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King Richard III



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The White Rose of Mortimer?

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Most historians now accept that, while the white rose of York was a heraldic badge used by the house of York during the Wars of the Roses, the origins of the red rose of Lancaster can only be traced back to Henry VII.¹ After his accession to the throne in 1485 and marriage to Elizabeth of York he effectively invented it when he created the bi-coloured red and white Tudor rose, which symbolised the union of the houses of Lancaster and York. But what about the origins of the white rose of York?

The Welsh Marches—Yorkist Heartland

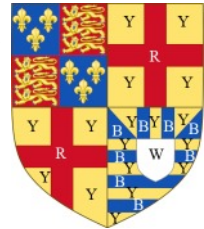
It is hard to over estimate the influence their Mortimer ancestry had on the Yorkists and their claim to the English throne. The Mortimers were descended from Lionel, duke of Clarence, the third son of King Edward III, whereas the Lancastrian kings of England were descended from his fourth son, John duke of Lancaster. The Mortimer claim, albeit through a female line, was therefore more senior and the Mortimers had long been viewed with suspicion because of this. Upon the death of Edmund Mortimer, fifth earl of March and the family's last male descendant, both his title and claim to the throne passed to the son of his sister Anne—Richard, third Duke of York (who also had a claim through his paternal ancestors, albeit less senior). York also inherited most of his wealth and therefore the funding for his campaign to eventually press this claim from his Mortimer ancestors. The lands he received included the town of Ludlow in the Welsh marches and its castle, where he and his family spent time and his sons Edward and Edmund had their own separate household, just like Edward's own son later did.

Even much of the symbolism we now think of as Yorkist originates from the Mortimers. They were not just the earls of March, but also earls of Ulster and both Richard, Duke of York and his eldest son Edward added Mortimer and Ulster to their coats of arms, as did Edward's daughters.

Legend: B—Blue/R—Red/Y—Yellow/W—White

Fluer de lis is yellow and background is blue

Lion is yellow and background is red



Edward's arms before he became Edward IV, combining the Mortimer arms, Ulster and the royal arms of England
© Nina Kefer

Edward also adopted the white lion of the earls of March as heraldic badge alongside the sun in splendour, a sunburst allegedly inspired by his victory over the Lancastrians at the battle of Mortimer's Cross in 1461. As the name suggests, this place is situated in the Welsh marches not far from Ludlow and the contemporary Davies Chronicle indeed records that just before the battle he had witnessed a natural phenomenon known as parhelion: "the Monday before the day of battle, . . . about 10 at clock before noon, were seen 3 suns in the firmament shining full clear, where of the people had great marvel, and thereof were aghast. The noble Earl Edward them comforted and said, 'be of good comfort and dread not; this is a good sign, for these three suns betoken the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and therefore let us have good heart, and in the name of Almighty God go we against our enemies.'²

However, the earliest source for the claim that “for the which cause, men imagined, that he gaue the sunne in his full brightnes for his cognisauce or badge” was the Tudor contemporary Edward Hall, whose chronicle wasn’t published until 1548, almost a hundred years after the battle. Moreover, as John Ashdown-Hill has noted: “Edward, Earl of March (Edward IV) subsequently claimed to be the legitimate heir of his ancestor, King Edward III, and of Edward III’s grandson, King Richard II. Both of those earlier monarchs had also used forms of the sun as one of their royal badges in the fourteenth century.”³

Indeed, a list of heraldic badges used by Richard, duke of York allegedly dating from c. 1460 states that “The badges that he beareth by King Richard II is a white hart and the sun shining”, which implies that the house of York was already laying claim to a sunburst before the battle of Mortimer’s Cross which took place after the duke’s death.⁴ This would make sense given that the duke, when he submitted his claim to the throne to Parliament on 16 October 1460, specifically argued that after Henry IV, the first Lancastrian king, had deposed Richard II, the throne more properly belonged to Edmund Mortimer, who—as noted above—was descended from the third son of Edward III whereas Henry was only descended from his fourth son.⁵



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 Sunburst on Richard II's tomb effigy

Whatever the inspiration for the sunburst in Yorkist heraldry, it is often seen combined with a white rose to form a rose-en-soleil. Edward, who was born in Rouen, France, where his father was stationed during the Hundred Years’ War, was referred to as “the Rose” or “the rose of Rouen” in Yorkist propaganda documents, such as this: “Lette us walke in a newe wyne yerde, and lette us make us a gay gardon in the monythe of marche with thys fayre whyte ros and herbe, the Erle of Marche.”⁶



Rose-en-soleil © Nina Kefer

It is therefore not surprising that when Edward, now King Edward IV, incorporated Ludlow as a parliamentary borough in 1473, having set up the Council of Wales and the Marches in the previous year to act on behalf of his infant son and heir, Edward V, for whom he had established a household at Ludlow Castle, he granted the town a coat of arms that combined the white lion of the Earls of March with three white roses. But was this a case of merging existing Yorkist symbolism into Mortimer heraldry or the house of York seizing its Mortimer heritage and reinventing it as Yorkist?



Arms of Ludlow © Nina Kefer
 Blue background/ symbols are
 white and outlined in black/
 rose centers are yellow.

The Mystery of Misericord S15

The parish church of St Laurence in Ludlow, sometimes referred to as “Cathedral of the Marches” due to its size and beauty, dates back to at least Norman times, but it was substantially rebuilt in the 15th century after Richard, duke of York, had inherited the Mortimer titles and lands. Part of this building work, which started in 1433 and was completed around 1455, was to enlarge the chancel and add a new roof decorated with roof bosses heavy with Yorkist heraldry, such as Richard’s personal badge, the Falcon and the Fetterlock, and the white Hind at Rest of Richard II.



Ceiling in Ludlow with roof bosses—© Nina Kefer

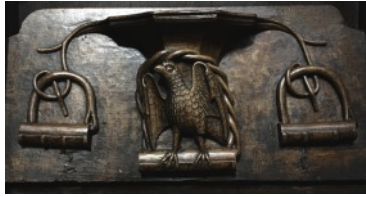
The chancel also received one of the finest collections of misericords to have survived England’s very own Cultural Revolution, King Henry VIII’s Reformation. Medieval church services could be very long and misericords helped priests, monks or choristers to stand through them even if their seats were folded up by allowing them to lean against a ledge on the underside of the seat. Most of these ornately carved lean-tos were destroyed during the Reformation, in some cases used as firewood to melt the valuable lead out of stained-glass windows, many of which were also lost at that time.



Misericord N10 with the Hind at Rest of Richard II—© Nina Kefer

St Laurence’s is home to 28 misericords which appear to have been carved in at least two phases. The first is thought to date from about 1425 and produced 16 misericords while the remaining 12 were carved during the second phase, which followed the completion of the new chancel and roof. They were commissioned by the Guild of St Mary and St John, commonly known as Palmers Guild, a philanthropic confraternity of prominent citizens from Ludlow and the surrounding area. The Guild accounts for 1447 show that 120 planks of “waynscotbord” from Bristol had been acquired to make “new installations ... in the high choir of the parish church ...”

The exact distribution of old versus new misericords is not certain as they were removed and reinstalled during the restoration of the church in the 19th century and no inventory was made to document their original position. It is however possible to date individual misericords based on the heraldry used in the carvings. For example, the fetterlock, a badge originally used by Edward Langley, first duke of York, appears on misericord N13 in combination with a falcon to form the personal badge of Richard, Duke of York and misericord S15 shows a rose within a fetterlock, clearly another reference to the house of York.



Misericord N13—© Nina Kefer

A further misericord, N15, has roses flanked by more roses. All three motifs also appear on roof bosses in the ceiling above, so must have been part of the second wave of carvings which followed the expansion of the chancel. Is this evidence for the white rose of York being imported into the Welsh Marches? Not so hasty.



Misericord N15—© Nina Kefer

Misericord S15 is actually reconstituted from fragments. The ledge with the carving of a rose within a fetterlock appears to have been grafted on to a plain seat and it is uncertain whether or not the twisted ring next to it is part of the original supporters as it is completely separate from the main carving.



Misericord S15—© Nina Kefer

The rose on S15 is similar in style to the supporters on misericord N15, so both misericords were probably carved in the same phase, and both have two layers of five petals each while the roses at the centre of N15 have one layer of five petals. However, the twisted ring is empty with no indication if it ever contained another image and, if so, what it was. In the ceiling above is a roof boss with a similar ring, divided into four segments and filled with foliage or flowers. Did the ring on S15 originally correspond to this roof boss? Or did it contain something else?

Leintwardine—The Missing Link?

In the village of Leintwardine, not far from the old Mortimer power base of Wigmore, stands the church of St Mary Magdalene. Its location is rural, its size modest and aesthetically it is unremarkable. Having been built in several phases from the 12th to the late 15th century, each new structure appears to have been grafted on to the earlier ones without much thought for symmetry. Nevertheless, it has received an unusual degree of attention from the powers that be. The Mortimers funded much of the building works and in 1328 Roger Mortimer, first Earl of March (1287—1330), made a grant for initially nine and later ten chantry priests to sing daily masses for the souls of King Edward III and Queen Philippa, Edward III's mother Isabella (who infamously was rumoured to have been Roger's

lover and for a while ruled England with him), the bishop of Lincoln as well as his own family and ancestors. Despite having executed Roger for treason, Edward III himself made two pilgrimages to Leintwardine in 1353, gifting money on one visit and laying a cloth of gold before the statue of the Virgin Mary on the other.

