

RICARDIAN REGISTER



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King Richard III



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Richard III Society, American Branch
C/O Wayne Ingalls
704 NW Euclid Ave.
Lawton, OK 73507
membership@r3.org

Board News

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Zoom talk Announcement

Edward IV and His Bishops

Date: Sunday October 15th at Noon Eastern US (originally scheduled for 9/24)

Synopsis:

We don't usually think of bishops as "inherited" by a king upon his accession. And yet this was actually the case: Edward IV pretty much had to take and perhaps learn to work with men of some prominence who were already in place. Edward IV was 19 when he came to the throne; the 17 English bishops had already been in their positions for an average of about 10 years. They not only brought experience but some came with political baggage: some Yorkists, many with service to Henry VI's Lancastrian government. How did the new king manage with these men?



SUNY-Stony Brook's Distinguished Emeritus Professor of History Joel T. Rosenthal has authored, edited and co-edited over 25 books on late medieval history. He served as an Editor of the *Journal of British Studies*, co-founded the journal *Medieval Prosopography*, and is a fellow of the Medieval Academy of America.



2022 Schallek Winner

Introducing 2023 Schallek Fellowship winner: Amy Juarez

Cheryl Greer, Webmaster

(First published at <https://r3.org/2023-schallek-fellowship/>)

The American Branch is thrilled to announce that the winner of the 2023 Schallek Fellowship is Amy Juarez, a Ph.D. candidate in English Literature at the University of California-Riverside. The \$30,000 fellowship will help support Amy with writing her dissertation next year.



Amy writes:

My dissertation, entitled "The Poetics of Embodied Architecture in Medieval and Early Modern Europe," takes as its central concern how Vitruvian craft undergirds late-medieval and early modern conceptions of embodiment, and how writers from these periods use these ideologies in and through their own literary discourses. My project argues that the "Vitruvian Man" is the basis for more complex and nuanced depictions of the body-as-building dynamic than previously understood in late-medieval and early modern cultures from the twelfth to sixteenth centuries. Accordingly, this

dissertation explores four modes of Vitruvian technology in literary texts, tying theories of architectural embodiment to ekphrastic encounters, to microarchitectural experiences, to humoral diagnoses, and to a miniaturized version of the “Vitruvian Man” himself. Literary representations of these four processes make visible a deep interest in Vitruvius’s ancient philosophies in the medieval and early modern periods; at the same time they simultaneously complicate Vitruvian notions of architecture as an embodied form of expression. As my project will show, Vitruvian craft, or *techne*, is more than mere metaphor in medieval and early modern poetry; in fact, the Vitruvian Virtues are evoked as real architectural tropes in rhetorical practices from these periods.

Under the tenure of the Schallek Fellowship, I plan to research and write my first and third chapters. I’ll dedicate the beginning four to five months of my time as a Schallek Fellow to researching and writing for the third chapter, while the subsequent 4-5 months will be spent on chapter 1. My third chapter, in specific, requires me to look at John Lydgate’s *The Dietary*, found in MS. Ashmole 61, which is housed in the Bodleian Library: I expect to travel here to gain access to the archival materials in the Fall of 2023. The Getty Research Institute also holds archival objects of importance to my project, some of which include editions of Alberti’s treatise, and is located within driving distance of my home institution. Because of my proximity to this institution, I plan to visit the Getty to conduct research also during the beginning phases of my Schallek tenure ship

The privilege of the Schallek Fellowship will enable me the dedicated time and financial support to complete my dissertation. My home institution requires me to teach whilst in my dissertation year, which places pressure on me to balance my role as a teacher and researcher—both of which are extremely important to my professional development. Having the Schallek Fellowship would allow me to focus solely on the dissertation, alleviating me from my teaching responsibilities, and providing me space to prioritize my research and writing. While I work on my dissertation, the Schallek Fellowship would provide sustained financial security which will allow me to put more mental energy and labor into the project than possible without funding.

The American Branch congratulates Amy on her achievement!

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 and is administered by the Medieval Academy of America. Beginning in 2004, the program offers five annual dissertation awards of \$2,000 each and a dissertation fellowship of \$30,000 annually.

The Missing Princes in America Project: Final Report

Sally Keil

To everyone who helped with this project I want to say ‘thank you’ for all of the time, energy and enthusiasm you have poured into this search for clues to the whereabouts of the missing princes. When I conceived of this project back in 2018 I knew that it ‘would take a village’, and it certainly has. Speaking only for myself, I began this work as a complete novice in medieval research. I have learned a lot! While it would have been truly fabulous if a clear and obvious ‘clue’ was found that revealed what happened to the boys, it would have been immediately suspect as so many dedicated Ricardians and medievalists have been documenting the reigns of King Richard III and Henry Tudor for so long.

Instead, it was understood that we were hunting for something *not* previously found by others, residing here in the US and/or Canada, that would have been 1) a primary source document, and 2) was dated between 1483 and 1509. Our ‘plan of attack’ was simple: if we turned something up that met these two very specific criteria, we looked at it with our sharp focus: “Could this be some sort of clue to the missing princes?”.

The vast majority of the pre-1600 items we found did not meet the Project’s requirements. Many were books of hours, pieces of art work, many religious texts, etc. Letters and documents were definitely in the minority of the collections we searched. However, we did turn up a number of legal and financial documents – deeds, warrants, grants, receipts, financial rolls, etc. – that *might* be a clue if we were to ‘follow the money’ in the hunt for the princes. Could these items be links in a payoff of some kind for hiding/transporting/keeping the princes? As standalone documents it’s impossible to know. However, if in the future other documents are identified as being associated with any of the people named in the items we found, maybe putting the two together as puzzle pieces, a possible theory might emerge. Therefore, I have listed in **Appendix A** the individuals named in the financial/legal documents residing here in North America that are dated between 1483-1509 that we uncovered. Keep those names handy in the event some future puzzle piece is found!

The most fun ‘find’ was a snippet of King Edward IV’s hair at Emory University in Atlanta Georgia! However, the provenance given was pretty shaky and, considering the costs involved in mitochondrial DNA testing, we decided to let the hair sample stay in Atlanta and look to other hair samples with more solid provenances if testing should ever be undertaken.

When I set up the assignments for everyone working with me on this, I did so with a geographic orientation, thinking that a trip to a library or university might be needed. Then Covid hit! So much for that idea. However, I think we all quickly discovered how ‘digital’ the world of medieval documents has become and how libraries around the world have linked their collections together in support of scholarly research. However, following one hyper link after another you can quickly go down ‘the rabbit hole’ and get lost for hours in the computerized library stacks! It’s wonderful, but these fun ‘side trips’ were to sources shared around the world and therefore not directly tied to our mission of hunting for overlooked items residing here in America. I didn’t want to lose track of

these various databases and consortiums, however, as they were such fun to visit and I think we all might like to return to them someday. Therefore, **Appendix B** is my list (just places I visited) of the online sites I found that were really fun and wonderful.

Appendix C are sites located in the US and/or Canada that have tremendous medieval collections. (I do not represent this list as any sort of 'complete' listing.) A thorough scouring of these libraries was way outside the scope of this project, but they are very worthy of a careful 'once over' at some point in the future. With Covid now under control, a visit to the institutions listed would be a great idea should someone wish to carry our project's goal forward by visiting them and talking with the library staff.

One of our biggest frustrations was not being able to read and/or understand the documents we found. **Appendix D** are the items that are *awaiting review* by someone skilled in paleography.

Over 40 different people at various points in time over the last 5 years have hunted for clues in 516 different institutions located in the US or Canada. **Appendix E** (at tinyurl.com/mr4dyuck) is the complete listing of who searched where, and when. A lot has been accomplished, but there is always more to do!

With all of the above items set aside, what is currently outstanding?

1) Five 'diplomatic documents' dated within 1483-1509 that were found at Stanford U in CA are currently being read by team member Karen Van Hook. She has confirmed the dates of these documents meet our criteria (the descriptions given on the Stanford U website were incorrect. The university has been made aware of this and will be reviewing these acquisitions.) and has now begun the task of finding out who wrote each one, and to whom was it addressed. Stay tuned for her updates as they become available.

2) The bound manuscript given to Edward IV's son when he was Prince of Wales. It resides at Princeton University in NJ: the citation is "Garrett MS. 168: Testament de Amyra Sultan Nichemedy, ca. 1482, southern Netherlands (Bruges)." It is an anonymous letter, written in Italian, dated September 12, 1481, that was translated into French and then bound by Caxton in Westminster. The arms of the Prince of Wales decorate the bound manuscript indicating that it was produced for Prince Edward. While not a letter or document, it is located here in the US and we have included it in our project because pasted to the front pastedown are two signatures: "Elysaabeth the kyngys dowghter boke" and "Cecyl the kyngys dowghter." This manuscript is known to the Ricardian world as it is mentioned in *Richard III's Books* by Anne Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs. This might suggest that this book was also owned at some point by Richard III but it is only mentioned by Sutton & Visser-Fuchs as an example of a type of literary work for its time, *not* that it was ever owned by Richard III. Also, they make no mention of the princess' signatures in it. After her marriage to Henry VII Elizabeth would have styled herself as Queen, so her possession of this bound manuscript passed to her sometime *after* Prince Edward Prince of Wales was last seen in the summer of 1483 but *before* her marriage to Henry Tudor in early 1486. Assuming this manuscript was ever received by the prince, it would presumably have been kept in his

library at Ludlow. By taking the book and signing it as her own, Elizabeth knew that her brother would not be looking for it. When did Prince Edward's Ludlow household get dissolved? Did it get moved to London (presumably) after the death of his father King Edward IV? Looking for the answers to these questions might lead us towards a clue; future research is required.

Philippa Langley Announces New Book (<https://r3.org/news/>):

The Princes in the Tower: Solving History's Greatest Cold Case

"Following years of intensive research by Langley and her international team, the book reveals the findings of 'The Missing Princes Project'. Using investigative methodology, it places this most enduring of mysteries under a forensic microscope for the first time, unearthing astonishing new archival discoveries along the way."

Appendix A: possible 'follow the money' clues

Individual	Item found	Found Where:	Update #
Sir James Tyrell	receipt Nov 4, 1498 for half tenement	Folger Shakespeare Library Washington DC	8
William Hill	land transaction 1484	U of Tulsa Tulsa OK John E Barry Collection	49
William Burghall	land transaction 1484	U of Tulsa Tulsa OK John E Barry Collection	49
Sir Gilbert Talbot	land transaction 1484	U of Tulsa Tulsa OK John E Barry Collection	49
John Bokenham	land transaction 1484	U of Tulsa Tulsa OK John E Barry Collection	49
Sir Gilbert Talbot	land transaction 1484	U of Tulsa Tulsa OK John E Barry Collection	49
William Pyx	deed of sale signed by R3 May 1484	Lehigh U PA	30
John Kingsnoth	deed of sale signed by R3 May 1484	Lehigh U PA	30

Appendix B: fun websites

<https://oac.cdlib.org/> OAC: Online Archive of California. Includes 200 libraries, special collections and archives throughout CA and 10 U of CA campuses.

<https://dp.la/> Digital Public Library of America

<https://www.worldcat.org/> worldcat.org

<http://mdr-maa.org/> Medieval Academy of America—Schoenberg Database of Manuscripts—Medieval Digital Resources

<https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/manor-search> Manorial Documents Register—Richmond Surrey England. On behalf of the master of the rolls.

<https://bibliophilly.pacscl.org/> Bibliotheca Philadelphiensis: 160,000 pages of medieval manuscripts.

