

# Ricardian Register



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## *Richard III Forever*

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Articles: The Many Facets of Anthony Woodville • The Tenth Coin:  
Richard III's Parliament and Public Statutes  
2013 Annual Reports: Richard III Society, American Branch

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# The Many Facets of Anthony Woodville

Susan Higginbotham

Although Anthony Woodville is best known for his role as governor to young Prince Edward and for his execution in 1483, he was also a soldier, a jousting knight, a patron, a husband, and a father. Today, we will take a look at the lesser-known side of Anthony Woodville.

## **Anthony the Soldier**

Anthony began his career as a Lancastrian. In 1459, Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, and the seventeen-year-old Edward, Earl of March, fled to Calais. Henry Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, launched a series of attacks on the town but Warwick refused to budge. Anthony's father, Richard Woodville, who was stationed at Sandwich, gathered a fleet to aid Somerset. It was there, on January 19, 1460, that Anthony's military career got off to a bad start when John Dynham made a surprise attack on the fleet, dragging Anthony and his parents from their beds. Dynham hauled the men across the channel to Calais and paraded them by torchlight before Warwick and the other lords. As reported by William Paston:

My Lord Rivers was brought to Calais and before the lords with 800 torches, and there my lord of Salisbury rated him, calling him knave's son that he should be so rude to call him and these other lords traitors, for they shall be found the King's true liege men when he should be found a traitor, &c. And my lord of Warwick rated him and said that his father was but a squire and brought up with King Henry the V, and [afterwards] himself made by marriage and also made lord, and that it was not his part to have such language of lords being of the King's blood. And my lord of March rated him in like wise, and Sir Anthony was rated for his language of all three lords in like wise.

We do not know how long Anthony and his father were kept at Calais, but they were free by March 1461, when they fought at Towton against Edward IV's forces. The Burgundian chronicler Waurin records their role in the battle:

Edward had scarcely time to regain his position under his banner when Lord Rivers and his son with six or seven thousand Welshmen led by Andrew Trollope, and the Duke of Somerset with seven thousand men more, charged the Earl of March's cavalry, put them to flight and chased them for eleven miles, so that it appeared to them that they had won great booty, because they thought that the Earl of Northumberland had charged at the same time on the other flank, but he failed to attack soon enough, which was a misfortune for him as he died that day. In this chase died a great number of men of worth to the Earl of March who, witnessing the fate of his cavalry was much saddened and angered.

Of course Edward IV was the victor at Towton, but at a terrible cost to both sides. By the time the battle and the ensuing rout ended, between twenty thousand and thirty thousand men lay dead. Both William Paston and the Bishop of Salisbury believed that Anthony had been slain, but he turned up very much alive. Soon, he and his father joined many others in making the decision to offer their allegiance to Edward IV. In 1462, Anthony was among the Yorkist forces besieging Alnwick Castle.

As a Yorkist, Anthony was luckier in battle than he had been as a Lancastrian. When Warwick rebelled against Edward IV in 1470, Anthony was made Governor of Calais. After a fight at sea where 500 to 600 men were killed, Anthony and Hans Voetken seized 14 of Warwick's ships. When the tide turned and Edward himself had to flee England, Anthony escaped with him. During his exile, he helped Edward raise ships. Anthony sailed back to England in March 1471 with 200 men. The next month, he fought for Edward IV at Barnet.

Although his role in the battle is unrecorded, he certainly seems to have played an active part there, as he and Richard, Duke of Gloucester were reported to have been wounded.

Anthony did not fight at the next battle, Tewkesbury, but remained in London, which soon came under attack by Thomas Neville, known as the Bastard of Fauconberg. According to the official account of the king's victory, the Earl of Essex, Anthony, and the citizens of London put up a fierce fight:



And so, after continuing of much shot of guns and arrows a great while, upon both parties, the Earl Rivers, that was with the Queen, in the Tower of London, gathered unto him a fellowship right well chosen, and habiled, of four or five hundred men, and issued out at a postern upon them, and, even upon a point, came upon the Kentish men being about the assaulting of Aldgate, and mightily laid upon them with arrows, and upon them with hands, and so killed and took many of them, driving them from the same gate to the water side.

The Crowland chronicler also singled out Anthony for praise:

[I]t was not God's will that such a famous city, the capital indeed of the whole realm of England, should be given over to pillage by such great rogues. He gave stout hearts to the Londoners to enable them to stand firm on the day of battle. In this they were especially assisted by a sudden and unexpected sortie from the Tower of London by Anthony, Earl Rivers. As the enemy were making fierce assaults on the gate ... he fell upon their rear with his mounted troops and gave the Londoners the opportunity to open their gates and fight it out hand to hand with the enemy so that they manfully put each and every one of them to death or to flight.

### **Anthony the Joustier**

Like his father, Anthony was a star joustier. His first recorded appearance on the lists is in 1458, during the celebrations that followed the "Loveday" reconciliations of Henry VI's warring lords. Anthony and Henry, Duke of Somerset, joustied before the king and his queen, Margaret of Anjou.

Nine years later, Anthony joustied at Smithfield in one of the most spectacular tournaments of the decade, in the making since April 1465, when the queen and her ladies surrounded Anthony coming from Mass. They tied a collar of gold around his right thigh and dropped a billet in his cap. Perceiving that he was charged with undertaking a chivalric enterprise, Anthony issued a challenge to the Duke of Burgundy's illegitimate son, the Bastard of Burgundy.

The tournament shows Edward IV's court—and the Woodvilles—at their most glittering. On the first day of the tournament, Anthony made his entrance on a horse trapped with white cloth of gold, embroidered with a crimson velvet cross of St. George and bordered with a fringe of gold half a foot long. Anthony also had his own pavilion of blue satin, embroidered with his motto and topped with eight banners.

The fighting was spread over two days. On the first day, the Bastard's horse was killed. Chester Herald reports that Anthony rode to the king and removed his own horse's trapper to show that there was no steel spike that could have harmed his opponent's horse. But the Great Chronicle indicates that indeed a steel spike pierced the horse's nostrils. Olivier de Marche, a Burgundian, wrote that the stroke and the fall happened by mischance. On the other hand, an anonymous Burgundian wrote that when the horse was examined the following day, a large piece of metal was found in its throat.

The next day, the men fought on foot with axes and daggers. Chester Herald claimed that the men ignored the king's cry of 'Who!', while another observer maintained that only Anthony disregarded the order to stop. Olivier de la Marche, who described the ax fighting as the fiercest he had seen, claimed that the Bastard inflicted numerous gashes in Anthony's armor, and the other Burgundian chronicler noted that the third shoulder plate of the Bastard's armor had been hacked away.

Anthony's last recorded appearance as a joustier was in 1478, following the marriage of his nephew Richard, Duke of York, to Anne Mowbray. Anthony made his entrance arrayed in the habit of a white hermit, inside a hermitage with black velvet walls and a ringing bell. Perhaps this was a reference to the pious side of his character, which was reflected in his travels.

### Anthony Abroad

Shortly after the battle of Tewkesbury, Anthony asked Edward IV for permission to leave England to help the Portuguese fight the Saracens. This displeased the king, who grumbled that when he had the most to do, Anthony would "soonest ask leave to depart." He even went so far, according to John Paston III, to accuse Anthony of cowardice. However, by September, the king had relented. But it is not clear whether Anthony actually went to Portugal, because by April 1472, he was aiding Francis, Duke of Brittany, against the French.

In July 1473, Anthony Woodville left for Santiago, a popular pilgrimage destination. He had determined, he wrote, to devote his "recovered life" to the service of God and "to seek and execute the works that might be most acceptable to him." His adventures on pilgrimage are unrecorded, but he would later put his shipboard reading to good use.

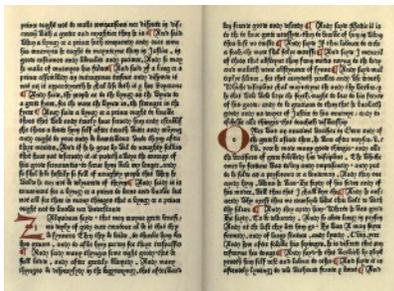
Three years later, Anthony went to Rome and Milan. Outside Rome, he had the misfortune of being robbed of all of his jewels and plate, which John Paston III claimed were worth at least 1,000 marks. Some of the stolen jewels ended up in Venice. Thanks to Anthony's royal connections, the Venetian Senate agreed to restore them to Anthony without cost. The Senate also issued an ominous-sounding order that some of the suspects be racked, as they had refused to "tell the whole truth by fair means."

Anthony went on to visit Charles, Duke of Burgundy, who was preparing to fight the Swiss, and offered to join the fight. However, when he heard of the enemy's imminent arrival, he left, much to the scorn of the duke, who claimed that Anthony had gone because he was afraid. Perhaps Anthony had remembered the previous year when the Duke of Burgundy betrayed the English, and decided that he owed the duke no favors, or perhaps he had simply realized that this was not his fight. Whatever Anthony's motives, his decision was a fortunate one, for at the battle of Morat the duke lost thousands of men, and would lose his own life at the battle of Nancy six months later. Anthony's decision to avoid this one battle assured his return to England with his life, if not all of his goods, intact.

### Anthony and Caxton

Around late 1475 or early 1476, William Caxton, an English merchant who had been living abroad, returned to England with his printing press, the first to be introduced to England. By 1476, he had printed his first major project: Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*.

Anthony Woodville was quick to see the possibilities of this new technology. He decided to translate *The Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers*, which he had read while traveling to Santiago, from



French into English, and give it to Caxton to print. Translation was an important and highly valued activity in the fifteenth century. John Trevisa wrote that it gave men access to “cunning, information, and lore” that they might have otherwise been denied.

The book, a collection of maxims and improving moral stories, has little appeal for modern audiences. Its charm comes chiefly in Caxton’s epilogue, where Caxton wrote that Anthony had left out certain unflattering observations of Socrates concerning women. Why, Caxton pondered, did Anthony omit this material? “But I suppose that some fair lady hath desired him to leave it out of his book. Or else he was amorous on some noble lady, for whose love he would not set it in his book.” We do not know how Anthony received this speculation about his love life, but he went on to publish two more books through Caxton. In fact, during his lifetime, Anthony was the only noble in England who patronized Caxton’s press.

After *The Dicts* was printed, Anthony presented the translation in manuscript form to Edward IV, shown on the book's presentation page with his queen and his eldest son. Anthony and a tonsured figure, probably representing the original author of *The Dicts*, kneel before the royal family. An onlooker wearing ermine is probably Richard, Duke of Gloucester.



Anthony was also a poet. Caxton wrote that he had made “ballads against the seven deadly sins,” but the only verses that have survived are those that he wrote on the eve of his execution. They begin:

Somewhat musing  
And more mourning  
In remembering  
The unsteadfastness;  
This world being  
Of such wheeling  
Me contrarying  
What may I guess?

### **Anthony at Home**

At the time he translated the *Dicts*, Anthony was a widower. His first wife, Elizabeth Scales, died in 1473. Elizabeth’s father, Thomas, Lord Scales, was murdered by a group of London boatmen in 1460. She and Anthony had married by the time of the Battle of Towton, as Anthony bore the title of “Lord Scales” at that time.