Among the church's treasures are the wooden choir stalls and misericords in its chancel. Their origin is uncertain. According to one theory, they were brought here from Wigmore Abbey at the dissolution of the monasteries, together with the carved stone fragments now fitted into the wall left and right of the altar. Wigmore Abbey, dedicated in 1179 by the Bishop of Hereford, but originally founded around 1140 at Shobdon by Oliver de Merlimond, a steward of Hugh Mortimer (c.1100—1181), was a place of great spiritual significance for the Mortimers and many of them, including several lords of March, were buried there. Tradition has it that every year on the feast of the nativity the abbot led a procession from Wigmore Abbey to St Mary Magdalene, so the church would seem like a natural new home for the choir stalls after the abbey was dissolved. Unfortunately, not much is left of the abbey apart from the abbot's lodgings which are now incorporated into a private residence. The abbey church is almost completely destroyed, so doesn't offer any clues.

According to another theory, the stalls were made for the Mortimer Chapel in St Mary Magdalene, which is thought to have been completed around 1353, sparking the visit from King Edward III. However, chantry chapels don't normally contain choir stalls and the heraldry in their carvings suggests that they were created at a later date. Several bear the Antelope Gorged and Chained, a personal badge of the Lancastrian kings which can be found on the tomb of Henry V (1386—1422) at Westminster Abbey, but is most often associated with his son, Henry VI (1421—1471). It appears on many pilgrim badges for this king who was revered as a saint after his death, although he was never canonised.



Choir stall with Antelope Gorged and Chained—© Nina Kefer

This would make the choir stalls of St Mary Magdalene contemporary to the first phase of misericords at St Laurence in Ludlow and indeed the Antelope Gorged and Chained is also found in Ludlow.



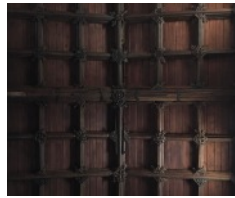
Misericord N6 in Ludlow—© Nina Kefer

Moreover, like St Laurence, St Mary Magdalene also has an elaborately carved wooden ceiling whose roof bosses mirror some of the carvings on the choir stalls. However, unlike Ludlow the choir stalls and ceiling at Leintwardine lack any Yorkist symbolism. Or do they?



Choir stall with rose in ring—© Nina Kefer

On two of the stalls is a carving which bears a striking resemblance to misericord S15 in Ludlow: a twisted ring, this one encircling a five-petaled rose. Roses are ubiquitous in medieval imagery and, according to a tourist guide for Shrewsbury, the twisted cord is a common motif in the Shropshire area, but the rose and ring motif is repeated on one of the roof bosses in the wooden ceiling where it occupies a prominent position on the central ridge, just like the falcon and fetterlock and rose within a fetterlock in Ludlow. It would therefore seem unlikely that the use of this motif is purely decorative.



Ceiling in Leintwardine with rose roof boss—© Nina Kefer

But if it isn't and if the choir stalls and ceiling date from the early or mid-15th century, then who commissioned and paid for them? The church's main benefactors, the Mortimers, died out in the male line in 1425 and their heir Richard, duke of York was 14-year-old lad who lived with his Neville in-laws in the North. Moreover, their rising political profile meant that they were increasingly absentee landlords with their last major building projects at Wigmore and Ludlow dating back to the 14th century. Indeed, a report from 1424 states that the abbey in which so many of their ancestors lay buried was in a sorry state and used by locals as a public toilet, which suggests that they hadn't paid attention to it for some time. Did the local congregation raise the funds for the church or did the influence of the Ludlow Palmers who renovated St Laurence extend to Leintwardine? But if so, why is there no heraldic reference to the new lord as there is in Ludlow? The roses in rings on the choir stalls and ceiling are the only potentially Yorkist motifs in the whole church. The misericords were attacked with an axe during the Reformation, so perhaps some were lost, but the ceiling is fully preserved and doesn't feature any falcons or fetterlocks.

Combining all of the above, the most likely explanation seems to be that the choir stalls and ceiling were commissioned for the chancel and nave of St Mary Magdalene where they are currently situated and installed after the accession of Henry V and before Richard, duke of York, who didn't come into possession of all his estates as Duke of York, Earl of March and Lord Mortimer until 1432 and then appears to have focused his attention on Ludlow, had fully established himself as the new lord. So what of the roses?

The White Rose of Mortimer?

In the middle ages the rose was associated with Christ and the Virgin Mary and therefore popular as both decorative and heraldic emblem. As John Ashdown-Hill and others have noted, "Roses of three colours—white, gold and red—had certainly been used by various kings, queens, princes and princesses of the so-called Plantagenet royal family as badges since the thirteenth century."⁷ These included Henry III's queen, Eleanor of

Provence, her son Edward I and Richard, duke of York's uncle Edward, second Duke of York. But they were not the only ones. The seal of Edmund Mortimer, third Earl of March (1352—1381) showed his arms suspended from a rose bush in flower. Being a seal, the colour of the petals is unspecified, but C. W. Scott-Giles has claimed that the white rose was "originally a badge of the Mortimer earls of March, and was used by Earl Roger, who died in 1369"⁸ while Michael Powell Siddons reports that:

"A white rose is given in Writhe's Garter Armorial as the badge of Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, a founder knight of the Order of the Garter, and a pedigree roll of Edward IV of 1461 shows that the rose was considered to have come to the House of York from the Mortimers, by descent from whom came their claim to the throne. This roll does not give a colour to this rose, and does not attribute any rose to the House of Lancaster. Another pedigree roll of Edward IV is freely decorated with the white rose en soleil, but without any indication as to which family it came from. Some later sources give the Mortimers' badge as a rose per pale Argent and Gules. It is noteworthy that although the will of Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, quoted below, mentions several items decorated with roses, none of these are white. In the lists of the badges of the Duke of York (sometimes given as those of Edward IV), the earliest of which probably date from before 1460, the white rose is given as a badge for the castle of Clifford, which came to the House of York through the second marriage of Richard, Earl of Cambridge (exec. 1415), with Maud, daughter of Thomas, Lord Clifford."⁹

Indeed, the contemporary list of heraldic badges used by Richard, duke of York which associates the sunburst with Richard II also associates the white rose with Clifford Castle. Unfortunately, how the rose badge came to be associated with the castle is unknown and the building itself offers no clues as it lies in ruins. However, the Maud Clifford who was the heiress of Clifford Castle married not Richard, earl of Cambridge, but first William Longespee, earl of Salisbury, and after his death John Giffard of Brimpsfield, after whose death in 1299 (!) it passed through her daughter Margaret, countess of Lincoln, to the earldom of Lincoln and then in the 14th century to the Mortimers of Wigmore.¹⁰ It therefore probably came to the house of York through Anne or Edmund Mortimer.

As descendants of both the Plantagenet royal family and the Mortimers the house of York could have inherited its rose badge from either or both these sources, but the absence of any Yorkist heraldry in Leintwardine and the fact that the red rose of Lancaster hadn't been invented yet seems to suggest that the roses at St Mary Magdalene don't refer to either Richard, duke of York or Henry VI. Moreover, John Ashdown-Hill has pointed out that, with the exception of one poem which must date from before 1460 since it mentions the Earl of Salisbury who died at the battle of Wakefield, in contemporary political poems the white rose of York "is not explicitly related to Richard, Duke of York, himself. Instead, York's personal badge is generally referred to as the fetterlock. For example, a poem on the battle of Northampton (10 July 1460) speaks of 'certeyne persones þt late exiled were, ... þe Rose (Edward, Earl of March), þe Fetyrlok (Richard, Duke of York), þe Egle (Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury) and þe Bere (Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick)'." Instead "the Yorkist rose often appears to have been seen specifically as the badge of Edward, Earl of March, eldest son of the Duke of York—the future King Edward IV" who wasn't born until 1442, didn't move to Ludlow until the 1450s and didn't lay claim to the throne until after his father's death in 1460.¹¹ This would tie in with the presumed timing of the building work at St Mary Magdalene and the two stages of renovation at St Laurence's. It therefore seems not unreasonable to suggest that the rose badge was originally used by the Mortimers and adopted by their Yorkist heirs around the time when Richard, duke of York began to lay claim to the throne of England.