<http://www.digital-scriptorium.org/> **Digital Scriptorium** is a growing consortium of American libraries and museums committed to free online access to their collections of pre-modern manuscripts.

<https://calisphere.org/> Calisphere is a gateway to digital collections from California's great libraries, archives, and museums. Over 1,700,000 images, texts, and recordings.

Seymour de Ricci (<https://archive.org/details/dericci1/mode/2up>), *CENSUS OF MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE MANUSCRIPTS IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA*.

Appendix C

The Huntington Library, Art Museum and Botanical Gardens, known as The Huntington, is a collections-based educational and research institution established by Henry E. Huntington and Arabella Huntington located at 1151 Oxford Rd, San Marino, CA 91108.

<https://huntington.org/library>

The Huntington Library is one of the most significant repositories in the world for British history. Collections include:

Battle Abbey is composed of about 3,000 items from the 11th century through 1780. It contains the manorial and legal records for the abbey established by William the Conqueror on the site of the Battle of Hastings.

- **The Hastings Collection** contains 50,000 items and is the family archive for the earls of Huntingdon, dating from 1100 to the 1890s.

- **The Stowe Papers** are the largest British archival collection. They are named for the landed estate that was the historical seat of the dukes of Buckingham and Chandos and the site of the renowned English landscape garden. The family and estate papers total approximately 355,000 items and cover more than one thousand years.

There are an additional hundred or so smaller manuscript collections—chiefly correspondence—comprising many tens of thousands of letters from the 16th to 20th centuries.

Princeton University One Washington Rd. Princeton, NJ 08544:

<https://library.princeton.edu/collections/manuscripts-division>

Team member Bobbie Franks corresponded with Dr Don Skemer, head of the Manuscripts Division. He writes:

Princeton University Library holds one of the premier American collections of medieval and Renaissance manuscripts (pre-1601). There are about 600 codices; hundreds of fragments, leaves, and cuttings; and thousands of documents from the same period of time. The first published descriptions of holdings are in the De Ricci and Faye-Bond surveys of medieval and Renaissance manuscripts in North America. The largest number of medieval and Renaissance manuscripts and documents are the Manuscripts Division, which I head. The most complete cataloging available is in our published catalogue (heavily illustrated), of which I am the principal author: Don C. Skemer, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in North America* (Department of Art and Archaeology and Princeton University Library, in association with Princeton University Press, 2013), 2 volumes.

Harvard University Law Library 1585 Massachusetts Ave. Cambridge MA 02138 (<https://hls.harvard.edu/library/>)

Harvard University Law Library at Harvard University has an extensive collection of English manor rolls, consisting of 170 parchment rolls of diverse types (court-rolls, account-rolls, and others) from various manors, ranging in date from 1283 to 1765.

The Peripheral Manuscripts Project: (<https://peripheralms.org/>)

his project is hosted by Indiana University in Bloomington, Indiana. They will be digitizing and creating item-level metadata for 74 codices and 617 medieval manuscripts, focusing on small collections that have not been digitized. The goal is to bring a wealth of previously inaccessible and uncatalogued material to yield a more comprehensive understanding of North American manuscript holdings.

Appendix D: Documents located in the US that await review*

Item	Location	Library Contact	Update #
Account Book of Henry VII dated 1500	Mass. Historical Society	copy purchased by S Keil	9
Letter from King Ferdinand V 1493	U of Nebraska	Carrie Meyer	10
letter from King Louis XII 1495	U of Nebraska	Carrie Meyer	10
Deed of Release May 30, 1484 Pluckley	Lehigh U	Alex Japha Spec Coll. Digital Arch	23
*Diplomatic documents	Stanford U	Ben Albritton—Rare Bks Curator	41
manuscript article of indenture 1486	Oberlin College	Special Collections	39
Deed dated approximately 1495	CA State Library	Sutro Library—San Francisco	42

*Currently being reviewed by team member Karen Van Hook

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Richard III: King-as-Sun

A.J. Hibbard

*The King in the midst of his Court
like the Sun in the midst of the Planets*

I have been intrigued by a document written by or for King Richard since first being introduced to it in a post in September 2013 to one of the many Facebook groups that have been established to discuss Richard III. It is a part of the preamble to the instrument (grant or patent) creating his son Edward, Prince of Wales. I even went so far as to use it as the basis of remarks made during the commemorative service held in the Guildhall at York on re-interment day, March 26, 2015.

Since the document is preserved as a Latin text¹ it is not immediately apparent if it was originally composed in that language, or if it had been translated from English; nor is its authorship apparent. It does seem fair to assume that King Richard approved of the ideas being expressed.

One particular portion of the Preamble has been translated a number of times. The translation I used at the Guildhall was provided especially for the occasion by a fellow Ricardian:

The King, to the Archbishops, greeting. So great is the brilliance, the pricelessness, of the light of the sun, that when it is spread

¹ See, for instance, Harleian ms 433. (http://ricardianresources.online/1_harleian433.php)

abroad upon the other heavenly bodies, the sun shines with no less light and splendour, nor does it undergo any lessening of its strength or beauty; rather it is pleasing to see it, like a king in the midst of his nobles, adorning the greater and lesser stars in the whole court of Heaven with his most seemly light. Which without doubt, moved by the example, seeing the vocation to which we are called, that is, by the kingly authority and help of the All-Highest to govern and be set at the head of all the mortals of this realm, we have turned the gaze of our inward eye to the immensity of this noble commonwealth and of its members, taking the greatest precautions lest, considering the heavy cares which press upon us, those who are needful to us, to support us in the same, should not now appear to be lacking. [Nick Ford, March 2015]

This passage has been discussed several times in Ricardian publications, including notice taken by Sutton & Visser-Fuchs in their *Richard III's Books* (1997). They characterize it as "grandiloquent stuff, suitable for the document for which it was composed." Sutton & Visser-Fuchs go on to suggest that the original simile of the king in the midst of his court like the sun in the midst of the stars (the sun king) may have reached King Edward's court through a translation in 1480 by William Caxton from the French *Image du monde* (*Mirror of the World*). This work is described as an encyclopaedia written by Gossuin of Metz in 1246, covering natural science, geography, meteorology and astronomy.

Sutton & Visser-Fuchs point to the eighth chapter of the third part. 'Of the vertue of heven and of the sterres' (Of the virtue of heaven and of the stars). The position of the sun is described:

Thus is he the right benefactor [veyle] and patron of all the other stars, for it is the most fine of all the others by the great brilliance [clerenesses] that is in him, and in all things by him;... yet some time the stars restrain his heats and after they strengthen [enlarge] them..., as he otherwise has need; like unto a king which is the greater lord and the more mighty in himself for his highness than any other of his people, nevertheless he has need sometimes of them to help them and [be?] served by them; for how much the nearer is he to his people, so much more is he strong and powerful, and the further he withdraws from his folk, so much the less he [accomplishes] his work But the other stars have their power everyone in his degree.²

Recently, however, I have found that documents relating to the creations of the two preceding Princes of Wales also show awareness of the King-as-Sun imagery; this in turn, suggests that the history of its use is more complex than what has been proposed by Sutton & Visser-Fuchs.

Edward IV's son Edward was created Prince of Wales in 1471. An English translation of the confirmation by Parliament includes the following passage:

² I have attempted to modernize this passage by referring to the Oxford English Dictionary & selecting equivalent words according to the definitions and examples provided from the 15th century. The Appendix gives the original version of this section of *Mirror of the World* printed by Caxton in 1480. The 1912 edition of this work edited by Oliver H Prior is available on Google Books.

Edward by the grace of God king of England and of France and lord of Ireland, to the archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, dukes, marquises, earls, barons, justices, sheriffs, officials and all his bailiffs and faithful men, greeting. Know that we, reflecting after due consideration that the order of dignities, the distinction of degrees and the distribution of honours and rewards contributes not only to the splendour and glory of empires and realms, but surely also to happy rule and to healthy and blessed public affairs; nor is the distribution of such favours and rewards to the diminution or detriment of the plenitude of supreme power or the height of royal majesty, rather it increases it and makes it shine more powerfully with the light of abundant grace, just as the sun in lighting the sky and illuminating the stars, and in forming and preserving everything beneath on the earth suffers no diminution of its own splendour, or as roses are not diminished by breathing out their fragrance. So it stands to reason to advance to the highest power those people whom nobility of breeding and a manifest abundance of the gifts of nature and grace commend to higher status. Prompted by these and other considerations concerning the weal of the state, and the defence and preservation of our kingdom and the just and happy governance of the same, we have determined to honour Edward, our dearest first-born son, whom glorious and Almighty God,... with the honour, dignity and rank of prince and earl, and have made and created, and do make and create, him prince of Wales and earl of Chester.... [1471]. 'Edward IV: October 1472', in *Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*, ed. Chris Given-Wilson, Paul Brand, Seymour Phillips, Mark Ormrod, Geoffrey Martin, Anne Curry and Rosemary Horrox (Woodbridge, 2005), *British History Online* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no_series/parliament-rolls-medieval/october-1472 [accessed 22 July 2021].]

For the preceding Edward, Prince of Wales, son of Henry VI, another version reads:

Henry, by the grace of God, King of England, &c. To all Archbishops, Bishops, &c, greeting. Out of the excellency of Royal pre-eminence, like as the beams from the sun, so doth inferior honour proceed; neither doth the integrity of Royal lustre and brightness by the natural disposition of the light affording light feel any loss of detriment by such borrowed lights; yea, the Royal sceptre is also much the more extolled, and the Royal throne exalted, by how much more noblenesse, pre-eminences, and honours, are under the power and command thereof. [as printed in *Peerage Law in England: A Practical Treatise for Lawyers and Laymen, With an Appendix of Peerage Charters and Letters Patent*. (In English.) Francis Beaufort Palmer (1907); p 283-4. Creation of the King's Son as Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester — R C V 294 [margin No. 54. / 32 Hen. VI. 1453-4.]

The documentation creating the preceding king's son (Henry, later Henry V, son of Henry IV) contains no such imagery. It, therefore, appears that its first use was for Henry VI's son.

Comparing the phrasing of these three documents shows several interesting, and perhaps revealing differences that may place them in the context of the discussion regarding the nature of kingship, or the “science of good rule,” that had been ongoing at least since the later part of the reign of Richard II. It seems that Richard II attempted to re-invent himself after the challenges posed by the Lollards, and then the Lords Appellant³ The contentious element seems to have been the relationship of the king to the church, with one point of view proposing that the monarch acquired some priestly attributes as the result of being crowned, while the other (sometimes called Wycliffite) seems to have rejected any mixing of the spheres of church and state.⁴

1) The first two uses of the King-as-Sun imagery make reference to the “royal power” or “royal majesty” as if a thing unto itself. Richard’s version, however, takes pains to describe the authority of the king as being derived from the All-highest, and describes the holder of the office as having been called to be set at the head of the mortals of “this realm” like as to a vocation.

2) Richard’s version is also explicit in its insistence on the need by the king to be able to rely on others to fulfill their responsibilities in the governance of the realm. I suppose this to be addressed to the peers as well as to government officials. His version also seems to suggest that these “stars” had, in Richard’s experience, been found lacking on occasion, perhaps as recently as the Stony Stratford incident. It is also true that by that time in his life, Richard had as much as 20 years experience in administration and probably had seen many examples of such failures. It seems possible that that experience was also reflected in his remark to von Poppelau to the effect that “Then I would certainly, with my own people alone, without the help of other kings, princes or lords, properly drive away not only the Turks, but all my enemies and opponents.”