We have only glimpses of Anthony’s married life. The town of Lynn often sent gifts of wine or fish to the couple, whose minstrels also appear in the records. In 1464, John Howard, who later became the Duke of Norfolk, lent Elizabeth eight shillings and four pence to play at cards when she and her husband were with the king at Reading. Elizabeth Scales attended her sister-in-law, Elizabeth Woodville, and was part of the English entourage that followed Margaret of York to her wedding in Burgundy. In his will, Anthony asked that 500 marks be used for prayers for the souls of Elizabeth, her deceased brother Thomas, and the souls of all the Scales family.

The widowed Anthony was slow to remarry, but this was not due to lack of opportunity. In 1477, Charles, Duke of Burgundy, was killed in battle, leaving his unmarried daughter, Mary, as his heir. Although George, Duke of Clarence, whose own wife had recently died, wished to take Mary as his next bride, Edward IV vetoed this idea. Instead, he sent an embassy to Burgundy, which proposed Anthony as Mary’s groom. Anthony had indeed come a long way since Edward had ‘rated’ him at Calais years before! Unfortunately, Mary,

a great heiress, did not want to marry a mere English earl, and instead married Maximillian of Austria.

But Anthony was not finished on the marriage market. Soon, James III of Scotland proposed that his sister, Margaret, marry Anthony. Edward IV was amenable to the match, and entered into negotiations. He issued Margaret and a retinue of three hundred a safe conduct, and the Scottish parliament granted James twenty thousand marks toward the expenses of the marriage. The wedding was to take place in Nottingham. Unfortunately, political turmoil in Scotland delayed Margaret's arrival, and when England's relationship with Scotland soured, the marriage fell through.

At last in 1480, Anthony remarried. His bride was not a foreign princess but a young Englishwoman, Mary Fitzlewis, an heiress who was probably around thirteen at the time of the marriage. Mary was well-connected: she was a first cousin of Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, who was married to Anthony's sister. Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond, was her aunt. Like the king, her Beaufort blood made her a descendant of John of Gaunt and Katherine Swynford.

We know even less about Anthony's second marriage than we do his first. In his will, made three years later, Anthony asked that prayers be said for the soul of his father-in-law. He left Mary the plate that had belonged to her father and enough of his own plate to make up any deficiency. Mary was also to receive the plate that had been given her at their marriage, a sparver of white silk with four pairs of sheets, two pairs of fustions, a featherbed, and a chambering of Griselda—presumably a tapestry illustrating the famous tale. After Anthony's execution in 1483, Mary lived into Henry VII's reign and was on friendly terms with her aunt, Margaret Beaufort.

Although Anthony had no legitimate children, he did have an illegitimate daughter, Margaret. Margaret's mother has been identified as Gwenllian, the daughter of William Stradling of Glamorgan and his wife Isabel. Nothing more is known about Gwenllian or her relationship with Anthony. Margaret might have been named for Margaret of Anjou, in which case she would probably have been born before the battle of Towton in 1461, after which Anthony changed his allegiance from the Lancastrian to the Yorkist cause.

In 1479, Anthony settled 800 marks, and lands worth 100 marks per year on Margaret, who married Robert Poyntz of Iron Acton in Gloucestershire.



Anthony did not name Margaret in his 1483 will, although this is not unusual for illegitimate daughters. Perhaps he thought he had left Margaret well provided for by marrying her to a prosperous man. However, he did make Robert Poyntz one of his executors. Robert Poyntz rebelled against Richard III in 1483 and fought for Henry Tudor at Bosworth. He lived well into Henry VIII's reign and was a member of Catherine of Aragon's household at the Field of Cloth of Gold. Margaret died before 1520, the year of her husband's death. She and Robert had five sons and four daughters. Their eldest son, Anthony, was named after his grandfather. John Poyntz, their second son, was a friend of Thomas Wyatt, who addressed a poem to him.

He was painted by Hans Holbein. Might John bear a resemblance to his grandfather?

### **Anthony the Man**

Like so many medieval men, Anthony remains an enigma in many ways. Mancini, writing shortly after Anthony's death, described him as a "kind, serious, and just man," but Anthony had a streak of ruthlessness as well. In 1465, the widowed Lady Willoughby had been forced to grant him lands worth 400 marks a year in exchange for a pardon for her Lancastrian husband. In his will, Anthony asked that she be recompensed for his servants'

seizure of her goods. Although he was twice accused of cowardice, he fought in one of the bloodiest battles in English history and helped save London from a Lancastrian onslaught. A pious man who went to his death in a hair shirt, he was the only one of his brothers known to have left an illegitimate child. He was at home both on the tournament field and in a library. In short, he was a complex, contradictory man—much like the man who brings us all here today, Richard III.



Anthony Woodville's signature.

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Further Reading:

Michael Hicks, "The Changing Role of the Wydevilles in Yorkist Politics to 1483," in Charles Ross, ed., *Patronage, Pedigree, and Power in Later Medieval England* (Gloucester, 1979).

Susan Higginbotham, *The Woodvilles* (Stroud, 2013, and primary sources listed therein).

E.W. Ives, "Andrew Dymmock and the Papers of Antony, Earl Rivers, 1482–3," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 41 (1968).

J. R. Lander, "Marriage and Politics in the Fifteenth Century: The Nevilles and the Wydevilles," in *Crown and Nobility 1450–1509* (Montreal, 1976).

Editor's note: Susan Higginbotham presented this article at the 2013 AGM in Richmond, VA

# The Tenth Coin

## Richard III's Parliament and Public Statutes

By Susan L. Troxell, Esq.

**Allegation:** Richard III's parliament and his so-called "enlightened" laws were not novel or meaningful as the laws were either already in practice or had no real impact. They were solely used as a way to obtain the love of the people, since he had already lost support of key lords and certain of Edward IV's household men. He abolished benevolences but then reinstated them at his convenience. He was a hypocrite and did not intend to live up to the announced goals of his parliament.

**Rebuttal Synopsis:** Richard's parliament and the public statutes it passed represent an agenda unlike any that had come before. The king and his councilors put forth a slate of acts that sought to correct longstanding abuses and frauds in judicial administration and property conveyances, and to limit the king's ability to collect extra-parliamentary taxes. These reforms were novel and consistent with the announced themes of his reign, and certainly not hypocritical. They redounded to the benefit of England's most vulnerable subjects, putting him at risk of alienating powerful lords rather than consolidating political power. His laws on property conveyances are considered landmarks in the evolution of English law.

### Introduction:

Richard III's first and only parliament spanned 27 days, from the 23rd of January to the 20th of February, 1484. At least 53 commoners were known to have attended it, as well as many "lords spiritual and temporal," and of course the king himself. It opened with a sermon delivered by Chancellor John Russell, Bishop of Lincoln.<sup>1</sup>

With the king sitting on the royal throne in the Painted Chamber within his palace of Westminster, Russell began his oration by painting a type of "E Pluribus Unum" imagery. As recorded by the clerk in the Parliamentary Rolls, Russell said: "In the body there are many limbs, but not all have the same function" and the clerk further observed:

"In which words he gravely and very astutely explained the fealty which subjects of the king and the functions individual members owe to the principal member, asserting that there are three kinds of body, namely the natural, the aggregate and the politic, and going on to suggest that one coin, the tenth, had been lost from the most precious fabric of the body politic of England and that to hunt for it and find it would require the king and all the lords spiritual and temporal to be very assiduous and diligent during this parliament; concluding that after the finding of the tenth coin, which signifies perfection, our body politic of England would endure gloriously and for a long time, healthy, safe and free from all damage or injury; the king, the great men of the realm and the commons eternally cherishing peace outward and inward and the Author of that peace."

As was the case with parliaments under previous monarchs, the sermon reminded its members that the king would need financial support from his realm. This was even more pertinent in January 1484, as Richard had just suppressed Buckingham's rebellion the previous October and dealt with its fallout without seeking any benevolences or taxation.<sup>2</sup>

Other themes from Russell's speech and from the petitions presented included the evils and predations made upon the weak by the strong and the owners who abused their ownership; the perfidy of enemies who supported Buckingham's rebellion; and the justification for confirming Richard as king of England.<sup>3</sup> Doing so elicited nostalgia for past days when "poor people who labour for their living in various occupations, earned enough to maintain themselves and their households, living without miserable and intolerable poverty."<sup>4</sup>

In confirming the monarchy on Richard, the Commons reflected upon Edward IV's reign in the following way:

“When those who had the rule and governance of this land, delighting in adulation and flattery and led by sensuality and concupiscence, followed the counsel of insolent, vicious people of inordinate avarice, despising the counsel of good, virtuous and prudent people such as are described above, the prosperity of this land decreased daily, so that felicity was turned into misery, and prosperity into adversity, and the order of policy and of the law of God and man confounded; as a result of which it is likely that this realm will fall into extreme misery and desolation, which God forbid, unless due provision of a suitable remedy is made in this matter in all goodly haste.

“Moreover, among other things, we consider more particularly how, during the reign of King Edward IV, late deceased, after the ungracious feigned marriage, as all England has reason to say, made between the said King Edward and Elizabeth, once the wife of Sir John Grey ... the order of all politic rule was perverted, the laws of God and of God's church, and also the laws of nature and of England, and also its laudable customs and liberties ... so that this land was ruled by self-will and pleasure, and fear and dread and all equity and law were laid aside and despised, as a result of which many calamities and misfortunes ensued, such as murders, extortions and oppressions, particularly of poor and powerless people, so that no man was sure of his life, land or livelihood, or of his wife, daughter or servant, with every virtuous maiden and woman standing in dread of being ravished and defiled. And besides this ... civil war... as a result of the destruction of the noble blood of this land.”<sup>5</sup>

The themes of protecting the powerless, of reforming abuses in the system, and of routing out corruption can be found in many of the 15 public statutes passed during Richard's parliament. In addition, parliament passed another 18 private statutes that attainted rebels and co-conspirators of Buckingham, reversing past attainder of lands on behalf of such magnates as Henry Percy, Duke of Northumberland, and making Richard king as per *Titulus Regius*.

This essay will focus on only 6 of the 15 public statutes, those dealing with reforms in the administration of the judicial system; reducing frauds in land conveyances; and limiting the king's power in collecting extra-parliamentary taxes. According to P.M. Kendall, these laws were “directly sponsored by the king and his council.”<sup>6</sup> “The king and his councilors were preparing an agenda for the forthcoming sessions unlike any that had been known since Parliament began, perhaps a century before, to think of itself not only as the king's High Court but also the nation's representative legislature.”<sup>7</sup>

During his years as duke of Gloucester, Richard developed a reputation as a “fair and rigorous” administrator of law. He was in the position to mete out justice, and, as Constable of England for 14 years, he was at the head of structures where his word was law. Historian Annette Carson observes: “From all we hear, he had a fine legal brain and his judgments were respected.”<sup>8</sup>

According to Dr. Anne Sutton:

“Of Richard's education in the law nothing is known.... With or without a period at an inn [of court] his own ducal council would have provided an early forcing school of experience for Richard. By the time he was king he would have been familiar with the complexities of land law, the difficulties of securing title and the endless squabbles that might arise over an inheritance. His ducal council became a valuable source of arbitration in such matters.”<sup>9</sup>

On his first day as king on June 26, 1483, Richard made a visual statement by seating himself in the king's marble chair at the Court of the King's Bench at Westminster. This was the seat of the king as Justicer, and Richard had an important message to convey. He delivered a lecture to all his judges and legal officers, charging them to "justly and duly minister his law without delay and favour and declaring that all men, of whatever degree, must be treated equally in the sight of the law."<sup>10</sup>

Later, to the people of Kent, Richard proclaimed:

"The king's highness is fully determined to see due administration of justice throughout this his realm to be had, and to reform, punish, and subdue all extortions and oppressions in the same... The King chargeth and commandeth that no manner of man, of whatever condition or degree he be, rob, hurt or spoil any of his said subjects in their bodies or goods upon pain of death."<sup>11</sup>

Richard's parliament has been roundly recognized as one of early enlightenment. According to the 19th century Lord Chancellor and Lord Chief Justice, Lord Campbell:

"We have no difficulty in pronouncing Richard's parliament the most meritorious national assembly for protecting the liberty of the subjects and putting down abuses in the administration of justice that had sat in England since the reign of Henry III."<sup>12</sup>

The following aims to demonstrate that these laudatory comments are well deserved. Richard's parliament set a standard that gave life to the themes by which he conducted himself as duke of Gloucester, constable of England and ultimately as king of England.