Falcon and fetterlock with white (silver, now oxidised) rose from the Edward IV Roll
Copyright © Nina Kefer

Conclusion

The youthful years Edward IV spent with his brother in their household at Ludlow Castle seem to have left a deep impression on him since he established a similar routine for his own son, Edward V, and his daughter, Elizabeth of York, later followed the same pattern for her son, prince Arthur Tudor, whose heart is buried in St Laurence's. Perhaps they also inspired him to brand the house of York by marrying a rose badge used by his Mortimer ancestors, including his father Richard, Duke of York, Earl of March and Lord Mortimer, with the sunburst of Richard II, just like Henry VII branded the Tudors by marrying the white rose of York to the (fictional) red rose of Lancaster. After all, he also adopted other Mortimer badges, such as the white lion of March which he kept using even after he had become king of England, for example on livery collars, and medieval nobles who, thanks to intermarriage, were often spoilt for choice when it came to arms and heraldic badges, usually chose to emphasise their most illustrious connections. In Edward's case they would have been those upon whom he based his claim to the throne of England. As John Ashdown-Hill has concluded:

“If Edward IV did indeed derive his use of the white rose badge via his Mortimer ancestry, together with his claim to the throne, then his marrying of it with the sunburst emblem which had been a badge of Richard II, whether or not this was inspired by the triple sun phenomenon seen at the battle of Mortimer's Cross, looks very much like a powerful legitimist statement in symbolic form.”¹²



Livery collar of suns and roses with the lion of March, tomb effigy of Sir Richard Herbert of Coldbrook, Abergavenny
© Nina Kefer

End notes:

1. Thomas Penn: “HOW HENRY VII BRANDED THE TUDORS”, The Guardian (2 March 2012)
2. C William Marx: “AN ENGLISH CHRONICLE 1377-1461”, Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales MS 21068 and Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Lyell 34
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4. ARCHOEOLOGIA vol. xvii, p.226, citing Digby MSS No. 28, quoted in Caroline Halsted: “RICHARD III AS DUKE OF GLOUCESTER AND KING OF ENGLAND, volume 1, pp. 404-5
5. Zenonian: “YORK OR LANCASTER: WHO WAS THE RIGHTFUL KING OF ENGLAND? PART 2—FOR A KINGDOM ANY OATH MAY BE BROKEN—YORK’S TITLE 1460”, Murrey and Blue blog: [murreyandblue.wordpress.com/2015/10/19/york-or-lancaster-who-was-the-rightful-king-of-england](http://murreyandblue.wordpress.com/2015/10/19/york-or-lancaster-who-was-the-rightful-king-of-england/#160)
6. V. J. Scattergood: “POLITICS AND POETRY IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY”, Barnes & Noble (1971), p. 189
7. John Ashdown-Hill: “THE WARS OF THE ROSES”
8. C. W. Scott-Giles: “SHAKESPEARE’S HERALDRY”, Heraldry Today (1971)
9. Michael Powell Siddons: “HERALDIC BADGES IN ENGLAND AND WALES”, Vol. II, part 1, Boydell Press (2009), p. 211. I would like to thank the Mortimer History Society for drawing my attention to this source.
10. “A HISTORY OF CLIFFORD”, Clifford Parish Council (2008) and “DETAILED HISTORY OF CLIFFORD CASTLE EARLY OWNERSHIP http://cliffordcastle.org/?page_id=177
11. John Ashdown-Hill: “THE WARS OF THE ROSES”
12. John Ashdown-Hill: “THE RED ROSE OF LANCASTER?”, The Ricardian, vol. 10 (June 1996), p. 410

Edited portions of this article were previously published in the journal of the Mortimer History Society, Mortimer Matters issue 41, July 2020 and the Leintwardine History Society Journal issue 74, December 2020.

Sources and Further Reading:

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- David Lloyd, Ewart Carson & Don Beattie: “THE PARISH CHURCH OF ST LAURENCE, LUDLOW”, Ludlow Parochial Church Council (2014)
- Philip Hume: “ON THE TRAIL OF THE MORTIMERS”, Logaston Press (2016)
- John Challis: “WIGMORE ABBEY—THE TREASURE OF MORTIMER”, Wigmore Books (2016)
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Laura Blanchard: “THE EDWARD IV ROLL—THE ROLL ONLINE”, Richard III Society American Branch r3.org/on-line-library-text-essays/the-edward-iv-roll/the-roll-online/

Free Library of Philadelphia: “CHRONICLE OF THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD FROM CREATION TO WODEN, WITH A GENEALOGY OF EDWARD IV” libwww.freelibrary.org/digital/item/3310

Nina Kefer published "The White Rose of of Mortimer?" Jan. 7, 2020 on RICARDIAN LOONS blog here:

ricardianloons.wordpress.com/2020/01/07/the-white-rose-of-mortimer/

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The Schallek Fellowship provides a one-year grant of \$30,000 to support Ph.D. dissertation research in any relevant discipline dealing with late-medieval Britain (ca. 1350-1500). The Fellowship is offered by the Medieval Academy in collaboration with the Richard III Society-American Branch and is supported by a generous gift to the Richard III Society from William B. and Maryloo Spooner.

2021-2022 Schallek Fellowship Awardee: Alicia Cannizzo

Medieval Academy

The Medieval Academy of America is very pleased to announce that the 2021-2022 Schallek Fellowship has been awarded to Alicia Cannizzo (Graduate Center, City University of New York) to support her thesis project, “Matter En Transir: The Transi Tomb and Theories of Matter in the Late Middle Ages.” Her dissertation, which is being completed under the supervision of Dr. Cynthia Hahn, focuses on early transi tombs and brings together methods from both art history and the history of science. A summary of her topic follows:

Alicia Cannizzo’s thesis investigates the earliest transi tombs from France to England and identifies the cultural contexts beyond the thoroughly explored *memento mori* tradition that gave rise to these odd and affecting tombs. She proposes that the concept of *memento mori*, which reached its full popularity after the earliest transi tombs were created, clouds the interpretation of these objects. Other concurrent concepts regarding the body and its behavior are explored, including theories of matter and medical practice. The behavior of matter in both living and dead bodies was a subject of intense discussion at the university level, exploring questions about how and why the body was reduced to basic components after death and the implications this process might have on an eventual resurrection. Using biographical information from the earliest tombs she explores links between the commemorated dead and the intellectual culture of the university in a study that hopes to broaden the understanding of the visual culture of death as a whole.



Cannizzo holds a Master’s degree from the University of Wisconsin-Madison, where she studied death in the medieval period under Dr. Thomas E. A. Dale and the history of science under Dr. Micheal H. Shank.

2020 DICKON AWARD GOES TO CHERYL GREER

Executive Board
Susan Troxell, Vice Chair

The Executive Board of the American Branch is very pleased to announce that the 2020 Dickon Award goes to Cheryl Greer, our immediate past Membership Chair, and a long-standing member of the Society. We have sent Cheryl a bouquet of Yorkist white roses as an expression of our gratitude for her service, and we will be forwarding her a plaque to memorialize her achievement to the Ricardian cause.

Just briefly to describe her achievement, the 2020 GMM, which was originally planned as an in-person event, but then had to be converted to a virtual Zoom GMM because of Covid-19, would not have been possible without her contributions. Before Covid-19, Cheryl took on the job of creating the Eventbrite invitation and program for our GMM, and she put together a thoroughly beautiful and professional-looking product, using her expertise in lecture programming. When it became apparent that an in-person GMM was not feasible, she switched gears, and had to re-organize everything so that the Eventbrite site could be interfaced with Zoom. This was not an easy job. When we pre-recorded, the talk given by Peter and Carolyn Hammond for the GMM, Cheryl undertook the task of editing the recording, and trying to fix the audio problems, which were significant. She acted as Zoom host for some of the talks given by our presenters, a job that often goes unrecognized, but puts a burden on the volunteer host, who can't just simply sit back and enjoy the presentation.

We should also mention Cheryl's significant contributions as Membership Chair, a position that brought an added dimension of complexity because of the UK parent society's conversion to a Company Limited by Guarantee (CLG). Because of her efforts, we have been able to use new technologies like Eventbrite and Zoom, something that was entirely new to the American Branch. But she also created an updated Procedures Manual for the Membership Chair position, which will be invaluable to all future incoming chairs. When the new incoming chair had to resign due to conflicting time commitments, Cheryl was willing to jump back into the fray, and work with our current interim chair Wayne Ingalls to get him up to speed. This was going well beyond her call of duty, and the Board wishes to acknowledge her willingness to do so.

Perhaps this is the moment to mention that all the Board members and Committee heads of the American Branch are volunteers, who donate their personal time and efforts to keeping our society running as smoothly as possible. This is why the Dickon Award was created, to recognize the exceptional acts of volunteerism on the part of one of our members. Without such volunteers, our organization would lose vitality and eventually collapse. This applies not only to Board members and Committee heads, but also to all Chapter coordinators and their lead members, our publication editors, our librarians, and our project managers. Every little bit of volunteer effort is incredibly important. No matter how large or small, each member who donates their time, personal expertise, or just their enthusiasm, lends credibility to the American Branch as a viable organization that aims to promote intellectual curiosity and the search for historical truth, into the 21st century. We do so along with people from across thousands of miles, all of us joining together in our fascination for 15th century English history and combining our commitment to redeeming the unjustly blackened reputation of Richard III.

Well done, Cheryl, and congratulations!

~Contents~

Ricardian Reading

Myrna Smith

The most important quality in a leader is being acknowledged as such. All leaders whose fitness is questioned are clearly lacking in force.—Andre Maurous.

BETRAYAL—Derek Birks, Annie Whitehead, Elizabeth St. John, Judith Arnopp, et al, Historical Fictionaryers, 2020

Wikipedia defines Betrayal as:

(T)he breaking or violation of a presumptive contract, trust, or confidence that produces moral and psychological conflict within a relationship amongst individuals, between organizations, or between individuals and organizations. Often betrayal is the act of supporting a rival group, or it is a complete break from previously decided upon presumed norms by one party from the other. Someone who betrays is more often called a traitor or betrayer. Betrayal is also a commonly used literary element, also used in other fiction like films and TV series, and is often associated with or used as a plot twist.