3) Another, and perhaps most striking, difference in Richard’s version is the reference to using his “inner eye” to obtain guidance. Today that expression may conjure up meditation as practiced in some of the eastern religions. That there were contemplative practices in the Christianity of Richard’s day is suggested by a quote from Walter Hilton referring to the mixed life, that is to say — sometimes active and sometimes contemplative⁵

It is not so hard to imagine the repetitive and hypnotic phrases of Richard’s famous prayer even inducing something of a trance-like state. Or as Sutton & Visser-Fuchs wrote:

3 For a thorough discussion of this subject see Lynn Staley’s *Languages of Power in the Age of Richard II* (especially chapter 2 “Inheritances and Translations”), 2006. She makes the argument that texts of political advice created after the Merciless Parliament (1388) were, even as they debated the king’s image, actually debating the nature of regal power and the language used to articulate it.

4 Staley points to the *Tractatus de Regibus* as reflecting the Wycliffite view of separation of church and state, and a sort of contractual relationship between the two, according to which the king should defend the church’s interests. Another point of view is expressed in *De quadripartita* which stresses the magnificence of the wise king, who exercises responsibility through the “judicious search for trustworthy counselors.”

5 The ‘medled lyf that is to saye somtyme actyfe and somtyme contemplatyf’. From Hilton’s *Epistle on the Mixed Life*. Hilton died 24 March 1396, is described as a mystic and is said to have become influential in the 15th century. One of his works (*Scala peffec[[i]onis* or *Scale of Perfection*), is among the earliest printed books in England (1494), one of a handful of early works of English mystics.

"The repetitive incantations of the prayer and the colourful scenes of the visions [of St Mechtild] ... no doubt could bring a mind brought up in the Christian beliefs of the late medieval world, steeped in its conventions, fed on its images, and daily absorbing its liturgy and language, to the intense devotional concentration that was thought so desirable...." (Sutton & Visser-Fuchs, *Richard III's Books*, 1997)

It is, of course, a matter of regret to Ricardians that whatever the precautions were, they failed to prevent the triumph of self-interest.

And last, I wonder who was the audience for this document. I believe the charters and grants creating peers eventually reached the peers to serve as proof of their titles. Was Richard's version, then, written with the idea that his son would be reading it some day?

Appendix

Passage from Caxton's *Mirror of the World* translation of *Image du monde* printed in 1480:

Thus is he the right veyle and patrone of all the other sterres, ffor it is the mosty fyn of all the other by the grete clerenesses that is in hym, and in all thynges by hym;... yet some tyme they [the stars] restrayne his heetes and after they enlarge them..., as he otherwhile hath nede; lyke unto a kynge which is the gretter lorde and the more myghty in hym self for his hyghnesse than any other of his people, neverthesse he hath sometyme nede of them for to holpen and servyd of them; ffor how moche the nerrer he is to his peple, so moche more is he strong and puissant, and the ferther he wyth draweth fro his folke, so moche the lasse he exployteth of his werke.... But the other [stars] have their power everich in his degree.

~ || ~

A Portrait of Juana I of Castile: Part 1

Maria Elena Torres, July 4, 2023

Richard III is not the only fifteenth century example of a criminally-distorted, centuries-old historical after-life. In the Spanish-speaking world, there is another figure whose reputation is proving to be at odds with the truth. The following is the first about Juana I of Castile. The rest will be published in the March 2024 Register.

Pure Tonypandy. A dramatic story with not a word of truth in it.

Anyone interested in Richard III will come, sooner or later to Josephine Tey, and this sentence. Tey was interested not only in how a dramatic story with not a word of truth pertains to Richard, but to history in general. It's an unfortunate fact that Richard is in fairly good company in having his life and memory twisted over the centuries to serve various purposes. And there is, close to Richard's period, a woman whose truth is also crying out to be told.



Juana of Castile was the daughter of Isabel of Castile and Fernando of Aragón. She was the last ruling member of the House of Trastámara; the first and last Spanish Queen regnant of Castile and Aragón united; and was, during her life as queen, deprived of power and liberty.

Juana has been the stuff of legend even during her lifetime. For centuries, she's been known as Juana la Loca. Her legend is tragic, romantic, lurid and irresistible. It's the story of a young princess who travels to a far-away land to marry a handsome, young archduke. She falls fatally, volcanically in love, unable to live without him; driven into fits of fury and jealousy. Unfaithful and lacking comprehension of his wife's condition, the handsome archduke soon finds himself with a treasure as well as burden because, due to deaths in her family, the princess becomes heiress of her parents' kingdoms. At the pinnacle of the tensions between the couple, they travel to her realm, leaving behind their son. The handsome young husband dies suddenly. The young princess goes mad with grief, indulging in a pilgrimage across the kingdom with her husband's corpse. She frequently opens the coffin and makes love to the body. She has no interest or capacity for governing. Eventually, her royal father places her in the isolation of a castle, where she spends the rest of her long-life disintegrating while her father and then her son rule.

This story has, for centuries, been a natural inspiration for paintings, plays, operas, novels and movies. It's also been the stuff of serious, staid histories. Juana's instability has been diagnosed posthumously by distinguished scholars⁶. Until relatively recently, it has seldom been questioned or doubted that Juana was, indeed, any combination of unstable, insane, uninterested in ruling, and a disinterested parent. Until relatively recently, it has never been seriously understood that a bulk of the material relied upon was composed by people with a vested interest in promoting this view, or that very little from Juana herself has managed to survive.

My own introduction to Juana was fortunate: it was *Castles and the Crown*, by Townsend Miller (Coward-McCann, Inc. 1963). This book looks at Castile from the reign of Enrique IV (briefly) through the reign of Charles V (even more briefly), with the bulk of its concentration on the life and work of Isabel I and the ordeals endured and resisted by Juana. Relying on the documentation discovered in the Archives of Simancas by nineteenth-century scholar Gustave R. Bergenroth, Miller was unique in being an English-language author with an interest in Juana; even more unique in that interest being utterly sympathetic; and more unique yet in seriously questioning whether Juana was unstable, and if so, at what stages and degrees during her life. He was the equivalent of Paul Murray Kendall in his approach to Juana.

More recently, two women have explored existing but somewhat disregarded documentation to renew questions raised by Miller, and to explore them with more of a specialist's eye. Bethany Aram wrote a study on Juana in Spanish, which was translated into English: *La Reina Juana: Gobierno, Piedad Y Dinastía* (Marcial Pons Historia, 2016, originally published in 2001) | *Juana the Mad, Sovereignty and Dynasty in Renaissance Europe* (Johns Hopkins, 2006). Gillian Fleming contributed *Juana I Legitimacy and Conflict in Sixteenth-Century Castile* as part of the *Queenship and Power* series (Palgrave MacMillan, 2018).

They came away with a startling and frightening conclusion: that Juana, very likely, was not unstable, but was being presented as such almost as

⁶ See Fleming, pages 25-27 for a full discussion of historical views on Juana's sanity.

soon as tragedy catapulted her into the position as heir presumptive to her parents' kingdoms. The reason for this was that Juana was the direct holder of authority and power for Castile and eventually Aragón. Her husband, Philip the Handsome, was a consort. Her father, widower and former consort of Isabel I, was only the regent in Castile, which meant he should have retired from governing Castile or acted only as advisor for his daughter. Her son was heir presumptive, without power as long as Juana lived. The only way to legitimately claim her power was to create the impression that she was unequipped to do so. Therefore, the push to view Juana as insane began to make inroads very early in her political career.

Juana's life touched some of those who touched Richard's: she came to know Manoel of Portugal; Margaret of York; Henry Tudor. Her husband's mother was Mary of Burgundy. The main reason for her marriage was to fence in Louis XI of France. Her husband helped decide the fate of Edmund de la Pole.

Is there, as with Richard, a possible figure of Juana that can successfully stand, as a living, dimensional person, opposite the compelling legend that has entangled her? Can we part the Tonypandy and see Juana?

BACKGROUND

Like Edward IV of England, Isabel I came to the throne as the victor of an extended struggle against a rival. Like Edward, her rival was a relation, her niece, named Juana. Like Isabel, her husband Fernando also came to the throne as the victor of an extended struggle, though this struggle was against his father's rebellious subjects. Unlike any other royal married couple at this time, both Isabel and Fernando were ruling monarchs. Isabel was only Fernando's consort in Aragón. Fernando was only Isabel's consort in Castile.

Of the two, Castile was larger and more politically significant. Aragón, though smaller, was more connected to politics beyond the Iberian Peninsula. Both territories had suffered from a series of incompetent rulers. The religious diversity in Spain bred poisonous prejudice, terrorism, and fed the view of the Spanish kingdoms as exotic and somewhat savage.

For Isabel and Fernando, the concepts of unity, working in harness, unbreakable bonds, were vital. Their motto "*Tanto Monta, Monta Tanto*" was the root of everything that helped them succeed. Conjoined but separate, Castile and Aragón would unite under their son and create a unified entity. Simple, bone-deep, undeniable, this concept of unity and unbreakable ties would become ingrained in at least three, and arguably all, of their children. Eventually, forced to choose between Fernando and Henry VIII, Catherine would choose her husband. With even more at stake, and with painful repercussions, Juana would also choose her husband ... until she would not.



CHILDHOOD

There were five surviving children: young Isabel, born in 1470, while her mother was still fighting for her position as Castile's heir; Juan, the only boy, born in 1478; Juana, born in 1479; Maria, the survivor of a pair of twins, born in 1482; and Catalina, born in 1485.

Young Isabel, eight years older than her nearest sibling, stood apart from the others. She also spent a couple of years in Portugal - one of the

terms reached by treaty after the last efforts of Isabel I's rival. While there, she got to know and like her fiancé, Afonso. Juan, as the son and heir, also stood apart, with his own household and specialized lessons in governing, similar to the lifestyle of Edward V of England and later, Arthur.

Despite this, it seems to have been a close family: unlike England or France, the Spanish kingdoms had no fixed capital city, so the family spent a lot of time traveling, depending on situation or desire. Both Isabel and Fernando strongly believed in educating their children, understanding that they would be sending their daughters into the world to represent the best that Spain had to offer; and that these daughters would also be representing Spanish interests abroad. Bethany Aram and Gillian Fleming have highlighted some passages which give us enough to give us something of what Juana was like growing up:

She was very bright. In 1494, the German Physician Hieronymus Münzer traveled, with a couple of companions, to Spain and was able to visit the royal family. Juana, he mentions:

“is very well educated—for her age and sex—and writes both prose and poetry. She is fourteen years old, and she dedicates herself entirely to her studies. Her teacher, a certain brother of the Order of Preachers, a venerable old man, praises her very much, and wished me to remain while she recited, but I could not for lack of time.”⁷

She was also passionately fond of music⁸, and owned several instruments as well as at least one songbook, which she acquired in Flanders.⁹ It's intriguing that she had an interest in creative writing; and it only builds on frustration that we don't have any of that writing, and so little correspondence, from her. We know she spoke Latin and French.

It wasn't all serious study: Isabel and Fernando seemed to have been involved and concerned parents, and tried to give their children personal attention. There is a story about Isabel lecturing Juan about sharing and giving away things he was through with them, after he had failed to do so¹⁰. The year 1492 was a momentous (and ultimately very negative) one: Moorish Granada surrendered; Columbus began his first voyage; the Jews were expelled from their homeland. Despite this, Fernando took the time, while in Barcelona, to buy dolls as a Christmas present for his girls. Juana had at least two girl-friends. Gillian Fleming quotes from a letter from one, Maria Manrique Chacón. Composed during Juana's first couple of years in Flanders, and complaining about not getting any letters, Maria Chacón reminds her about an incident involving toasted chickpeas Juana gave to Maria that made her sick.¹¹ It sounds like, amid all the earnest study, there was time for play, freedom, and mischief.