### **Richard's Significant Public Statutes**

Richard showed "a respect bordering on devotion" to law and the judicial system; a desire to reduce the corrupt practices of lower-level officials who were the most prone to abuse their offices and harm ordinary people; and a concern that the law should reach the people for whom it was made.<sup>13</sup> These aspects can be found in the following public statutes:

#### **A. Bail at PreIndictment Phase**

One of the more notable of these reforms was an act for granting bail to people suspected of felony. According to the Parliamentary Rolls, "because various people are arrested and imprisoned daily on suspicion of felony, sometimes out of malice and sometimes on vague suspicion, and thus kept in prison without bail or mainprise to their great vexation and trouble, be it therefore ordained and decreed, by the authority of this present parliament, that every justice of the peace in every county, city or town shall have authority and power to grant bail or mainprise at his or their discretion to such prisoners and people thus arrested" in the same form as though they had actually been indicted in that same court.

This act authorized justices of the peace to offer bail and its protections at the pre-indictment phase, before the judge had formally weighed the merits of the allegations made against the defendant. Oxford professor H. G. Hanbury contends this statute "gave much protection to the liberty of the subject, and sanctity of his property."<sup>14</sup>

Although some justices of the peace may have already been doing so in certain courts, or in certain situations, this act certainly set a national precedent and it recognized the widespread abuses that had occurred in the prosecution of criminal law. If a frivolous or unsubstantiated allegation of a felony crime was made against a person who could not afford sharp legal counsel, his goods could be seized and his body imprisoned before any formal weighing of the allegation could be made. Innocent people could not only lose their ability to continue their occupations and daily activities, but their goods and work tools/implements could be seized and thus denied to their families for further use or employment. Significantly

when Henry Tudor became king, he retained this reform and modified it only to require that two justices of the peace agree to providing bail to the charged defendant.

#### B. Empanelling of Jurors

This statute dealt with who may sit on criminal courts of record called “sheriff’s tourns” held twice a year before the sheriff in the counties. “Various great difficulties and perjuries occur daily in various counties of England due to false verdicts given to inquisitions and inquiries before sheriffs in their tourns by people of no substance or standing, who do not fear God or the world’s shame, as a result of which many lieges of the king from various parts of England have been wrongly indicted at the incitement and instigation of their ill-wishers, and others who ought rightfully to be indicted are spared at such incitements and instigations, contrary to the common right and to good conscience.”<sup>15</sup>

To cure these abuses, that statute laid down a property qualification for jurors. At that time, and until late in the 19th century, property connoted respectability and the owner’s vested interest in the community. A juror must own freehold worth 20/- or copyhold worth 26/8. Although sheriff’s tourns were losing jurisdiction to other court venues, they still remained a forum for trial of certain criminal offenses.<sup>16</sup> The particular evil here was that, prior to this statute, corrupt sheriffs or people of money and influence could cause to be imported jurors of unknown residence or dubious character, and could pressure them in a way favorable to their positions.<sup>17</sup>

#### C. Requirement of Plaintiff’s Sworn Statement at Piepowder Courts

A “court of Piepoudre” was the lowest and most expeditious of the courts of justice in England. Named for the dusty feet of the litigants, it was a court of record incident to every fair and marketplace. It was held before the steward, with jurisdiction to administer justice for all commercial injuries and minor offenses done in that market or fair.<sup>18</sup> Common people participated and sold goods in such markets and fairs, and therefore this court provided them immediate access to address a particular grievance that was ongoing or had occurred during that market or fair.

As observed by the Commons in 1484, “these courts have recently been abused by stewards, bailiffs and other officers holding and presiding over the said courts of the said fairs for their private profit, hearing pleas by [com]plaint concerning contracts, debts, trespasses and other deeds done and committed outside the time of the said fairs or fair and its jurisdiction, over which in truth they have no jurisdiction, alleging that the contracts, debts, trespasses, covenants or other deeds were done during the fairs and within their jurisdiction, when in truth they were not. And sometimes upon feigned [com]plaints invented by evilly disposed people to trouble those in which they bear ill-will, some aiming to make them lose their fair and some intending that they should secure favourable inquests by bribery of those who come to the same fairs where they bring their actions.”<sup>19</sup> In other words, the piepowder courts were being abused by both their officials and those who were asserting fictitious or extrajurisdictional claims in them, thereby harassing and causing harm to those common people who were merely trying to conduct business at the market or fair.

The act required the complaining party (the plaintiff) to take an oath that the contract or conduct in dispute was made at the time and under the jurisdiction of the fair. If the plaintiff was represented by attorney, the attorney had to take the same oath or provide a deposition attesting to the truth of the jurisdictional requirements. The penalty of 100/- against a steward who proceeded without such sworn deposition by the plaintiff or his attorney was made recoverable by action of a debt. The oath of the plaintiff was not final; the defendant could contest and offer proof against it and show that the claim was wrongfully placed.<sup>20</sup>

#### D. Reforms in Property Conveyances

Richard's parliament passed two statutes that are still considered critical developments in the evolution of English property law and "an important landmark in the history of the use of land."<sup>21</sup> One dealt with "publishing fines levied" and the other one was addressed against "secret and unknown feoffments" (the latter act also being known as the "statute of uses").

According to Dr. Anne Sutton on the Richard III Society webpage, these laws "aimed to ease the processes of proving title and remove prevalent frauds." Chancellor Russell, as chief justice of the chancery courts, may have been keen to stem the flood of cases before him that concerned dishonest trustees (feoffees) who held "use of" the land. A trustee who only possessed "the use" of land had rights to farm or extract resources from a plot of land and to keep all profits thereof, even though the property was technically in the ownership of another person, but to all outward appearances it may appear as though he completely owned full title. Abuses could occur if the trustee to the use of the land held himself out as the actual legal owner of title and to transfer what purported to be full legal title.<sup>22</sup> This temptation often "proved irresistible" and giving in to it resulted in a fraud committed on the buyer.<sup>23</sup> Richard's statute, while not a perfect cure to this type of fraud, was significant because it sought to protect innocent purchasers who were not aware that they were not receiving full legal title. The act passed in Richard's parliament provided that the trustee, when engaging in such a conveyance, warranted to the buyer that he actually owned full title, and the buyer had a right to enforce the transfer of the land to him.<sup>24</sup>

The other public law on property conveyances dealt with fines. A "fine" was a type of land conveyance in which two parties would agree to submit themselves to a court of law. The vehicle would be a lawsuit, by which the lands in question become, or are acknowledged to be, the right of one of the parties. A "fine" was so-called because it put a definitive or "de finibus" end not only to the suit thus commenced, but also to all other suits and controversies concerning the same property.<sup>25</sup> But if the parties to the matter failed to disclose that the land was burdened by other claims or had other owners, an injustice would result to such collateral owners or claimants. This abuse was rampant in the 15th century, and undoubtedly Richard was familiar with it when he was duke of Gloucester and serving as arbitrator in land disputes.

Although the technicalities of the statute are far too legalistic to explain in this essay, the act passed in Richard's parliament required the parties to the fine "to publish" their transaction by filing the fine with the court. It also required the court to announce the transaction on a regular basis for at least a year before it took full effect. This gave people in the jurisdiction notice of the transaction so that they could notify any collateral stakeholders, owners, or claimants before the transaction was rendered final and indisputable. The intent here was to protect innocent bystanders who could be deprived of an opportunity to pursue their rights to the land in question.

As observed by P.M. Kendall, "[t]he wholesale confiscations of property during the Wars of the Roses and the failure of the common law to keep pace with various tricks that had been invented for fraudulently disposing of estates had thrown the traditional methods of conveying land into confusion. Men found their property rights contested by titles they had never heard of, and as the Paston Letters eloquently testify, could be brought to the brink of ruin by endless lawsuits."<sup>26</sup> Richard's statutes on property conveyances represent an impressive attempt to rectify some of the uncertainties of property law and to mollify the flood of litigation that not only burdened English civil law courts, but also literally bankrupted her most vulnerable subjects in the 15th century.

E. Limiting the Power of the Crown to Collect "Benevolences"

Last but certainly not least is Richard's "act to free subjects from benevolences." This was actually the first public statute passed in his parliament and it made a strong statement:

"The king, mindful that the commons of this his realm have been enslaved by intolerable charges and exactions as the result of new and unlawful inventions and inordinate covetousness, contrary to the law of this realm, and in particular by a new imposition called a benevolence, by which for several years the subjects and commons of this land, against their will and freedom, have paid great sums of money.... Therefore the king wills it that it be ordained, by the advice and assent of his lords spiritual and temporal and the commons assembled in this present parliament.... That henceforth his subjects and the commonalty of this his realm shall in no way be burdened by any such charge, exaction or imposition called a benevolence or similar charges, and the exactions called benevolences taken before this time shall not be taken as a precedent for making such or the same charge upon any of his said subjects of this realm in future, but shall be voided and annulled forever."<sup>27</sup>

Dr. Sutton states: "[i]n his statute forbidding the benevolences (cap.2) invented by his brother, Edward IV, Richard is following the spirit of reform voiced in the Titulus Regius that 'self-will, pleasure, fear and dread' should no longer prevail. He was also duly endorsing parliament's well-established right to vote all taxes to the king. He had already gone further in recognition of parliament's unique position by getting his own legitimist title to the crown ratified in it so that he has been flamboyantly styled as 'in a sense ... the most "parliamentary" monarch of the 15th century."<sup>28</sup>

### **Novelty and Motivations Underlying Richard's Public Statutes**

There are several novel aspects to Richard's reign and parliament. He was the first monarch to take the coronation oath in English. His laws were the first to be published in the native tongue in order to be understood by the literate public rather than just churchmen, educated nobles or the few who could read Latin.<sup>29</sup> He went out of his way to exempt the printed book trade from xenophobic prohibitions imposed on foreign-made goods. This reflects Richard's encouragement of the dissemination of learning by books. And, as stated above, his statutes on land conveyances represent significant developments in the area of property law. It would be insincere to dispute the novelty of these actions.

