all words that were underlined in the original, are now italicized. I did not correct any typos (rare). These are followed by [sic]. In a couple of instances, I had to guess whet the letter was because of the poor quality of my copy. Numbered lists are now indented.

———————————-

WHODUNIT: The Suspects in the case

Helen Maurer

The late British historian Helen Maud Cam once said, "I just do not understand how people can become so upset over the fate of a couple of sniveling brats. After all, what impact did *they* have on the constitution?[1] In a sense, Cam is right, of course. During their short lives the Princes in the Tower had no effect upon course of British constitutional history. Only their disappearance gave them significance, and only their absence permitted certain events to happen, which otherwise might not have been. Like the Thane of Cawdor in *Macbeth*, nothing in their lives became them like the of it: a cruel epitaph for children, but one in this ease apt.

Despite Cam's evaluation, the princes' fate has remained a matter of perennial interest. And no wonder. The unflagging fascination for mysterious murder and mayhem that lurks in the breasts of many Britons and their colonial descendants by now well known. English is the detective story's mother tongue. A subgenre of crime fiction even exists called the "classic British mystery." Its ingredients are simple: first a victim, a dead body; next, a list of suspects. each armed with sufficient opportunity and motive to have done the deed; and finally, a detective, possibly an intrepid amateur, to sift the clues and solve the mystery. Thus, the mystery of the Princes may be viewed as a classic, in the classic tradition. Even acknowledging serious remaining difficulties in the identification of the bodies—the bones in the bones in the Abbey—we have a documented disappearance that is most easily explained by murder. (Not everyone will agree. Various persons have argued that no murder took place and that at least. one of the Princes survived.[2]) We have a number of worthy suspects, and we have already seen the valiant efforts of a great many "detectives"—professional historians, amateur enthusiasts, and at least one fictional investigator—to unravel the case. In the course of this article I will survey the possible suspects and the points for and against each one. I will then offer my own reconstruction of what I believe

to be the crucial circumstances surrounding Richard's assumption of the throne, which led someone to murder.

Before proceeding to the suspects, it will be appropriate to set forth the parameters of my investigation, to understand its aims and its built-in limitations. First, we must distinguish between the actual murderer and the instigator of murder. It is most unlikely that we will ever discover the identity of the real, physical murderer; and it is improbable that any of the suspects on our list ever soiled his hands in a literal sense. Thus, we be looking at the possible instigators of murder.

Second, motive and opportunity are two very different things. It is relatively easy to build a case based on motive, to be argued on the merits of logic alone. Partly for this reason and partly because motive offers the investigator a wider scope of operation, it has provided would-be sleuths with their approach to the mystery of the Princes. But motive is notoriously unreliable. People do things every day—including commit murder—for the silliest of reasons or for no reason at all. To say that someone has, or might have, a very good reason to do something (or not do it) is not to say that he will follow reason's orders. On the other hand, opportunity, while more reliable as an indicator of who *could* have committed a particular crime, is much trickier to pin down. Who was in the right place at the right time? Unfortunately, we don't know exactly when the right time was. Further, in our case opportunity also be understood to mean the power to gain access or give orders, or, what is even more difficult to determine, the ability to plant the notion of murder in someone else's mind.

Finally, and most important: every investigator in this controversial case has had his bias. I have mine. It is important to distinguish between what one may believe privately, in his heart of hearts, and what can be set down as unquestioned fact. To constantly point out where facts give way to my own extrapolations or opinions would be too cumbersome; nevertheless, I hope it will be clear which is which. In any case, the reader should bear in mind that the arguments presented here are subject to discussion, challenge, and reinterpretation.

MAJOR SUSPECTS

"This much can be advanced as a working hypothesis: the princes were murdered at the instigation of one of three men. It very possible that King Richard is guilty of the crime. If he is innocent, then it is well-nigh inevitable that either King Henry VII or Henry Stafford, second Duke of Buckingham, is guilty."[3] Kendall's initial premise is wrong. There are four major suspects, the fourth being Margaret Beaufort, Henry VII's mother, and it behooves us to give them all their due if we hope to reach any understanding of what happened. We shall, begin by discussing them in the order that Kendall suggested.

Richard III: Like or not, Richard III has always been the prime murder of the Princes. He is the choice of the traditionalist Gairdner/Rowse historians. The case against him a strong one, containing as it does the massive evidence of opportunity. The points against him and their existing counterarguments are:

(1) The disappearance of the boys in the summer/fall of 1483[4], after which solid evidence exists that they were never seen again, by anyone. Single references to "the children" in the King's Household in the North, or to "the Lord Bastard," from July 1484 and March 1485 respectively, are subject to various interpretations.[5] Nor does it seem likely that the Princes could have remained alive but so well hidden that no one would have known of their continued existence.

(2) Richard's failure to show the Princes alive when the early movement to free then gave its support instead to Henry Tudor, upon rumor of their deaths. One may argue, however, that Richard considered the threat posed by Henry, Buckingham, and all their rumors less dangerous to him than the initial movement to reinstate the Princes, which struck right at the heart of his own claim to legitimacy.

(3) Past history and the King's authority. In the cases of Edward II, Richard II, and Henry VI, death followed deposition. Henry VI's death was delayed only while his son and heir remained alive. Similarly, one may argue that only the highest authority—the ruling King himself—could order such judicial murders. If the Princes were dead before August 1485, this argument makes it very difficult to shift the blame to other shoulders and is the strongest against Richard.

(4) Contemporary Testimony

(a) Mancini's account of the removal of Prince Edward's attendants[6] and his withdrawal into the Tower until his disappearance; Argentine's remarks about his frame of mind; the description of public sentiment in London. "I have seen many men burst forth into tears and lamentation… and already there was a suspicion that he (Prince Edward) had been done away with. Whether, however, he has been done away with, and by what manner of death, so far, I have not at all discovered."[7] Mancini, who left England shortly after Richard' coronation, was writing before December 1483. It should be noted that his remarks refer to only one of the Princes; concern for the other may be implied. Prince Edward's reported anxiety may have been caused by fear of his uncle or by ill health; either view would seem to contradict the happier picture of archery and play described by the *Great Chronicle*. Finally, it must be emphasized that Mancini is reporting fearful rumor. He does not indicate how widespread was, and he is at pains to point out his own inability to ascertain truth.

(b) Statement by Guillaume de Rochefort, Chancellor of France, to the *États Général* in January 1484, directly accusing Richard of the crime. Rochefort may have got his information from Mancini's reported rumors; England was "the enemy," and France was then faced with the potential insecurities of its own minority reign.[8]

(c) The *Croyland Chronicle*'s account the movement to free the Princes and of how, upon the decision of the Duke of Buckingham's decision to lead it, a rumor was spread “that the sons of King Edward had died a violent death, but it was uncertain how.”[9] This rumor seems to have been part of a deliberate attempt to divert existing plans for an uprising to the purposes of Buckingham and Henry Tudor. Furthermore, the chronicler—who is unfavorably disposed towards Richard—does not accuse him by name, although he was writing after Richard's death when he could have safely done so.

(d) A Latin poem written by Petro Carmeliano to celebrate Prince Arthur's birth in 1486, charging that Richard "destroyed both his nephews." Carmeliano was, apparently, a social climber whose previous efforts under Edward IV and Richard 111 met with little success. He did better under Henry VII, who made him his chaplain and Latin secretary. The fact that the poem was circulated would seem to indicate, at most, its plausibility; at least, Its acceptability.[10]

(e) John Rous's statement in his *Historia Regum Angliae*, dedicated to Henry VII, that Richard Killed the Princes, means unknown.[11] Rous's wild statements regarding Richard's person and his built-in bias greatly lessen his credibility.

(f) *The Great Chronicle* says that after Easter 1484 there was "much whispering…among the people that the King had put the children… to death."[12] If the timing of the rumors, as reported, is correct, there may be a connection between the removed rumors and the death of Richard's only legitimate son.

(g) Fabyan's *New Chronicles* reports "the common fame" that "King Richard had, within the Tower, put unto secret death the two sons of his brother Edvard IV."[13] Again, this is the report of a rumor only; and, as Kendall points out, if the deed was so secret, how could Fabyan—or anyone else—know about it?[14]

(h) An entry in MS Ashmole 1448, charging that Richard, "being afraid that his nephews might prevent him from reigning with the approbation of the kingdom… (first taking counsel with the Duke of Buckingham…) removed them the light of this world by some means or other, viley and murderously."[15]

(i)The *Memoires* of Philippe de Commynes, who states in one instance that Richard was guilty, in another that it was Buckingham.[16]

(j) The Dutch *Divisie Chronicle* also retells conflicting rumors that Richard or Buckingham murdered the Princes.[17]

These last three sources are of particular interest because they show the existence of contradictory rumors within about thirty years of Richard s death.

(k) Vergil, More, and the later Tudor writers represent the any sanctioned view that Richard was guilty. As such, their assertions of guilt are less interesting than are the varying details with which they dress out their accounts.

(5) The identification and dating of the bones in the Abbey.[18] It appears possible/probable that the identification of the bones as those of the Princes is correct. Although the sex of prepubertal skeletons cannot at present be determined, they do appear to be about the right ages, *relative to each other*. Missing teeth in the jaws of both individuals may argue consanguinity. The dating of the bones remains problematic. At present, no way exists to accurately determine the exact year in which they died. Nor can their chronological ages be precisely established, due to normal variations in the rate of tooth and bone development. Considering the brevity of Richard's reign, the dating of the bones by any means cannot be said to prove his guilt; nor does prove anyone else's.

(6) Motive: that. [sic] Richard considered the Princes to be a continuing threat to his safety despite the bastardy charge, and especially in view of the movement to free them. If he did not, why hide and confine them? But if he did kill them for this reason, he could not benefit unless their bodies were displayed. This was not done.

Several points can be made in favor of Richard's innocence, apart from those relating to the specific charges mentioned above.

(1) The report of a common belief that Ratcliffe and Catesby opposed Richard's alleged interest in his niece for fear that if she "should attain the rank of queen, it might…be in her power to avenge upon them the death of her uncle, earl Anthony, and her (half) brother Richard, they having been king's especial advisers in these

matters."[19] That no one feared that she might avenge herself for the deaths of her brothers, the Princes, seems, at the least, a little odd.

(2) The peculiar behavior of Elizabeth Woodville, who became reconciled with Richard in 1484, accepted Henry after Bosworth, but became involved in a conspiracy against him in 1487.[20] Ross argues that her "reconciliation" reflects a practical acceptance of her own situation and the (then apparent) likelihood that Richard would not be deposed.[21] Although this seems reasonable, Ross's insistence that Richard's public promise not to harm her daughters derives from her knowledge of the Princes' death at his hands in [sic] unnecessary. The executions of her brother, Earl Rivers, and her son from her first marriage, Richard Grey, on Richard III's orders, are sufficient in themselves to account for her suspicions.

(3) Henry VII's failure to clearly and immediately demonstrate that the boys were dead and that Richard was guilty, when it was plainly in his interest to do so. At the most, this indicates that Henry knew that Richard was innocent; at the least, that Henry did not know what had happened to the Princes.

(4) Sir William Stanley's alleged statement that if Perkin Warbeck was really the son of Edward IV, he would never fight against him.[22] If Stanley did say such a thing, it indicates his own uncertainty regarding the Princes' fate. And he was charged with having communicated with Warbeck—a treasonous act—and duly executed.[23]

(5) A curious passage in Hall, in which Buckingham tells Morton that Richard had informed his lords of his intent be king until Edward IV's son is twenty-four and can rule for himself. Hall is much too late to be considered a genuine source, but one wonders, since he is plainly anti-Richard, why he would choose to manufacture this particular tale. It appears to have no antecedent.[24]

(6) Negative motive: To kill the Princes immediately on top of the bastardy charge, would merely demonstrate to an already uncertain public that Richard's legal claim was hogwash.

(7) Throughout his career, up until his assumption of the throne, Richard had served his brother Edward with demonstrably unswerving loyalty. There is every reason to believe that he had Edward's complete trust. While he was a man of his time, capable of violent action to achieve his ends, the killing of his brother's sons is arguably the one act of violence he could not have committed without, at least, serious misgivings.

Henry VII: Our second suspect, Henry VII, is the choice of the Markham/Tey revisionists. The case against him is primarily one of motive. Regarding opportunity, we may say that if the Princes survived Richard's reign, Henry's opportunity wou1d have been absolute, as Richard's was before. But there is no concrete evidence that either of the boys lived past 1483. The points against Henry are:

(1) Motive: Henry's Act of parliament which repealed the *Titulus Regius* (and, therefore, the bastardy charges) made the boys' deaths necessary; otherwise Prince Edward was the lawful king of England. However, this same act states in closing: "…be it ordained and enacted… that this Act, nor anything contained in the same, be any way hurtful or prejudicial to the Act of establishment of the Crown of England to the King (Henry) and to the Heirs of his body begotten."[25] This could be interpreted as a means of covering all contingencies, in the event that Henry knew the boys were alive or did not know what had happened to them. Or it may simply

be insurance, in legal language, that repealing *Titulus Regius* would not affect Henry's claim.

(2) The failure to specify Richard's alleged crime in his attainder, beyond cryptic reference to the "shedding of infants' blood." This is, in a sense, negative evidence. Although it may be used to argue Richard's innocence,[26] it does not necessarily point to Henry's guilt. If Henry were guilty, but had no watertight story to foist the blame on Richard, why bring up the matter at all? This would only arouse fresh curiosity about the Princes' fate. A possible explanation suggests itself: Henry, if he was not personally guilty, may still have known more about the Princes than he cared to admit. Or he simply may have hoped, without knowing, that the insinuation was true.