Later, an adult Juana would write asking Isabel to send over a Spanish woman of good reputation to warn Juana about losing her temper¹². We do

7 Online English transcription of "Munzer's Travels in Spain and Portugal": <http://munzerama.blogspot.com/2017/04/hieronymous-munzer-journey-through.html>

8 Miller, page 163

9 Fleming, page 398. For a view of one of Juana's songbooks, see this website: <https://patrimonioediciones.com/portfolio-item/song-book-of-joanna-the-mad/?lang=en>

10 Rubin, Nancy, page 272.

11 Fleming, page 66.

not hear anything about this hot temper during her childhood—In fact, we have at least one incident where she seems calmer than her mother in a crisis. Roughly translated from the source, here is the story, which took place during a pleasure trip in 1494, near Aranjuez, with the royal family and their entourage:

“... the most serene infant Doña Juana, lost control of her mule; both fell into the river. Though the strong current threatened to carry both away, and even though she was only a young girl, with great courage, she swam with the mule, red as a rose;... and the Catholic Queen began to shout for help, and some did so, but Vergara, who was away from the king, as he saw, threw himself courageously into the water, and, swimming, came and took the mule by the rein, and pulled it out of the river, and brought it to safety, to the great joy of their Majesties...”¹³

We have to thank Oviedo for this vivid memory of Isabel the First of Castile, panicked and shouting for help, like any mother distressed at seeing her child in danger, and of Juana, fending for herself and her mule as well as she can, “red as a rose”, and brave enough not to go into a panic herself (though she may have once she was safely ashore).

There are, we see, enough hints to form a tentative picture of Juana before her marriage: we see a studious girl, enthusiastic about learning. She has a facility with language and music. She enjoys creating her own poetry and other writing. She may or may not have a tendency toward introversion, but does have friends: she has the company of her younger sisters to play and compete with; and she has a few friends outside the family, with whom she can get up to fun and mischief. She can think quickly in a crisis, take action, and remember that she isn’t alone in the crisis, even if her companion isn’t human. It’s sad to think that she would probably have had a happier life with a career like Christina de Pisan’s, or her mother’s own Latin tutor, Beatriz Galindo.

There’s one persistent rumor to examine: when Bergenroth uncovered the documents at Simancas, he came to the conclusion that Juana, before her departure from Spain, was exhibiting signs of religious rebellion and that Isabel resorted to torture to beat the heresy out of her daughter. It’s nearly impossible that this ever happened: the evidence is from a letter written in about 1521 by Juana’s jailor, the Marques de Denia, in an attempt to justify his and Charles’ treatment of Juana. There’s no contemporary evidence of this happening. Local chroniclers like Pedro Martir weren’t shy about criticizing the royal family or their children; Martir, in particular, knew Juana from childhood on; he disliked her intensely during her difficult years as queen. If he could have reported Juana’s “disobedience” to her faith and family, he would have. In addition, and taking family feeling out of the question, a royal female body was a valuable commodity, made for breeding heirs. You didn’t maltreat an asset like this.

This is Juana up at least to her departure from Spain at the age of 16. So far, there’s no hint of the infamously unstable Juana la Loca. It’s safe to guess that, if there had been, her parents wouldn’t have made her part of one of their grandest matrimonial schemes.

¹² Fleming, page 82.

¹³ Oviedo, pages 223-224.

TIES THAT BIND

The first marriage to be arranged was a result of resolving the question of Isabel I's right to the crown of Castile. Portugal had been actively supporting the claim of Isabel's niece; this had culminated in an extended war. Fernando had a victory at the Battle of Toro; Portugal's king retreated, and, during the spring of 1479, pregnant with Juana, Isabel sat down to negotiate terms with her Portuguese aunt, Beatriz de Avis. The troublesome and much-burdened niece was relegated to a convent in Portugal, and young Isabel was reluctantly surrendered to the custody of the Portuguese royal family as a sort of guarantor of terms. The nine-year old infanta was betrothed to the four-year old Portuguese heir, Afonso. The children lived together for about three years. Young Isabel returned to Castile in 1483. In 1490, she became the bride of young Afonso, and once again went to live in Portugal. Seven months later, Afonso was killed in a horse-riding accident, and young Isabel returned to her family in a state of devastation she never really recovered from. She refused to consider another marriage, begged to join a convent, and lived in total despair. She finally did marry Afonso's successor, Manoel, in 1497, but Juana was already in Flanders by then. The last she ever saw of her eldest sister was as a young woman in unrelievable mourning.



Juana herself had been slated as a bride for Philip Hapsburg from about 1488. Her task was a difficult and delicate one: Fernando's kingdom of Aragón had a long history of conflict with France, and his grand strategy for Aragón at this time was to form a ring of allies against France. To that end, he negotiated a double wedding with the Emperor Maximilian: Maximilian's daughter, Margaret, would marry Juan, son of Isabel and Fernando. Juana would marry Philip, son of Maximilian.



The Catholic Kings must have been aware of the complicated situation between Maximilian and Philip: Philip's mother was Mary of Burgundy. As the only child of Charles the Bold, Mary became heir to his title and his troubles with Louis XI. Mary chose her own husband, Maximilian. Her early death from a horse accident threw the four-year-old Philip and his sister Margaret into the conflict with France. One of the results of the broken family was that Maximilian lost custody of Philip, whose upbringing included a tendency to favor France politically. This would not only result in conflicts between father and son but also create a party that would oppose an alliance with the Catholic Kings.¹⁴ Isabel and Fernando must have been aware that delicate and intelligent handling would be required for a daughter in Hapsburg territory to carry out their interests. They must have had faith enough in Juana, since she was the one they proposed to represent them, and not their remaining undeclared daughter, Maria.

As part of the agreement for this double marriage, parents of the brides and grooms agreed there would be no dowry. Instead, both Margaret and Juana would be paid 20,000 gold ecus annually, courtesy of their new home kingdom¹⁵. This decision would go very badly for Juana.

Sent off in a gigantic and magnificent fleet, meant to impress the other European powers, Juana left Spain on August 22, 1496. She was 16 years

¹⁴ Fleming, page 44.

¹⁵ Fleming, page 38.

old, scholarly, somewhat mischievous, proud, and physically daring. She carried with her the political and family ambitions of a tenuously-joined Castile and Aragón trying to prove themselves on the global stage in a way that hadn't been possible before. Definitely, at this stage in her life, she was not Juana la Loca.

I agree with Aram and Fleming (and before them Miller), that, at least during her active participation of events, she never was Juana la Loca, and will look at her early married life, and at the series of tragedies that propelled her and Philip into their own tragedy in the next issue.

Commentary: Dr. Kincaid's Resuscitation of Sir George Buc

Dr. A. Compton Reeves

Arthur N. Kincaid, PhD, who died in 2022, set himself the task of rescuing the reputation of Sir George Buc, who Kincaid regarded as having been treated unkindly by posterity. Kincaid was a scholar of English literature, and Sir George Buc, who died in 1622, had written among other works, *The History of King Richard the Third*. *Richard the Third* stands very early in the effort to rescue the reputation of King Richard III from the generally negative opinions that prevailed in Buc's time about the last king of the Yorkist dynasty. Kincaid himself, as a member of the Richard III Society, was keen on a fair interpretation of Richard III. Moreover, Kincaid demonstrated that Buc's *Richard the Third* had been misrepresented in the public domain.

The History of King Richard the Third (1619), by Sir George Buc and edited by Arthur Kincaid, was published in 2023 by The Society of Antiquaries of London with the support of the membership of the Richard III Society. Annette Carson collaborated in the end to bring Kincaid's work to publication. The objective of this essay is to provide readers of the 2023 edition with a context for appreciating the work of both Buc and Kincaid. Initially, it is worth noting that *The History of King Richard the Third* was not brought to a final draft before Buc's death, and Kincaid made a diligent effort to make his edition into what he thought Sir George was working toward.

The family name of Sir George was customarily spelled 'Buck'. However, Sir George preferred Buc because he believed that his family name had come from the town of Lisle de Buc in Flanders, and that his family had been established in England by a Sir Walter Buck, a descendant of the earls of Flanders who had entered the service of King John as a military commander. Buc was pleased with his pedigree, believing that his status as a gentleman came to him from his ancestry. Buc was also pleased with the military tradition of his family. It was a family tradition, about which Buc had doubts, that his great-grandfather, Sir John Buck, had been Controller of the House under Richard III. Buc was more confident that Sir John Buck was attainted and executed for supporting King Richard at the Battle of Bosworth in 1485. Young Buc was educated at Higham

Ferrers in Northamptonshire and may have continued his education in Chichester where the family moved and where Buc's father became Steward and Auditor. There is evidence that George went to Cambridge for further education before going on to the Inns of Court for legal training. Buc's father, Robert Buck, who died in 1577, had a connection with the Howard family that proved beneficial to George.

George Buc was thus continuing a family connection with the Howards by serving Lord Admiral Charles Howard, earl of Nottingham (d. 1624). Buc credits the Lord Admiral with his entry into the service of Queen Elizabeth, for whom Buc had tremendous admiration. In 1587 Buc was an envoy to France, and the following year he served under Lord Admiral Howard against the Spanish Armada. Howard later assisted Buc in becoming MP for Gatton, Surrey, in 1593 and 1597. Under Lord Admiral Howard's ultimate command, Buc served on the ship of Sir Walter Raleigh in the 1596 expedition that destroyed the Spanish fleet at Cadiz. By 1599 Buc had become Esquire of the Body and in 1601 Queen Elizabeth chose him to communicate with the English command besieging Ostend, then occupied by the Spanish. It was under King James I in 1603 that Buc became a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, was knighted, and became Master of the Revels. The Master of the Revels was responsible for various ceremonies, banquets, dances, games, and plays that were part of life at the royal court. The Master of the Revels selected what was to be performed, supervised rehearsals, had responsibility for maintaining the wardrobe of costumes and equipment, and rendered accounts. It was a challenging office, and Buc held it until his health failed. He died on All Hallows Eve 1622. Buc knew William Shakespeare but wrote nothing about the play *Richard III*. Buc sought truth not fiction; fiction and poetry did not offer proof for the antiquarian mind.

Buc managed to find time to be an author. He produced more writing than his work on King Richard III. He was a poet of modest talent in English and Latin, and Buc is survived by three historical works. There exist also references to writings that are lost. Readers curious about London could examine Buc's *The Third Universitie* published in 1615. *The Third Universitie* is dedicated to the legal scholar Sir Edward Coke (d. 1634). Buc was able to consult with Coke and other men like himself who had antiquarian interests, such as Sir Robert Cotton (d. 1631), William Camden (d. 1623), John Stow (d. 1605), and John Selden (d. 1654). Our present interest is *The History of King Richard the Third*. It was not published in Buc's lifetime. The three known nearly complete manuscript copies are British Library MS. Egerton 2216, Bodleian MS. Malone 1, and Fisher Manuscript, Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto. British Library MS. Cotton Tiberius E. X is fire damaged but shows some revisions by Buc. Thoughts of the Cotton library fire of 1731 cause anguish for medievalists.

After Buc's death his *Richard the Third* fell into the hands of his great-nephew. Buc had a sister called Cecilia, who married William Buck (no relation) of Lincolnshire. Cecilia and William had a son named Stephen, who in turn had a son named George Buck (d. 1645), thus the great-nephew of the author of *Richard the Third*. Great-nephew George produced a shorter, altered version of Buc's research that has remained available to the detriment of Buc's actual work as well as to Buc's reputation. The great-nephew's version was first published in 1646 and

was issued again in 1647. This corrupted version was published yet again in 1973. Arthur Kincaid rallied with a publication of Buc's original work in 1979, but confusion remained. Matters rested there until 2023.