That pretty much covers the stories in this anthology. In time periods, they range from AD 455, (*Death at the Feet of Venus*) when Ambrosius Aurelius (Arthur) finds himself caught between two strong-minded women—but that is not the betrayal that is the crux of the story—down to a sort of mini-family saga over the period from 1849 to now. In between, there are off-ramps to Saxon times (*Love to Hatred Turn 'd*), We learn of different kinds of betrayal and different kinds of love. We explore the minds and hearts of knights, courtiers, and pirates (Tony Riches *Drake—Tudor Corsair*, and Helen Hollick's *A Not So Bonney Betrayal*) as well as highwaymen (*Honour of Thieves*, by Cryssa Bazos).

Cutting to the chase, Ricardians will probably be most interested in *Road to the Tower*, by Elizabeth St. John, and *House Arrest*, by Judith Arnopp. The first has as its protagonist Lady Elysabeth Scrope, who, in the absence of her husband, is asked to deliver her godson, Edward, Prince of Wales, to the care of his Protector in London. During the journey, she is a prey to many misgivings and doubts, and seems to have basis for her suspicions about Richard of Gloucester. But a chance remark from her half-sister, Margaret Beaufort, causes her to wonder if her trust/mistrust was misplaced. Along the way, the sisters engage in some genteel cat-fights, 'genteel' in the sense that no actual hair is pulled.

In the Arnopp story, we see the years of King Richard's reign from the viewpoint of Margaret Beaufort herself; her emotions when she thinks she will be reunited with her son, and when she thinks she is facing the scaffold. Placed by the king under the *House Arrest* of the title, she is so frustrated and bored out of her skull that she welcomes the advances of her boorish husband, Lord Stanley, knowing that she will hate herself in the morning. I can't say I would go that far, but I can certainly emphasize, after about the 83rd month of 2020.

Not all of the contributions will be of equal interest to all readers. We all have our pet periods. But the standard is pretty high, and the authors come with compelling CVs. Ms. Arnopp, for example has had many novels published about her period of choice, including a trilogy about Margaret Beaufort, and she is not essentially anti-Richard.

The Historical Fictionaryers, who publish the book, insofar as an ebook can be published, seem to be a loosely organized group of writers and other proponents of historical fiction. Checking out their Facebook page may be rewarding.

YORKIST STORIES—Michèle Schindler, Ed., 2020

This is also a series of short stories on various WOTR subjects. *Minster Lovell*, by Valery Alliez, and *Battle of Blore Heath* by Elizabeth George, are concerned with just what their titles suggest, although the latter is an AU (alternate universe) story. *Unrest in the Realm*, by Elizabeth Celeone, is about what actually did happen. Wendy Johnson's *Kings in Waiting* is told from the point of view of a little boy being boarded, along with his brother and sister, in London. Yes, that is the future Richard III.

The Authority of Mercy by Jessie Hunter, brings us to the end of the 15th century, an adolescent in the tower of London, and a Christmas star. Robin Kaye's *Remorse* makes us privy to the thoughts of John Howard. *Lord of Justice*, Joanne Larner's contribution, shows the Duke of Gloucester interviewing job applicants and administering justice. This reads rather like an excerpt from a novel, but no indication is given of this. *How Lovell Survived the Battle of Stoke Field* is just such an excerpt Joan Szechtman's time-travel novel has been reviewed in this column before, however. Alex Marchant's *Confinement* plays on two meanings of the word. *With Hasty Speech and Trembling Hand*, by Kit Mareska, introduces us to another Plantagenet, Richard's sister Margaret, as a gangling adolescent who disguises herself as a boy going on a battlefield—not to fight, simply to visit her father.

The New Reign, by Stephanie O'Neill, has to do with a leftover from the Old Reign, namely Richard III's bastard daughter Katherine. The author does take some liberties here. As far as anyone knows, Katherine Plantagenet was not arrested by Henry VII's agents, and died a natural death. J.P. Reedman's *How Did It Come to This* is subtitled *A Story of Richard, Duke of York*, which is what it is. The editor's contribution, *Exeter 1477*, is perhaps an excerpt from a future novel in Ms. Schindler's series about Francis, Lord Lovell. *Richard's Reflections*, by Brian Wainwright, is also about Richard and his friend Francis Lovell, but from another point of view.

A Crown So Heavy is a snapshot of the household of the Duke of Gloucester in mid-April 1483, just before he must travel to London. This is the input of Doris Schneider-Coutandin. Finally, *Kindred Spirits: Middleham Castle* is one of Jennifer Wilson's ghost stories, set in the afterlife of Richard III and Queen Anne. If I took it seriously, I might wonder why a spirit has to travel by train and bus. Couldn't they just, you know, *be there*? But I don't think Ms. Wilson intended for her story to be taken that seriously, just enjoyed.

Aside from simple enjoyment, this slim anthology is meant to help support Doctors Without Borders, a worthy cause.

THE AUTUMN BARON: An Unconventional Beginning—by Michèle Schindler, Las Vegas, NV, 2020

This, like the short story in the previously reviewed volume, is based on the author's biography of Francis, Lord Lovell. So why not make the same research do for books in two different categories? Ms. Schindler has actually turned up some more research since the publication of that book, finding an older brother, John or Janot, who died young. Most of this book has to do with the childhood of Francis and his twin sister Joan, his little sister, Fride, his mother (another Joan) who becomes Lady Stanley, and their various friends and relations. Looming over all of them is the figure of the twins' father, John. In her Afterword, Ms. Schindler expresses a pious hope that John might not have been as bad as she depicts him. Who knows; he might have been even worse. There have been abusive fathers and other family members for a very long time.

The story is narrated in modern English, but one is only occasionally conscious of an anachronism, such as when a character refers to baby Fride as 'cute.' At the time, 'cute'

was short for ‘acute,’ meaning clever, perhaps a bit sly. This would not describe a newborn little girl. But the sentiment remains the same. There have been adorable babies as long as there have been abusive fathers/ other family members.

This one is definitely intended to be part of a series, so watch for another look at Lord Lovell’s life and times.

National armies fight nations, royal armies fight theirlike; the first obeys a mob, always demented, and he second a king, usually sane.—Maj. Gen. J.F.C. Fuller.

I, RICHARD PLANTAGENET, THE PREQUEL, PART ONE: THE ROAD FROM FOTHERINGHAY—J.P. Reedman, Kindle, 2020

J.P. Reedman is, all by herself, a cottage industry in producing Ricardian fiction, although she also writes on other Medieval and pre-Medieval subjects. She does have a more specialized interest in Richard III, as evidenced by her previous trilogy: *I, Richard Plantagenet: Tant Le Desiree*; *I, Richard Plantagenet, Louyalte Me Lie*; and *A Man Who Would Be King*. These trace the adult Richard’s career from his first real battle at 18 to his rule as King.

The book being reviewed opens with the adult, crowned, Richard musing on what has gone before, starting with his childhood, as he recounts events from the death of his little sister when he was about four years old, to when he left the wardship of the Earl of Warwick at fourteen.

And a traumatic decade it was. True, a child of that age would not have been able to recount events in such detail and with such feeling, but it is not the child recounting them. It is the adult with his adult knowledge and viewpoint. Still, the adult remembers what it was like to be a child, and to be impressed by the ‘subtleties’ at a banquet the huge cake rolled in on wheels, with a jester popping out of it. And he also remembers what it was like to be a child and exposed to the cruelty of his family’s enemies, and the occasional rough kindness.

The story runs a little long. There are few books that could not use a bit of judicious blue-penciling. But it holds the reader’s interest, even if he/she has to take a real-life break from time to time. Take a deep breath, though. The fact that this is Book One must mean that another volume is in the works, probably filling in the gap from Richard’s fifteenth to eighteenth years.

I’m looking forward to it. In the interim, I will research what to call a five-book series. A “quintology,” maybe?

Besides those mentioned, other books by J.:P. Reedman on Ricardian or semi-Ricardian themes include: *Sacred King*, *White Roses*, *Golden Sunnes*, *Secret Marriages*, *Blood of Roses*, *Ring of White Roses*, and *The White Rose Rent*. She has also authored what she calls the Medieval Babes series, a couple of books about Robin Hood, and some one-offs, including stories of time travel, King Arthur, and Stonehenge. Check out her website for the latest news of these.

RICHARD III: Death and Resurrection—Martin Litherland, Sue Pennykid ed., Independently published, 2019

Your reviewer has herself perpetrated a bit of light verse from time to time, some of which has been seen in this column. I don’t know if that would qualify me to, or disqualify me from, critically reviewing a book of poems. Therefore, let me state that the opinions expressed herein are my own, and to be taken for what they are worth.

That said, i do not feel that rhymed couplets are the best medium for a poem on a serious subject. Which doesn’t mean that a light versifier cannot write in a more serious style. (For

an example, look up Carolyn Wells on your search engine.) I have not done it myself, but it can be done.

Some of them, however, strike exactly the right note; for example, The Gravedigger:

Too small it were.
I told abbot 'ole were too small.
'E 'ad just marked up them floorestones
I 'ad to dig.

And:

Look at my bones
And look again
And mark that curvature of pain.
What do you see?
What do you know?

Or (not exactly a couplet):

On to Leicester, on to Leicester
The horse-bound corpse the city nears.
Those stabs of hate, those bloody smears,
That paper crown, those rebel jeers
Will echo down five hundred years.