(3) When Edward IV's daughters left sanctuary, Richard does not seem to have restricted their freedom. The eldest, Elizabeth, apparently enjoyed the 1484 Christmas festivities at court. One might contend that the girls were no danger to Richard while the Princes were alive; if they were dead, their claim to the throne would devolve upon their sisters (who, of course, still be legally illegitimate, regardless). This highly circumstantial argument is used to show that the Princes lived through Richard's reign. Although this may have been the case, the situation also admits of other explanations. While the Yorkist claim to the throne allowed—in fact, depended upon—inheritance *through* a female, there was no immediate tradition of inheritance to a female.[27] Although England had no Salic law, this simply was not done. So long as the daughters of Edward IV remained unmarried and childless, they posed no threat to Richard. Upon Henry's accession it was necessary for him to marry Elizabeth, not so much to consolidate his claim, but to ensure that her children would also be his children.

(4) The belief that Elizabeth Woodvi11e and her son, Dorset, joined the Lambert Simnel conspiracy of 1487 because they had discovered Henry's guilt. While this is possible, the same argument can be used to indict both Buckingham and Margaret Beaufort with equal or greater credibility.

(5) The assumption that the Tyrell story is essentially correct, except in its assertion of Richard's guilt. Two pardons granted to Tyrell in the summer of 1486[28] are cited as evidence of the interval during which the deed was done, and it is further assumed that after Tyrell's execution in 1502, Henry let out a true account of the murder, except to lay the blame on Richard. The pardons happen to be "general pardons, with nothing to distinguish them from the many other general pardons given to a large number of other persons at these times. The second part of the argument appears to rest upon the (too?) fortuitous discovery of the bones in pretty much the exact spot specified by More, with the inconvenient exception that More had them dug up and reinterred, site undisclosed, by an unnamed priest. Several observations may be made. First, that if More did somehow know where the bones were buried, he could not have been the only one to know. In fact, knowledge of the site would have had to be fairly widespread for him to know of it. Second, a body of belief concerning the site did exist, the story of the unnamed priest would not have been sufficient to deflect interest and accompanying speculation from those stairways in the Tower precincts that could have been dug under. Third, if Henry—and others—did know or suspect where the bodies were hidden, regardless of how they got there or on whose orders, it was in Henry's immediate interest in 1502 to demonstrate that the boys were dead. After that many years, no one could have told from the condition of the bodies exactly when they had been killed.

Hanham takes an appropriately jaundiced view of this portion of More's story.[29] It simply has too many holes in it to be taken seriously. More, who probably had not the faintest idea what had actually been done with the Princes, was pulling our legs.[30]

(6) The observation, made by Henry's confessor and others, that Henry suffered extreme guilt feelings towards the end of his life. It has been argued at length that Henry's remorse was occasioned by his practice of extortion.[31] If one inclined to venture out upon a very fragile limb, one might wonder whether Henry's guilt had anything to with the Princes; but there to be no evidence whatsoever that this was the case. It seems most likely that Henry's remorse, whatever its original cause, was much exacerbated by a lengthy period of failing health, accompanied by deteriorating mental condition—i.e., senility.[32]

In addition to the total lack of substantive evidence against Henry, there are two reasons for supposing him innocent.

(1) His behavior, particularly the Perkin Warbeck affair, would seem to indicate that Henry himself did not know just what the truth was. His failure *throughout his rein* to produce any bodies, when it was clearly in the interest of his own security to do so, argues strongly that he simply did not know where bodies were.

(2) No contemporary charges were made against Henry, either at home or abroad. As A.R. Myers pointed out, if Henry's government was so efficient that it could suppress every report of the Princes being alive in 1485 and of their subsequent murder, it ought to have been able to produce a clearer and firmer story of their murder by Richard.[33] The parade of imposters and continuing rumors that one of the boys, at least, was still alive should nevertheless be viewed with caution. Apart from reflecting a lack of public knowledge of the Princes' fate and its corollary of public uncertainty, the rumors that were directed against both Richard and Henry (quite opposite, as they were) were exactly those that could damage them most, a fact not lost upon those persons opposed one or the other, for whatever reason.

Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham: The third in the trio of usual suspects tends to be the choice of moderate Ricardians who for reasons of sentiment and logic have rejected (or can't quite swallow) the case against Richard, but who, in the face of the available evidence cannot bring themselves to believe that the Princes survived Richard's reign. Kendall has provided an elaborate, though convoluted, argument for Buckingham's guilt.[34] The case against him, like the one against Richard, rests on both opportunity and motive. Opportunity, however, assumed, rather than clearly indicated.

(1) Buckingham, as Constable of England, would have had access anywhere and authority to order murder. This is refuted by the parallel case of Henry VI. Most historians nowdays [sic], including those who do not care for Richard, agree that Richard as Constable would not have had the authority on his own to order the murder of Henry VI. We cannot have it both ways. On balance, it seems unlikely that any Constable would have had the power without the King's consent, to order political murders of this magnitude.

(2) The several days Buckingham remained in London after Richard set out on his progress are cited as opportunity. This is really a variation on the first point, because it assumes that Buckingham would have had the *authority* to order the deed in the King's absence and without his consent.

(3) Contemporary Testimony

(a) MS Ashmole 1448. which says that Richard killed the Princes, having taken "counsel with the Duke of Buckingham."[35]

(b) The chronicler. Jean Molinet. who says that "on the day that Edward's sons were assassinated, there came to the Tower of London the Duke of Buckingham, who was believed, mistakenly, to have murdered the children in order forward his pretensions to the crown."[36]

(c) Commynes, who can't make up his mind whether it was Richard or Buckingham.[37]

(d) The *Divisie Chronicle*, which likewise mentions both Richard and Buckingham.[38]

(e) Vergil, depending on how one reads between the lines. "…the multitude said that the duke did the less dissuade King Richard from usurping the kingdom, by means of so many mischievous deeds, upon that intent that he afterward, being hated both of God and man, might be expelled from the same, and so himself be called by the commons to that dignity, whereunto he aspired by all means possible…"[39]

The question that these sources raise is whether we might be dealing with two instigators rather than with one: the one who actually ordered the murders to be done (Richard), and the one who talked him into taking this action (Buckingham). I shall return to this possibility.

(4) The motive of ambition, mentioned in some of the above testimonies. If Buckingham wanted to play at being kingmaker, or even become the king himself, the murder of the Princes, *if it could be blamed on Richard*, would strengthen his cause and win over the existing Woodville conspiracy to free the Princes to his own ends.

(a) The original legitimation of Henry Tudor's Beaufort ancestors did not have "the except the crown" clause, which was added at some time after 1397, probably in reign of Henry IV. This addition had no legal force. However, by 1485, it seems to have been the version that was generally known.[40] It is argued that Buckingham, who was also descended frat the Beauforts, knew that the original patent conferred *unqualified* legitimacy and that the later addition was legally invalid. Buckingham's son, executed in 1521 by Henry VIII, claimed during his trial to have possessed a copy of the original. This would have given Buckingham a double claim the throne: Through the Beauforts and—with no question about legitimacy—from Thomas of Woodstock. Unfortunate1y, Henry's Beaufort claim preceded Buckingham's.

It appears that Buckingham did not share his inside knowledge with Henry. Can it be that he intended to use the generally known, restrictive version of the patent to later bring down Henry and make way for himself? While Vergil indicates that Buckingham at least toyed with the idea of replacing Richard with himself, the risk of setting up two kings in quick succession, with no foreknowledge of the outcome, would have been tremendous. If Buckingham intended to use the exclusionary clause to his own advantage, he could have done so right from the start to direct attention to himself instead of Henry. Since, by revolting, he ran the risk of being executed treason anyway, he might as well have run the risk in his own behalf.

(b) The second part of the argument assumes that Buckingham had the right character for the job. He may have been vain and shallow, and he probably was ambitious—as were. most people of his time—but this hardly makes him a likelier candidate for murderer, given the right circumstances; than any of the other suspects. This line of reasoning, whether it focuses on Buckingham or someone else, depends too much on the eye of the beholder.

(c) Discontent over his failure to obtain the Hereford inheritance. Buckingham did, in fact, get a signet bill from Richard promising to give him these lands.[41] His revolt and execution intervened, and the actual letters patent were never issued.

(5) Buckingham's frantic efforts to speak Richard before his execution.[42] Faced with death, he may have been looking for a way to wriggle out. Whether the desired interview would have included words concerning the fate of the Princes, or whether Buckingham had something else entirely on his mind, is a matter of conjecture.

(6) The argument, produced by Kendall, that Buckingham's guilt explains Elizabeth Woodville's behavior.[43] Although it may explain her apparently happy acceptance of Henry's marriage to her daughter in 1486 and her about-face involvement in the plot of 1487. If Elizabeth was convinced by Richard or his go-betweens that Buckingham was guilty, on his own, of the murders (this is Kendall's hypothesis), it would not have taken her until 1487 to figure out the connection between Buckingham's guilt and Henry Tudor's benefit. That Buckingham was revolting in support of Henry was public knowledge in 1483.

(7) Kendall's further argument that Buckingham's guilt explains Henry's later behavior: his failure to openly proclaim Richard's guilt or the simple fact of the Princes' deaths. It may, but it is not the only explanation that will serve.

Several points may argue Buckingham's innocence:

(1) If Buckingham was guilty, why didn't Richard say so and provide evidence, to quash the rumors that were circulating about himself? Would anyone have believed him if he had?

(a) If Richard only learned of the deed from Buckingham at Gloucester, or even later, he didn't have much time to think about it before the rebellion broke out. At that point, and certainly at any time after Buckingham's execution, such charges would inevitably have sounded false. Nevertheless, we do have previous indications (the coup at Stony Stratford and Hastings' execution) that Richard could be swift in dealing a situation.

(b) If Kendall's argument can be believed, Richard showed no reticence explaining things this way to Elizabeth Woodville, *if* this is what got her out of sanctuary.

(c) Again, we have the suggestion of double guilt. If Buckingham talked Richard into ordering the deed, Richard could hardly proclaim Buckingham's guilt without damning himself as well. It should be noted also that Richard's standing *in loco parentis* made him morally responsible for the boys' welfare in any event.

Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond. The possibility of multiple instigators and the question it raises of who was leading whom brings us to the fourth major suspect, Margaret Beaufort. She is my choice. Margaret's motive is uniquely provocative; her opportunity, though less certain, is by no means impossible.

(1) Motive: A mother's fear for her son's life. The argument rests on two points: A perception of Margaret's feelings towards her son, and the existence of a situation that warranted such fear.

(a) Margaret's devotion to Henry is evidenced by her surviving letters to him. Phrases like "my own sweet and most dear king and all my worldly joy," "my dear heart," and "my good and gracious prince, king, and only beloved son" show an affection going well beyond the requirements of polite familial correspondence.[44] It might be argued that these letters come from later years, after mother and son were reunited and had the opportunity to become reacquainted with each other. In 1483 they had not seen each other for more than ten years, and before that had probably only had infrequent contact since Henry's early childhood.[45] It should be remembered, however, that Henry was an only child, in an age when inheritance and the bonds it forged between the generations were of paramount importance. As the years passed and it increasingly apparent that there were to be no other children, Margaret's thoughts would have turned more and more to Henry. He was her link to the future, whose existence gave her own life meaning. It seems incredible that she never would have written to him in all the years of his exile; though no letters from this time seem to have survived, I suspect they once existed, written out of motherly affection and concern.

(b) The circumstances of Richard's accession created an unstable situation that continued well beyond his coronation. Besides offering a potential opportunity to any would-be rival claimant, the situation also automatically threatened him with death.[46]

(c) Within this context, Margaret's probable perception that the only sure—though risky—way to safety lay in bold action to take advantage of the situation and turn it to Henry's benefit. Once this decision was made, its implications for Princes would be obvious.

(2) Margaret's connections and her preeminence in the conspiracy surrounding Buckingham's Rebellion. Since these two points are closely interwoven, I will deal with them together, although see some of the supportive arguments pertain more to one than to the other.

(a) From a variety of sources it is known that Margaret was in contact, either directly or through intermediaries, with all of the major persons who had an interest the rebellion—e.g., Elizabeth Woodville, Morton, Buckingham, Henry, Sir Giles Daubeney, Sir Richard Guildford, Thomas Ramney, John Cheney, etc.[47]

(b) She was Buckingham's aunt by her second marriage (to Sir Henry Stafford) and his mother's first cousin. These relationships may have given her some reason to know him better than the mere fact that they both moved within a given circle of society. If so, she would have had the opportunity to form judgment of his character—its strength, weaknesses, and malleability—long before 1483.

(c) Vergil's contention that Margaret was "commonly called the head of that conspiracy."[48] The *CroyLand Chronicle* reports only that Buckingham had agreed to *lead* the rebellion, but does not say who was responsible for the necessary preparatory plotting; the inference is that Buckingham was not. More, writing after Vergil, makes an elaborate story of Morton's seduction

of the Duke by flattery, but makes short shrift of Morton's role in the general plot.[49] A careful reading of Vergil's account of the entire course of the conspiracy shows Margaret taking the lead at almost every turn.[50] Interestingly. in his version of events it is Buckingham who "unfolded all things to the Bishop of Ely," including his Intention to set Henry on the throne (although in the very next paragraph Vergil notes Buckingham's ambitions for himself). Morton gets Reginald Bray, who was already Margaret's servant, to carry word to her of their conversation.[51] We then learn that Margaret was already embroiled in a plot of her own, involving the Dowager Queen, Elizabeth Woodville. As a result of the excellent progress she was making, she had appointed Bray to be her chief go-between to draw men into her party, "as secretly as might be," which he was already busily doing. If we put these events in their logical order, it seems at least possible that Bray's role in the conversion of Buckingham was something more than that of messenger boy. And in this context, it makes sense that Buckingham get the word before his guest, Morton.