In the 2023 edition of *The History of King Richard the Third*, Kincaid discusses at length and in detail the changes Buck made to his great-uncle's work and Kincaid has no praise for the changes. Kincaid in his introduction of 170 pages covers many aspects of the story of the dominance of the great-nephew's version, how it has been incorporated into other histories of England, and how critics have found fault with the great-nephew's version of the *History*. Buc had a negative opinion of King Henry VII and his supporters. Buc considered Henry VII to have been a traitor because he rose in arms against his sovereign, a crime against God, man, and his king. Buc, who was a firm supporter of the authority of parliament, used the *Titulus Regius* to argue for Richard III's just title to the throne. Buc despised Bishop John Morton of Ely and thought the bishop a malign influence on King Henry. Buc also had no kind thoughts for the duke of Buckingham who rebelled against King Richard. The printed text of Buc's *History* runs to 215 pages and is supported by several pages of textual notes together with 124 pages of general notes. Kincaid's scholarship is abundantly evident.

The objective in reading this book cannot be for a twenty-first century reader to learn something new about King Richard III. The objective rather should be to discover the reasoned analysis of an early seventeenth-century antiquarian as he approached the life and reign of King Richard III. The reader will also be impressed by Dr. Kincaid's devotion to the resuscitation of Sir George Buc.

Reviews

Myrna Smith, Pauline Calkin

Household Goods and Good Households in Late Medieval London: Consumption and Domesticity After the Plague. Katherine L. French. University of Pennsylvania Press. Philadelphia. 2021

The term 'late medieval' can be loosely defined to apply to the period just before the Great Plague of the mid-14th century, to the couple of centuries after. It is almost an article of faith among historians that this - the terrible bubonic plague - was a pivotal event during this time, since the high mortality resulted in a shortage of labor, which was in the long run a benefit to the working classes. It never seems to occur to anyone that there was also a shortage of employers, a shortage of producers, a shortage of farmers, a shortage of goods, of consumers—in short, shortages of everything

In any case, the individuals who provided the data upon which this thesis generally, and this book in particular was based are more the employer class; businessmen small and otherwise. They might run the gamut from those who lived in one room, with or without a hearth, to those who might own a townhouse and a couple of country houses, in different parts of the country. These were no doubt outliers. There is also an undercurrent of sadness to all of this. Inventories were made on occasions such as probating of a will (when a testator died), the declaration of bankruptcy (when somebody's goods had to be sold to satisfy his creditors,

or conviction of a crime (when goods were seized for punitive reasons). Nevertheless, these lists of, well, stuff, are important, because there is not much direct archaeological evidence of the things Londoners owned, since much ended up in the Thames, and there is no way of knowing exactly where or who it came from.

Another source would be found in illustrations from manuscript books as well as the new-fangled printing press. Annunciations of the Virgin were especially rich sources for the furnishing of typical households. The author has included some of these, as well as photographs of various artifacts, including Henry VII's bed and Richard III's Middleham Jewel. Not that these were typical, but they doubtless followed typical patterns. As a rule, however, no scale is given. One exception is holy-water stoups. The ones made for home use were really tiny.

In a volume based mainly on lists, it is difficult to avoid a certain dryness of style. She does give evidence of having a sense of humor, as when she muses on the wisdom of a householder keeping his arms and ammo in his servants' rooms, or vice versa. She also has a fair amount of common sense, as in identifying the reason for women testators describing their goods more fully than the men did. When you stop to think about it, a man making his will would usually make his widow his executor, but a woman making a will was most likely a widow, and her executor might not live in the same household, and might now know where particular items were kept. On the other hand, she is sometimes borders on becoming Captain Obvious. She also cannot be absolved of writing in Academese, which can probably not be avoided in some fields, but this is not rocket science. The concept of 'household goods' is one we are all familiar with, and we know about 'sentimental value,' the value Grandma's prayer book has just because it was Grandma's. Is it any more valuable if we call it 'affective value'?

But overall, this was an enjoyable as well as informative read. Did you know that Medieval householders often coded their bedsteads by number, which would seem to require their servants to be numerate, if not literate? This was necessary because beds were not standardized in size, so neither were mattresses, and neither were linens. Sheets were often put together in panels, so that worn areas could be replaced without discarding an entire sheet. On the other hand, saints were mass-produced and thus could be standardized.—I mean, of course, small figurines of saints, a few inches tall, and usually imported from England's main trading partners, the Low Countries and France. (Why did England not have a domestic industry to produce such? Maybe this would be something for a possible future doctoral thesis for some promising academic.) —M.S.

At the Court of Broken Dreams. Laurence Baillie Brown. Independently published. 2022

This is the story of Eddie De-la-Pole, the fictional younger son of William de la Pole and Alice Chaucer, aka Beloved Mother or B.M. To paraphrase the author's blurb, Eddie is disgruntled, sardonic, and bisexual, nurturing a bromance with Anthony Woodville until separated by the queen. "How will [he] choose between his beloved friend and the rising, sinister star of the dynastic firmament, Richard, Duke of Gloucester?" I must admit

that the “sinister star” bit did not exactly fill my Ricardian heart with eager anticipation, but I plunged ahead.

At the age of 16, Eddie fights for York at Towton where he is overwhelmed by the magnificent beauty of Edward IV. As the youngest fighter on the field, Eddie is rewarded with a knighthood. For some reason, the author has Clarence, said to be slightly older than Eddie, take part in the battle, although Eddie sneeringly observed that he did not do much. (Eddie does a lot of sneering.) Clarence was 11 years old at the time and was in exile in Burgundy along with brother Richard (said to be a bit too young to take part in the battle, but a real scrapper). What was the point in making them older than they actually were? None, in my opinion since they were barely mentioned in the first two-thirds of the book. And whenever Richard is mentioned, a reference to his physical deformity is invariably made. “He of the hog, shorter, body twisted, bending forwards ...” (Later, he explains that Richard’s higher shoulder occurred as a result of a difficult birth. Where did this come from? Rous? It was adolescent onset scoliosis.).

In the next section of the book, Eddie goes off to administer the family’s estate around Hull while his dullard brother, John, Duke of Suffolk, marries the plain and dumpy Elizabeth of York and they go on to produce a bunch of children. At the wedding of his brother, Eddie notices Richard with “one shoulder slightly higher than the other and a keen look on a face just as expressive, if a mite less handsome than his brothers. It was a strong expression: intelligent, and very self-assured for one so young. I dismissed it, but could not forget it.” Maybe there’s hope that Richard’s star may not turn out to be quite so sinister, I told myself.

Because his formidable Beloved Mother wants some precise knowledge of court happenings—and because she can’t trust her older son to know what is happening even in front of his eyes, she directs Eddie to leave Hull and go to court. There, he becomes enthralled by Margaret of York—the only woman he says he would ever want to marry—and by the wonderful Anthony Woodville. The former is far beyond his station and is to be married to the Charles the Bold in any case. The latter is decidedly heterosexual. Eddie accompanies Anthony as they escort Margaret to Burgundy to be married. Charles and Margaret fall instantly in love and lust with each other—a slightly unusual take on their relationship, I think. Meanwhile, Eddie and Anthony become blood brothers when they join the Fellowship of the Knights of the Round Table along with Louis de Gruuthuse and Rene d’ Anjou, father of Marguerite, who also happens to be in town for the wedding.

Eddie and his beloved Anthony take part in the battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury. Edward IV has Anthony assist the inexperienced Richard in commanding the vanguard at Tewkesbury, and Anthony orders on his own initiative the attack of the spearmen that saved the day for the Yorkists. Gee, I didn’t think Anthony was even present at Tewkesbury. (At this point on January 4, I abandoned my New Year’s resolution to limit my wine intake.) Meanwhile, Richard proves eager in carrying out Edward’s orders to execute Somerset et.al. at Tewkesbury and then Henry VI, Eddie and Anthony nicknaming him the Dispatcher as a result.

Thereafter, Eddie accompanies Anthony on a pilgrimage to Rome and en route they stop in Florence and meet Lorenzo who introduces them to

Leonardo da Vinci. Pope Sixtus IV favors Botticelli. Eddie seems to be shaken to the core that Anthony's business in Rome is to discuss a possible dispensation for Princess Elizabeth to marry Henry Tudor. How can Edward do this when the princess is already betrothed to the dauphine of France? Shock and horror.

Eddie's world is shattered when Anthony must go to Ludlow as the newly appointed governor of the nine-year old Prince of Wales. Eddie cannot go along, the queen feeling he would not be a proper companion. Eddie leaves in a huff and can you guess where he ends up? As a deputy for East Riding attached to the Duke of Gloucester. Even though he and Anthony had developed a distaste for Richard, he was determined to do his duty and to his surprise is impressed with Richard's performance in the North where he was held in high regard. At council meetings, he was straight, clear, and effective. He treated Eddie with respect and gave him great responsibilities, something that the king had never done. Richard was also truly pious. "Loyalty wins loyalty, more deeply than beauty and fine words. And Richard—whose motto was 'Loyaulte me lie'—was to prove as good as his." Eddie was in London at the time of Edward IV's death and wrote to Richard warning him to come with all haste there because the queen intended to remain in control of the young king. While Hastings was loyal to the young Edward V, Eddie believed that a strong protector was needed so pledged his loyalty to Duke Richard. He did nothing, however, to save his beloved Anthony, but regretted his inaction for years afterward. Although he had loved Edward IV, he discovered that he should never have been king—yes, it's that old canard that some authors seem to love. Edward IV's father was the Captain of Calais, Blaybourne. One of his varlets informed him that Blaybourne had had a big red strawberry birthmark on the back of his thigh—a birthmark that Eddie had seen on Edward IV.

Richard proved to be a good king, and in Eddie's estimation a canny politician, but when his son died Eddie saw an opportunity for his nephew, John De-la-Pole. During this time, Eddie met and often sought the wise counsel of Rabbi Abraham, an ambassador from the court of King Ferran, consort to the Queen of Castile. The Rabbi foresaw a great time for England, for the De-la-Poles and for the Jews if Richard defeated Tudor. "There will be a great flowering of the new learning—which will not favour the Catholic Church. Your nephews will be great men and the king will revoke the expulsion edict of Edward I and welcome my race back to England...."

When Richard was defeated, Eddie wanted to do as Richard instructed—to proclaim his nephew John De-la-Pole king and have him marry Elizabeth of York. Elizabeth of York was having none of it. She might have married Richard because he was a strong man and could have been a great king, but she would marry the victor, Henry VII, not a stripling, "not even a De-la-Pole stripling." Eddie goes into exile, the book ending years later when he converts to Judaism and becomes a blood brother to his beloved Rabbi Abraham. All this in secret so as not to harm the chances of his nephew, Richard De-la-Pole in a potential bid for the crown.

I found Eddie's witty observations and his interactions with B.M. to be amusing, although I could have done with fewer puns: e.g. "This was becoming rather more than real; sir-real, you might call it," or, the king of France was driven "insane (in Seine. Probably.)" Reading this work could

be exasperating because of the author's overuse of parenthetical phrases and rambling sentences. Eddie's account of events often reads like a history report, a l. And then there were the numerous errors, trivial and major, unintended and deliberate. Besides Clarence being present at Towton and Anthony Woodville being the hero of Tewkesbury, we are told that the youngest York daughter, Ursula, entered a convent. No, she died in infancy. Another unforced error, and believe me, there were others. This is a work of fiction and some literary license is acceptable, but all these errors just drove me crazy.