Some have a fittingly mocking air:

The Duke of York, he has four sons
Up to many a trick
Playing at knights, playing at kings,
Ned, Eddy, George and Dick.

Back in Time to Bermondsey asks us where would we go?

Calvary? Hastings? Towton in the snow?
Nights with Nefertiti along the Nile?
Getting Mona Lisa to hold her smile?
...The green grassy knoll? The *Mary Celeste*?

And proposes an answer to the fate of at least one of the Princes.

The author imagines Harold II and Richard III one-upping each other in Heaven, and a take-off on the Great Pretender. And finally, though it is in the middle of the book, there is an ode to King Power, or how the Leicester City Football Club won their League's title in 2016, at odds of 5,000 to 1. Sounds rather like the Cubs on this side of the pond.

The poet describes himself as a 'wandering geologist,' and he does seem to have led an interesting life. Some of his other writings, and other books by Pennykid Publishing, are available on Kindle.

(I think I must have read and reviewed the following book at some time, but I have no memory of doing so. I have no memory of a lot of things. My now-grown children often tell me of experiences that I have, thankfully and understandably, erased from memory. Am I being gaslighted? Am I gaslighting myself?. In any case, I am giving this particular story another go.)

IN THE SHADOW OF THE CROWN—Susan Bowden, Bantam, NY, 1987

Joisie Radcliffe, the heiress of a moderately-sized Northern estate, is resisting the idea of going into a convent. She wants to marry, instead. She has no suitor in mind; she just prefers marriage to being a nun. As her aunt and cousin—particularly the former—remind her, the possibility of someone asking for her hand is minimal. She is deformed, with one

leg shorter than the other. Finally, she sees no recourse but to run away, which she does...and runs right into a band of brigands. No fear, she is rescued by Our Hero, Tom Thompson. A rather plebeian name for the hero of a romance, no? That is because he is a plebe, a middle-management horse groom to the Duke of Gloucester. Now responsible for the life and safety of a high-born lady, he decides the best thing to do is to take her to the home of his employers. And that is how Joisse becomes a lady-in-waiting to the Duchess. The story follows the careers of Tom and Joisse from 1482 to 1485. Tom, being in charge of a contingent of warhorses, travels with the duke on a number of memorable occasions. Joisse's adventures are somewhat more circumscribed, but she is also an eyewitness of some important events. Parallel with these, their forced acquaintance ripens into friendship, and friendship ripens into love, in spite of the difference in their status, and the fact that everyone, including the Royal family, advise against it.

When it looks like all will be worked out and Joisse will get her inheritance and Tom as well, their romance is stymied by Tom's stubborn pride. But a compromise is reached that will satisfy both of them. And, that brings us to the end of Book One.

The Interlude skips over the next 50-odd years in which nothing of note happens, and takes up again in 1536. Tom is a fairly prosperous horse breeder, starting with the mare that King Richard gave him. Tom and Joisse's grandson, Phillip, is intended for a career in the Church, not being the same strapping, muscular type his grandfather was. But he can sing, which is much valued in clerical life. He doesn't know it at the time, but that has limited potential for career advancement. This is especially true after he becomes involved, however innocently, with the Pilgrimage of Grace. Robert Aske, one of the leaders of the Pilgrimage, is an important secondary character. Phillip also becomes involved with a woman much above him in status. (Where have we heard this before?) One difference, though: he does not rescue Laura Metcalfe, but her brother Piers. They not only owe him a debt of gratitude, but generally sympathize with him. Doesn't mean all will go smoothly for the ill-assorted lovers.

Tom Thompson dies in this part of the story—on his feet, defending the memory of King Richard—or mouthing off about Tudors just once too often, however you want to put it. Joisse tells her grandson the story of how his grandparents met and married, and gives him a scroll and a token. It seems that she has a dream of returning to her ancestral home. She never gave up the title to it, her cousin acting only as her tenant. His son, the current tenant, (and villain) is in arrears and she wants her inheritance back. She wishes Phillip to go to the King (Henry VIII) and establish her claim. That is where the scroll and the token—a ring that belonged to Elizabeth of York—come in. Phillip does get an audience with the king, and it seems that things are going swimmingly. Then he blows it by asking to visit Aske in prison.

No worries, all will be worked out in the end. Joisse returns to Radcliffe Hall, and Phillip can look forward to marriage to the now-widowed Laura Metcalfe Radcliffe. Speaking of names, the title page to this paperback, states that the copyright was held by Susan Bowden Twiddle. I can see why she didn't use her full name as the author. But the novel is far from twiddle or twaddle. It is a good example of the genus Historical Romance, with all the appurtenances thereto, including a couple of black-hearted villains, one in each half (one is Welsh). Ms.—er—Bowden gives a flavor of the 15th-16th centuries, and throws in some details about medieval horse breeding. The only thing I can see that she gets wrong is a reference to Thomas Howard, Third Duke of Norfolk, being named after his grandfather 'who fought for King Richard at Bosworth.' That was John Howard, though Thomas Howard (later the 2nd Duke) was also there, and survived.

Conclusion: Not a bad way of distracting oneself during lockdown. If you can get a copy of this novel, and are no longer in durance vile when you see this review, read it anyhow.

First there is the All-Highest (theKaiser), then there is the Cavalry Officer, and then the Cavalry Officer's horse. After that, there is nothing, and after nothing is the Infantry Officer.—German Imperial Army saying.

RICHARD III AND THE BATTLE OF BOSWORTH (Retinue to Regiment)—Michael Ingram, Helicon Press, 2019

The blurb on the back cover of this trade (oversized) paperback tells us that “This is the story of two very different men Richard III, the Plantagenet King of England, and Henry Tudor, and how they met in battle:” Yet it contains a portrait of neither one, unless you count the photograph of Richard’s bones. Rather, it is, as entitled, the story of the battle, and the men—of all ranks—who fought in it. Not to mention a few women, who did not fight but most certainly were pulling strings backstage, to make a mélange or hash of several metaphors. There are many photographs of armor and weapons, on live models, and of other battlefield gear, including banners. The latter, such as those of John Howard, on Richard’s side, and John de Vere, on Henry’s, are shown in full color, but not full-size, nor even to scale. The banner for a knight would average about 5 yards, and one for a duke 13 yards—even more for a king, or a person with royal aspirations. It is easy to understand why a standard-bearer had to be a man of pretty sturdy build.

Whatever their body type, many of the soldiers in these battles would qualify to be called “Iron Men.” This is particularly illustrated by the findings at Towton battlefield—a tragedy at the time, but now a treasure trove for anthropologists. Of the anonymous bodies, known to us only by numbers

Towton 16, aged 46 to 50 years (the oldest of the group) had received a blade wound to the left side of his face through his mouth, splitting his jawbone and causing a secondary fracture to his chin. The fact that this had happened around 10 years before Towton, and that there were no signs of infection, is testament to the surgeon’s skill and also ‘Towton 16’s good fortune.

Not to mention his general toughness. There are even instances of battlefield skeletons with healed amputations, if you can imagine it.

But if you were thinking of Medieval warhorses as being along the lines of Shire horses or Percherons, think again. The normal military horse was more like 15-16 hands, the size of a modern hunter. Other types of horses, for ‘other ranks,’ ranged downward to the jennet at 13-14 hands. There were draft horses, used as pack animals and to pull wagons and artillery, but they too averaged 13-14 hands, simply built for endurance rather than speed or agility. There is much data about artillery and other weapons; mostly the ‘other weapons,’ as artillery was notably unreliable. Its efficacy was no doubt as much psychological as practical.

Mr. Ingram’s book is more than just a dry recital of the material aspects of the battle. He goes into an in-depth discussion of the political side of it, also. After a few chapters on background, he devotes alternate chapters to the two leaders. These chapters are subdivided by geography, e.g., that person’s interaction with the governments of France, Burgundy, Spain, Scotland, et.al. Especially interesting are the relationships between the rulers of England and Scotland, and that of Henry Tudor and the French Royals: Louis XI, his son Charles VIII, and his daughter, Anne de Beaujeu, called ‘Madam La Grand,’ the regent for her younger brother. I like to translate that epithet into the vernacular, as ‘Big Momma.’ Not that Madame was an outsize physically. Ingram describes her as ‘very erect, with

slightly protuberant brown eyes,’ and her portraits show a young woman of average size who might have been fairly attractive except for a permanent scowl. Ingram credits Big Momma with the following:

Madame sent a letter to towns across France telling how Henry and Jasper had arrived in France and that they intended to support Henry at ‘recover the Kingdom of England from the enemies of the French crown.’ Bizarrely, it also described Henry as the younger son of the late Lancastrian King Henry VI Perhaps knowing Henry’s tenuous claim to the throne, it was done to give him more credibility.

It would also seem to have been Anne who was responsible for supplying Henry with money, men, and other needful things for his invasion. Hmm...

Michael Ingram tries to be middle-of-the-road and strictly neutral in his judgment of the leaders of the two sides, and their followers. Of course, ‘neutrality’ can have different shades of meaning. During World War II, for example, there were nations who were ‘neutral’ on the Axis side (Spain), ‘neutral’ on the Allied side (the US before Pearl Harbor), and truly neutral (Switzerland). In *Plantagenet v. Tudor*, the author seems to be charting a course between the latter two, but a brief remark or two shows he might lean just a little toward Richard. Only a hair, though.