Richard was also true to his word when it came to putting the interests of his subjects before that of the Crown's purse. Not only did he revoke royal benevolences, but the second public law passed during his parliament dealt with repealing the Crown's royal rights to fines, enfeoffments, tenements, hereditaments, and wardships in the duchy of Lancaster. As per a number of acts passed by Edward IV, it had been the Crown's prerogative to have these benefits, undoubtedly a rich source of revenue. Indeed, Richard's northern affinity as duke of Gloucester included the eastern portion of the duchy, so he would have had double cause to retain them. Nevertheless, he surrendered all of them in the second public statute passed in his parliament:

"The king, notwithstanding that he believes the said acts to be to his great profit and benefit, believes them to be to the great damage and enslavement of his subjects, and having more affection to the common weal of this his realm and of his subjects than to his personal profit, by the advice of his lords spiritual and temporal and the commons assembled... has enacted and decreed that the aforesaid acts [made under Edward IV], and each of them, be annulled, repealed and of no force or effect, and that his said subjects shall stand and be at their same liberty and freedom as they were before the same acts were made."<sup>30</sup>

Professor Rosemary Horrox, in her Introduction to the 1484 Parliamentary Rolls, says

that Richard was quite genuine in explaining that the motivations underlying this repeal sprang from his concern with the well being of the common people in the duchy than his own singular profit. Duchy records from Richard's reign confirm his sincerity. "[T]hey convey a sense that royal pressure on the duchy had been lifted, which, given Richard's own close links with the duchy and its officers north of the Trent, was perhaps predictable. Good housekeeping within the crownlands remained important, but for Richard the need for support took primacy over the need for money."<sup>31</sup> This is entirely consistent with Richard's announced goal of wanting to distance himself from the greed and avarice witnessed during Edward IV's reign.

Some have questioned Richard's integrity by pointing out that he later sought "loans" in 1485 to fund the defense of his realm against the anticipated invasion of Henry Tudor, which some viewed as tantamount to exacting benevolences. Further, some suggest that the real motivations behind Richard's populist statutes arose only from his need to win support "on the cheap" for his new regime, especially in light of the unusual way he came to the throne. We have no way of knowing whether Richard intended to refund the "loans" since he was killed at Bosworth and therefore did not have the opportunity to repay them. Richard had no standing army of his own, events moved too quickly in 1485 to call another parliament given the tragic deaths of the Prince of Wales and his queen, and Richard needed to address his own succession. Therefore, judging him on not calling and requesting funds from parliament to defend a foreign invasion would be very harsh. This situation is entirely distinct from Edward IV's requests for benevolences to sustain a planned invasion of France, which ultimately redounded to Edward's own personal benefit when he and his courtiers received pensions from the French king.

As to the need to bolster his own regime by passing such enlightened laws, Annette Carson does a splendid job of debunking this type of cynicism. The laws described above were largely aimed at minimizing abuses that harmed the common man and the powerless. Yet "the support of the common man earned him no votes, brought him no armies, supplied him no lucrative taxes. Why would he seek to protect the poor from the rich and the weak from the powerful, when the rich and powerful were the only constituency that mattered to the sovereign?" Carson asks.<sup>32</sup> According to P.M. Kendall, Richard's laws "offered a prospect of fair dealing in the courts which they had not seen for decades" but the nobility and upper gentry probably did not support Richard in this endeavor. "For these laws were aimed directly at curbing the practices by which this class had overawed and preyed upon its weaker neighbors through the past century."<sup>33</sup> Richard was actually serving justice at a great risk – a risk of alienating powerful men whose military prowess he would need in the day of battle.<sup>34</sup>

Too often, we view Richard's two-year reign in the prism of hindsight. He lost at Bosworth, and therefore we tend to give too much weight to the risks he undertook during his time. Edward IV was a much bigger risk taker who undertook an invasion of England in 1471 during a great sea storm that battered and wrecked his ships and dispersed his small army. He landed in the throat of Lancastrian support, yet Henry Percy and John Neville did not engage him when the opportunity was perfectly ripe to do so. To us, in hindsight, Edward IV appears to be a brilliant strategist, when in actuality he had the benefit of good fortune, a deeply fractured polity, and a consistently loyal younger brother to reclaim his crown. "During his brief reign [Richard] displayed many qualities which, if he had come to the throne in a more acceptable way, might have helped him to a long and successful reign."<sup>35</sup> We should beware the temptations of applying historical 20/-20 hindsight and instead understand that Richard III was a man of his troubled and difficult times. But what a man he was!

## Conclusion

Richard's public statutes are consistent with the stated goals of his parliament as expressed by Chancellor Russell in his opening sermon. The "tenth coin" mentioned by Russell is a reference to a parable contained in the New Testament. In the parable, a woman having ten pieces of silver loses one. She lights a candle, sweeps the house and seeks "diligently" to find it. (see Luke 15:8). When she finds it, she calls her friends and neighbors together to celebrate, saying: "Rejoice with me; for I have found the piece which I had lost" (Luke 15:9). Christ likens the woman's joy to the joy of angels when one sinner repents. Not only is her search rewarded by finding that which had been lost, but her house undergoes a cleansing in the process. Perhaps this transformation could not have taken place without the urgency of the search. The house could well represent elements of the English national character that could only be improved and cleansed in the urgent work of recovery and attention to "that which was lost." Or, as many have astutely observed, the tenth coin represents an allusion to the concept of good government and fair dealing expressed through the program of laws Richard and his legal advisors put forth in his first parliament. Had Richard remained the monarch after Bosworth, it is entirely likely that his continuing search for the "tenth coin" would have produced additional reforms leading to a more fair and equitable kingdom.

### Endnotes:

- <sup>1</sup> H.G.Hanbury, *The Legislation of Richard III*, *The American Journal of Legal History*, 1962, pp. 95-113; *Parliamentary Rolls of 1484*, with Introduction by Professor Rosemary Horrox, henceforth "PRolls".
- <sup>2</sup> PRolls, Introduction
- <sup>3</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>4</sup> PRolls, *The Royal Title/Act of Settlement*
- <sup>5</sup> (PRolls, Royal Title]
- <sup>6</sup> P.M.Kendall, *Richard the Third*, Norton & Co., New York, 1955, p. 340.
- <sup>7</sup> Kendall, p. 338.
- <sup>8</sup> A. Carson, *Richard III: The Maligned King*, The History Press, Gloucestershire, 2008, p. 262, citing *Croyland Chronicle*.
- <sup>9</sup> Carson, p. 263, quoting Dr. Sutton.
- <sup>10</sup> Carson, p. 262.
- <sup>11</sup> Carson, p. 262, citing Harley, vol. 2, pp. 48-9.
- <sup>12</sup> Carson, p. 268-9, citing Jeremy Potter, *Good King Richard?* (1983) pp. 22, 53.
- <sup>13</sup> Sutton, "The Administration of Justice Whereunto We Be Professed", *The Ricardian*, 1976 (Vol. 4), p. 13.
- <sup>14</sup> Hanbury, p. 106.
- <sup>15</sup> PRolls.
- <sup>16</sup> PRolls; Hanbury, p. 107.
- <sup>17</sup> Sutton, p. 10.
- <sup>18</sup> *Black's Law Dictionary*, 6th edition.
- <sup>19</sup> PRolls.
- <sup>20</sup> PRolls; Hanbury, pp. 107-8.
- <sup>21</sup> Hanbury, p. 98.
- <sup>22</sup> Hanbury, p. 99.

- 23 Ibid.  
24 PRolls.  
25 Black’s Law Dictionary.  
26 Kendall, p. 34.  
27 PRolls.  
28 Sutton, p. 10, citing B. Wilkinson, *Constitutional History of England in the 15<sup>th</sup> Century*. Longmans, 1964, p. 163.  
29 Carson, p. 270, citing Bertram Fields, *Royal Blood*, (New York, 1998, pp. 162—3)  
30 PRolls.  
31 Introduction to PRolls.  
32 Carson, p. 271.  
33 Kendall, pp. 341-342.  
34 Ibid.  
35 A.R. Meyers, “The Character of Richard III”, *History Today*, 1954.

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*Please enjoy the final installment of Meredith Whitfords’s Ricardianspoofs*

## Lizzie’s Letters

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Westminster, June 1483

Dear Mr Tudor,

Thank you for your kind letter of commiseration on our recent family misfortunes. It was indeed something of a surprise to hear from you, but a pleasant one, of course.

As you can imagine, we are all at sixes and sevens here. Even as his loving sister, I must admit that young Eddie is being a real little bastard about losing the throne, it’s whine whine whine all day long. He also complains of toothache and tummy pains, but as Dr Argentine says, what can he expect when he gobbled the entire box of Pontefract cakes Uncle Tony sent.

Mummy is furious about the whole business, of course – one can’t help feeling for her. She keeps saying she told Daddy to fix that Dr Stillington once and for all; I suppose she means he should have been given a decent pension. Speaking of pensions, Mummy has made enquiries and apparently a de facto wife can get a widow’s pension, but she’s worried there may be an assets test. Perhaps she could get some sort of war pension instead.

This family gossip must be dull for you, but you did say that you like to catch up with home news. To answer your kind question, yes, Eddie and Rickie are still in the White Tower but Uncle Richard talks of moving them elsewhere while the staircase is being renovated – it’s getting more and more noisy and dusty, great piles of stones and rubble everywhere.

You say you’re homesick – why not pop over for a while soon? Your mother could find the fare, I’m sure. I know Uncle Richard would give you a warm welcome; he likes entertaining foreign visitors.

I didn’t realise you knew Harry Buckingham.

Yours most sincerely,

Elizabeth of York

December A.D. 1483  
Still at Westminster, alas.

Dear Henry,

Happy Christmas.

What a lot has happened since I last wrote! I hope you don't mind a little plain speaking, but it was rather silly of you to get involved in Cousin Buckingham's little rebellion. Thanks for the "Present from Plymouth" cushion cover.

Uncle Richard was most amusing about the whole invasion business – he said that, being Welsh, you shouldn't be surprised that your plans sprang a leek! He really has the most delightful sense of humour.

There is some talk of us all going to live with him and Aunt Anne, which would be lovely.

Mummy's pension has come through.

Auntie Cath just popped her head in to say that while I'm writing, would I mention that Dr Morton left his set of forks behind when he left Brecknock so hurriedly. Does he want them sent on, or held for collection?

The staircase is finished but the boys haven't moved back in yet.

Now, I must be serious for a moment. It's all very well for our mothers to urge this marriage idea, but I'm not sure of my own mind yet. After all, I don't really know you, and letters aren't the same as a personal meeting. I'm flattered, of course, that you should want to marry me, but are you sure? What a shame you can't come to visit just yet, but once Uncle R's calmed down a bit we might arrange something. I'll think over your proposal, of course, but won't give an answer just yet.

Warmest regards,

Elizabeth.

Westminster, Xmas 1484

Dear Harry,

Just a note to apologise for not writing for so long. Have been so busy! Your last letter sounded so sad and reproachful – I had no idea my letters meant so much to you. Surely your mother or stepfather keeps you up-to-date with events here? But I'll try to write more often.

Thank you for the portrait of yourself you sent – handsome isn't the word! Uncle R is having his portrait done so I'll try to get the artist to do a sketch of me to send you. I'm glad you say you like blondes – flatterer!

We've been having very merry times here at Court – Uncle R certainly knows how to throw a party. He's dropping hints about marriages for us girls, but time will tell. Who can we really marry, after all? Great plans for Xmas here, all the doings, with a big Twelfth Night knees-up. Uncle R, bless him, has been very generous with our dress allowances and my dress for the banquet is a dream!