Finally, Eddie's "conversions" to become Richard's supporter as well to Judaism were interesting, but not convincing. They were just too abrupt and underdeveloped. Eddie's breakup with Anthony takes place on pages 280-283 (of a 373 page book) and by page 289 he was Richard's man. Rabbi Abraham also makes a late appearance about the same time. Eddie's story gave me some laughs, and was intellectually engaging in parts, but, with his detached attitude toward the rest of humanity, it never touched my heart.—P.C.

The Godmother's Secret. Elizabeth St. John. Falcon Historical. 2022

The simmering conflict between Lancaster and York has just erupted into open warfare. Elysabeth Scrope has family relationships linking her to both houses. A Lancastrian herself, she is the wife of the Yorkist John Scrope of Bolton, the half-sister of Margaret Beaufort, and the cousin of Henry Stafford, the Duke of Buckingham. Her stepdaughter, Meg Zouche, is married to Will Catesby.

Now in autumn of 1470, King Edward IV is in exile and Henry VI is back in power. At Margaret Beaufort's suggestion, Henry VI orders Elysabeth to attend Edward's queen who is in sanctuary and awaiting the birth of a child. Elysabeth is also directed to become the child's godmother. She is troubled when she hears the king say, "She will follow my instructions, Margaret? Ensure there is no heir to York's throne?" (She also hears the king designate Margaret's son as his heir if his own son dies) Having recently lost an infant son herself, Elysabeth takes swift action to save both mother and child when she sees the queen is having a difficult labor and the midwife is drunk. The child born is a boy, Prince Edward, the heir of York. She takes the sacred godmother's vow to protect him from evil, to show him the light, and protect him from all those who wish him harm. "My godson. My son from God. God has granted me a son to love as my own lost boy." From the time she takes this vow, the prince and his family become her family too.

When Edward IV reclaims the throne by his victories at Barnet and Tewkesbury, Elysabeth is reunited with her beloved husband who had fought alongside Richard, Duke of Gloucester.

The story then jumps ahead to the spring of 1483. Elysabeth has remained close to Prince Edward and his younger brother Dickon who are allowed to spend some time each year at Bolton Castle with Elysabeth and John. These are idyllic interludes for the princes who are able to be just normal boys, hawking with John and joining in the dancing at the Hocktide festivities.

But Shortly after they leave and John is off overseeing his estates, Elysabeth receives an urgent message from Richard commanding both Elysabeth and John to come to Middleham with an armed troop, reminding her of her sacred vow and warning that Prince Edward is in danger. Because John is not there, she has to decide whether she should go by herself. A theme of this book is Sovereignty. What do women desire most? Sovereignty, the right to make their own decisions. And she exercises that right and decides to go to meet Richard and she rides with him to Northampton to meet her godson, now King Edward. The first meeting between the young king and Richard is propitious. Richard promises to guide his nephew and be Lancelot to his King Arthur. "This is our chance to create history, Ned. We can show people that the old ways are not always the best and that there is always opportunity to bring new ideas to light. I favour justice and equality, fairness and fair play. Would you agree?" However, no one bothers to explain to Elysabeth or Ned the happenings leading to Richard's accession to the crown. Elysabeth ends up damning Richard of Gloucester for what he has done to her dear boys, for both have ended up in the tower.

While Richard, accompanied by John, are on a progress, Elysabeth becomes entangled in plotting with her sister Margaret to remove the princes from the tower. Elysabeth naively believes that the goal is to send the boys to their aunt, the Duchess of Burgundy. When the attempt fails, Elysabeth acts to remove the princes herself. In the end Richard bequeaths her Sovereignty to make the decision on how to save the princes. Whether she made the right decision is a secret—a secret she keeps from Margaret and her son, Henry VII

While the history is pretty wonky especially in the beginning (i.e., omitting any mention of Warwick, the Kingmaker, from the events of 1470-1471), I think I understand that the author wanted to simplify the narrative and focus attention on the relationship between Elysabeth and Margaret. This was an enjoyable read. Though highly doubtful it happened as described, I like to think that the princes, whatever their ultimate fates were, did experience some happy times as portrayed in this book. The themes of her godmother's vow and of Sovereignty are nicely woven into the plot. It is entirely believable when she becomes estranged from John as a result of her plotting, but in the end she becomes reconciled to him as well as to Richard, whom they both mourn. "His beloved king. My beloved king. Gone."—P.C.

The Colour of Poison and The Colour of Gold. Collector's Edition. Toni Mount. MadeGlobal Publishing. 2022.

Do you think "Sebastian" is too posh a name for a humble medieval man who happens to be a talented book illustrator and sometimes detective? And how about the last name Foxley? A character too sneaky and sly? Well, Toni Mount's creative writing instructor thought so, but she stood her ground and Sebastian Foxley became the hero in a series of medieval mysteries beloved by many. I don't know exactly how many but there should be more.

If you aren't familiar with this mystery series, you are in for a treat with the Collector's Edition of the *The Colour of Poison & The Colour of Gold*, the debut novel and the first novella in the series. In *The Colour of Poison*,

Seb must solve a murder to save his brother from the hangman's noose. He is helped by Sir Robert Percy and Richard, Duke of Gloucester who becomes his patron. When the disappearance of a valuable collar threatens to mar Seb's wedding to Emily in *The Colour of Gold*, Richard intervenes to make a generous loan and, of course, Seb solves the mystery.

If you are already fans, this edition contains not only information about the origins of the series but an essay on the pigments (some poisonous) used by medieval illustrators, a medieval map of Seb's neighborhood and other illustrations, and some fun quizzes. (As one of those readers who was skeptical of Seb's physical transformation when I originally read this book, I now have been convinced by the author's story.) We even get to read letters from some of the characters. What is a proper wedding gift for Seb and Emily, a fretting Duke of Gloucester asks his friend Rob Percy. The real bonus for me was to take a fresh look at the beginning of Seb's story. It was poignant to realize what happened to Emily and Seb's relationship after it began with such promise. As for brother Jude, I was reminded what a profound effect his suffering and his own guilt must have had on him. Finally, I enjoyed that Rob Percy had a prominent role as Richard's best friend, while I relished what a delicious villain Francis Lovel was—contemptuous of the hot polloi and contemptuous of "our Dickon's" regard for them. For these many reasons, I recommend this edition.—P.C.

The Colour of Bone. Toni Mount. MadeGlobal Publishing. 2022

Those of us who have been following his activities for the last several years realize that Sebastian Foxley, book illuminator and portrait painter, will never be able to devote himself entirely to his art or to a blissful family life. No, he will always be called upon to solve a murder or two and to deal with professional problems and family squabbles. He will have to endure his irascible brother Jude. In this latest adventure, Jude's treatment of his brother has become even nastier as a result of the crippling injuries he sustained saving Seb's life in *The Colour of Rubies*. But I ask you, isn't it a bit much to ask of Seb to have to solve three grisly murders, discover the bloody body of a person within his family circle, stop an arsonist, all while having to answer a suit against him brought by the London guild of Limners and Painters? The usually equable Seb shows signs of strain as he snaps at all those around him. Of course, being Seb he seeks God's forgiveness for being so short tempered.

Thaddeus Turner, the City Bailiff and Seb's friend, asks for his help when the body of a young novice is discovered at St. Helen's Church in Bishopgate. During the course of a major construction project the tomb of the priory's founder, William Goldsmith, was being moved and it was here under a stone slab covering the tomb that the bones were found. Now Seb knows a thing or two about bones as he has been studying skeletons in order to improve his portrait painting à la Leonardo Da Vinci, and also notices that the founder's skeleton is that of a woman. (Incidentally, Leonardo was born in 1452, the same year as Richard III.) Also, in the tomb, Seb finds a scrap of textile that had apparently been torn off the garment of the killer. It is a badge of a white boar—the cognizance of Seb's patron, Richard, Duke of Gloucester. The killer must be a person serving the duke, and a high-born person at that since expensive silver thread was

used in the embroidery. The Duke is in residence at Crosby Place, which borders St. Helen's, and Seb approaches the Duke in order to question members of his household. Both the Duke and Rob Percy are a little tetchy where the integrity of the duke's squires is concerned, but, of course, cooperate with the investigation. Suspicion soon focuses on four body squires, and in particular Harry Nightingale who has disappeared. The other three initially describe Harry as the best of them, but as Seb digs deeper, he discovers that it is not all good fellowship at Crosby Place. Rather, there is resentment that Harry is the Duke's pet and prejudice because he comes from a merchant family.

Without giving too much away, two more murders are committed at Crosby Place. The discovery of one is described in wrenching detail: the victim is found in a state of complete decomposition in the dung heap behind the stables. Counterbalanced against this horror, is the scene where the local apothecary and wise woman—the only one who can stand the stench—lovingly strips and bathes the body. “As she washed the dead, she kept up a muted conversation, telling him his loved ones would miss him dear and mourn his passing, how his soul would be prayed for most earnestly. ‘And justice will be done, never you fear,’ she told him, ‘You don’t know him but I do and you can rely upon Master Seb to see the devil who did this to you suffers as he should.’”

Not only does Seb solve these murders, but identifies the pyromaniac. The latter's connection to the other crimes may be a bit too contrived, and if I had a very slight criticism, it would be that there is too much going on. But overall, the latest of Seb's adventures didn't let me down as the author deftly combines human interest with a good mystery. On the home front, not only is Seb faced with his brother's hostility, but his cousin Adam's resentment for spending more time on his investigations than in the workshop. But then Adam's world is upended by the appearance of someone thought to be dead. We also learn what takes place in a Lord Mayor's court proceeding and how late fifteenth century Londoners responded to fires. Finally, we are able to attend a banquet given by the Duke of Gloucester, and decide as Seb did that he is not nearly so solemn and straight-laced as he would have folks believe.—P.C.

Comments by M.S.—Sebastian Foley's wife doesn't understand him. Specifically, Rose can't understand why he spends so much time looking at desiccated skeletons. He protests that it helps him with his profitable sideline of painting portraits. In fact, he claims to be London's only portrait artist, not just a simple limner. But that's beside the point, although it will become an important point later. This story is concerned with another of Seb's sidelines—his work as assistant to the city bailiff.

How can Toni Mount follow up on a promising opening? Don't worry, she will. There will be a new development in every chapter, and another crime in many—not necessarily murder. There are a number of fires, one of which is in the property next door to Seb Foxley's own home, and Seb sustains a considerable loss. Thankfully, nobody dies, but it definitely turns out to be arson.

A classic detective story in the Holmes tradition, combined with a rousing adventure detective tale in the Spillane tradition—though I can't imagine a less Spillane-ish hero than Seb. Maybe Colombo would be a

better comparison. There are also touches of comedy along the way, such as when our hero loses his temper, his dignity, and his clothing, all in one fell swoop. There will also be developments in the Foxley household as well, not all of them welcomed by the householder. Did I mention, there is a bit of the cozy sub-genre mixed in here too? A triple-threat!

I, Richard Plantagenet, the Prequel: Crown in Exile. J.P. Reedman. Herne's Cave. 2023

The author's *I, Richard Plantagenet* novels are Richard III's first person account of his life from childhood until his death. *Crown in Exile* completes the series, covering the 6 month period when Richard shared his brother King Edward's exile in Burgundy until the eve of the battle of Barnet. There is not much action until their return to England, but the strength of the books is Richard telling his thoughts as he enters manhood. Although not a Gawain or Perceval, he sees himself a true knight sworn to protect women and loyal to Edward. He seeks his brother's approval and is jealous of his other intimate associates, Lord Hastings and Anthony Woodville. Readers of the series are acquainted with Richard's wry observations, and here Anthony Woodville is the target of some zingers. "I wondered where Anthony Woodville had landed with his contingent; I'd have hugged the man with joy if he had suddenly burst out of the murk, even if I had to listen to his poetry for the rest of the day."