(d) A slightly different account of who was seducing whom is found in Grafton's continuation of Hardyng's *Chronicle*. This version follows Vergil right up to the point where Bray is hurrying to Margaret with his news. When, lo and behold, "it came to pass that… Buckingham and the lady Margaret… had been in communication of the same matter before, and that the said lady Margaret had devised the same means and ways for the deposition of King Richard and bringing in of Henry her son, which the duke now brake unto the bishop of Ely, whereupon there rested no more, forasmuch as she perceived the duke now willing to prosecute and further the said device, but that she should find the means that this matter might be broken unto Queen Elizabeth…."[52] In the still later version of Hall the chronology becomes more muddled. His version of the meeting between Margaret and Buckingham places it on the road between Worcester and Bridgnorth as Buckingham is riding home to Brecon. When he meets Margaret it occurs to him—out of the blue—that she and her son have a better claim to the throne than he does.[53] These stories appear rather late to be considered reliable—and Hall's account is untenable as it stands—but a slight possibility remains that they represent a genuine tradition that an "early" meeting between Buckingham and Margaret was believed to have occurred.

(e) Later estimates of Margaret's activities and importance tend to be ambivalent. Kendall, criticizing Vergil's version of the conspiracy, disapproves of the prominence given to the Countess of Richmond at the expense of the existing Woodville-generated plot to free the Princes. What he fails to recognize is that until the two movements become one, he is really comparing apples and oranges. Vergil simply chose to ignore the apples. A page later Kendall gives his view: That Buckingham and Morton, "with the *aid* of the Countess of Richmond (my emphasis)," took over and diverted the existing Woodville conspiracy. A little further on he says that Buckingham and Morton, upon making contact with Bray, learned that rebellion was already brewing and that "the Countess had been in touch with a number of Lancastrian friends." And "the Countess…could command a large Lancastrian following and had connections with some of the leaders of the plot which was already hatching." But it is Morton and Buckingham, off in Brecon, who are able to devise the

rumors (either true or false) of the Princes' deaths which enable Margaret to obtain Elizabeth Woodville's consent to Henry's proposed marriage to her daughter. Still further on, he acknowledges the "major role (Margaret was playing) in preparing the invasion of her son." In summarizing the fate of the various rebels and the extraordinary clemency shown to Margaret, Kendall finally calls her "the Athena of the rebellion."[54]

A few years later, Chrimes offers a telling observation: "…what exactly it was that moved… Buckingham to rebel (against Richard) is likely to remain conjectural." He briefly wonders about Morton and cites the divergent accounts of his role provided by Vergil and More. But then, apparently without much regard for what he is actually saying, he goes on: "Whatever Buckingham's precise process of mind may have been, there can be little doubt that the chief spinner of plots so far as Henry's future was concerned, was his own mother, Margaret Beaufort." That the two matters could be closely linked seems to have escaped him. Chrimes describes Margaret elsewhere as the "chief schemer on behalf of Henry" and, along with Morton, as a prime mover in the original plot.[55]

Most recently, Ross seems disinclined to think about her very much. In a footnote he allows that she was sending messages to her son, but says that Reginald Bray (her man) was recruiting rebels "to accept Buckingham's scheme." On the next page he apparently has second thoughts about whose schemes Bray was peddling; now Buckingham, Elizabeth Woodville; Henry and Margaret are intriguing together, while "the master-mind behind the entire plan may well have been the wily John Morton, bishop of Ely." Ross has the grace to admit that the evidence on this point is contradictory. Further on, he provides evidence that Margaret was probably the one to warn Morton—and, through him, Henry—of the attempt to lay hands on him in Brittany in 1484. And, finally, Ross also bestows the important-sounding, but ultimately empty accolade of "prime mover" on her.[56]

Gentlemen: This is absurd! Can it be that we still hold such a constrained view of the working of a woman's wit that we refuse to wonder just what this same wit night contrive? No such hesitancy is apparent when built our paper cases against Richard, Henry, Buckingham, or even Morton, for that natter; does it occur to no one that it might also be worthwhile to take the lady seriously? While it may be easier to admire than to analyze her countless virtues, the analysis long overdue.[57]

(f) So far as we know, Margaret was in London—certainly at the time of Richard's coronation—and probably for some time before and after. This put her in exactly the right place at the right to be…a prime mover, if you please!

(3) Margaret's guilt may provide a better explanation for Elizabeth Woodville's later behavior than does Buckingham's. I suggest that Elizabeth could have accepted the notion of Buckingham's guilt, even benefitting Henry as it obviously did, so long as she believed that Buckingham was acting in his own interests and for his own self-aggrandizement (either as kingmaker or king). Henry, an exile on the Continent, would be held blameless. There is no reason to believe that he had any contact with Buckingham before the latter left London, and no way, in any case, for Henry to go about the dangerous business of persuading Buckingham, from such a distance, to join his cause or do away with the Princes, with any assurance of success. What Elizabeth could not accept, however, would be the knowledge

that someone else, acting Henry's behalf, had planted the idea of getting rid of the Princes in Buckingham's head. The likely person to have undertaken such a protect is Margaret.

(4) Similarly, Margaret's guilt via her influence on Buckingham can also explain Henry's later behavior, including any uncertainties he may have had as to whether deed had actually been carried out.

(5) If one insists upon finding particular significance in Buckingham's efforts to speak to Richard in person prior to his execution, Margaret's involvement would provide the perfect reason. What better excuse to make—for whatever—than to be able to say that "someone else made me do it."

(6) Finally, Margaret's later fits of weeping, noted by her confessor, Bishop Fisher, occurring at times—like Henry's coronation—when she might have been expected to show joy. These, of course, might also be attributed to a lessening of psychological tension after years of strain.[58] And some people just choke up and cry when they are very happy. But, if we can raise the issue of remorse for Henry, we can raise it too for Margaret. Was there a price for her son's elevation? This point, however, is a weak one.

The major argument against Margaret's guilt is that she is not named by any contemporary source in connection with the death of the Princes. The terms of her attainder are both particular and vague: She is charged with having "conspired, considered and committed high treason…in especial in sending messages, writings and tokens to…Henry, desiring, procuring and stirring him…to come into this realm, and make war…(and having) made *chevisancez* of great sums of money…in the city of London as in other places to be employed to the execution of…treason; (and having) conspired, considered and imagined the destruction of our said Sovereign Lord, and was assenting, knowing and assisting Henry, late duke of Buckingham and his adherents…in treason."[59]

The case against Margaret rests on the assumption of multiple instigators, of which her role of necessity be more of influence than of action. It is possible, under these circumstances, that she could have escaped detection. Whether or not it is likely, I leave to the reader's judgment.

MINOR SUSPECTS

Now we have the major suspects, but we haven't solved our mystery. If we cannot lay the Princes' ghosts, we can, however, dispose of shades of the minor suspects.

Chief among them is *John Howard, Duke of Norfollk*.[60] Howard was first accused by J. Payne Collier, who edited his household books.[61] Collier makes an argument of opportunity, based on the now-famous entry of 21 May 1483, detailing payment to six men for a day's labor at the Tower, to a carpenter for making three beds; for wood, nails and two sacks of lime. With "the Tower" looming ominously in the back of his mind, Collier's thoughts took a suspicious leap from lumber to coffins and from lime to "quicklime,"" commonly used in his day for disposing of the bodies of executed felons.

More than a hundred years later, Melvin J. Tucker suggested a motive: Howard's desire for his rightful half-share of the Mowbray inheritance, perhaps including the dukedom of Norfolk which was then held by Edward IV's younger son, who had married the by-then-deceased Mowbray heiress. To the original argument of opportunity, Tucker added Howard's position as Constable of the Tower and his friendship with Richard.[62]

Crawford has provided an elegant refutation of the case:

(1) Motive:

(a) Upon the death of John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, in 1476, his titles went into abeyance, to be regranted by the crown as it saw fit. The dukedom was no longer inheritable, by anyone. Even *if* young Richard of York's bastardization disqualified him from the title—a doubtful if—it did not automatically confer it on anyone else. Nor did his death.

(b) Regarding the lands, two acts of parliament, of January 1478 and January 1483, had set aside the customary rules of land transfer and essentially disinherited Howard. In theory, whether York were dead or alive, only another act of Parliament could restore Howard to his portion.

(c) Regardless the theory, Richard 111 did, in fact, grant the Mowbray inheritance to its traditional coheirs, Howard and Berkeley, and created them Duke of Norfolk and Earl of Nottingham respectively on 28 June, 1483. There is no indication that the Princes had disappeared by this time or that anything had happened to them.

(2) Opportunity

(a) Howard was never, officially, Constable of the Tower. He was granted the second reversion to the office in 1479, after John, Lord Dudley, who died at great age in 1487, and Richard Fiennes, Lord Dacre, who died 25 November, 1483. Dudley's deputy at the time of Edward IV's death was Anthony, Earl Rivers, who was then in the process of transferring the office to his nephew, Dorset.[63] Since Rivers was in custody and Dorset, in sanctuary, by the time Richard arrived in London, there was a time lapse between their incapacitation and the appointment of Sir Robert Brackenbury to the office on 17 July. There no evidence as to who, if anybody, was clearly in charge of the Tower during this period.

(b) The "beds and lime" entry comes from Howard's private accounts, which do not include payments made in connection with the offices he held. Nor was it designated "by my Lord's commandment," as was always done with payments made specifically at Howard's request. In, December 1483 Howard received grant of a house in London called "the Tower," which had formerly belonged to Henry, Duke of Somerset (d. 1464).[64] It may have been a retrospective grant and this "the Tower" referred to in the household entry. In any case, the "beds" were probably just beds, for people to sleep in, and the lime was probably used for whitewash or sanitation.[65] Finally, the allegedly sinister payment took place on 21 May, 26 days before Richard of York left sanctuary and joined his brother.

The case is definitely not proven.

Insofar as *John Morton, Bishop of Ely* and later Cardinal, has enjoyed a reputation as a conniver, he ought to be considered a suspect. Though some historians may cringe, Morton's continuing reputation derives in large part from the insistence of Markham and Tey that he provided More's version of events, if he did not write the first draft of it himself. If one rejects the source, it might perhaps be better not to swallow the argument whole. The fact is that Morton was arrested before Richard's assumption of the throne, when events were in flux, the Princes were still very much alive, and no one—probably including Richard himself—knew exactly what was going to happen next. Morton was soon removed to Brecon, to be held in custody in Buckingham's household. He did not return to London until after his own escape to France and Henry's accession. Whatever conversations he may have had with Buckingham at Brecon, they could not have decided the fate of the Princes,

for Buckingham did not return to London either. Now it may be that Morton was instrumental in persuading Buckingham to abandon Richard and support Henry,[66] but to blindly assume that he masterminded the entire conspiracy from start to finish goes a bit too far. Brecon was not London, and Morton was not in a good position, even with his trusty secret messengers, to do the job of organizing everything, however his sympathies lay.[67] Certainly, in the matter of the Princes, we may consider him acquitted.

Well, then, what about *Sir Robert Brackenbury*? He was Constable of the Tower, at least as of 17 July 1483, and did receive a number of grants and rewards in the spring of 1484, although they were said to be for his services against Buckingham's rebels.[68] Contemporary or near-contemporary writers describe him without question as a man who would never stoop to such thing. But, apparently, Hanham favors him: "More says he d*idn't* do it—need I comment further?"[69] Do I detect a twinkle in her eye? I believe that we may safely allow our "gentle Brackenbury" to keep his reputation.

As we begin to scrape the bottom of the barrel, there is *Sir William Catesby*.[70] Catesby was a climber, who first supported Henry VI, switched to York in 1461, and was by 1483 attached to William, Lord Hastings. This enabled him to get a position on the royal council during the Protectorate, where he soon found the opportunity report to Richard about Hastings' plotting. The corollary is that he may have decided, on his own initiative, to kill the Princes, assuming that this deed would induce Richard to further his career. If we may wonder whether Buckingham or others could have wielded such authority, there can be no question about Catesby. He simply did not have it.

A suspect who may come as a complete surprise to many is *Elizabeth Woodville*, the Princes' mother.[71] Motherhood aside, she was notoriously ambitious in an age when ambition was pretty much taken for granted. The argument comes two parts:

(1) Her children were of interest her only insofar as their rights could be used to ensure her position.

(2) Once her sons were in Richard's custody, the best way to reestablish her position was to have them killed, foist the blame on Richard, and negotiate her daughter s marriage with Henry Tudor.

The second part of the argument, which is the one matters, is directly contradicted by all the evidence. With the princes in Richard's custody, the best way for Elizabeth to get back her own was to have them freed and reinstated. This is exactly what a number of persons, among them members of the Woodville affinity, originally planned to do. As long as the Princes lived, she had no need to resort to Henry or anyone else.

The first part, amounting a subjective assessment of Elizabeth's character, is also contradicted if one accepts that she became a part of the Lambert Simnel conspiracy in 1487. At that time her position was secure through daughter's marriage, and she stood to gain nothing by turning against her daughter's interests.