I've been giving Aunt Anne those pills your mother asked you to send, but she still looks a bit peaky.

You mentioned going to Rennes for Xmas – do try to visit the cathedral there, it's said to be very fine.

Must dash – Uncle R's giving a party tonight and has promised me the first dance He's a wonderful dancer.

Regards,

Liz.

~

Feb. 1485

Darling Hank,

On yr honour do NOT open my last letter, please as you say you love me. Silly me, I put uncle Jock Howard's address on your letter and vice versa. It must be love making me so scatter-brained! DON'T read the letter, it's just dull family stuff.

In haste, by special messenger, so you'll receive this before my last,  
Your adoring Lizzie

~

March 1485

To Henry Tudor, Esq.:

Sir:

All right, be like that, but no gentleman would have read a letter addressed to another person.

Can't you take a joke? Me and Uncle R? Ha ha!

Anyway, what's this I hear about you and that Herbert girl?

I return your portrait herewith, and suggest you do something about the arthritis in your hands. At least Uncle R has nice hands.

E. York.

~

June 1485

My dearest Harrikins,

Of course I forgive you, if you forgive me. You are my only joy-maker, you know. Uncle R is such a silly man really. Did you hear about that spiteful speech he made about me?

Are you sure you don't care for Maud Herbert? You're not just saying it?

Had a postcard from Eddie and Rickie today, just "good journey, weather fine, Aunt Meg sends love." Where is Tournai? Boys never write a proper letter, do they! -- although your Mama says you were always an excellent correspondent, especially in the last couple of years.

Do you really think you'll be able to come over this summer? Uncle R says that if you do, he'll have a really warm welcome for you. Perhaps he's not so bad after all.

Must dash -- we're all on our way up to Sheriff Hutton for the summer, although Uncle R says he'll probably stop in Leicester, he really seems to dig it there.

Have you seen anything of my half-brother Dorset lately? Northumberland wishes to be remembered to you, and your stepfather sends his best.

All love,

Lizzie

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## Ricardian Review

Myrna Smith

*A secret between two is God's secret; a secret between three is everybody's.*—Spanish proverb

**Royal Marriage Secrets; consorts and concubines, bigamists and bastards.** John Ashdown-Hill. Stroud, Gloucestershire, England: The History Press, 2013.

John Ashdown-Hill has explored quite a bit of territory on the boundaries between fact and fiction. His explorations began in the 11<sup>th</sup> century and ended in the 20<sup>th</sup>; they covered eight English monarchs, one pretender, and two heirs who died before succeeding to the throne.

He presents his findings as an “overview of the phenomenon of disputed English royal marriages as a whole, offering some new evidence, highlighting common features and points of contrast, and suggesting possible explanations.” Chapters titled “The Evolution of Marriage” and “Medieval Marriage Practice,” plus a reader-friendly collection of relevant legal documents in appendix 3, guide readers through murky areas where secret marriages sank roots and survived.

Since written records of marriages were not required before the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and since most medieval marriages did not take place in church, Ashdown-Hill has been limited to circumstantial evidence in many cases. This limitation hasn't prevented him from presenting some thought-provoking possibilities. One of the most impressive is a full-page photograph comparing the arms of Owen Tudor, and his putative sons, Edmund and Jasper, with those of Edmund Beaufort. Ashdown-Hill's suggestion that Edmund Beaufort “was as capable of marital mischief” as Edward IV or Henry VIII, adds a new dimension to the Tudor myth.

Despite the laws passed to prevent it, marital mischief continued into the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Efforts at remedy—which some may see as cover-ups—have raised many unanswered questions. Ashdown-Hill describes his efforts to answer them without resorting to dogmatic conclusions. At the end of his introduction he tells readers: “Some previous writers have chosen to make very firm judgments about our cases of disputed royal marriages. This will not be done here. Many of the cases are not black and white, and there may be no simple answer. ... On the whole my preference will be to tell the stories, present the evidence (some of it new), draw some parallels, and then leave the final verdict in each case to my readers.”

Among the epigraphs that enhance this text are two that recommend an open-minded attitude towards historical uncertainties. The first is Napoleon I's opinion: “History is a set of lies agreed upon.” The second comes from Agatha Christie's *The Moving Finger*: “Such a lot of things are such rot. History, for instance. Why it's quite different out of different books!” Tacitus' observation that “...the remote past invites guesswork” also applies. Readers who enjoy sharing an author's guesswork process are likely to enjoy *Royal Marriage Secrets*. Those unfamiliar with Ashdown-Hill's earlier work may benefit from reading *Eleanor, the Secret Queen* as well. Some readers may hope that Ashdown-Hill is planning follow-up books on French, Iberian, Italian, German, Scandinavian, and Hungarian royal families. There seems to be good potential for a Matrimonial Mischief Series. Could English royal families have had a monopoly on secret marriages?—Marion Davis

*There is a skeleton in every house.*—Anon

Now to a marriage that was celebrated very publicly, but may have had some secrets of its own

**The White Princess**—Philippa Gregory, Simon & Schuster, NY, 2013

Ms. Gregory promised to reveal the secret of who killed the Princes in the Tower (or the Prince and the Page) in this book of the Cousin's War series. She certainly indicates who may have been ultimately responsible, but she hedges on who actually did the deed—except that it wasn't Richard III. And what turned Henry VII from the rather attractive small boy and the hopeful, if frightened, young man of *The Red Queen*, this book's immediate predecessor, into the cynical old lecher of *The Constant Princess*, the first book of the Tudor series? Apparently it was the battle of Bosworth Field itself. One of his first actions on meeting Elizabeth is to rape her, in a manner that is not especially violent but is off-the-charts for crudity. Only later does he mellow, a little. Well, it might have happened, but not for the reason given here—to make sure she was fertile before committing to the marriage. Henry must have known that sexual relations between an engaged couple made the marriage binding, pregnancy or no. If he didn't know, Elizabeth must have, and if she didn't know, her mother did, and if Elizabeth Woodville didn't know, the novelist does. That is what *Titulus Regius* was all about.

Indeed, Ms. Gregory, or her protagonist, Elizabeth of York, seems to have some difficulties with memory. Not only do they have trouble with things that went on at a previous time or in previous books, they can't seem to remember from one page to the next. For example: Elizabeth is telling Margaret Beaufort a few home truths. She never loved her son, and the result is “There is no true love in him, neither to give nor receive—none at all.” But just a few sentences earlier she has acknowledged that Henry was loved by, and loved, the woman who fostered him, Lady Herbert.

Yet the book does have its virtues, moments when the author seems to have gotten it exactly right. For example: Henry brings Elizabeth a syllabub to drink, explaining, “You were raised in a royal household with dozens of servants waiting around for something to do. But in Brittany I had to serve myself. Sometimes we had no house servants. Actually, sometimes we had no house...” An exaggeration, perhaps. He was probably never literally homeless, and must have had at least some servants. But as the author of *Bosworth Field* points out, below, frequently there was no “we,” as he was forcibly separated from his uncle. Another example: Margaret Beaufort, not usually prescient, tells Elizabeth that in Perkin Warbeck, Henry “...has killed the boy that he was... a fellow-pretender.” Exactly right!

And there are low-key but telling moments, such as Elizabeth trying to give Henry instruction in the art and science of the royal wave.

Henry is a multi-faceted character, downright mercurial, in fact. He can go from tenderness to towering rage in an instant—although, credit due, he never strikes anyone. Elizabeth and her mother-in-law are more one-dimensional. And the book is a page-turner, with many powerful scenes, likely or not. Will Ms. Gregory, like Sandra Worth, give us Catherine Gordon's story next, and really tell us Whodunit? Time will tell.

*A man can hide all things, excepting twain -/that he is drunk, and that he is in love.*—Antiphanes

**By Loyalty Bound: The story of the mistress of King Richard III**—Elizabeth Ashworth, Pen & Sword Books, UK, 2013

One secret that Richard III carried to his grave was the identity of the mother of his illegitimate children, thus leaving novelists plenty of room to speculate. Some have plumped for Katherine Haute, but Elizabeth Ashworth has an alternative candidate, Anne Harrington. Anne was an actually-existing historical person, whether she had any relationship with Richard or not. So were her uncles, James and Robert, who are also characters in the novel, and they did live at Hornby Castle, which was a cause for dispute in real life as well as in

the novel. So Ms. Ashworth makes a good case for her choice. Hereinafter, when I refer to “Anne” without a family name, I will mean Anne Harrington.

The pro-Yorkist Harringtons are feuding with the Stanleys, who, unfortunately, are the guardians of their nieces. When the 17-year-old Duke of Gloucester turns up on their doorstep, they see an opportunity. Noticing that the Duke has been noticing Anne, and vice-versa, they figure that if Anne is “damaged goods” the Stanleys won’t want her wardship, and therefore won’t be able to claim Hornby. Pretty cold-blooded by modern standards, and Anne is unhappy about it herself, at least at first. It’s all for naught, though. The Stanleys kidnap Anne and her younger sister, Izzie, and marry them off to their own scions. Soon Richard and Anne meet again and Anne falls pregnant. Unfortunately, she can’t claim that her husband is the father—he’s only 9 years old! Richard does the Right Thing; that is, he doesn’t marry her, but does support her and the children. (A daughter has arrived in due time.) However, when he marries Anne Neville, he feels obligated to pension Anne Harrington off, and she must return to young Edward Stanley. Edward is growing up, but doesn’t appear to be interested in our heroine, preferring to stay in his tower room working on alchemic projects and composing music—and if you are thinking what I’m thinking you are thinking, you are thinking wrong. Anne is content, if not ecstatically happy, in her life as one angle of a *ménage a trois*, but she and her family are caught up the tumultuous events of the Protectorate and the short reign of Richard III.

Ms. Ashworth uses the telling detail to good effect. For instance, the story’s first bedroom scene is temporarily averted because of Anne’s nervousness and Richard’s consideration, but she is not too nervous to note that his borrowed dressing gown is several sizes too big and too long, and that he has very small feet. And Richard is no moral giant, either. He candidly admits that he plans to marry for money and land. “I am a youngest son. I have no lands that are mine by inheritance.” When Anne protests that “I would love you if you were a peasant,” he tells her “No you wouldn’t. If I were a peasant with greasy clothes and filthy hair, you would turn away from me in disgust.” Though he is probably right about this, Anne feels that he can hardly excuse the deaths of Henry VI and his son. Yet Richard is treated sympathetically, and we can see what Anne sees in him, which is a *sine qua non* for any novel, historical or otherwise.

(Those who want to know more about Ms. Ashworth’s research or her other writings should go to [www.elizabethashworth.com](http://www.elizabethashworth.com).)