Although Richard often prayed to St. Anthony to stay chaste as an unwed knight should, he explains that the saint was not listening and he does have a brief liaison with a maid in Louis Gruuthuse's household. Hohum, and Richard himself does not place much importance on the affair. The maid does not rival his former mistress Kate, nor the one to whom his thoughts often wander, his young cousin Anne Neville. Anne Neville now wed to his bitter enemy, the Lancastrian Prince of Wales. One of the highlights in the book is the scene where Richard and his sister Margaret have a heart-to-heart conversation about life and love. Margaret also shows herself as a skilled diplomat who is able to convince her contrary husband to support Edward's attempt to win back the English throne.

The events after Edward and Richard return to England are competently presented, although I have read more exciting and dramatic accounts. Considered as a stand alone book, it is good, and, more importantly, it is the last piece in an excellent series.—P.C.

Josephine Tey: A Life. Jennifer Morag Henderson. Sandstone Press. 2021 edition.

She was born Elizabeth MacKintosh, but she is known to connoisseurs of crime fiction and to Ricardians as Josephine Tey, the author of *The Daughter of Time*, and other highly regarded novels. As Gordon Daviot, she became a renowned playwright in London in the 1930's, writing *Richard of Bordeaux* which launched John Gielgud into superstardom. Her life story has been characterized as enigmatic. This well researched book gives us a much clearer picture of her life.

Tey's father came from the benighted northwest of Scotland to become a successful shopkeeper, a fruiterer, but he was always looked down on by Inverness society. Both he and her mother, Josephine, wanted their three daughters to have a good education and paid for Tey to attend a Physical Training College in England. Tey was an Anglophile and ended up working

as a teacher at several locations there. When her mother became ill and died in 1923, Tey returned to Inverness to keep house for her father—for almost the entirety of her life. While keeping house, she wrote poems, short stories, and novels. Her first novel *Kif* tells the story of a soldier back from the First World War. One of her sisters revealed that Tey had a romance with an unidentified soldier who died at the Battle of the Somme, and the author looks at the little bits of evidence to try to identify this young man. Perhaps, Gordon Barber, suggested by her later use of the pen name Gordon Daviot? (Daviot is a place name in the area.) Later in the 1920's she did have a romance with a returning soldier, Hugh Patrick Fraser, who was a fellow writer and poet, but he did not long survive.

As an unknown playwright, she found success when her play *Richard of Bordeaux* was a hit. She formed life-long friendships with people in the London theater scene, including John Gielgud. She is often characterized as a loner because she did not reveal much about her life in Inverness to her theater friends. In Inverness she had taken part in the writer's community with Fraser, but she didn't seem to have an active social life otherwise. She kept house, wrote, and attended the cinema twice a week. She visited her friends in England regularly, moved in theatrical circles and attended parties. Her life was compartmentalized.

The biography documents all her work and is in roughly chronological order focusing on the works she was producing at the time. In the early 1930's, she was writing plays: *Richard of Bordeaux*, *The Laughing Woman*, and *Queen of Scots*. But Alan Grant mysteries first appeared in this decade as well. During the Second World War, she worked on one act plays. Her best known work were her post-war crime novels and to these she attached the name Josephine Tey, rather than Gordon Daviot which she used for her plays. The switch does not indicate that she held crime novels in less regard than her plays. On the contrary, she said the detective novel was a "medium as disciplined as any sonnet."

The book unnecessarily goes into exhaustive detail about Tey's extended family in the beginning. It also repeats details needlessly. For example, almost every time Tey's friend Dodie Smith is mentioned, it is noted that she wrote *101 Dalmatians*. A major focus for the author is Tey's place as a Scottish author. Her work has been ignored in Scottish literary circles, perhaps, opines the author, because of a bias against the crime novel genre, but also because Tey never embraced the Scottish Nationalist cause. Indeed, she on occasion lampooned its adherents. In the posthumously published *The Singing Sands*, Alan Grant comes across one preaching the Nationalist cause in the highlands. "Wee Archie was wielding a shepherd's crook that...no shepherd would be found dead with, and he was wearing a kilt that no Highlander would dream of being found alive in."

While *The Daughter of Time* is her best-known work, all her mysteries are powerful stories that continue to be read and enjoyed. She belongs to the Golden Age of crime writing (1920-1950) and many critics believe she should be considered in the same category as Agatha Christie and Dorothy Sayers. This author believes she should be celebrated in Scotland. Reading about these detective novels has reminded me how much I enjoyed reading them, and I have started to re-read all of them.—P.C.

Comments by M.S.—Josephine Tey’s life story was a tripartite one—divided into thirds: Elisabeth MacKintosh, Phys Ed teacher, pitiful daughter; Gordon Daviot, playwright; Josephine Tey, novelist. Her biographer goes into some detail about each, even trying to track down the soldier who was ‘the love of her life.’ Not an easy task, as Ms. MacKintosh was a very private person. The author cites *Daughter of Time* as probably the best detective story ever written. I have to disagree with that. I don’t even think it is Tey’s best; I would choose ‘Brat Farrar’ (Was that inspired by Lambert Simnel or Perkin Warbeck, perhaps?) in any case, ‘Daughter’ is a rather atypical detective story.

Hanley Castle: Walking Among Lions Book 2: A Constance of York Novel.

Brian Wainwright. Kindle Edition, 2022

Previously in *Walking Among Lions* Constance of York began her first-person account of her life during the reign of Richard II. In a sense that was a prequel to the author’s novel *Within the Fetterlock* which provided an account of the final years of Richard’s reign and the first years of Henry IV’s with the focus on their cousins, the children of the Duke of York, principally that of his daughter, Constance. This installment can, I suppose, be considered a sequel to a prequel or a second prequel—or it might be the second part of a trilogy if Constance decides to continue her story. In any case, Constance picks up her story beginning in 1390 when her cousin Richard II regains control of the kingdom and continues until 1397 when he exacts his revenge on the Lords Appellants who had nearly deposed him and executed some of his loyal adherents. Constance was an eyewitness to these events so that they become an integral part of her narrative.

She and Thomas Dispenser were married when they were both small children, and at the beginning of the novel she looks forward to the time when they can live together as man and wife. Meanwhile, she must live in her mother-in-law’s household where Lord Berkeley and the Earl of Warwick are feted. Her mother-in-law fails to recognize that both men’s interests in Gloucestershire are opposed to her son’s. Constance and Thomas Dispenser do set up their own household together at the somewhat run-down Hanley Castle, but they soon whip that into shape. Constance recognizes that they could live a peaceful, bucolic life there, but they are both too politically ambitious for that and yearn to be back at court. Soon they both are and situated close to the king to whom they are fiercely loyal. As his high-profile supporters, they are at risk, vulnerable to the attacks of the king’s enemies. Her mother-in-law places the blame entirely on Constance for any danger the couple face, apparently believing that her son has no mind of his own and simply does what his wife tells him.

At the request of her father, Edmund, Duke of York, her much younger brother Richard (Dickon) joins their household to be trained by Thomas as a warrior. Her father explains that he is too land poor to endow this son with any estates and foresees that Dickon might have to earn his keep with his sword. (It has been often been speculated that Dickon was not actually the son of the Duke of York, but of John Holland and that is the reason the duke left him precisely nothing in his will. Another explanation is suggested here, i.e., that York (who himself had been given the shaft by his fabulously wealthy brother John of Gaunt) simply didn’t have the wherewithal to endow his younger son with anything. Dickon did have an annuity from the king because his mother had left all her jewels to Richard II with the request

to provide for her younger son. Still, it is rather odd that York didn't leave Dickon anything, not even a token such as a ring.)

Constance suffers some personal sorrows during this time, the deaths of her mother and of Queen Anne to whom she had grown close. The death of his beloved queen devastates the king and has far-ranging implications as he is forced to marry again—a child-bride who would not be able to provide him with an heir for many years. Constance's daughter becomes a playmate to the young queen and when he introduces them, there is a rather sweet scene showing Richard treating his young wife with gentleness much as an adoring father would a small daughter.

No momentous events occur during the time period covered by this novel until the very end when Richard moves against the Lords Appellant, having the Earl of Arundel beheaded. But even before these events, the author manages to convey the tensions underlying seemingly ordinary incidents as when Arundel shows up late for Queen Anne's funeral and then interrupts the solemnities by asking the bereaved king for permission to leave early. With scenes like this, Constance's story continues to be engaging. —P.C.

The Ballad of Crookback & Shakespeare. Clive Greenwood & Jason Wing. TSL Drama. 2021

How did Shakespeare's portrayal of Richard III come about? The portrayal of the last Plantagenet king as the epitome of a tyrant, reveling in his own evilness? According to this two-act play, it was Elizabeth I, greatly taken by the play about that fat knight, Falstaff in love, who requested a play by its writer to show "how our beloved grandfather rescued the realm from the clutches of the usurping Duke of Gloucester." When the Master of Revels, Edward Tilney, informs Shakespeare of Gloriana's request for a tragedy about Richard (referring to him as King Richard III is strictly verboten), Shakespeare comments that "King Richard has so many sides to him." "Just the one with the hump will do," Tilney replies.

While Shakespeare would much prefer to write a play about the "King of the North," he dares not risk challenging royal censors, which in reality are torturers who inflicted crippling injuries on fellow playwright Ben Jonson and, perhaps, caused the death of Christopher Marlowe. A witty and entertaining play. —P.C.

ex libris

Susan Troxell, Research Library

Pauline Caulkin, Fiction Library

Andy Hart, Articles/Audio-Visual/Archives Library

The non-fiction library acquired *Richard III's Bodies from Medieval England to Modernity—Shakespeare and Disability History* by Jeffrey Wilson and *Bastard Feudalism, English Society and the Law: The Statutes of Livery, 1390-1529* by Gordon McKelvie. Book reviews by Susan Troxell follow.

Bastard Feudalism, English Society and the Law: The Statutes of Livery, 1390-1529. Gordon McKelvie. Boydell Press. 2020.

In 1468, during the brewing conflict between Edward IV and the "Kingmaker" Earl of Warwick, Parliament passed the Anti-Livery Act. In it,

all English subjects were forbidden from retaining or giving badges or livery to anyone outside their own household. A household included a lord's menial servants, estate officers, and legal counselors, all of whom could continue to wear their lord's badges or livery coats. However, no one else could be retained by a lord or receive his livery. This was not a new idea. An anti-livery statute was passed in 1390 and similar ordinances were enacted throughout the Lancastrian and Tudor periods until Elizabeth I nullified them.

These statutes inspired the phrase "bastard feudalism," first coined by Charles Plummer and adopted by William Stubbs in the late Victorian period. It was meant to distinguish the typical Anglo-Norman feudal bond that was based on land tenure, from those that were based on the payment of money, rent, or other commodities and services often described in an indenture. In the fifteenth century, such indentures proliferated as the great magnates and lords of the realm built up extensive affinities of retainers, spurred on by the Wars of the Roses. Bastard feudalism became a shorthand way of referring to affinities of people who were not actual tenants on the lords' estates.