Finally, we have "*Jane" Shore*. Jane appears to be the choice of William Dunham, Professor Emeritus at Yale.[72] While jealousy might have given Jane a motive to hurt the Dowager Queen, and revenge a motive to strike at Richard, who had publicly humiliated her, it is very difficult to imagine how or when she could have engineered the deed. She was in custody by 21 June 1483,[73] released at an unknown date, and imprisoned a second time as a result of her involvement with the Marquess of Dorset, who was charged with treason on 23 October.[74] At a still later date, though probably during Richard's reign, she married Thomas Lynom, Richard's solicitor.[75] The letter Richard wrote to Chancellor Russell concerning Lynom's wish to marry her is well known. It is difficult to see how he

could have taken such a lenient, though disapproving, view if he knew she had instigated the murder of the Princes. Likewise, during her periods of freedom, is unlikely that she would have been allowed access to them. Nor does it seem probable that she could have talked someone into murdering them for her, just because she had the notion. She comes down to us more as a medieval groupie than a plotter, and we may dismiss her.

WHODUNIT?

Now that we have met the characters in our classic British mystery, I would like to take a final moment to set the stage for them to act upon: The scene and circumstances of the crime.

When Edward IV died, the political situation in England destabilized. On the one hand lay the uncertain prospect of a minority reign, which may have been aggravated by the ill health of the heir.[76] On the other, the potential for factional rivalry existed, which, in the worst case, could have led renewed civil war.

Richard's assumption of the throne, whether justified or not, did not provide a remedy. Although some people may have been glad to see power returned to the hands of a competent adult, the circumstances of his accession created more and greater uncertainties than they solved:

(1) In this context, the execution of Hastings, Rivers, Vaughan and Grey could be seen as a warning: This was the justice that awaited anyone who might be seen to stand in Richard' g way or threaten him.

BUT…

(2) Richard's claim—the bastardy charge—was shaky. By this, I do not refer to its *actual* truth or falsehood, nor to whether it could legally invalidate Prince Edward's right to succeed his father. The important point for our consideration is how the allegation was *perceived at that time*. That a number of people either didn't believe it, didn't think it mattered, or didn't care is evidenced by the movement to free the Princes that immediately got underway.

The wording of the *Titulus Regius* also indicates that, up till that point, the validity of Richard's title had been questioned. "…the court of Parliament is of such authority…that declaration of any truth or right, made by the Three Estates of this Realm assembled in Parliament…maketh, before all other things, most faith and certainty; and, quieting men's minds, removeth the occasion of all doubts and seditious language….Therefore…be it pronounced, decreed and declared, that said Sovereign Lord the King was and is, very and undoubted King of this Realm of England…."[77] It is apparent that the "doubts and seditious language" can only refer to questions regarding Richard's right to rule.

(3) Richard did not have a broad base of support across the country. He came to power as the head of a large and powerful northern affinity. Within a context of regional mistrust, this was viewed from the south with suspicion. Although Richard did attempt, at least initially, to retain the support of Edward IV' s southern adherents (in some cases successfully—e.g. Norfolk), he tended from the outset to rely upon northerners for "politically delicate" tasks or offices involving close personal contact with himself.[78] A circular situation developed: The visibility of Richard' s northern support led to increased suspicion, which caused him to rely more and more on northerners.

It is no wonder, under these circumstances, that rumors concerning the fate of the Princes began to take shape, even before Richard's coronation. Drawing on known experiences of the past and the perceived instability of the present, men began to voice their

concern for the Princes' safety: some went so far as to fearfully speculate that something dreadful had already happened. The existence of such rumors should no one; it would have been more amazing had they not occurred. But it should be clearly understood that, at least initially, they are more indicative of the general situation of uncertainty and upheaval than of a particular antipathy towards Richard?[79]

Aware that his position remained tenuous, Richard took steps to strengthen it. Most noticeably, he set out on a progress, to show himself as King to as many people as possible. This effort was generally successful; Richard gave the impression of fairminded [sic] justice and benevolence. One like to think that he wanted to be this sort of ruler, from within his own soul, but it would be naive to overlook the fact that, in his situation, this may have seemed good politics.

At about the same time, soon after Richard's coronation, the Princes began to be withdrawn from public view within the Tower precincts. Two desired effects nay have been anticipated: The practical one, of making them inaccessible to those who still believed that Prince Edward should be King; and the psychological one, of getting them out of public sight and mind. If it succeeded on the one count, it failed miserably on the other. The Princes" disappearance only added to public concern for their safety, exacerbated the existing rumors, and added to the feeling of unrest.

The next thing Richard did concerned the exiled Henry Tudor. Up until the late spring of 1483, Henry had been a person of no great significance.[80] He had spent his childhood as a ward of the Herbert family, staunch Yorkists, who intended him to marry one of their daughters. But in 1471, when Henry was fourteen, his uncle Jasper took him away to the Continent, probably fearing for his life in the wake of Tewkesbury. There he remained, in the nominal custody of the Duke of Brittany. Edward IV made various attempts to have Henry repatriated, without success. The fact remains, however, that at the time of Edward's death, Henry had no cause, no following, and no reason to suspect that he might someday be a king. All of this changed with Richard's assumption of the throne and the sudden sense of instability it aggravated. From a homeless nobody, Henry overnight became a person of potentially enormous significance. The bastardization of the Princes and the doubts surrounding Richard's title automatically made Henry a possible rival claimant. This was not lost on the uneasy Richard. Within a few weeks of his coronation, before any noticeable partisan activity on Henry's part had gotten underway, Richard sent his agent, Dr. Thomas Hutton, to Brittany to discuss, among things, Henry Tudor's future.[81]

Much has been made of the opportunity which Richard's accession and England's political destabilization offered to Henry. That Henry and his initial partisans began acting in an appropriately ambitious fashion is something we have taken for granted, going back at least to Polydore Vergil, who coyly reported that Margaret "began to hope well of her son's fortunes."[82] But there is another side to which deserves our serious thought. If Henry had suddenly become a potential threat to whoever sat on England's throne, it was to be expected that he would be dealt with like one. Whatever he or his mother felt in terms of hope, it is even more likely that they feared for his very life.

It would not have taken Margaret long to apprehend ramifications of the situation. Being in London, she would have had the opportunity to listen, observe, and begin to draw her own conclusions before her exiled son was even aware that the situation existed. Her husband, Lord Stanley, was a member or the counil [sic] during Richard's brief Protectorate and may have remained Steward of the Household through the very early days of Richard's reign.[83] Buckingham, her nephew and cousin, had played an instrumental role in Richard's rise and, in the beginning, was as close to him as anyone. And Buckingham was himself a theoretical contender for the throne in an uncertain time when everyone's claim was tainted,

suspect. Margaret may have wondered why the Duke, who had always stayed cautiously clear of politics, should take such a sudden, active role. We may say, in any case, that it was in her interest to ascertain his thoughts and aims, as it was even more necessary to discover Richard's. Of the two men, Buckingham would have been the more easily and uncompromisingly accessible to her.

It is my belief that the thought of Henry Tudor as a viable alternative to Richard was first planted in Buckingham's mind by Henry's mother, Margaret Beaufort. What his initial reaction to it was I do not know. It may have taken considerable thought and further persuasion by Margaret's man, Bray, or that old Lancastrian, Morton, to convince him. Or he may have decided from the outset to play both ends against the middle, to maintain himself in Richard's favor while establishing discreet contact with the intriguing—in both senses of the word—opposition. It is possible that his most secret plans were only for himself.

Once Richard's replacement had been contemplated, within the perceived instability of a situation where rivals to his throne (the Princes) already existed, it was but a short step to recognizing that the Princes would have to go. If they threatened Richard, they would be an even greater threat to anyone who supplanted him. I believe that Margaret understood this. She would have had more reason to think about this aspect of the situation than Buckingham. It was her son who, at this early point, toward the beginning of Richard's reign, was directly threatened by the sense of instability. Buckingham was not. But it may be that Buckingham had already, on his own, considered murdering the Princes, either to further secure Richard's title and his own ascendancy, or for other, far-reaching reasons. Whether Buckingham had already thought about it or whether it was just now suggested to him by Margaret, I believe it most likely that their communication on the matter was circuitous and cautious, neither one willing to openly commit himself to such a course in the other's presence. One of them may have observed that if Richard were to order the Princes' deaths, the suspicions already being cast upon him night be expected to multiply and turn active opposition. And there I believe they left it, without a definite conclusion.

Buckinqham returned to Richard. Perhaps very shortly thereafter, they talked about the situation. I believe that Buckingham now urged upon Richard the action he had, perhaps, shrunk from, which he may have deluded himself into thinking he could avoid or, the least, delay. I do not believe the choice could have come easily. Nevertheless, the choice was made and the order given, by the only man who had the power to give it.[84] Someone—it may have been Buckingham or it may have been another person—conveyed the order to the Tower. The Princes died.

I have now reached the end of my investigation. I set out looking for a villain, but, instead, have found three hopeful, frightened people, more deserving of pity and compassion than of condemnation. There is nothing more one can demand of any of them; each one has already paid a terrible penalty. Buckingham was executed ignominiously as a failed traitor; Richard fell in battle, the victim of treason; Margaret lived long enough to see her own son die.

ENDNOTES (labeled FOOTNOTES in original article)

1. Quoted by Charles T. Wood, "The Deposition of Edward V," *Traditio*. Vol. 31. 1975, p286. He does not give his source.
2. See, for instance, Audrey Williamson, *The Mystery of the Princes*, 1978; Jack Leslau, "Did the Sons of Edward IV Outlive Henry VII?", *Ricardian*, Vol. IV, No. 62, Sept. 1978, pp 2-14; and subsequent articles in Vol. V., No. 64, March 1979, pp. 24-26, and No. 65, June 1979, pp. 55-60. I believe it is accurate to say that what we each choose

to believe depends in large part on our personal predilections. In this respect, I personally find the "survivalists' " arguments to be frequently ingenious, but ultimately unconvincing.

3. P. M. Kendall, *Richard III*,[sic] Anchor Books paperback edition, 1965, p. 439.
4. Reported by Dominic Mancini, *The Usurpation of Richard III*. ed. C.A.J. Armstrong, 1969. p. 93; while the *Great Chronicle*, ed. A.H. Thomas and I.D. Thornley, 1938, p. 234, states that the Princes were seen playing in the Tower garden during the mayor's term that ended on 28 October 1483.
5. Both entries are noted by Kendall, p. 455. The reference to the "Lord Bastard" is from Harleian MS 433, f. 211. See also the note by P.W. Hammond in *The Ricardian*, Vol V. No. 72, March 1981, p. 319, citing an instance when the term "Lord Bastard" almost certainly refers to John of Gloucester.
6. Substantiated by a royal warrant of 18 July 1483, authorizing final payment of wages to thirteen men for services to Edward IV and "Edward bastard, late called King Edward V." cited by C.T. Wood, "Who killed the little Princes in the Tower?" *Harvard Magazine*, Vol. 80, No. 30, Jan.-Feb. 1978, p. 40.
7. Mancini, p. 93.
8. Mancini, pp. 22-24.
9. *Ingulph's Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland*, ed. Henry T. Riley, AMS Press reprint of 1854 edition, 1968, p. 491
10. P.W. Hammond, notes in *The Ricardian*, Vol. IV No. 57, June 1977, PP. 23-24, citing B.L. Additional MS 33736, quoted by James Gairdner, Memorials of King Henry VII, 1858, pp lvi-lvii. I might add that the word "destroyed" is more subject to equivocal interpretation than either "killed" or "murdered."
11. John Rous, *Historia Regum Angliae*, ed. T. Hearne, 1745, p. 213; printed in modernized English in Alison Hanham, *Richard III and his Early Historians 1483-1535*, 1975, p. 120
12. *Great Chronicle*, p. 234.
13. Robert Fabyan, *The New Chronicles of Enqland and France*, ed. Henry Ellis, 1811, p. 516.
14. Kendall. p.444.
15. Hanham, p. 108. Hammond, *Ricardian*, Vol. III, No. 44, March 1974. p. 17, gives a slightly different translation that boils down to the same information.
16. Kendall, p. 460.
17. Received information from Maaike Lulofs, printed in *Ricardian*, Vol. III, No. 46, Sept. 1974. pp. 12-13, citing the *Divisie Chronicle*.
18. For the original examination of the bones, see L. E. Tanner and W. Wright, "Recent Investigations regarding the Fate of the Princes in the Tower," *Archaeoloqia*, Vol. 84, 1935, pp. 1-26. For later, sometimes conflicting views, see Kendall, pp. 454-455, 557-558, n. 6; *The Complete Peerage*, ed. G.E. Cokayne. Vol. XII, Part 11, Appendix J, pp. 32-39; William H. Snyder, *The Crown and the Tower*, 1981, Chapter XX. pp. 249-254 (which includes a summary of the talk given by Dr. R.H.G. Lyne-Perkis to the Society in 1963); P.W. Hammond, "The Bones of the 'Princes' in Westminster Abbey," *Ricardian* Vol. IV, No. 52, March 1976, pp. 22-25; Charles Ross, *Richard III*, 1981, Appendix I, pp. 233-234; Julie Vognar, "Whose Jaw?" *Loyaulte me Lie*, Vol. I, No. 2, March 1979, pp. 7-9.
19. *Croyland Chronicle*, pp. 499-500.