*Be silent and safe—silence never betrays you*—John Boyle O’Reilly

*Wherever there is a secret, there must be something wrong.*—English proverb

**Bosworth: The birth of the Tudors**—Chris Skidmore, Orion Publishing Group, London, 2013

There are two types of people in the world

1. Those who make and check lists, and
2. The rest of us.

Chris Skidmore seems to be of the first group. As a MP, he is no doubt used to making and consulting lists of constituents and donors, so he must feel some affinity with the subject of this book, who notoriously kept such a notebook, until it was savaged by a pet monkey. Mr. Skidmore has not only consulted such documents that are available in order to, for example, indicate who was rewarded after Tudor’s victory at Bosworth Field, and with what. He has truly immersed himself in his subject, even tracing down the places at which Henry stayed in Brittany and France. These included the Tour d’Elven, “still hidden away in deep forest miles from habitation,” where Henry was kept, Rapunzel-like, on the sixth of seven floors. There may not have been bars on the doors; there didn’t need to be. When

Tudor told de Commynes that he had been “a prisoner or an exile” for most of his early life, he was being self-dramatizing and self-serving, but not self-fabricating. His keepers seem to have been minor courtiers, but whoever they were, and wherever he was, he knew he could be yanked away from there at any moment and/or sold to the highest (and only) bidder, Edward IV. This must have had an effect on the man and king that he became.

To some extent, Skidmore follows the paths of both Richard III and the future Henry VII to their confrontation at Bosworth, and he tries to be fair to both, though he naturally leans toward the Tudor side. He thinks that Richard did what he did because he had backed himself into a corner, and if he seems to emphasize some of the negatives of Richard’s reign while gliding over Henry’s, it should be remembered that the author ends his study soon after Henry’s coronation, before he had time to display (or ‘develop’ if you prefer) some of his more negative qualities.

Chris Skidmore has also written *Edward VI* and *Death and the Virgin* (about Elizabeth I and Dudley), so he has credentials both as an historian and a politician. If this book is a trifle dry sometimes, it will certainly be a useful reference.

By the way, there was really no such person as Henry Tudor. ‘Henry’ was pronounced, and often written, by the English and Welsh as ‘Harry,’ and when it was necessary for ‘Harry’ to use a surname, he signed himself as Henry (de) Richmond. This calls for some rethinking and renaming. We must learn to speak of the Richmond Despotism, and Richmondesque architecture!

*Silence is a fine jewel for a woman, but it’s little worn.*—English proverb

**Royal Mistress** - Anne Easter Smith, Simon & Schuster, NY, 2013

In the fourth book in her 15<sup>th</sup>-century series, Anne Easter Smith has taken on a difficult task. Anybody who knows anything at all about the period knows what to expect. Indeed, the title should be a giveaway. So how to build interest, aside from making side bets about when and to whom Jane Shore will lose her virginity? (I’m not saying, except that it is “a pretty good record for this here vicinity.”) There are several ways.

One is to set a compelling *mise-en-scene*. Without letting description impede action, Ms. Smith shows us what the clothing looked like, for example, and what it was like to wear it. “When will they ever invent a dye that does not come off leather when it rains?” a green-footed Jane complains. The author is skilled in bringing the sights and sounds—and smells!—of the 15<sup>th</sup> century to us. A pivotal scene takes place in a garderobe, or privy—*not* when it is being used for its primary purpose, I must add.

Another is to produce compelling characters. Besides our diminutive heroine, one is Duchess Cecily, who is able to reduce her grown sons, one king and two dukes, to ‘puling boys.’ There’s Richard of Gloucester, who comes off as a bit of a prig, but not an unsympathetic character. There is Richard’s ex-mistress, Kate Haute, compared to Jane by a number of characters, though Richard himself never sees the likeness. Maybe he did subconsciously, but it would be *very* subconscious. (The two women do meet, briefly. Kate, incidentally, is the subject of Smith’s pervious book, *A Rose for the Crown*.) There is the Howard family, who are friends to both Jane and Kate, as well as Richard. And there are Hastings, Edward IV, Thomas Grey (who turns out to be a bit of a louse—*quelle* surprise!)

...

The dialogue is not quite so successful. People say things like “Hop it!” on one page, and toss around “Certes” on the next. Personally, I would prefer something betwixt and between. But when the characters do talk, they make sense by their own lights. There is a postlude in 1519, when Jane meets Thomas More. Quite a bit of Jane’s story is skipped

over. Did Tom Lynnom lose all his money? What happened to his and Jane's daughter? Will there be another book?

And yes, I know that Jane Shore was actually Elizabeth. The author gives a plausible reason for the dual names, but I think that Elizabeth just adopted a *nom de guerre*—er, so to speak. So many of the upper classes had the same names at this period that the character list at the beginning of the book is a big help.

*If you want to know secrets, seek for them in trouble or in pleasure.*—Spanish proverb

**The Shadow Prince**—Terrence Morgan, Pan Books, London, 2013

This is the story of the man called Perkin Warbeck, as related by himself. It may be called 'revealing the spoiler' if I tell you that, in this novel, 'Perkin' is Richard IV. I don't feel too bad about this, though, because that's not the only mystery involved here. What was Richard of York doing during his years in the Low Countries? What important discovery did he make? Who was Richard of Eastwell? These I'm not saying about. The author does say "What I have written is not at all a likely explanation of Perkin's life, but it is a possible one." This is true, but he lays the ground work well enough, and makes his protagonist believable enough, that one can acknowledge that, well... maybe... it *could* have happened this way.

It would be easier to suspend disbelief if Mr. Morgan didn't make some peculiar errors. For example, Richard/Perkin is down sick with the sweat for a week. Usually one died or got better within 24 hours. Also, he refers to Arthur Tudor as the 'crown prince.' Possibly someone who had lived on the continent for many years would make that mistake, but hardly someone whose brother was Prince of Wales, and who, extra-legally, claimed that title for himself at one time. And is it likely that Richard III considered reversing *Titulus Regius* and making Edward and Richard his heirs while his own son was alive?

In his afterword, Mr. Morgan delineates what details of the story are attested history, what are his speculation, and what are pure fiction. As to the conjunction between fiction and fact, why did Lewis and Clark think they might find Welsh-speaking Indians? Yes, that's part of the mystery too. "Richard of York" confides that he has had seven different lives—a couple short of a cat—and high adventures in all of them. So if you like adventure...

*He that keepeth his mouth keepeth his life; but he that openeth wide his lips shall have destruction.*—Proverbs XIII 3.

**The Lost Prince: The survival of Richard of York-** David Baldwin, Sutton Publishing Co., Stroud, UK, 2007

Baldwin sets the scene by recounting the history of Eastwell, the home of "Richard of Eastwell," from Saxon times through 1993, describing St Mary's church as it was before being destroyed in World War II. Then he hops back to 1542, when Sir Thomas Moyle noticed that an elderly bricklayer was reading a book in Latin. This being a time when usually only aristocrats could read English, it was astounding that an ordinary workman was reading in Latin. Upon being questioned, the man said that he was an illegitimate son of Richard III who was fostered out and taught by a Latin scholar. On the eve of Bosworth, he was taken to the king's tent, where King Richard embraced him as his son. He gave the boy a pouch of gold and told him that if he died on the following day, to fend for himself and tell no one who he was, as that would put him in great danger. The boy watched as the king was killed, fled to London, sold his possessions and apprenticed to a bricklayer.

Sir Thomas allowed the bricklayer to build a house for himself on his property. He died there in 1550, and his tombstone still stands there, though somewhat broken.

Baldwin points out that Richard of Gloucester acknowledged two illegitimate children, and from the ages given, Richard of Eastwell would have been born before Richard's

marriage to Anne Neville, so there is no obvious reason why he did not take this child into his household as well. Therefore, Richard of Eastwell must be Richard, Duke of York. But there are numerous phrases such as “it would be tempting,” “it is likely,” “almost certainly,” ...and many, many more. The conjectures about the life of Prince Richard before 1542 are interesting and plausible, although some evidence is necessarily flimsy. In Baldwin’s version, so many people knew the secret whereabouts of the boy—Richard III, Francis Lovell, Henry VII and his agents, Henry VIII, and several miscellaneous lords—that it is surprising the secret was kept.

The first sentence in the book is: “Richard is unquestionably the most maligned of all English rulers...” then the author proceeds to damn Richard, in a way that is insidious and therefore more damaging than the caricatures of More and Shakespeare. Richard of Gloucester was 7 when Ludlow was sacked by Lancasterans, and he learned the meaning of insecurity. Therefore every subsequent action was calculated to ensure his security, with no other motive. His loyalty to his brother, his marriage to Anne Neville, his proposed marriage to his niece—all with the ultimate end of preserving his security. After he presided over the trials and executions of the defeated Lancastrians, he realized that “he could expect no mercy if events turned against him. Kindheartedness was a luxury he could no longer afford.” With this statement, Baldwin turns Richard into a real monster.

And the outrage continues. Clarence? “He might...have been glad to see the back of a dangerous rival.” Poor Anthony Woodville? “We have only [Richard’s] word that the four wagonloads of weapons he brought to London were to have been used against him.” The Woodvilles “could not have known of the “determined, even cynical streak” in Richard’s character. Baldwin does concede that, although Edward’s will has been lost, he probably did leave the protectorship of the realm to his younger brother. He also believes that Edward V died in the Tower of advanced bone disease, but that Richard allowed Elizabeth Woodville and her younger son to live under the protection of his trusted friend, Sir James Tyrell, at a manor in Essex. But what strange behavior for a man incapable of “kindheartedness!”

Baldwin has previously written a biography of Elizabeth Woodville, and seems to have a definite sympathy, if not a prejudice, in favor of her family. This explains his slant against Richard III, but does not excuse it. The book is somewhat tedious reading. Many passages are in the language of the day, but as they are long and difficult to read, the modern reader is tempted to skip them.

The premise that Richard of Eastwell was Richard of York is acceptable and may have happened as Baldwin surmises, but his hatched job on Richard III is unnecessary to prove this, and detracts seriously from it. In his determination to blacken Richard’s name, he diminishes accepted facts and weakens his work.—Dale Summers.

*A secret stays long in darkness, but it will see the light.*—Greek proverb

If you have a comment on any book that may be considered even remotely apropos to this column, don’t keep it a secret. I am waiting to be enlightened!

# 2013 Annual Reports: Richard III Society, American Branch

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## Chairman's Report

Jonathan Hayes\*

Can anyone deny that it's a great time to be a Ricardian? We were all electrified by the announcement that the bones found in the car park were indeed those of Richard. Philippa Langley, John Ashdown-Hill, Phil Stone and others of the Society who contributed deserve our deepest and most heartfelt thanks. One can't help but muse that this was the perfect time for the discovery—a couple of decades earlier and the DNA knowledge and carbon dating sophistication wouldn't have been available. A couple of decades later and the DNA evidence wouldn't have been available. Perhaps, as Philippa surmises, Richard “wanted to be found.”

American Branch Chairman, Jonathan Hayes, and Membership Director, Sally Keil, journeyed to Leicester for the March conference. For Jonathan it was a chance to renew acquaintanceships with the many kind and hospitable members of the parent society he'd met at the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary in York. For both Jonathan and Sally, the rose-laying ceremony at Bosworth was a moving experience.

The American Branch was saddened by the death of Amber McVey, our former Membership Director, who had battled cancer for many years. Canadian Branch members as well as American Branch members will remember her fondly for her unflinching good spirits as well as her untiring work as Membership Director and dedication to Richard.

Since the American Branch territory is a tad on the large side, much Branch business is conducted by conference call and the Board has had a full year. We have increased our contacts with the Australia/New Zealand and Canadian and Jacqui Emerson's sterling efforts in the parent society in reaching out to the membership are greatly appreciated. The American Branch has its own publication, the Ricardian Register, and the Board is considering lowering membership dues for those who would like to just receive it by electronic means. Since everything is print on demand nowadays this would not raise costs for those who would prefer the print edition. Other Branches, please copy.