There are the usual maps, family trees, time-lines (from the early 15th century to 2015), etc. While there is an index of people and one of places, these are not further subdivided. If one wishes to read about Richard’s relationship with the Yorkshiresmen, or Big Momma’s relationship with the truth, one has to track down all references—a minor but niggling annoyance.

If you’re in a fair fight, you didn’t plan it properly.—Nick Lappos

RICHARD III: The Self-Made King—Michael Hicks, Yale University Press, New Haven, 2019

I realize that this is an academic work, not intended to be light reading for the general public. But that should be no excuse for:

- sentence structure so turgid and dense that phrases often have to be read two or three times to make sense;¹
- sentences long enough that two of them—or less—could make a paragraph.
- paragraphs taking up an entire page;
- inconsistent punctuation—sometimes changing from one line to the next. The author seems to have a love/hate relationship with commas, but he is a habitual colon-izer, and is semi-conscious of semi-colons.²

The author is certainly up-front about his thesis. On page viii of the Preface, he states: “...that Richard’s purported bones at Leicester reveal him to have been a hunchback (a sufferer from scoliosis) has rehabilitated a key element of the Tudor legend. It enables this book to employ the testimony of such Tudor writers as the Crowland Chronicle, Sir Thomas More, and Polydore Vergil that have been over-disparaged for so long...” This turns the principle of *Falsus in uno, falsus in omnibus* on its head—correct about one thing, right about everything—and he isn’t even right about that. In another place, he writes that examination of Richard’s bones ‘has substantiated much Tudor testimony about the king’s physique, health, appearance, and even temperament.’ How bones testify to one’s temperament is not explained.

Hicks perpetrates such bloopers as “Thomas Hungerford’s own property, held jointly with his widow...” (huh?). It is not the grammar and punctuation that is so objectionable

as the lapses in logic and moral equivalency. Often a possibility becomes a fact in the next paragraph, and a ‘may be’ is treated as an absolute truth. Hicks is the King of the May.

Having set the principle that an historical figure should be judged by the standards of his own time, not by ours, Hicks proceeds to judge Richard by both standards, and finds him falling short of both. For an example, he discusses the Harrington estates, which were to be inherited jointly by two sisters, Anne and Elizabeth, except for Hever Castle, which was held by their uncle James Harrington, ‘in tail male’ (i.e. a female could not inherit) Richard backed Sir James in ‘stealing’ this part of the inheritance from two innocent little girls, who could not inherit it in any case! Thank goodness they had Lord Stanley to protect them by marrying them to two of his relatives.

On page 92, he accuses Richard of piracy. On page 93, he says that “Richard did not even take ship except for the invasion of France.” Not only does he portray Richard as as a sort of Pirate of Penzance, but manages to imply without actually saying so, that it was Richard, Duke of Gloucester, who invaded France rather than Edward IV. Also, on the subject of the invasion, Richard “and some others were discontented with the peace treaty of Picquigny” but he omits to mention that he refused the payment of a ‘tribute’ (bribe) from France. However, he takes pains to inform us that “King Louis softened the blow with splendid presents...precious plate and well-accounted horses.” Without actually saying so, he manages to leave the impression that Richard did accept a bribe—which was more likely a diplomatic gift that he could hardly turn down without insulting the French king. Maybe Richard considered it was a way to recoup part of his expenses for the abortive ‘invasion.’

Where Richard is concerned, Hicks finds events that might be considered to be neutral actions are grounds for suspicion. “Richard formally moved the bodies of his father and his brother Edmund to be interred at Fotheringhay. His older sister, Anne, recently deceased, was also honored...he did not honor his other sisters, Margaret, Elizabeth, and Ursula” Margaret and Elizabeth were still alive. Ursula had died in childhood many years before, as had several of Richard’s brothers, and no doubt had the full honors of the Church at the time.

In Chapter 10, which deals with the summer of 1483, Hicks says that Richard ‘made himself Protector,’ then says Edward IV appointed him as such, but meant him to be only head of a Protectorate Council Hicks has a deep knowledge of what everyone’s intentions and motives were.

I could go on for much longer, but for the sake of my blood pressure and the reader’s patience, I will try to bring this to a Conclusion: Acting on my kind nature that tends to give people the benefit of the doubt, and knowing that Michael Hicks has written much better books³ in the past, I can only assume that, as he is an emeritus professor and 72 years old, he has reached the garrulous state of his life. But I hesitate to do that, as I am older than he is. Maybe I have attained the garrulous stage as well.

- 1) Example: of the Council meeting in the Tower, Hicks writes: “Those who seized [Morton, et. al.] were Richard’s retainers Sir Charles Pilkington and Sir Robert Harrington, and, highly significantly, Thomas Howard, son and heir of Lord Howard. Not+ only was he the prime mover....” No doubt the + was a typesetter’s error (if anyone sets type nowadays), but it is hard to determine who ‘he’ refers to: John, Thomas, or Richard. It is the last-named—I think.
- 2) Colons are often used in place of commas. But then there is this: “Where there were vacancies it was men known to Richard who filled the gaps: clerks, lawyers and retainers who had served him as duke.” This is a correct usage of colons, so he does know better.

- 3) Hicks has no hesitation about quoting his own works in the bibliography and footnotes. And why not? He is a recognized scholar of the period. But if the articles, books, etc., that he cites were adequately researched from original sources, why not quote the originals without asking us to simply take his word for it? And it does sound rather odd when he occasionally refers to his body of work in the text as ‘Hicks.’”

Finally, a few words about those devilish little imps haunting all authors, transcribers, copyreaders, and editors who have ever lived.

BETWEEN YOU AND ME: Confessions of a Comma Queen—Mary Norris, W.W. Norton & Company, NY, London, 2018

The art-work on the dust jacket of this book shows a crown made up of commas and other punctuation marks. Ms. Norris’s credentials are impressive, as a long-time copy editor for *The New Yorker*. (Do you realize that brief paragraph was a minefield? Is it art-work, art work,

artwork? Copy-editor or copy editor? Minefield or mine-field?)

I will readily admit that I need a copy editor, however spelled, as much as anyone. I am capable of making dumb and/or careless mistakes. I still have to stop and think: Is it it’s or is it its, and even then I will sometimes get it wrong. I remain conflicted by “Whom.” Whom does it matter to? To whom does it matter? Who cares?

Norris breezes through this book like the acquaintance or co-worker who always makes you chuckle, even when you don’t agree with them. She has, as we all do, her own set of hobby horses. (hobby-horses?) With her fourth chapter, which echoes the book’s title, I find myself in complete agreement. It is not so much the “between you and I” phrasing that sets my teeth on edge as the bringing in of a third person. “Give it to George and I”? No, no, a thousand times no!

Add to punctuation facts that I didn’t know: “In German, every command takes an exclamation point. One imagines that Germans bark at each other a lot” On the other hand, in Spanish every question rates two question marks. one upside-down. Does this mean that Spanish speakers are nosier or more curious than others? Another tidbit: The author devotes several pages to the Paul A Johnson Pencil Sharpener Museum, in Logan, Ohio, where she was enraptured.

Don’t miss it, if you happen to be in the neighborhood. Admission is free.

Just for fun, Ms Norris throws in some prize bloopers collated over the years. E.g., “We invited the strippers, JFK and Stalin.” “This book is dedicated to my parents, Ayn Rand and God.” She defends the right of a reporter to report, in full, the use of obscenity by a source, but also recounts how one editor cut a reference to Junior Mints in a story. When asked why, the prim response was “A *New Yorker* writer should not be eating Junior Mints.” Though she arrived at *The New Yorker* well after the golden days of Thurber and his contemporaries, she got to know a good many eccentrics and shares her fund of stories about them.

If you are an aficionado of language—and you should be, if you speak, read, or write at least one—get this book and enjoy it, accompanied by Junior Mints or not, as you choose.

DICKON—Gordon Daviot (Josephine Tey), Heinemann Educational Books Ltd., 1966
[Review by Pauline Calkin]

It is unknown when the author of *The Daughter of Time* wrote this play about Richard III—Laurence Olivier has said that she brought him the play in 1944*—but it was published posthumously in 1953. It opens with a domestic scene in the king’s private apartments at

Westminster palace in January 1483. Present are Edward IV, Anthony Woodville, Richard Grey, Lord Hastings, the Duke of Buckingham, and the Prince of Wales. The Prince is playing a game with counters similar to the modern tiddlywinks while the men are discussing preparations for a projected war with France. Richard of Gloucester enters, and, while playing with the counters, he complains about the Privy Seal's office as a home for indigent gentry— "[o]r at least for such of them as can afford the original bribe. I haven't yet discovered what they all do. One signs his name, a second dries the signature, and a third rolls up at the document, and a third rolls up the parchment." And the fourth records the transaction, of course. When the king tells him not to worry because he has money to pay them all because of his gift for trade, Richard replies that he is not worried about the king's pocket but the little clerk who has sweated all his life at his desk only to see the place he hoped for go to some newcomer who has the price of a bribe. As he states this, he finishes the game with counters, beating the Prince, who lets out a wail.