20. For an alternate view of Elizabeth's behavior, see H. Maurer, "The Amazing Elizabeth: a possible Reconstruction of her Actions 1483-1487 0! 2483-1487," *Loyaulte me Lie/Ricardian Register*, Vol. 16, No. 2, Summer 1982, pp. 10-15.
21. Ross, pp. 100-101.
22. Polydore Vergil, *Anglica Historia*, ed. Denys Hay, Royal Historical Society, Camden (third) series, Vol. 74, 1950, p.75. Hereafter referred to as Vergil II.
23. W.A.J. Archbold, "Sir William Stanley and Perkin Warbeck," *English Historical Review*, Vol. 14, 1899, pp. 529-534. On 14 March 1493 Stanley made an arrangement with Robert Clifford to contact Warbeck. Gairdner suggests, in a note to Archbold, that Stanley may simply have wanted to secure his position with both sides in case of an invasion.
24. Edward Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, 1809, p. 387. Hanham, p. 203, seems to dismiss this as original embroidery attempting to imitate More.
25. *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, Vol. 6, p. 289; also printed in Snyder, pp. 278-279.
26. See point 3 above, under arguments for Richard's innocence.
27. Matilda or Maud, daughter of Henry I, had briefly reigned in 12th Century.
28. *Materials for a History of the Reign of Henry VII*, ed. Rev. William Campbell, Vol. I, 1873, pp. 460 and 503.
29. Hanham, pp. 186-187.
30. As for why the Bones should have been discovered more or less where More said they would be, it might be profitable, if only in the interest of leaving no stone unturned, to forget about Richard, Henry, and the late 15th century for the moment and concentrate upon Charles II and the political pressures and perceived necessities of the 1670's. Any takers?
31. See the series of articles in *The Historical Journal*: G.R. Elton, "Henry VII: Rapacity and Remorse," Vol. 1, 1958, pp. 21-39, J.P. Cooper, "Henry VII's Last Years Reconsidered," Vol. 2, 1959, pp. 103-129; Elton, "Henry VII: a Restatement," Vol. 4, 1961, pp. 1-29. And for a slightly different view, that Henry's remorse may have been caused by his specific practice of exacting bonds and recognizances from persons he mistrusted, see S. B. Chrimes, *Henry VII*, 1972, pp. 309-313.
32. Chrimes, pp. 313-314, for Henry's failing physical and mental health.
33. A.R. Myers, "The Character of Richard III," *History Today*, August 1954, p. 517.
34. Kendall, pp. 460-467. The following arguments are largely based on his work.
35. See above, note 15.
36. J. Molinet, *Chroniques*, found in *Collection des Chroniques nationales francaises*, ed. J.A. Buchon, Vol. 44, 1828, p. 402, mentioned by Kendall, p. 460.
37. See note 16, above.
38. See note 17, above.
39. Polydore Vergil, *Three books of Polydore Vergil's English History,* ed. Sir Henry Ellis, Camden Society, series I, no. 29, 1844, p. 195. Hereafter referred to as Vergil I.
40. James Gairdner, *History of the Life and Reign of Richard III*, 1898, p. 107; *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III and Henry VII*, ed. Gairdner, Vol. II, Rolls Series, 1861, p. xxx.
41. Ross, p. 114, citing Harleian MS 433, f. 107v.
42. Vergil I, p. 201.

43. Kendall, pp. 462-465.
44. *Original Letters,* ed. Henry Ellis, Vol. I, 1825, pp. 46 and 218. See also Chrimes, pp. 301-302, for evidence of strong mutual affection.
45. Chrimes, pp. 15-16.
46. Because of a discussion of the perceived situation in 1483 forms the central piece in a larger picture of what was happening and why, I must ask the reader's indulgence in deferring it to the end of the article.
47. See, for example, Vergil I, p. 196.
48. Vergil, p. 204.
49. Morton will be discussed further on.
50. Vergil I. pp. 194-798, takes the story up to the outbreak of violence.
51. One wonders why they *sent for* Bray—his trotting back and forth a time consuming [sic] process—when it would have been much simpler and speedier to send a trusted man of Buckingham's to Margaret. For the probable reason for this contract, read on.
52. *The Chronicle of John Hardyng…together with the Continuation by Richard Grafton*, ed. Henry Ellis, 1812, p. 526. But see also Richard Grafton, *Grafton's Chronicle*, Vol. II, 1809, pp. 128-130, which relegates Margaret to the role of follower, with Buckingham doing all the devising of means and ways.
53. Hall, pp. 388-389.
54. Kendall, pp. 292-293, 296-297, 300, 308.
55. Chrimes, pp. 20-21, 28, 57.
56. Ross, pp. 112, n 22; 113; 119-120, also note 19; 210.
57. Vergil II, p. 151. I suggest that someone undertake a serious investigation of Margaret's activities from 1483-1485, not for the purpose of proving or disproving anything, but simply to acquire a clearer understanding of her position in the scheme of things. Existing biographies of her by E.M.G. Routh (1924), C.H. Cooper (1874), and Caroline Halsted (1839) badly need to be updated.
58. Elizabeth Jenkins, *The Princes in the Tower*, 1978, p. 216.
59. *Rot. Par.*, Vol. 6, pp. 250-251.
60. The best discussion of his case is presented by Anne Crawford, "John Howard, Duke of Norfolk; a possible murderer of the Princes?", *Ricardian*, Vol. IV, No. 70, Sept. 1980, pp. 230-234. See also her further article, "The Mowbray Inheritance," *Ricardian*, Vol. V, No. 73, June 1981, PP. 334-340. The following summary is based on these two articles.
61. *Household Books of John, Duke of Norfolk, and Thomas, Earl of Surrey, 1481-1490*, ed. J. Payne Collier, 1844, pp. xiii and 394.
62. Melvin J. Tucker, *The Life of Thomas Howard*, 1443-1524, 1964, pp. 38-45.
63. E.W. Ives, "Andrew Dymock and the papers of Anthony, Earl Rivers, 1482-1483," *Bulleting of the Institute of Historical Research*, Vol. 41, 1969, p. 225.
64. *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1476-1485, p. 421.
65. G. Brenan and E.P. Statham, *The House of Howard*, Vol. 1, 1907, p. 46, appear to have been the first to come up with this ingenious but obvious explanation.
66. Sir Thomas More, *The History of King Richard III*, R.S. Sylvester, *Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, Yale edition, Vol. 2, 1963, pp. 90-93.
67. As claimed by Jenkins, p. 200.

68. *Dictionary of National Biography*, Supplement, p. 247; Ross, pp. 121-122.

69. According to Wood, "Who Killed the Princes?", p. 40.

70. Ibid., p. 39. I suspect Wood may have suggested him more as an example of just how far the inquiry can go than as a serious contender.

71. Ibid.

72. Ibid., p. 40.

73. *Stonor Letters and Papers*, ed. C.L. Kingsford, Camden third series, Vol. 30, 1919, p. 161.

74. *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1476-1485, p. 371.

75. For an account of her, see Nicholas Barker, "The Real Jane Shore," *Etoniana*, No. 125, June 1972, pp. 383-391.

76. This depends, of course, upon the identification of the bones. If the older set is Edward V's, the presence of osteomyelitis could have affected his general health.

77. Snyder, p. 274. I have modernized the spelling.

78. For example, John Nesfield to guard the sanctuary of Westminster; Sir Richard Ratcliffe to carry the orders for Earl Rivers' execution; Francis, Viscount Lovell (a northerner, like Richard, by osmosis)—Chamberlain of the Household; Sir Robert Percy—Controller of the Household; John Kendall—Secretary. See Ross, pp. 44-59, especially 56 on. See also Michael Weiss "*Layaulte Me Lie": Richard III and Affinity Politics in Northern England*, PhD thesis, University of California, Irvine, 1977, for a discussion of the origins and operation of Richard's northern affinity; and A.J. Pollard, "North, South and Richard III," *Ricardian*, Vol. V, No. 74, Sept. 1981, pp. 384-389, for north-south antagonism.

79. This point, regarding the politics of rumor, should not be underestimated. It is possible that the rumors current during the reigns of both Richard III and Henry VII have as much to do with opposition efforts to use and turn existing perceptions of instability against the King, as with actual public beliefs and sentiments.

80 See Ross, p. 192; but also Kendall, pp. 167-169, and Chrimes, pp. 18-19, who disagree.

81. Ross, p. 195.

82. Vergil I, p. 195.

83. Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, held the office by 24 July; the date of his appointment is not known.

84. The only alternatives to this I can imagine would necessarily involve either a commando-type raid upon the Princes' quarters—a difficult proposition in their guarded situation—or the stealthy administration slow-acting poison by someone suborned for the purpose. Although the latter scenario is delightfully wicked, it seems no more likely than the former.

I should like to especially thank Peter Hammond, whose constructive criticism has bailed me out of difficulties on various occasions, and Julie Vognar, whose support and encouragement have never let me down.

from the membership chair

Cheryl Greer

NOMINATIONS FOR EXECUTIVE BOARD:

Every two years at the GMM, the terms end for Chairman, Vice Chairman, Secretary, Treasurer, and Membership Chairman. We are now seeking volunteers for those positions that will be vacated well in advance of the GMM. Volunteers elected to the next Executive Board will assume their duties in October 2020 at the conclusion of the GMM.

Please submit your nomination to the membership chair. You can nominate yourself or someone who you know that is interested. While the bylaws located on the members only page of the American branch website (http://www.r3.org/members-only/by-laws/)* outline the duties of each position, we encourage you to contact the executive board member who holds to position of interest to gain an understanding of what that position's duties entail.

Chairperson: A Compton Reeves: chairperson@r3.org
Vice-Chair: Deborah Kaback: vice-chair@r3.org
Membership Chair: Cheryl Greer: membership@r3.org
Treasurer: Deborah Kaback: treasurer@r3.org
Secretary: Emily Newton: secretary@r3.org

By the time you see this article, you probably will have received an email from the membership chair calling for nominations.

*password required—contact me if you need the password to access the page.

~ ToC ~

Missing Princes in America Project Update

Sally Keil

A team of 27 Ricardians along with me, launched the **Missing Princes in America Project** in December 2018. Our goal: to assist Philippa Langley and her Missing Princes Project and scour each of the 488 institutions here in the US and Canada that hold pre-1600 documents in their collections. Our goal: to see if we can find *any* primary source documents that date from 1483-1509, that might hold a clue—no matter how small—to the fate of the two sons of King Edward IV.

We are having a blast!! We are turning up lots of Books of Hours, religious texts, illuminations, maps, histories, etc., all of which are not of interest to our search. BUT, every once in a while, one of the team members reports back on finding something really fun. We have found at Emory University in Atlanta a sample of hair from Edward IV; in the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington DC we've found a document from Sir James Tyrell,* dated 1489, acknowledging receipt of something from the abbot of St Mary Overie in the parish near Bermondsey, which may sound alarms in your head as Elizabeth Woodville was living in Bermondsey Abbey at that time! In the Boston Public Library, we found a codex with ownership marks and signatures of England's first printer, William Caxton. These are the *only known examples* of Caxton's signature. We've also found a warrant written by one of King Richard's secretaries from Kenilworth Castle and signed with Richard III's signet seal granting six acres of wood to William Catesby written in late May of 1483—shortly before Bosworth.

While two team members have traveled to the institutions involved to take a firsthand look at their finds, our searching is done almost exclusively via online querying of the institutions' web sites, or sending off emails to the Special Collections librarians. SO! If

you have a bit of time available to sit at your computer and join in on the hunt, please drop me a note at sallybkeil@gmail.com. We're only slightly more than 25% through our work so there are plenty of opportunities to join in. There is always room for more curious searchers and just imagine maybe YOU will turn up the 'needle in the haystack' clue to the mystery of the Missing Princes in the Tower!

* Folger Shakespeare Library reference:

Written in careful secretary hand.
Accompanying materials: With 1 seal (fragmentary), applied, signet of Richard III (red, 27 mm), in a rush ring.
Origin: "Yeuen vndre oure signet at our[e] Castell of Kenelworth' the xxviijti Day of May The secunde yere of oure Reigne."
Warrant under the signet of Richard III, King of England, to fell and carry 6 acres of wood, previously granted to Sir William Norreys, in Nuthurst, Sussex: " ... as is growing w[i]t[h]in the Grove called the peche conteynyng sex acres in the p[ar]isshe of Nuthurst being now in the holding of oon Davy Tussingh[a]m. whiche he[re]tofor[e] belonged vnto o[u]r Rebell s[ir] William Noreys ..."
With the King's sign manual at top: "R[icardus] R[ex]."
Also available as a digital reproduction. In English.
Main Author: Tyrell, James, approximately 1455-1502,
ther Author(s): Bermondsey Abbey (London, England). Abbot.
Title: Receipt from James Tyrell to the Abbot of St. Saviour's
1498 November 4.
Primary Material: Archival/Manuscript Material
Description: 1 item (1 membrane)
Manuscript on vellum.

~ ToC ~

Ricardian Reading

Myrna Smith

Novel n.—A short story padded.—Ambrose Bierce, *The Devil's Dictionary*.

GRANT ME THE CARVING OF MY NAME, Alex Marchant, ed.; Marchant Ventures, 2018

(Introduced by Philippa Gregory and published in support of the Scoliosis Association, UK) The cover art by Rikko Katajiste shows a crowned Richard reading a book with the initials JAH prominent on the spine—for John Ashdown Hill, to whom the book is dedicated.

A mixed bag. Some of the short fiction included here consists of excerpts from longer fiction works, which means they may have a rather unfinished air about them. That aside, the stories can be regarded in several categories: the realistic, the supernatural, and the science-fictionish, with some overlap, of course. Buckingham's End was a part of Richard Unwin's novel featuring armourer Laurence de la Halle, and is about just what the title suggests. It recounts how James Tyrell screwed up the capture of Henry Tudor on his first campaign to England, though James Tyrell maintains that Laurence messed up. Joanna Dreams is the story of Joanna of Portugal, as recounted by Maire Martello: why she agreed to marry Richard III, and why she did not in the end. 14th April 1471—Blooding is a part

of Matthew Lewis' **LOYALTY**, about Richard at an early stage of his life and career, obviously. Boyer Tower, by Wendy Johnson, is Clarence's story, narrated by him before his execution and her Beyond the Rood is narrated by an anonymous Yorkist soldier in the aftermath of Bosworth Field. Those are the serious, realistic, actual historic history stories, worthy of being judged by those standards as of a high quality.