Our AGM will be held in Richmond, Virginia this year. Speakers will be Dr. John Ashdown-Hill, speaking from England via Skype (one wonders what Richard would make of modern communications technology—if the Pope tweets, wouldn't Richard have also done so?) and Professor David Routt of the University of Richmond who will talk on his studies of the economic and social history of the Abbey of St. Edmund. Our own Susan Higginbotham will also discuss her upcoming book on the Woodvilles.

It will be appreciated that the United States does not have the plethora of medieval sites enjoyed by the British branches. However, with true Yankee ingenuity, we have made up for that deficiency by importing them and we will visit two as part of the AGM festivities. Agecroft Hall was built in Lancashire, England in the late fifteenth century and was for many years the home of the Langley and Dauntsey families. Falling into disrepair, it was sold at auction in 1925. It was purchased by Thomas C. Williams, Jr., disassembled, shipped to Virginia and painstakingly reassembled in Richmond. The Great Hall, Great Parlour and other rooms are extensively furnished with authentic period pieces. The gardens are reproductions of period gardens. Virginia House was originally the Priory of the Augustinian Order of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem in Warwick and was acquired by Thomas (Hawkins) Fisher at the Dissolution and rebuilt as a Tudor manor house. Alexander and Virginia Weddell bought the house at a demolition sale in 1925, and had it dismantled and shipped to Richmond where it was rebuilt. The west wing is a replica of Sulgrave Manor,

ancestral home of George Washington, and the center section is a reproduction of the Priory. The interior decoration is period, much of it being original.

A feature of the AGM is always the Saturday night banquet where members have the opportunity to disport themselves in their medieval finery. The American Branch has traditionally presented the Dickon Award to members who have made outstanding contributions to the Branch's activities. This year awards will go to Pam Butler, for many years a stalwart Membership Director and one-person AGM organizer, William and Amber McVey for their contributions as Membership Director and webmaster, Lisa Holt-Jones (from Canada) who has singlehandedly made our web site both up-to-date and singularly attractive and Diane Hoffman, our Branch Treasurer, who has soldiered valiantly on beyond her allotted term and has kept us both solvent and out of trouble with the IRS.

It has been a truly great year for the Society and the American Branch and we look forward to another great Ricardian year in 2014.

\*this report compiled in spite of all the efforts of my cat, Felix, to add his input by constantly walking across the keyboard.

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## Editor's Report

Joan Szechtman

This year saw the Register delivered both digitally and in print and plan to continue delivering both formats in 2014.

Please extend a warm welcome to our new Research Officer, Pamela Garrett, who has jumped in the deep end and has been a great help with both the September and December issues. I also greatly depend on Diana Rubino and Ruth Roberts for their expert and prompt editing support. Also, thanks to everyone who has contributed articles for publication, without which we wouldn't have a publication. Please keep those articles coming; we all depend on every member of the Society and other interested parties.

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## Membership Chair Report

Sally Keil

I took over the role of Membership Chair one year ago. At that time our membership records were kept in a database designed by William McVey, the husband of the former Membership Chair, Amber McVey. While a significant improvement over standard Excel spreadsheets, this database was not as flexible as I wished and, being familiar with another database program called 'Giftworks', I proceeded to purchase a copy of this program and donate to the Society. I loaded it onto a laptop and exported all of the database records from William's system into Giftworks. This includes all current members, lapsed past members, and some non-members.

One year ago Amber reported at the last Annual General Meeting that we had approximately 315 active members of the American Branch. She further noted that, due to the news of the 'dig' that discovered the remains of King Richard III, some 46 new members joined our group within the last two months.

I am very pleased to report that, as of September 28 2013, our current membership count stands at 403: an increase of 112 new members or a 33% jump in our member rolls!

One of my goals for the coming year is to increase communications with our membership.

I also want to take this opportunity to recognize those of us who have been members for 20 years or more:

Name	Member Since	Name	Member Since
Lambertson, Valerie	10/2/1966	Mackie, Duncan R.	10/2/1985
Anderson, Audrey K.	9/6/1968	McGarvey, Wendy W.	10/2/1985
Morales, Myra	10/2/1968	Barillas, Barbara Baker	10/2/1986
Reeves, A. Compton	10/2/1968	Betten, Judith M.	10/2/1986
McLatchie, Linda	10/2/1969	Kirkman, Jane L.	10/2/1986
Mosley, Nancy	10/2/1969	High, Lindy R.	10/2/1987
Dolan, Peggy Ann	5/29/1971	Maxwell, Lisbeth R.	10/2/1987
Allen, Peggy	10/2/1977	Michalove, Sharon D.	10/2/1987
Barnstead, Carol M.	10/2/1977	Willard, Thomasin	10/2/1987
Battaglia & Family, Bonnie	10/2/1977	Blanchard, Laura V. & Roy H.	10/2/1988
Bloomquist, Jacqueline F.	10/2/1977	Davis, Laura Albrecht	10/2/1988
Griffiths, Lois M.	10/2/1977	Shafer, Dawn Benedetto	10/2/1988
Karkut, Patricia M.	10/2/1977	McDowell, Lorilee	10/1/1989
Kubal, Gene J.	10/2/1977	Trimbath, Janet M.	10/2/1989
Maurer, Helen	10/2/1977	Tumea, Joyce & Tony	4/1/1990
McArthur, Richard P.	10/2/1977	Harris, Marion	10/1/1990
Rosenberg, Lois	10/2/1977	Braunfeld, Angela P.	10/2/1990
Smith, Myrna	10/2/1977	Dodsworth, George R.	10/2/1990
Vivian, Robert P.	10/2/1977	Heyerdahl, Virginia Ann	10/2/1990
Wichman, Adrian	10/2/1977	Siler, Jean C.	10/2/1990
Ottiker, John B.	10/2/1978	Tavener, Jane L.	10/2/1990
Piccirilli, Nancy Lee	7/1/1979	Trout, Theodore Michael	10/2/1990
Batch, Dianne G.	10/2/1979	Wesselink, Linda	1/1/1991
Bonfanti, Celeste	10/2/1979	Gardner, Judy K.	4/1/1991
Eakins, Jo Carol	10/2/1979	Hughes, Jane	4/1/1991
Shapiro, Ellen	9/1/1980	Lea, Joan R.	4/1/1991
Howeth, Georgia	10/2/1980	Mitchell, James D.	4/1/1991
Miller, Mary Poundstone	10/2/1980	Walter, Donald E.	4/1/1991
Warnicke, Retha M.	10/2/1980	Retallick, Mary M.	9/1/1991
Hess, John J.	10/2/1982	York, Robert R.	10/1/1991
Collins, Anthony C.	10/2/1983	Hayes, Jonathan A.	1/1/1992
McDaniel, Ruth	10/2/1983	Lea, Rudolph	1/1/1992
Summers, Dale	10/2/1983	Pimental, Judith A.	1/21/1992
Johnson, Carrie J.	8/1/1984	Thoma, Carol L.	1/21/1992
Wiggle, Rose M.	8/1/1984	Vineyard, Ruth Anne	1/21/1992
Simnitt, Jerry	10/1/1984	Storey, Lynn M.	5/22/1992
Knight, Andrew R.	10/2/1984	Falls, James S.	9/23/1992
Mitkus, Marianne J.	5/1/1985	Oberdorfer, Richard	10/1/1992
Chanda, Virginia V.	8/1/1985	Hodge, William H.	10/2/1992
Nicholas, Christopher P.	8/1/1985	Lehman, Barbara	10/2/1992
Gall, Judie	8/22/1985	Pierce, Donald A.	10/2/1992
Weiner, Janice L.	9/1/1985	Burnett, David J.	4/1/1993
Hild, Vicki A.	10/2/1985	Mitchell, Roberta D.	6/1/1993

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### Treasurer's Report

Diane Hoffman

The financial situation of the Richard III Society has improved since last year. Raising the dues to \$60 per year has helped us cover our costs, with less reliance on gifts to keep us in the black. The publicity surrounding the Leicester dig and the finding of Richard III's remains has also brought in new members as well as caused a few lapsed members to renew. For the calendar year 2012, we had 304 full-paid memberships (as opposed to the \$5 family

memberships). I try to be conservative when estimating how many members will join or renew in a given year, so my estimate for 2013 is 325 full-paid members.

In the recent past, we have had some AGMs that cost more (a couple cost a good deal more) than we took in. This year we were determined to set registration fees and banquet charges higher and make sure we charged enough to cover all costs. This year we should have enough money to cover everything without dipping into our once-dwindling reserves.

If you look at our 2012 balance sheet, you will see that we had a gain of a little over \$7,000. That is a little rosier than reality. We use cash accounting, which means we count as expenses only those checks and debits which have actually been paid by the bank by December 31st. For 2012, there are approximately \$2500 in printing, shipping and mailing charges that did not clear the bank until January 2013. So our total expenses should be \$20,140.55, and our net assets should be \$167,103.36. What you see on this balance sheet is what is reported to the IRS.

Regarding the 2014 budget, you will see that I estimate 325 memberships in the calendar year, but I have estimated 350 memberships paid to the UK Society. We pay for UK memberships in advance for a full year based on the membership as of October 2nd. It would be more accurate to pay for memberships on a quarterly basis, based on how many people actually joined or renewed in that quarter. I hope someday the UK Society will see the fairness of such a solution.

I am hopeful that once the controversy over Richard's reinterment is settled, and if Leicester Cathedral can be persuaded to give a fair accounting of Richard's life in any signage, pamphlets, or other information they provide to visitors, that our Society will enjoy increased membership as people finally hear the truth about our favorite English King.