In this book, Dr Gordon McKelvie from the University of Winchester traces how bastard feudalism has changed in meaning and acceptance in the historical community, and undertakes to analyze the enforcement of the anti-livery statutes in the King's Bench court in 1390-1529, where over 330 cases were litigated. The cases show that English medieval society often tolerated and needed bastard feudalism to function, but was quick to oppose its abuses. The ramifications of this ebb-and-flow in enforcement show us something significant about the English constitution then. (For American readers: England has never had a formal written constitution as its governing framework, but rather relies on past precedents, parliamentary statutes, common law, and local and international practices, to decide how its government should function.)

K.B. McFarlane was the first to challenge the negative connotation that bastard feudalism was nothing more than warlordism. Like ancient Rome, England was full of patrons (lords) looking for clients (retainers), and vice versa. Affinities were essential. Lords needed bodyguards for themselves and their families, as well as servants competent in managing their far-flung estates. They also needed to raise and pay for troops when the king demanded it. But a lord only had a finite amount of land to give to tenurial clients. He therefore had to resort to using alternative methods like the payment of money or the mere promise of "good lordship" to the retainer. By the giving and receiving of the lord's livery badge or surcoat, this relationship was made publicly visible and elevated the lord's prestige. It also began to worry people.

The author begins his analysis with the last nine years of Richard II's reign. This king was the first to retain knights without consulting their regional lords, thereby creating an affinity tied directly to the crown. Although motivated by the need to protect the king, it soon came to be viewed negatively – especially when the king used his affinity to exact revenge on those who had earlier opposed his foreign policy and had committed unlawful executions. The Commons repeatedly petitioned Parliament, asking the king to temper the lawlessness and abuse of legal

process by those wearing his livery. The usurpation by Henry IV in 1399 led to the passage of the first anti-livery statute which created significant financial penalties for anyone distributing badges or surcoats to non-tenurial clients. This was prompted by rebels wearing Richard II's white hart badge during the early revolts against the Lancastrian king. His son, Henry V, filed a high number of illegal livery prosecutions in the King's Bench for two purposes: first, to promote his "law and order" policy to tamp down local gang warfare, and second, to repress Lollard dissidents.

Enforcement of the anti-livery statute during Henry VI's minority was sporadic and occurred when violent feuds broke out between lords, a trend that continued into the early Wars of the Roses period. Although he had been helped to the throne by the Kingmaker, Edward IV soon realized that the Earl of Warwick was aggressively retaining legions of bellicose men in London and throughout the realm—to such an extent that foreign and domestic observers often remarked on the size of Warwick's affinity and how it threatened the stability of Edward's rule. In response to this, the anti-livery act passed in 1468 was at the king's initiative, and furthermore made it illegal to retain by indenture as well as forbidding the unallowed distribution of badges. (In 1467, it had been made illegal for anyone in London to wear someone's livery, such was the concern over it.) The goal was to repress the retention of rebel military troops under a magnate's badge or indenture. Yet, despite the passage of the statute, no prosecutions were filed after the major battles of the Yorkist period—Barnet and Tewkesbury. The need for reconciliation was too strong especially in the wake of the deaths of Henry VI, his son Edward, the Kingmaker, and many others.

Ricardians might be interested to learn that there were no prosecutions for illegal livery during Richard III's reign, although he did forbid the practice in the duchy of Lancaster and all the king's lands. His signet book (*Harleian MS 433*) contains many letters to towns and cities on the subject. When Henry VII usurped the throne, he became the most aggressive enforcer against illegal livery. The author suggests this is because, having lived almost all his adult life abroad, Henry Tudor had no natural affinity in England, making him especially suspicious and intolerant of the affinities of the major magnates like the Stanleys. Over 70% of all cases in the King's Bench for illegal livery were under Henry VII or Henry VIII, but even after Elizabeth I nullified the anti-livery acts, retaining was active through the early Stuart period.

The author's analysis of the King's Bench cases reveals that bastard feudalism of the type prohibited by law was practiced everywhere in England, by every social class, even women (especially widows) and clergy. The most common networks to have been prosecuted were those of local gentry, and usually involved the retaining or giving of livery to family members or contiguous landholders. Until England had a strong centralized government and a standing army, it was necessary for almost everyone to recruit others for the purpose of managing real estate, a military defense, or local government. The anti-livery statutes served to prevent the use of livery to rally rebellion, prosecute private feuds, or overwhelm political rivals. Aside from those abuses, bastard feudalism was a fact of life and probably a necessary element of medieval English society. It is probably time to drop the word "bastard" from it. —Susan Troxell

Richard III's Bodies from Medieval England to Modernity—Shakespeare and Disability History. Jeffrey Wilson. Temple University Press. 2022.

Although I enjoy Shakespeare, I am not a great fan of 'The Tragedy of King Richard III' for reasons having nothing to do with my assessment of the historical king. For me, the biggest problem with the play is its depiction of the title character's disability. It makes me cringe to hear him and other characters 'descant' on his bodily shape. It feels like a cheap stunt to create a villain. Dr. Wilson's recently-published book on this subject, however, opened my eyes to a new way of looking at the play and its depiction of disability.

The author, who is on the Harvard Extension School's faculty, approaches the subject from two angles. The first approach, which I will mainly focus on here, analyses the significance of the disability from the perspective of a playwright writing in the twilight of the Elizabethan period. The second approach looks at how actors have portrayed the famous hunchbacked villain and how audiences have received it over the past 400 years.

In order to fully understand this play, Wilson argues that one needs to recognize what he calls the 'Tudor Myth'. This was created in the century following Richard III's death in 1485. Before that time, no contemporary of the king said he was hunchbacked, congenitally disabled or disfigured. With a weak claim to the English throne, Henry Tudor and his allies needed an origin story to stigmatise the last Yorkist king and morally justify Tudor's usurpation.

The Tudor Myth used Richard's body as a metaphor to paint him and his reign as evil. One year after Bosworth, John Rous contradicted his earlier writings and assigned new facts to Richard's previously unremarkable birth—he gestated for 2 years, had a full set of teeth and long hair. Polydore Vergil created mannerisms indicative of deviousness—biting the lower lip, constantly playing with his dagger. Thomas More created the Caesarian-section breech-birth, the congenital hunchback and withered arm. And so on, until we get to the histories written by Raphael Holinshed and Edward Hall, which provided Shakespeare with his raw material.

The 2012 discovery of Richard III's human remains showed that he had adolescent-onset scoliosis, which can make the shoulders uneven, but almost everything else written by Tudor historians about his body was factually false. They were working with an established paradigm that said Richard III's deformed body as a newborn signalled his evil nature and predicted his future evil deeds. In Shakespeare's day, streets were plastered with sensational broadsides and posters proclaiming 'monstrous births'. When a baby was born with defects it was taken as an evil portent (e.g., God is telling us we are living in sin or offending his law, this is why babies are being born with defects and why certain meteorological events are happening). There was a new scientific pillar to the Tudor Myth too—the emerging pseudoscience of physiognomy, or the reading of someone's face, skull, or body to indicate their innate character.

With this background, Wilson shows that Shakespeare addresses this version of "disability" in his history plays, yet experimented with the ironic and tragic possibilities it offered him. When Richard says in his opening soliloquy 'I am determined to be a villain'—an element of ambiguity is present. It could be read as 'I have been determined by Fate/God to be evil

and therefore am marked with the stigma of disability' or 'My disability makes me ugly and unlovable and therefore I choose to be evil.' It is a chicken and egg controversy: which came first, the evil nature or the disability?

The difference is subtle yet one of the play's biggest themes. The first interpretation is rooted in the medieval worldview—and is most often used in the lines given to the 'old guard' of women who warn about Richard's nature, notably Margaret of Anjou. In this viewpoint of disability, Richard's congenital defects indicate that his parents and grandparents have done some evil that is being visited on their offspring—in other words, the Yorkist family tree has rotten roots and bears bad fruit. Richard cannot help but be evil because he is, inherently, evil. The hunchback is there to warn others.

The second interpretation is one favoured by most modern audiences, and appeals to our sense of psychological cause-and-effect. In this interpretation, Richard's disability prevents him from being loved by his mother or being generally accepted in society as an equal. This rejection makes him save all his love for himself and treat others with contempt. In today's parlance, we would call him an incel or narcissistic sociopath. This viewpoint is amply supported with Richard's own speeches and stage actions.

Deciding on which interpretation is accepted can have a big impact on how an actor or artistic director decides to portray Richard on stage. This is what Wilson shows in his extensive performance history of this character, which covers almost everyone from David Garrick to Laurence Olivier to Arthur Hughes, the last being the first disabled actor to be cast as Richard III by the Royal Shakespeare Company. Over time, the hump on Richard's back changes in size or disappears, he is variously disabled with props or prosthetics, and sometimes he is not disabled at all but a fascist dictator. It was fascinating to learn that women and black men have been playing this role since the early 1700s, early examples of intersectionality where the stigma of disability is combined with the actor's own culturally disenfranchised status. Wilson also reveals that the play has engendered controversy inside the disability movement, with some arguing that it is equally repugnant for able-bodied actors to play the central role just as it is repugnant for white men to "black up" their faces in order to play Othello.

How we read 'Richard III' ultimately says something about ourselves. Shakespeare gave metaphysical implications to Richard's hunchback, and the way we each interpret it is based on how we understand reality. According to Wilson, 'to embrace the [first interpretation] is to live in the supernatural world of myth and spirit; to adopt [the second interpretation] takes you into the natural world of body and behaviour. In Richard III, and in life, stigma has extraordinarily high stakes, since voicing your interpretation of disability often means declaring what kind of world you think you live in.'

This book reads like an engaging dissertation (it was Wilson's PhD thesis) but I would encourage anyone with an interest in this play to read it, especially any student who is currently studying Shakespeare. —Susan Troxell

Please note: the publisher has made a special offer to members of the Richard III Society, a 20% discount off the book's list price of \$34.95. Use code T20P at checkout through the book's website page: <https://tupress.temple.edu/books/richard-iii-s-bodies-from-medieval-england-to-modernity>

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P.O. Box 272
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treasurer@r3.org

MEMBERSHIP CHAIR: **Wayne Ingalls**
704 NW Euclid Ave.
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membership@r3.org

IMMEDIATE PAST CHAIR:

A. Compton Reeves
1560 Southpark Circle
Prescott, AZ 86305
immediate_past_chairman@r3.org

DIRECTOR-AT-LARGE: **Carole Bell, Mary Miller, Joan Szechtman**
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COMMITTEES

CHAPTERS ADVISOR: Open

• chapters@r3.org

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articlesavlibrary@r3.org

RESEARCH OFFICER: **A. Compton Reeves**
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research_officer@r3.org

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

SALES OFFICER: **Open**
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WEB CONTENT MANAGER: Open
webcontentmanager@r3.org

WEBMASTER: **Cheryl Greer**
webmaster@r3.org

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

ASSISTANT EDITOR: **Diana Rubino, Colleen Goos**
assistant_editor@r3.org

RICARDIAN READING EDITORS:

ricardian_reading_editor@r3.org

Myrna Smith • 361-415-1119

401 Northshore Blvd, #109, Portland, TX 78374

Pauline Calkin

1132 Country Place, Redlands, CA 92374

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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 • katycdc@yahoo.com

NORTHWEST: Jim Mitchell

ayorkist@yahoo.com

NEW YORK-METRO AREA: Maria Elena Torres

3216 Fillmore Avenue • Brooklyn, NY 11234

eibronte@gmail.com

Tidewater (VA): Elizabeth Bateman

concordiaerb@aol.com

Arizona: Marion Low

dickon3@cox.net

Rocky Mountain (CO): Dawn Shafer

dawn_alicia_shafer@yahoo.com

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