The rest are, well, different. Marla Skidmore's Purgatory is an excerpt from her novel **RENAISSANCE: FALL AND RISE OF A KING.** After a stay in that locale, Richard is ready to leave, in the opinion of his mentor, but not in his own opinion. On the other hand, in Ave Aquate Vale Frances Quinn gives us a Richard who is ready to leave when he encounters his earthly rival in Purgatory. This gives Tudor the opportunity to snark off, and gives Richard the opportunity to tell him a few home truths, literally, about what is happening back home in England. Henry is not at all pleased.

Easter 1483, by the book's editor, Alex Marchant, is a chapter from a novel for children about youthful followers of Richard. Marchant has also contributed a stand-alone story, The Beast of Middleham Moor. I don't know whether this is sci-fi, time-travel, supernatural, fantasy, or a combination of all of these. The protagonist is an adolescent boy with the same physical condition Richard had, who is faced with the decision of what to do about it. The meeting will be instrumental in his decision.

Narelle M. Harris gives us an alternate history tale in Long Live the King, and the boy Richard sees something of his own future in Five White Stones—alas, not all of it. Myth and Man, also by Ms Harris, may perhaps be best described as an allegory. The recently dead man who was Richard confronts the never-living myth of Shakespeare's infamy.

Finally, a couple of just-for-the-heck-of-it romps. Kindred: Spirits Return of the King, by Jennifer C. Wilson, has the ghosts of Richard and Anne Neville visiting Leicester. Both live in—er, reside in—London, Anne at Westminster Abbey, Richard at the Tower (see next review). But nothing says they can't get away for the weekend occasionally. As Richard wants to show Anne the visitor's center in his honor, they do just that, presumably travelling by train. They stay overnight in a hotel built on the site of the old Blue Boar Inn, doing a little mild haunting to pass the time. The next day, they attend services, along with living visitors and resident spooks. Richard enjoys this, but gripes about how much Leicester has changed since he was there. In this, Richard rather reminds me of my husband. (That's another story.)

Larner & Lamb (doesn't that have a lovely musical-comedy sound?) provide an entry from **DICKON'S DIARIES: PART II:** Dame Joanne's Talk Thinge, as it might have been written by a time-warped Richard of Gloucester. Just inspired silliness.

Grave, n.—A place in which the dead are laid to await the coming of the medical student.—ibid.

KINDRED SPIRITS: Tower of London—Jennifer C. Wilson, Crooked Cat Books, UK, 2016

I don't usually read and review ghost stories, at least not full-length ones. However, this is not your normal supernormal story. It is more in the spirit—can I say that?—of the old Topper movies, a mixture of fantasy and farce, though with a few serious moments. The premise is simple: the Tower of London is haunted by a motley crew of spirits—strike that—actually a rather elite crew. As the back-cover blurb points out, the leading spirits are "a King, three Queens, assorted nobles,' and others. Not all who died in the Tower return to haunt, and not all who haunt there are buried there, e.g. Richard III. He explains: "A week after they buried me, I knew this was where I needed to be...Those first few days in Leicester, as a ghost I mean...when I realised I was still here. I thought it was pointless

hanging about up there—I wanted to be at the heart of the country, where I belonged. So, I set off along the roads. I didn't know any other way than to follow the main paths, on foot. I couldn't even ask for directions."

On the other hand, Perkin Warbeck is not present, but the Earl of Warwick is, though he remains 'closeted' for a long while. Is this by Warbeck's own choice—a ghost does have some options—or is it just that he is just a little too working class for the company? But musician Mark Smeaton is there, though he doesn't socialize much.

The—ahem—plot, such as it is, recounts a year in the afterlife of Richard, Anne Boleyn, Jane Grey, et al. The phantoms have carried over many of the characteristics and personalities they had in life, and often the old animosities, for example Richard and Lord Hastings, although they can make common cause when necessary. Others include Anne Boleyn vs. Thomas Cromwell, and everybody vs. Jane Boleyn, until her former sister-in-law gives her some good advice. Old affinities carry over as well. Katherine Howard still pines for her Thomas Culpepper, and Arabella Stuart's Edward Seymour still wants to be reunited with her. But some, like Queen Anne Boleyn, explore new avenues. Jane Grey carries on a mild flirtation with George Boleyn. The lad who was briefly her husband, Guildford Dudley, keeps a low profile and makes no objection. Of course, they are no longer married, are they? Richard is quite good friends with Anne, and is reconciled with his brother George. Apparently, family loyalty can transcend the grave, and blood is thicker than—uh, scratch that.

There are certain rules that the ghosts in the Tower must live—I mean, abide—by. These are unwritten, but Richard, being an organizer, undertakes—er, resolves—to write them down. We learn that ghosts can gasp for breath, take deep breaths, blush, and even bleed. That is why edged weapons are severely restricted. They can sleep and even dream, but don't seem to need as much sleep as mortals do. They can wake up and smell the coffee, but cannot taste it, nor any other food, and often find this frustrating. Mild haunting, such as pulling ponytails and whispering, is permissible *ad lib,* but the severed-head-underneath-the-arm stuff is frowned upon, though that doesn't keep those bad boys, George B. and George P., from trying it now and then.

During the temporal time period covered by the story, the ghosts go about their business. They celebrate birthdays, All Hallows' Eve, Christmas, they welcome new chums, say goodbye to those who have "gone towards the light," and choose to leave to meet their destiny. Yes, a spectre does have some freedom to choose. George of Clarence has chosen to stay with his daughter and son in the Tower, which makes for an ill-assorted trio, age wise. (George and his son are both in their twenties, and daughter Margaret is in her sixties.)

Richard spends many nights in a fruitless search for his other nephews, and for the means to clear his name. Just how that would help is not explained. As one of Henry VIII's exes points out, he is not the only one to hear lies about himself, but they don't let it ruin their lives—ah, get under their skin—that is, bother them. Richard acknowledges the logic of this, but doggedly goes on. He is sure they are in the Tower somewhere, and he and Anne enlist the help of all the other ghosts to do a thorough search.

Will Richard succeed in his quest? Will he and Anne 'go toward the light' together or separately? Read the book and find out, then read the other books in the **KINDRED SPIRITS** series. Of the one set in Westminster Abbey, (q.v.) Richard says to his brother: "I visited once...years ago. If you think this place is heaving with ghosts, you should go there for the day. You can hardly move. I spent the night there, but couldn't see [Anne Neville], and with all the other monarchs, there were a lot of egos to deal with, so I left without being noticed by too many of them."

Monument, n.—A structure intended to commemorate something which either needs no commemoration or cannot be commemorated.—ibid.

KINDRED SPIRITS: Westminster Abbey— Jennifer C. Wilson, Crooked Cat Books, 2017

The Prologue to this book has the poets of Poet's Corner meeting for a light verse competition, in which Rudyard Kipling edges out Geoffrey Chaucer. Well, I'll wager you can recite more of Kipling than Chaucer.

Moving on to Chapter 1, we are introduced to some non-literary residents of the Abbey. As Richard says, the place is heaving with spirits. (King Edward—that's Edward the Confessor—doesn't like the expression 'ghosts.' He doesn't like a lot of things.) There are 3000 + of them, many Royal or otherwise notable. Not all are high muckety-mucks, though. A plumber named Clark is interred here, not to mention Bradshaw the Regicide. (Let's not mention him!) "Westminster Abbey was England's national stage, where for centuries the great and good had been hatched, matched, celebrated and dispatched." One of the people dispatched is now making trouble is Elizabeth I, who is bored and inclined to raise hell. She thinks 'they must have more fun at the Tower,' but is reluctant to go there, as she might meet her mum. At the Abbey, she does run into her half-sister, Mary I. They share a tomb, for heaven's sake. Is that the right expression to use? Mary can sometimes be bloody-minded, and "'petulant toddler' is Gloriana's default position."

At times things reach the point where a meeting of the Westminster Council has to be called, with King Edward the Confessor presiding. He is senior in time, in rank, and in holiness, being the only royal saint. This bunch would try the patience of a saint, believe me. Phillip Larkin, Poet Laureate, and Laurence Olivier are also heard from, if not seen. Kit Marlowe stirs things up now and then, and Mary-Eleanor Bowes plays practical jokes. She is an ancestress of Lady Elizabeth Bowes-Lyon, the mother of the present queen.

There are some odd friendships. Anne Neville and Anna von Cleeves get on well, but the latter has discovered a posthumous scientific bent, and also pals around with Isaac Newton, Charles Darwin, and Robert Stephenson. (Aha! I think I know what is wrong with my computer!) Richard III has visited at least once before the opening of the story, when he and Henry VII almost come to blows. He returns to visit Anne, but on this occasion, Henry has his own problems. Trying to keep the peace between his granddaughters, not to mention his own mother, has gotten on his last nerve, if spirits can be said to have nerves. He is not looking for a fight either, so the two kings actually manage to have a civil conversation, until George Boleyn arrives to fetch Richard back to the Tower for a party. "My, how the other half lives," says Anna von Cleeves when she hears of this. The next time Richard shows up is after Margaret Beaufort 'goes toward the light,' much to her own surprise and her son's shock. On the other hand, many of her Abbey neighbors breathe a sigh of relief. Well, you know what I mean.

The last Plantagenet feels he must offer condolences. The first Tudor is still a bit stand-offish, but intrigued by the fact that they both have museums in York. Might they do a mutual haunting trip? Their former wives would have to go along to keep the peace, or they would never make it that far!

Almost as miraculous is the tentative rapport between the Tudor 'girls,' Mary I and Elizabeth I. It helps that Mary has moved out into the tomb of their cousin Mary Queen of Scots. It is vacant most of the time, as the Scottish queen is continually on progress, it seems

Life, or rather death at the Abbey, is not as dull as Elizabeth Tudor claims. The spooks amuse themselves by playing Tourist Bingo. (Sample card illustrated.) There are outings, such as the one to the Aquarium and the London Eye, and the Peacock Theatre. Little Mary

Stuart, the daughter of James VI/I, celebrates her second birthday for the three-hundredth-odd time, with a play by Kit Marlowe and the gift of a ghost kitten.

Surprisingly, who or what might be in That Urn barely rates a mention. In any case, the haunting trip to York is on hold, if they do go to York, I'm sure Ms. Wilson will report it. Henry and Elizabeth of York will go to Paris over Valentine's Day, and everybody will live—erm, whatever—ever after.

The latest book in the series has just been published. That is a review for another day. Richard has gone to York on his own, to join forces with Harry Hotspur, Dick Turpin, and Guy Fawkes. What a combination!

Heaven, n.—A place where the wicked refrain you with talk of their personal affairs, and the good listen with attention when you expound your own.—ibid.

RICHARD III: KING OF CONTROVERSY—Toni Mount 2014, rev 2015

Ms. Mount, an avowed and enthusiastic Ricardian, apparently meant this as an introduction to the subject for young people. It is written in conversational style (although young people and older ones might learn a new word or two, such as 'eponymous'—one of my favorites). There are no footnotes to slow the reader down, but there is a copious bibliography.

The first part of this volume is a 'life and times' of the eponymous character. (Now you know what it means.) Pretty accurate, although necessarily somewhat compressed in time. The author does say that Richard was arranging a marriage for his niece with the Earl of Desmond. What happened to Manuel de Beja? Other sections deal with the search for Richard's grave, his facial reconstruction, DNA, and other subjects, and Toni Mount has no hesitation in sharing her opinions. For example: "I wouldn't be surprised if the worried, older-looking face in the Tudor [NPG] portrait wasn't a truer image of the man than the reconstruction." There are interesting tidbits about carbon dating, which can be affected by the amount of fish one eats, and scandalous bits. Did Edmund of Langley's wife cheat on him? That last doesn't affect our subject, but the seafood does.

There is also a description of the Battle of Bosworth Field, but almost half the book is taken up with a discussion of the pretenders, Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck, or as the author seems to believe, Edward V and Richard of York. It is here I believe she is on shakier ground. You could reasonably argue either way about 'Perkin Warbeck,' but 'Lambert Simnel' is another matter. Could 'Lambert' have actually been the boy King Edward, who was killed in battle, or killed shortly after by Tudor troops, or Henry himself? Then who was the turnspit in Henry's kitchen? It's hard to imagine Edward Plantagenet willingly living out the life of a menial servant, so a substitution was made. (To be fair, this is not Ms. Mount's theory, but one originated by Gordon Smith.) 'Lambert' was a lower-class boy drafted to impersonate Edward after the fact. I am willing to imagine that a look-alike stand-in might have been taken to Stoke Field, but in any case, this ploy would be dangerous. How could a young boy be trusted to keep this secret for the rest of his life, not even slipping up accidentally? Or deliberately, when he grew to man's estate and realized the opportunity for blackmail? The Tudors would have to get rid of him sooner or later. Instead he lived out a normal life-span, content to be a royal servant. Besides, if 'Edward V' was killed in battle, why not simply say so? Being the 'fortunes of war,' his death could not be held against Henry VII, and it would solve many problems for him. All of this seems one coincidence too many.