When the others leave, the King tells his brother Richard "the difference between us is that you expect men to be honest and are furious when they turn out to be knaves while I expect men to be knaves and am vastly gratified when they prove—as they occasionally do—to be honest." The King, feeling guilty, notes that Richard does the work of two men while he gets the credit. When he asks his brother why he does it, Richard replies: "When I was seven, you were my god. When I was fourteen, you were my hero." And now? Edward asks. "You are my brother. Who eats too much, drinks too much and is rapidly losing his looks. A little campaigning would do you no harm."

As shown in these scenes, the play conveys Richard's serious side, but it is told with light touches both of humor and sweetness, as when Princess Elizabeth interrupts the brothers' conversation, asking for a new gown and ending up asking her father to find her a husband as nice as Uncle Richard.

Act I ends with the execution of Hastings. Richard says, "I had hoped to save England for my brother's son, but you taught me that if England is to be saved at all, it will not be by any protectorship. For the last month I have watched you, his councilors, his father's friends, his liege men, behaving like ill-bred children round a sweetmeat booth that has been overturned. What thought had you for the boy? For England? None! England to you was a place to loot, and the boy a means to an end; and you were ready to risk civil war to achieve that end."

Act II opens when Richard as King is in Gloucester and receives a delegation of three guildsmen offering a coffer filled with gold. One of the men he recognizes as a man who fought by his side at Tewkesbury. When Buckingham appears on the scene, he is chagrined to learn that Richard has declined the gold. He begins plotting with Bishop Morton to overthrow Richard, and attempts to entice Lord Stanley into the plot. Stanley waffles again, as he did when asked to join with Hastings, repeating the refrain, "I have a family to think of."

After Buckingham's demise, the scene shifts to Nottingham Castle where a party is in progress. Queen Anne and Princess Elizabeth have taken a break from the festivities. Elizabeth is cheerful and not at all fazed by her relegation to the status of a king's bastard. Rather she hopes to find a husband who will want to marry her for her eyelashes instead of her rank—and certainly not a man with a pink beard by which she means, as Anne corrects her, a Scots red beard. Anne assures her that they will find her someone nice who will give her a thousand beautiful gowns to shine at parties as she was shining that night. When Elizabeth suggests that Anne does not really like parties, Anne responds, "To be honest, I never see a laden table but I think of the washing up." Anne then tells her story of her life as a kitchen maid and rescue by Richard, which just serves to fire Elizabeth's romantic

imagination—until the scene is interrupted by the arrival of letters from Middleham with the news of the death of Richard and Anne’s only son, Edward. What follows is a short, poignant scene in which Anne tells Richard she will not mind dying so much now because it was always Edward she was afraid to leave, and Richard will be able to have other sons. “I sometimes think that there is no cruelty like that of a kind woman,” Richard can only exclaim in reply.

After Anne’s death, Richard must confront the rumors that he poisoned her with intent to marry niece.

Elizabeth admits she has heard the rumors because “women have hair to be brushed.”

“Men shave, but my barber didn’t tell me that one,” replies Richard.

Elizabeth is horrified that Richard intends to send her to Yorkshire—out of the world. (Her sentiment echoes that of her half-brother Richard Grey, who, when told at Stony Stratford that he is being sent to Middleham, protests that it is so boring there.) Richard promises that the first thing he will do on the field of victory will be to send for her, an undeserving Cockney. They part with affection—not passion—with Elizabeth giving him St. Catherine’s medal to wear.

The final scene takes places in Richard’s tent on the morning of August 22, 1485.

Richard tells Lovell that he is afraid of the invisible. “I keep wondering who is going to be the traitor this time.”

Counseling waiting for reinforcements, Lovell opines, “[t]here is no shame in being cautious.”

Richard counters, “But there is shame in being afraid of shadows. If I am to be spend the rest of my life being ruled by what may not happen, I might as well be dead.”

Richard will not sit on a hillock watching the battle as Tudor will, but is determined to die facing the enemy and that nothing that may be written about him in books can ever alter that.

With its clever dialogue and running jokes, this is a work easy to like. I have read several Ricardian plays recently: Nance Crawford’s *King’s Games*; John Birney’s *The Other Richard III*; and Maxwell Anderson’s *Richard and Anne*, and each has been impressive in its own way. While none of them can, of course, compete with Shakespeare’s larger than life Richard, *Dickon* does show us a Richard on a more human scale: a portrait, sentimentalized though it is, of a decent man trying to do some good in the world.

*See the article *Strutting and Fretting His Hour Upon the Stage* by Judge R. Weinsoft on the Richard III Society, American Branch website [r3.org—link to article on “Online Library Text & Essays page).

Dear member,

If you have read a book or play related to Richard III, 15th century England and English culture that you wish to review, please submit your review to **Ricardian Reading Editor** for inclusion in the next review column. New reviews are published twice yearly in the March and September *Ricardian Registers* and republished in the subsequent *Ricardian Chronicles*.

THE MISSING PRINCES IN AMERICA PROJECT

Sally Keil



Note: Sally Keil's Power Point presentation at the 2020 Virtual GMM summarized the mission for the American Branch's participation. This presentation can be viewed and downloaded from the 2020 Dec entry of our website's newsletter page here: (r3.org/newsletter/) in the "2020 Virtual GMM" article. Anyone interested in participating in this project should contact Sally Keil via email: sallybkeil@gmail.com.

January 2021 Update

Dear Team Members,

I'm very pleased to announce that a new member has joined the team! Please welcome Ms. Helena Wright. Helena and I share a very special memory: we met in 'the queue' at Leicester Cathedral waiting to enter for the Richard III Society's services at the reinterment of King Richard III back in March 2015. We found seats together in the fully packed church, and at the end of the service (along with everyone else!) we elbowed our way towards King Richard's coffin to try to get pictures. Helena heard the presentation I gave on The Missing Princes in America Project at the recent GMM and asked if she might be able to join in. I sent her the December Update newsletter and some other 'How to Get Started' materials and she replied...

"I have friends in Shropshire who may know a local historian or two who might know more about the prisoners kept there over time. The Directory of Pre-1600 Collections is familiar to me, as I submitted the entries from the Smithsonian American History Museum's Graphic Arts Collection on pp. 27-28. And I have to check the Denver Art Museum website—is that statue from the Bayly Collection imaged and online? There is a good deal of provenance research happening in museums these days, focused on European collections acquired from the 1930s onward for Holocaust reparations programs, so that might be a way to find out more about how Bayly acquired the piece. Lots to think about here, and all so interesting. I look forward to participating."

Welcome to the team Helena!

Date: January 2021

Institutions contacted this month: 7

Total # institutions contacted to date: 279; Project Completion: 57%

Hits' this month with description: No new 'hits' this month. As ever, lots of books of hours, liturgical studies, art work, bibles, etc.

Status of previous 'hits':

As you will recall from last month's Update, Julie Stafford has been busy helping another member of the Missing Princes Team from the Netherlands, Nathalie Nijmin, to track down the provenance of a statue held in the Denver Art Museum in Denver CO. Nathalie has proposed to Philippa a very tenuous theory: that the statue does not look like who it is reportedly of (Phillip the Handsome or 'a falconer') but *does* look like Richard of Shrewsbury, the younger missing prince. Where we are now: trying to determine how Charles Bayly came to own the statue, in the hopes of determining its provenance. One possible path Julie found is to look over the Administration documents of the estate of Charles Bayly that may be obtained from the state of Colorado. There is a \$125 fee for these documents, but Philippa has assured us that there are sufficient funds available to cover

these costs. I guess at this point, I'd like someone to 'officially' decide if monies should be spent to purchase these documents, or not. Julie? Philippa? Who's call is this? Please let me know. We also have the offer of help from our newest member, Helena Wright, who has some ideas regarding determining its provenance. Helena: please let us know if you have some ideas on how to proceed. Thanks.

Search for Salop Castle:

We have now determined that Salop Castle refers to Shrewsbury Castle. Next step: see if we can find out if it held prisoners in September 1485, and any clues as to who those prisoners might be. The England team didn't agree that referencing prisoners in the castle in September 1485 is in any way significant: they feel that the wording as presented in the H7 account books is standard boilerplate. If so, then this possible clue comes to a dead end. Perhaps Helena's friends in Shrewsbury may be able to shed some light on prisoners in the castle.

Edward IV hair sample:

Philippa writes: "Re Edward IV's hair—I've had no response from the specialist at the University of Leuven, no doubt due to everything surrounding COVID-19. They may be tasked with more urgent analysis on behalf of the pandemic, or could be closed for a while. So, leave this with me and I'll try again in the New Year when hopefully we'll get a response. If we don't hear back for whatever reason then no worries as there is an excellent lab at the University of York—and was involved in the ancient DNA extraction and analysis for the identification of the king in 2012/13."

Henry VII Account Book of 1500:

This was sent to the new paleographer on our team, Allison Connell. She reports that she has not had the time yet to dig into the account book but will tackle it when she has the time to do so. Thanks Allison! As I have said many times, we have NO DEADLINE on our work, and we are all volunteers, so we will continue to proceed ahead thoughtfully and carefully, as our time permits.

Other 'to-dos' from previous reports:

Compton Reeves has offered again to help read the diplomatic letters from our time period that were unearthed at Stanford U, to review for possible interest. The hyper link to access the digital images of these documents has been sent to him on November 3rd. With the holidays upon us, and Compton's travel schedule, it may take a while before we will hear back from him. As we all know there are no deadlines on our work; no problem! Let's all enjoy the hunt!