"The Yorkists would never have committed the blasphemy" of crowning 'Lambert' in Dublin. Would they not, indeed? In fact, many things against the commands of Holy Church were done by both houses. It is debatable if the rite could be called a proper coronation

anyway, since the 'holy oil' was back in London, and the crown used had to be borrowed from a statute. Of course, it may very well be that the participants believed that they had the genuine Edward V in their hands. By the way, both the former Prince of Wales and the Earl of Warwick had the same Christian name; did anyone notice?

I am not trying to trash Ms. Mount, whose books I have greatly enjoyed. That includes this one As she admits, the purpose of writing this book was to get people thinking and discussing the matter, and she certainly succeeded with me!

> Future, n.—That period of time in which our affairs prosper, our friends are true and our happiness is assured.—ibid

DICKON'S DIARIES: PART II—Joanne Larner and Susan Lamb, 2018

[Editor's note: Review is written in the style of this book.]

Beiynge the further picaresque adventures of Dickon and his Dames, who maye bee found on Ye Book of Faces. Not just Dickon has wryt for this volume, but likewise his wyffe, Queene Anne, and his goodly friend, Lord Francis Lovell; at the leaste, for bryf chaptres. Queene Anne tells ye Gentle Reader of some of her royal husbonde's faults, and her owne propensitye for aches of the hede, and Francis Lovell hath wryt a Four Worde, whyche is more than 4 wordes, forsooth! We (editorial we) are sure ye Kynge appreciated the helpe, for mooche happyned during the year reportyed here. First, Syr Nikolas von Poppyglow came to vyste, and to shew off his skill with his greate lance. How comes it the people of Muddleham can knosh on poppynge corn and coke of cola whyle watching these on-goingys? For cause that Muddleham existeth in a sort of tyme-warppe, like Brigodoon. At certaine tymes, as whene where is myst on the bridge, folk can travell from one centurye to the othere, although oftymes there is mooche difficultye in distinguishment of myst and fogge.

Oure dread Kyng's Ladye Moder, Duchess Cecily, viysits from Born Hard Castle, and makes her presence knowne most definitely. Other visitors included Dame Kokomo, who has been to Muddleham before, certes. This time, she gooes to a kerr-hop-oh-dyst, Mr. Phileus Bonnifoot, and praiseeth his efforts to the Royal Familye. New cytzens of Muddleham includeth Kanya Kankanski, a Russian emegree, who teacheth danyse, including the trotting foxe, and Sir Oliver Quiver, instructure in archerie. He foughte in the battles of Morton's Mound, Crapstyrs Hill, and Baldwi's Mill, and nowe cuttes quite a swath amongst the wymenfolke of Muddleham. Richard at first forbyds his wyffe to take instruction, but latyr relenteth.

Some not-so-welcomed visitors include historians Stan Jones and Willie Snarky, who gett theyr well-deserved uppe-commance. These are only some of the manye events at Muddleham during the tyme recounted. Dickon getetth a make-ye-over, the Royal householde watcheth a com-de-sitt yclept "Friends," Lovell getteth newe greene hose—as inne gardyn hose. Surelye thou hast seen this marketted on tell-ye-vision?

Oh yea, as iff one Lovell were nott enoughe, one of Frank's little "mistakes," yclept Lennie Lovell cometh in, as a sort of compagnon to Eddie, Prynce of Wales. He is of much aide and assistance in gettynge the prynce into grete troublement. We also learne that Muddleham hath subjurbs, some poshe (Muddleham Parva), some nott so. Big Ed lives in Muddleham Wamble. Also the answere to the disappearance of Richard's nephews is founde here.

More than one yeare is covered as more than one Yuletide is observyd. The Kynge's Speeche is reported on one occasione, on others it is recounted, by himselfe, how he got regally pi—er, inebr—er, mellow—yea, that beeth the worde, mellow, and is overhung the

next daye. Moochely to be credited is the artist, Rikka Katajiste, who alloweth oure Dreade Lorde to be hys handsome and dygnified selff, no mattre what is onn-goyng.

All this, and mooche, mooche more, including Dickon's advice column for the lorne of love, and othyrs. No high purpose here, that your humble reviewre canst see, exceptyng juste to have a grande olde tyme in the Olden Tymes.

Enquyring minds want to knowe: how long can MesDames Larner and Lamb keepe this uppe?

[Editor's note ii: My hat's off to Larner and Lamb's editor. Proofing this was no easy feat.

Kill, v.t.- To create a vacancy without nominating a successor.—ibid

THE COLOUR OF LIES—Toni Mount, MadeGlobal, 2019

The story opens on Tuesday, August 18, 1478, as Sebastian Foxley returns to London with his wife, baby son, and country cousin (actually nephew) Adam Armitage, to find his stationer's shop shuttered and his brother Jude in jail. Not only that, but Jude was a no-show at his own wedding, and must pay a fine for that. After much soul-searching and angst, the brothers decide to each go their own way. That is, Jude will go, but Adam will prove to be a more than acceptable substitute. An acquaintance from an earlier book, Gabriel Widowson, a Known Man (Lollard) will turn up as a mariner, along with his First Mate, Rook, an Abyssanian. Why should this cause trouble for Seb, who refuses to even step foot on a ship? Ha!

By groveling to the guild, Seb gets the shop reopened and tries to make up for lost work, and get ready for the upcoming Bartholomew Fayre. Physically he is better off than he was in Norfolk. Modest as it is, his London kitchen is bigger than his entire country cottage. It needs to be, with the motley crew inhabiting it, plus one more—make that two, though one is a baby. The two boy apprentices cause Seb nothing but trouble, though Adam seems to manage them better. (The girl apprentice will return shortly.) The jilted bride, Rose, is still around. Emily doesn't mind this, as she needs all the help she can get. The Fayre opens, and Emily and Rose, who are 'out-workers' for Dame Ellen, along with Dame Ellen's other employees, Beattie, Pen, and Liz, are kept busy at their stall. Correction: Liz is busy, but not at silk-working.

Is Seb going to be left in peace to conduct his business? Again, ha! Sice Jude was assistant to the coroner, Seb has inherited the position, at least so far as Coroner Fisher is concerned. Over his protests, he is called upon to investigate the death of one of the performers at the Fayre. Though living long before the development of finger-printing, he can determine that some bloody prints were made by 'someone who uses both hands equally, such as a bell-ringer.' Seb has a logical and somewhat skeptical mind. On the subject of unicorns, he says" I don't doubt that they once existed, but no man has reported seeing them for years. It was always a cousin of a friend who met a man who said his grandfather had heard tell of a unicorn glimpsed for a moment of time in the far distance." Yes, a unicorn horn, brought back by Richard Armitage from the land of Fire and Ice, is featured in the crime.

Our hero again, on one of his contemporaries: "Thaddeus Turner was a diligent bailiff but not the sharpest blade in the culter's workshop." And: "The lid of the city coffers weighed like the Devil's sins, and could be prised open only with the greatest difficulty." Seb is not always ahead of his time, however. He buys a 'rainbow-maker' (prism) but can't make it work, and feels he got cheated.

There is another murder—there always is—this time of one of the silkwomen, and it looks like Emily may be involved. Seb, who truly loves his wife, perhaps more that she

loves him, is faced with a dilemma, and tries to take drastic action, but is prevented by Adam, Jack the apprentice, and Gawain the dog. Eventually, Seb Foxley will, with a little push from Adam, put two and two together and solve the crime, clearing the mariner Rook, who stood accused of it. The first murder—that of the puppet master at the Fayre—is never solved, but that is about par for the course, even today. All's well that ends well, and a teaser from the next book in the series is included in the Kindle edition. The Sebastian Foxley novels are a delight to read, giving readers as close a view as is is possible to get of the 15th century without a time machine. And the characters are as real as anyone one could meet in Real Life, with all the faults and foibles of real people. Seb would seem to have almost no faults, except he is a bit of a wimp, but lovable all the same.

Oh, a cat, Grayling, has joined the company to deal with some (unnamed) mice, which would seem to be an ever-present liability in a stationer's shop.

> Exile, n.—One who serves his country by residing abroad, yet is not an ambassador—ibid

THE TUDOR CROWN—Joanna Hickson, Harper Collins, 2018

This is the story of Henry Tudor in exile, as the normal young man he must have been at one time, interested in sports and girls and not much else. He even has a few ideals. An explanation is given for the existence of Henry's supposed bastard, Roland de Veleville, which, if true— and it is at least plausible—would speak rather well for Henry. The whole book speaks rather well for Henry, as it is told very much from his point of view, if not narrated by him, or by his mother, or recounted in correspondence between them.

Henry has a deep and sincere religious belief in the cult of St. Armel. Is Armel another name for Arthur, as the author suggests? On a less spiritual level, he learns about women from Roland's mother, and about taxation from Anne de Beaujeau, the Regent of France. By the way, did the Marquis of Dorset really have 14 children, as Henry says? Over his lifetime, maybe, but at the time he was an exile in France?

Henry's thoughts, watching Richard's charge at Bosworth (assuming he was able to think): "I did not wish any longer to be the man who killed him." Well, as it turned out, he wasn't. Afterwards, we are told that Henry ordered Richard's body be well back in the procession, and therefore he had no idea how it was being treated. This too is plausible—just barely. As the story ends shortly after Bosworth, we will not see how Henry deals with the challenges of his reign.

Ms. Hickson is strongly pro-Tudor. Fair enough; not everybody has to be a Ricardian. Henry was not in the country and had no choice but to believe what his mother and Bishop Morton told him about events in England, but Ms. Hickson could give a more nuanced view without turning her Tudor coat.

> Marriage, n.—The state or condition of a community consisting of a master, a mistress, and two slaves, making in all two.—ibid.

THE COUNTERFEIT MADAM—Pat McIntosh, Robinson Publishing, 2012

Pat McIntosh's Gil Cunningham novels are set in the 1490s, but in Scotland, so no worries. Tudors will rarely intrude

The madam of the title is a real madam, though not Greek, as her *nom de guerre*, Madam Xanthe, would suggest. Her girls also have classical names, and even the messenger boy goes by 'Cato.' There is actual counterfeiting of coin taking place, and Gil is investigating this when he is coshed and almost drowned. He is rescued and given first aid by Madam Xanthe, which is a blessing for him, but causes much comment in the Cunningham household.

Gil and his household are multilingual. They speak the standard English of the time (updated for modern readers), Lowland Scots, both braid and braider, Erische (highland or gaelic Scots), French, and Latin. No glossary is provided; the reader easily picks it up as he/she goes along. There is a great deal of information about the minting of coins, which might suggest to the outsider a meeting of demons.

At the end, Xanthe and her staff are moving on, and Gil and Alys are moving on as well, from her father's house to a place of their own—which just happens to be the former bawdy-house. The House of the Mermaid is roomy, comfortable and well-decorated, so why not? Alys has no hesitation. In fact Gil's wife contributes to the successful solving of the mystery, not only with her little grey cells, but also with her command of martial arts, as taught to her by Gil.

~ ToC ~

Ricardian Music

Elke Paxson

HISTORY BOOK, PART 1—released April 1, 2019

On the first of April, The Legendary Ten Seconds released a new album I would like you to know about. It was masterminded by Ian Churchward who wrote most of the songs. He plays and sings on all of them with the help of several other singers and musicians. What is so special about this particular kind of music is it connects us to history in the wonderful form of entertaining and enjoyable music.

The songs are a wide range of points in time—from King Arthur through William the Conqueror to Bosworth Field and re-enactment groups.

Back in Time—really cool song that has something special to it with its tambourine and the superb harmonies.

The Green Knight—a unique and slightly unusual song about a knight's challenge

Senlac Ridge—this one has a haunting intro and ending, a beautiful piece that tells quite a story.

The Conqueror's Prophecy—this song tells a fabulous hi-story and is quite entertaining. A variety of instruments come together really well, especially the string instruments.

The Lost Ring—a middle of the road song

The Marcher Freeman—this is just a lovely instrumental. I especially love the intro and the overall flow. The instrumentation is excellent!! It's a real winner in my book.

When They Came to Edinburgh—this lively song is about the English campaign of 1482 under Richard Duke of Gloucester. The song has great rhythm and features excellent harmonies.

For the Harringtons—another winner, perhaps the best song on the album! Everything in this song is delivered perfectly, the story, the different instruments, the harmonies and the overall sound!

The Treachery of Sir William (Stanley)—has a very nice intro and a smooth flow throughout the song.

Who Layeth There—This song has an interesting back story. Ian Churchward told me a "local historian who is investigating the church at Coldridge asked Ian to

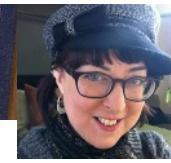
turn a poem he had written into a song for a video he wants to make about the church." So Ian did and I think it is one of the best songs on the album. Transforming a poem into a song may sound simple, but I'm not sure it really is. What fits in the music, what doesn't, how can the songwriter change the wording without changing the meaning, etc. However, the song turned out really good and the mid-section has a most beautiful reciting of a verse from the poem.

The Beaufort Companye—Awesome, such a catchy rhythm and melody. This is another highlight on this new album by The Legendary Ten Seconds.

Ian Churchward has come up with good ideas and stories for songs and has been composing lots of excellent material over the past years. Taste is always a personal thing though. While there are many factors for a good song, the three major ones for me are rhythm, melody and lyrics, but not necessarily in that order. It can be one of those things that "win me over" or any combination. Sometimes I have to listen to a song a number of times before I really like it. Perhaps it's a good thing to take more time to really listen and to find the things you do enjoy in this fast-moving time of ours.

The album is available for download now at CD Baby.com and/or Amazon. It should come out in CD format in the future.

~ ToC ~



ex libris

Research Library:

Susan Troxell

The Schallek Awards program memorializes Dr. William B. Schallek, whose vision and generosity established the original scholarship fund, and his wife, Maryloo Spooner Schallek. Today the program is supported by a $1.4 million endowment bequeathed by the Schallek estate to the Richard III Society-American Branch, and is administered by the Medieval Academy of America. Beginning in 2004, the program has offered five annual dissertation awards of $2,000 each and an annual dissertation fellowship of $30,000. Deadlines for submitting applications to the MAA for these awards are February 15 and October 15, respectively. See the MAA's website for further details (https://www.medievalacademy.org, under the tab of "Grants & Awards").

The recipients of the Schallek Awards are asked to supply a copy of their final approved dissertation to the American Branch, where they are kept in our Non-Fiction Library. By the terms of the endowment, the scholars must focus their research on a topic pertinent to late medieval British history, and it is gratifying to see the creative and thoughtful approaches they have undertaken. Many of the recipients specifically mention the Richard III Society in their Acknowledgements, and send letters of thanks along with their final, hard-bound paper.

To give two recent examples, Dr. Amanda Ewoldt at the University of Louisiana-Lafayette was a 2016 recipient of a $2,000 award to help defray her expenses such as the cost of travel to research collections and the cost of photographs, photocopies, microfilms, and other research materials. Dr. Ewoldt's dissertation is called "Conversion and Crusade: The Image of the Saracen in Middle English Romance". In it, she poses the fascinating question:

> "Many Middle English romances are concerned with issues of identity on the macro level of culture and religion and/or the micro level of the individual and their place in society. Against the uncertainties of shifting politics, war, and plague, these romances question what it means to be English, to be Christian, to be a man or woman, to be a king or to be a knight. Few things help define an identity better than encountering the Other, and popular Middle English romances often incorporate anxieties and confusions of identity by using Saracens. Interestingly, Saracens can be found all over Middle English canon, from the crusade romances that send Christian knights abroad to conquer the Holy Land, to the more insular Arthurian romances. The Saracens that appear in these romances at once illuminate and confuse ideas of Middle English Christian identity. The romances also look at history, at the failed string of crusades, and wonder what it would take to be victorious in the Middle East once and for all."

Dr. Ewoldt sent the following message along with her dissertation:

> "To the MAA, Richard III Society, and Dr. Lisa Fagin-Davis: Enclosed is the copy of my finished dissertation that I owe you for the 2016 Schallek Award. I cannot express just how much that award meant to and helped me. It enabled my acquisition of sources that otherwise might have been beyond reach. Thank you

all so very much for the award, and also for the support and resources you make available for all medievalist grad students! Sincerely, Dr. Amanda Ewoldt"

Dr. Deirdre Anne Carter at the Florida State University received a $30,000 Schallek Fellowship in 2013. Her dissertation was on "Art, History, and the Creation of Monastic Identity at Late Medieval St. Albans Abbey", and is introduced as follows:

> "Although later medieval St. Albans Abbey has long been renowned as a preeminent center for the writing of historical chronicles, previous studies have not acknowledged that the monastic community also had a sustained tradition of visually representing the house's institutional history. This dissertation demonstrates that between the late eleventh and early sixteenth centuries, the monks of St. Albans depicted and evoked their abbey's past in a large and diverse collection of artworks, ranging from illuminated manuscripts and pilgrim badges to monumental paintings and architecture. Monastic historical imagery was rarely produced during the Middle Ages, but the images and objects from St. Albans present a remarkably rich and complete account of the abbey's history from the time of its illustrious origins through the eve of its dissolution. Using an interdisciplinary approach to contextualize these artworks within the monastery's history and traditions, this study argues that the visual historiography of St. Albans served as a potent vehicle for the expression and self-fashioning of the abbey's corporate identity and historical memory."

In her Acknowledgements, Dr. Carter says: "I must also express my gratitude for the generous financial support provided … by the Schallek Fellowship of the Medieval Academy of America and the Richard III Society-American Branch, which enabled me to travel and to examine in person the many documents, artworks, and buildings upon which this study is based."

Members of the American Branch are welcomed to borrow these two fascinating dissertations from the Non-Fiction Library. To do so, please contact Susan Troxell, researchlibrary@r3.org.

~ ToC ~

Fiction Library:

Jessie Prichard Hunter

Thirty-four years ago, I read Paul Murray Kendall's brilliant biography of Richard III. As I read about the king's death at Bosworth Field, I realized that it was August 22, 1985, exactly 500 years to the day that Richard had died. And I started to cry.

And a Ricardian was born.

Since then I have raised children and written novels, and now I am terribly proud to be the Society's Fiction Librarian.

There are many different kinds of Ricardian fiction, many different worlds. There is, of course, straightforward historical fiction that follows the course of Richard's life, cleaving to the truth as the author sees it. Sometimes Richard is cast in a favorable light, sometimes not. Sometimes the facts hew close to the historical record—sometimes not. History can be seen as interpretation, and there seem to be as many interpretations of Richard's life as there are authors.

Since I've been entrusted with the Society library, I've been dipping into this and that, and the range of books we have is indeed impressive. In the Society fiction library, you can find romance, mystery, fantasy, and time-travel. There are novels that concern themselves with Richard's guilt or innocence in the purported deaths of his brother's sons, known as

"the Princes in the Tower," such as Josephine Tey's classic, *The Daughter of Time*—so often the book that makes Ricardians of its readers.

We have some wonderful curiosities, such as Edward Bulwer-Lytton's ***The Last of the Barons***, Robert Louis Stevenson's *The Black Arrow*, and *The Amours of Edward IV*, by "Anonymous," originally printed in 1700. It is admittedly less of a romp than I would like it to be, but valuable as the first novelizing of Jane Shore's story and even some rather risqué behavior on the part of Elizabeth Woodville.

The library has a wonderful collection of bodice-rippers, and anybody who loves romance is in for many, many treats. (It's really quite remarkable the number of different mistresses who were the mother of Richard's two bastard children.) And of course, we have Sandra Worth's deeply romantic *Rose of York* trilogy.

Several time-travel novels, including Joan Szechtman's critically acclaimed and inventive trilogy *Richard III in the 21st Century,* as well as J.P. Reedman's series, which includes a truly cool motorcycle-riding Richard are part of fiction library's collection.

We have novels that feature Richard after death: In Marla Skidmore's award-winning *Renaissance*, we watch Richard grapple with his reputation while he waits in a lushly appointed antechamber to the Beyond. Jennifer Wilson's *Kindred Spirits: Tower of London* follows Richard's spirit as he searches for the answer to the mystery of the princes, in the company of others who have been guests in the Tower, including Anne Boleyn; his friendship with her is not only charming but just exactly as it would be between two brilliant, headstrong monarchs.

The library's collection includes books for young adults (YA) such as Alex Marchant's two YA novels: *The Order of the White Boar* and *The King's Man*, *Jonny Quest #10* (comic book format) by William Messner-Loebs, and *Knight on* Horseback by Ann Rabinowitz. I intend to widen our selection of YA novels and include works for children as well. I already have my eye on a few things.

We even have a couple of novels that feature Henry Tudor as the hero. (*Boo! Hiss!* But don't you want to see what sort of hero he makes?)

The Library also contains works that don't concern Richard or his famous contemporaries. Anya Seton's Katherine is *the* novel about Katharine Swynford, mistress to John of Gaunt and mother to the Lancastrian Beaufort families. Matthew Lewis's *Loyalty* is only one book we have about Francis Lovell, Richard's great friend and fomenter of rebellion against Henry VII. We also have every one of Jean Plaidy's fourteen iconic novels about the Plantagenet family.

My goals for the Society Library are to make it as accessible and enjoyable as possible; I aim to discover every fantasy, alternate-reality, and science fiction novel about Richard, as well as completing our collection's selection of works by Philippa Gregory and Sharon Kay Penman. I am also always on the lookout for the newest in Ricardian fiction.

I am currently cataloguing every one of our more than five hundred novels while working on an updated catalogue of its contents while completing our collections beloved series and authors' works.

Just download our catalog (MS Word or PDF) for the complete Library offerings. We have things you definitely won't find at your local library, or even at any library other than ours. If there's anything you'd especially like to read, let me know; you can contact me at fictionlibrary@r3.org.

~ToC~

From the Editor

Many thanks to all who contributed to this issue of the Ricardian Register. The quality of the *Register* depends on these and future contributions. Please note 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

Submission guidelines

- Word doc or docx file type or Open Office Writer odt file type, or rtf file type
- Prefer tables in spreadsheet or database format–file type examples: xls, xlxs, csv, txt, mdb, htm, html
- 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

~ToC~

Advertise in the *Ricardian Register*

Your ad in the *Register* will reach an audience of Ricardians and others interested in this historical period.

Classified advertising rates for each insertion:

Back Cover color (about third page size): $80, Full Page: $80; Half Page: $40; Quarter Page: $20, dedication box (2.25" x 1" approx.): $10; memorial box (to fit): optional donation. Advertisements for the society are free.

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

Copy Deadlines: January 1–March Issue / July 1–September Issue

Board, Staff, and Chapter Contacts

EXECUTIVE BOARD

CHAIRMAN: **A. Compton Reeves**
1560 Southpark Circle
Prescott, AZ 86305 • chairperson@r3.org

VICE CHAIRMAN: **Deborah Kaback**
415 East 52nd St., Apt 4NC
New York City, NY 10022
vice-chair@r3.org

SECRETARY: **Emily Newton**
secretary@r3.org

TREASURER: **Deborah Kaback**
415 East 52nd St., Apt 4NC
New York City, NY 10022
treasurer@r3.org

MEMBERSHIP CHAIRMAN: **Cheryl Greer**
1056 Shady Avenue
Pittsburgh, PA 15232
membership@r3.org

IMMEDIATE PAST CHAIRMAN:
Jonathan Hayes
5031 SW Hollyhock Circle, Corvallis, OR 97333
541-752-0498
immediate_past_chairman@r3.org

COMMITTEES

CHAPTERS ADVISOR: **Nita Musgrave**

630-355-5578 • chapters@r3.org

LIBRARIAN: Fiction: **Jessie Hunter**

fictionlibrary@r3.org

LIBRARIAN: Research, Non-Fiction, and Audio-Visual: **Susan Troxell**

114 Lombard Street

Philadelphia PA 19147

researchlibrary@r3.org

RESEARCH OFFICER: **Gil Bogner**
300 Fraser Purchase Rd., St Vincents College
Latrobe, PA 15650
research_officer@r3.org

PUBLIC RELATIONS OFFICER: **Wayne Ingalls**
public_relations_officer@r3.org

SALES OFFICER**: Bob Pfile**
• sales@r3.org

WEB CONTENT MANAGER: Kennedy Parker
webcontentmanager@r3.org

WEBMASTER: **Lisa Holt-Jones**
508 Chebucto St. • Baddeck
Nova Scotia • BOE 1BO Canada
902-295-9013 • webmaster@r3.org

REGISTER STAFF

EDITOR: **Joan Szechtman**
info@r3.org

ASSISTANT EDITOR: **Diana Rubino**
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 *

FLORIDA: William Gouveia
wgouveia@cfl.rr.com

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

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

NORTHWEST: Jim Mitchell
richardiiinw@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

Arizona: Marion Low
dickon3@cox.net

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

*Notes:

If you do not see a chapter near you and you would like to reach out to other Ricardians in your area, please contact the Membership Chair at membership@r3.org. She will circulate your email address to members in your area. If you later decide to go ahead and form a chapter, please contact the Chapters' Advisor at chapters@r3.org.

If you do not see your chapter listed here, please contact the Chapter's Advisor at chapters@r3.org and include current contact information.

Membership Application/Renewal Dues

Regular Membership Levels

Individual $60.00 $_____

Family membership: add $5.00 for each additional adult
at same address who wishes to join. $_____

Please list members at the same address (other than yourself) who are re-joining

For non-U.S. mailing address, to cover postage please add: $15.00 $_____

Contributing and Sponsoring Membership Levels

Honorary Fotheringhay Member $75.00 $_____

Honorary Middleham Member $180.00 $_____

Honorary Bosworth Member $300.00 $_____

Plantagenet Angel $500.00 $_____

Donations*

Judy R. Weinsoft Memorial Research Library $_____

General Fund $_____

Morris McGee Keynote Address Fund $_____

Schallek Special Projects Fund $_____

Total enclosed $_____

*The Richard III Society, Inc., is a not-for-profit corporation with 501(c)(3) designation. All contributions over the basic $60 membership are tax-deductible to the extent allowed by law.

Circle One: Mr. - Mrs. - Miss - Ms. - Other: _____

Name: _____

Address: _____

City, State, Zip: _____

Country (if outside of U.S.): _____

Residence Phone: _____

E-mail: _____

___ New ___ Renewal ____ Please check if new address

If this is a gift membership please place the following message on the gift acknowledgement email: _____

Make checks payable to: THE RICHARD III SOCIETY, INC. (U.S. Funds only, please.)

Mail to:

Richard III Society Membership Dept.
c/o Cheryl Greer
1056 Shady Avenue
Pittsburgh, PA 15232

~ToC~

Mail to:

Richard III Society Membership Dept.
c/o Cheryl Greer
1056 Shady Avenue
Pittsburgh, PA 15232

Inside back cover

(not printed)

Front cover:
King Richard III by **Jamal Mustafa**

Stained Glassic 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

Richard III Boar and Banner website: boarandbanner.com

SAVE THE DATE

October 16-18, 2020

GMM 2020 Philadelphia

Renaissance Philadelphia Airport Hotel