February 2021 Update

Dear Team Members,

I am very pleased to report that we have a new member on our team, and one that brings with him skills in reading and translating medieval documents: Mr. Justin Smith. I am super excited to send on to him the location information for the diplomatic correspondences that I found at Stanford U—CA some time ago, that are dated within our time range. Hopefully Justin can tell us if they hold any clues to the missing boys, or not. Welcome to the team Justin!

On a different topic: in communicating with each of you over the past two years, I have been hearing the frustrations we all periodically experience when either 1) the institution we are searching doesn't have any of their pre-1600 items digitized, or 2) they say they're digitized but the search engine is horrible and unwieldy, or 3) we've sent/placed a number of emails and phone calls that have all gone unanswered. ***I have a plan!*** (YEA!) I have created one master spreadsheet of all of these 'tough nut to crack' institutions and I'm asking

each of you who have any of these types of institutions cluttering up your assignment sheet, to send them on to me along with your notes. I'm hoping that by clearing your assignment sheets of these 'stuck' searches, it will make your lives easier. SO! Send them on to me and, once COVID-19 is pretty much over, I can see how best to tackle them. Thanks all.

On the other end of the spectrum, I occasionally get news of some really 'meaty' searches: those are the fun ones! I had such luck last month with Indiana U—Lilly Library. A librarian responded to my email with all sorts of hyper links to a variety of collections that hold pre-1600 stuff. I had great fun going through them. I found a number of 'boxes' that may hold some items of interest, and have re-contacted the librarian for additional help.

Team member Bobbie Franks also found a treasure trove when she hunted through the private collection of Mr Robert S Pirie. Its amazing what you can buy if you're rich!! Bobbie's reports are always so very entertaining I thought everyone might want to read what she wrote:

"Now this was a really fascinating assignment, if I've got the right guy, which I think I do. No link or website to go by so I googled Robert S. Pirie. There was such a man who was an incredible bibliophile; however, he passed away in 2015. He had a very extensive collection of English literature which went to auction at Sotheby's December 2nd-4th, 2015. Brought in just under \$15 million. There are several websites with a lot of information and it is possible to view the "Property From the Collection of Robert S. Pirie Volumes I & II: Books and Manuscripts", which I did. The collection included books from just about every notable, respected, famous, classic author and covered practically every subject imaginable such as law, drama (plays), poetry, religion, classics, politics, nature, Stonehenge and of course novels. The main part of his collection came from the Elizabethan and post-Shakespeare periods, mostly from the 1600s and later, some mid to late 1500s and a few earlier. For example, a Henry III charter re-allocating properties that were forfeit by rebel barons, dated at Canterbury, 25 October 1265. Then a 2nd quarter of the 13th century Compendium Genealogie Christi illustrated manuscript, a 7/12/1493 Nuremburg Chronicle, a 5/1502 copy of Thucydides, a 1513 Jean Froissart book on the Arms of Hank Duke of Richmond, and a 1515 book bound with the Arms of Hank8 and the Tudor rose. Okay, I'll stop rambling but I really had a good time with this assignment, nothing to help find the boys, though, so I'll keep looking!"

(You'll note Bobbie's easy informality with the Henrys': she calls them 'Hank'.)

Date: February 2021

Institutions contacted this month:11

Total # institutions contacted to date: 290; Project Completion: 59%

'Hits' this month with description:

No new 'hits' this month.

Status of previous 'hits':

Falconer Statue in the Denver Art Museum:

Julie Stafford got a return email from her contact in the museum. She apologizes for not responding more promptly but the museum was re-opening some galleries after a major construction project, but has promised to 'go over to the campus' and see if she can continue to help us identify the provenance of this statue. We wait to hear.

Search for Salop Castle:

No new news. From last month's report: 'We have now determined that Salop Castle refers to Shrewsbury Castle. Next step: see if we can find out if it held prisoners in September 1485, and any clues as to who those prisoners might be. The England team didn't agree that referencing prisoners in the castle in September 1485 is in any

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Henry VII Account Book of 1500:

Currently unassigned due to the departure of Allison Connell from the team.

Diplomatic documents at Stanford U:

Have just this month been passed to our new team member Justin Smith for review.

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Welcome Two New Librarians

Please join us in welcoming Andy Hart: Articles/Audio-Visual/Archive Librarian and Pauline Calkin: Fiction Librarian.

Andy Hart: Articles/Audio-Visual/Archive Librarian

Andy Hart

After growing up in Philadelphia, I attended to Wake Forest University, where I earned my BA in Politics. Then I went to the University of South Carolina, earning my MA and PhD (ABD) in political science. I taught American and Comparative Politics at South Carolina, and published several articles on religion and nationalism. After completing a Fulbright Year in Montreal, at McGill University, I took a job in business as an account executive for a computer company in Canada.

After five years with the computer company, I felt the call to ministry, so I attended Princeton Seminary for my Masters of Divinity and Columbia Seminary for his Doctorate of Ministry. My dissertation was on PTSD (Post Traumatic Stress Disorder), and I published several articles and chapters in various books about it. I have served churches in South Carolina, Long Island, and currently serving in Chambersburg. I am the proud father of four children.

My interest in Richard III comes from his genealogical work, where I discovered I am related to James Tyrrell. I look forward to learning more about this time period and participating in the Society.

I am currently developing a catalog of the library's media and articles. If you are interested in a particular item, please contact me at articlesavlibrary@r3.org with your request and I'll let you know if it's available.

Pauline Calkin: Fiction Librarian

Pauline Calkin

As a teenager, I was an avid reader, particularly of historical fiction. One of the books I read was Josephine Tey's *Daughter of Time*. Along with so many others, it left me with a lasting and favorable impression of Richard III, but I cannot say I became a Ricardian at that point. After I went to law school and became a writs attorney for the California Court of Appeals, my pleasure reading fell off a bit. When I retired, however, I returned to my first love of historical fiction. Edith Pargeter's *The Brothers Gwmyedd* and *The Heaven Tree* trilogy led me to Sharon Kay Penman's *Welsh Princes* trilogy. Hmm, I thought maybe I should read her first book, that one about Richard III. From the time I read *The Sunne in Splendour*, I was hooked; I couldn't stop reading books, both fiction and non-fiction, about Richard.

Since I became a Ricardian through reading fiction, I was delighted to learn that as member of the American Branch I could borrow books from its fiction library. Just maybe that was part of the reason I joined! As the new fiction librarian, I am privileged to be the custodian of this collection. The genres of books range from young adult fiction (Alex Marchant's *The Order of the White Boar* and *The King's Man, Tournament of Time* by Elaine Marie Alpine; and Anne Rabinowitz's lovely *Knight on Horseback*) to alternate history/fantasy in which—yes!—Richard wins at Bosworth (e.g., *The Dragon Waiting* by John M. Ford.) And there is everything in-between. Richard as romantic hero and even Richard as time-traveling romantic hero seem to be particular favorites. However, if you need at least a temporary respite from such portrayals, then try Brian Wainwright's *The Adventures of Alianore Audley*—a delightful and irreverent view of 15th Century historical figures, including stick-in-the-mud Richard.

We have the popular series of books by Philippa Gregory and Sharon Kay Penman as well as the *Roger the Chapman* medieval mystery series of Kate Sedley (aka Brenda Honeyman; aka Brenda Clarke.) The library also contains works that feature historical periods and characters other than Richard and the War of the Roses, even those with Henry Tudor as a hero. While nowadays many works can be purchased and downloaded online, a member can borrow one of the books for the price of postage. Then we have some works that are rare and are either hard to find or out of print. In this issue I have reviewed Gordon Daviot's (Josephine Tey) play *Dickon*. We also have a 1933 edition of her play *Richard of Bordeaux* which was Sir John Gielgud's first stage success as well the 1934 *Queen of Scots* that featured Olivier as Bothwell. Wouldn't you like to hold the 1951 edition of *Daughter of Time*? I hope to see more members take advantage of the library by highlighting some of our treasures.

The library contains more than five hundred novels, plays, and poems. We continue to add to our collection and are always on the lookout for the latest Ricardian fiction. Meanwhile, I am in the process of updating the library catalogue.

A member can access our catalog on the American Branch's website by clicking on the fiction library link for members only. If there's anything you want to read, please let me know at fictionlibrary@r3.org.

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Copy Deadlines:

January 1–March Issue

July 1–September Issue

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- Word doc or docx file type or Open Office Writer odt file type, or rtf file type
- If your submission is an article about Richard III, 15th century England, etc. please submit it to the Research Officer at research_officer@r3.org, all other submission should go to the Editor at info@r3.org
- 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

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

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Note: If you are submitting a physical book for review,
please email the reviewers first to determine who and
where to mail it.

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Lawton, OK 73507

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Inside back cover
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Front cover:

King Richard III by Jamal Mustafa

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Richard III Society American Branch Logo

Created by Emily Newton, Secretary

Richard III Forever



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New translation of Domenico Mancini's
de occupatione regni Anglie by Annette Carson

Domenico Mancini
de occupatione regni Anglie



New Translation with Introduction
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This is an outstanding achievement and a book that deserves to sit on the shelves of anyone interested in the fifteenth century and in Richard III in particular.—

Matthew Lewis

Expect an announcement for ordering this book by email from
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