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Financial Assets  
Jan 1 - Dec 31, 2012

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Fund or Bank Acct	Beginning Balance Jan 1 2012	Mutual Fund Purchs	Mutua l Fund Redem ps	Ending Balance Dec 31 2012	Total Earni ngs	Gain or Loss or Fees	Notes
Calvert Social Money Market Fund	5861.94	0	0	5863.06	1.12	0	
Vanguard Total Bond Mkt Index Fund	110408.55	20000	0	135117.27	3954.5	754.22	
Chase Bank Checking Account	14811.46			13503	0	-45	Int'l Wire Fee
Chase Bank Savings Account	30317.54			10351.08	33.54	0	
Paypal Account	419.28			4771.36	0	0	
Totals	161818.77			169605.77	3989.16	709.22	

Balance Sheet  
Jan 1 - Dec 31, 2012

Income	Detail	Amount	Totals
Dues			15375.3
Gifts	General Fund	3839.11	
	McGee Fund	20	
	Schallek Fund	195	
	Weinsoft Fund	210	
Gifts Total			4264.11
Investment Income	Dividends, Interest, Capital Gains Distributions		3989.16
AGM Income	Raffle income only		292.26
Ricardian Register Ads			153.96
Sales Dept	Includes sales made at AGM		641.13
Total Income			24715.92
Expenses	Notes		
Board Expenses	Mostly office supplies		411.61
Conference Calls			447.38
Library			171.2
NY State Fees	Filing fee for state tax return		60
PO Box Rental			320
Bylaws Mailing			268.4
Ricardian Register Publishing & Mailing	Also includes mailing UK Publications within US		3352.74
UK Society Membership Fees	Discounted rate of £18 per member		9067.05
UK Publications, Shipping	From UK to US		3069.25
Sales Dept	Purchase Inventory + Shipping expenses		470.51
Total Expenses			17638.14
Income minus Expenses			7077.78
Net Assets, Jan 1 2012			161818.77
Other changes in Net Assets	Realized & Unrealized Gains & Losses		709.22
Net Assets, Dec 31 2012			169605.77

## Proposed Budget - 2014

Income	Amount	Notes
Dues	\$19,500.00	325 * \$60 = \$19,500; 304 paid memberships for 2012
Gifts	\$4,875.00	19,500 * 0.25; recent gifts have totaled about 25% of dues
AGM 2014 Registrations & Sales (Projected)	\$5,350.00	Reg fee 30 * \$110 = \$3300; Sat banquet 30 * \$40 = \$1200; McGee Brkfst 15 * \$30 = \$450; Raffle tix 30 * \$5 = \$150; Other sales = \$250; Total = \$5350
Sales Dept	\$600.00	
Investment Income	\$3,120.00	Vanguard interest payments avg \$260 per month
<b>Income Total</b>	<b>\$33,445.00</b>	
Expenses	Amount	Notes
AGM 2014	\$5,350.00	This assumes we actually cover all our costs
Board Expenses	\$625.00	Office supplies, postage
Conference Calls	\$450.00	
Library	\$400.00	Fiction and Non-fiction
NY State Fees	\$60.00	Annual tax filing fee
Ricardian Register Publishing & mailing UK publications	\$6,100.00	Printing & mailing 4 issues of Ricardian Register; mailing UK publications with the Register
Publicity	\$1,000.00	Google Ads
Sales Dept	\$450.00	Replenish inventory
Memberships in UK Society	\$10,395.00	350 * £18 = £6300; £6300 * 1.65 = \$10,395 (£1 = \$1.65 approx)
Shipping for UK Publications, UK to US mailing house	\$4,307.00	3 * £520 = £1560 (for Bulletin only); £1050 for Bulletin & Ricardian Journal; Total £2610 * 1.65 = \$4307 approx
<b>Expenses Total</b>	<b>\$29,137.00</b>	

## Overview

Sales efforts continue at a slow pace for 2013. Developments include contact with Annette Carson to arrange discounts on one of her books; testing of Quickbooks software as a means of managing sales and inventory; two drawings (one online and one by post) to generate interest; a success sales effort at the 2012 AGM handled by volunteers attending without in-person assistance from the sales officer; and, direct contact with a couple of vendors toward offering new items. Sales has also been active in a Facebook forum not managed by the Society that offers users a method of buying/selling related items from each other; we sell in the forum but only to R3 members as requested by the treasurer.

To date, Sales shows a loss of approximately \$136 for calendar year 2013. We are not alarmed since, with recent purchases of stock with their expenses shown, inventory on-hand is valued at \$911. That is, we've purchased and paid for stock that hasn't yet sold; we've shown the expense for the purchases but not the expected profit.

## Finance —calendar year 2013

Sales/contributions	526.79
Expenses	663.37

## Recommendations/challenges

**Recommendation:** Toward reducing administrative chores, we would like to explore requirements for directly depositing incoming checks to Society accounts. This will save a small amount of postage in sending checks on to the treasurer but more importantly, increase security and reduce the amount of time member checks are outstanding.

To enable this, we need only a secondary checking account at a national bank to which we can deposit and from which the treasurer can transfer. We are not seeking to be “signers” or to have the ability to withdraw/access money but simply an account to which we can make deposits.

This is prompted, in part, by loss of two checks from members. While the amount involved is less than \$20, the loss is a security issue since member checks have account information on them. *Toward ensuring this does not happen again*, we will add the step of keeping a mailing receipt for each batch of checks sent to the treasurer and then sending a copy of the receipt to the treasurer. This additional task can and should be replaced by having Sales make the deposit and sending the treasurer a copy of the deposit slip.

**Challenge:** Timely and responsive communication with Board members. The sales effort needs timely and responsive communication from Board members to ensure success. Questions about planned expenses and reimbursements have been left unanswered and this impacts my ability and willingness to make purchases and explore growth.

We can overcome the communication problem by having a Board/Sales-only email group with commitment from Board members to be responsive.

**Recommendation:** Allow Sales access to Paypal/sales@r3.org account so that we can issue invoices from within Paypal. This method of issuing invoices is increasingly expected by users who pay by Paypal since it simplifies the process for them.

**Recommendation:** We should conduct another survey of members to see if they are satisfied with efforts and to help guide priorities. This can be online with relatively little effort and no cost. This should be configured as an annual or biannual effort.

**Recommendation (from 2011, 2012):** Identify/confirm method of sharing information with Board members.

Lisa Holt-Jones and Joan Szechtman assisted in testing a method of placing files on the newly configured web site. Retrieving documents is relatively easy; placing documents involves a bit more work. The documents are available only to Board members and while we do not expect this to generate much use, the structure is in place.

**Challenge (from 2011, 2012):** Identify better mechanism for sales management.

Charlie has obtained a copy of Quickbooks software—at no cost to the Society—and has been testing it to track expenses, purchases, sales, and inventory. The advantage of this is in reducing redundant record keeping and simplifying efforts. Challenges include ensuring software is available to future sales officers and ensuring future users have sufficient training. Current testing is toward confirming whether this is even viable from a Sales perspective.

When testing is complete, we will interact with the treasurer to confirm a Quickbooks-based system will meet treasurer’s needs.

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## Research Library

Susan Higginbotham

The Research Library added a number of new books to the library in 2013, and several more are expected to arrive before year’s end. We also have a number of articles from scholarly journals available. If there is something you want that is not listed here or on the online database, please e-mail me at [mail@susanhigginbotham.com](mailto:mail@susanhigginbotham.com) or through the Society website at [researchlibrary@r3.org](mailto:researchlibrary@r3.org). Here are our new additions as of mid-October 2013:

John Ashdown-Hill, *Royal Marriage Secrets*.

David Baldwin, *Richard III*.

Annette Carson, *Richard III: A Small Guide to the Great Debate*.

Heather Falvey, Lesley Boatwright, and Peter Hammond, eds., *English Wills Proved in the Prerogative Court of York, 1477-1499*.

Sarah Gristwood, *Blood Sisters*.

Mike Ingram, *Bosworth 1485: Battle Story*.

Amy Licence, *Anne Neville*.

Amy Licence, *Elizabeth of York*.

Amy Licence, *In Bed with the Tudors*.

David MacGibbon, *Elizabeth Woodville* (new reprint of a 1930's biography; no new editorial additions).

Gwen Seabourne, *Imprisoning Medieval Women*.

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## CHAPTERS’ ADVISOR

Nita Musgrave, Chapters’ Advisor

As the new advisor, I communicated with all the chapter contacts to let them know I was on the job and available to help them with any issues they may have.

At the end of the Summer I sent out a request for each chapter to send in a report on their activities for the year. To date I have received only 4 reports and one letter explaining that there had been no activity.

I am in contact with a member who is hoping to start a new chapter and hope that he will be able to get it off the ground.

I believe that chapters play a very important part in the success of the society and hope it will be possible to encourage the growth of the present ones and the development of new ones.

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## Northwest Chapter

For 2013, the Northwest Chapter continued the practice of three meetings for the year: spring, summer and winter. The chapter is fortunate to have nineteen participants, including two new participants this year: Linda from Duvall, WA, and Andy from Surrey, British Columbia, Canada. Meetings average about 13 attendees.

For the spring meeting in March, participants enjoyed a program presented by Erin Lindsey, a senior history student at the University of Puget Sound. Erin presented her paper, *Receiving The King: Pageantry and Politics in the First Royal Progress of Henry VII*.

Erin summarized her research as: “In 1486 Henry VII embarked on his first royal progress to northern and western England. The heralds who traveled with him kept careful records of the progress, including the elaborate pageants put on for the arrival of the new king. The heralds' records reveal noticeable differences in the way Henry VII was received in York, the stronghold of Richard III in northern England, and in the cities of Worcester and Hereford in the Welsh Marches. These differences correlate with significantly different regional histories; while both York and the Welsh Marches were firmly controlled by the Yorkists during the reigns of Edward IV and Richard III, the histories of the cities differed considerably. The particular histories of these regions shaped how the city of York in the north and the cities of Worcester and Hereford in the Welsh Marches received Henry VII when he embarked on the royal progress of 1486.”

After a question and answer period with Erin, participants heard an update of the activities in Leicester and discussed the fund raising efforts for the Richard III tomb project.

For the summer meeting, the group enjoyed the *Annual Book Review*, wherein attendees discussed books read during the year concerning any aspect of medieval history. More than ten recent titles were discussed, a few of which included *Knight Errant*, *The Watchers: A Secret History of the Reign of Elizabeth I*, *Historic London: An Explorer's Companion*, *England's Jewish Solution*, and *Of the Good Hereafter*. The group enjoyed a potluck lunch, and also discussed some old favorites, including *The Sunne In Splendor*, and *Richard, the Young King to Be*.

The winter meeting is planned for mid-November; a video concerning medieval architecture will be shown, followed by a discussion of the topics raised in the video. For the spring meeting in March 2014, tentative plans include a program from group participant Donald MacLachlan concerning his soon-to-be-published book *The Adventure of the Bloody Tower*.

Donald, from White Rock, British Columbia, describes his new Ricardian book as one with a twist: “Dr. John H. Watson, Sherlock Holmes's sidekick at 221b Baker Street, investigates—in 1883—Richard's record and alleged crimes. Dr. Watson calls on two real-life authorities of the late 1800s (prolific historian James Gairdner and explorer-historian Clements Markham), explores the history with them, and studies medieval and later writers. The evidence for and against Richard produces a number of surprises as, step-by-step, Dr. Watson probes the works of Shakespeare, Thomas More, and other analysts and historians.” The book is due late 2013 from publisher *Breese Books*.

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## Michigan Chapter

The Michigan Chapter of the Richard III Society is proud to remain one of the strongest chapters of the American Branch. We have a total dues paying membership of 25-26 and a regular core group of 8-10 members from throughout the metropolitan Detroit area that regularly attends our quarterly meetings. Our treasury account, managed by Charles Fickeau, has been over \$1000 since we hosted the 2010 AGM (earlier AGMs in 1994 and 2002), which generated a profit of several hundred dollars. Every year we donate a \$100.00 to Little Malvern Priory as part of the Ricardian Churches Restoration Fund. We also make an annual contribution for the AGM. Our newsletter, *The Ragged Staff*, has been produced by several different editors on a quarterly basis for more than 20 years. After rotating the meeting site from different private residences for the early years, we have been having 3 of our quarterly meetings at the Bloomfield Township Public Library since 2002, occasionally at the Baldwin Public Library in Birmingham. A summer highlight of our year, the coronation banquet, has been an annual tradition since 1993, on a night close to Richard III's coronation on July 6. The last two years we have held the meeting at The Oxford Inn in Royal Oak. We have a traveling library exhibit, managed by Dianne Batch and Linda Peecher, that annually travels to at least 3 different public libraries in the metropolitan Detroit area. We have refreshed the exhibit with new materials in recent years. In April 2013, we had the second medieval feast in our history, for which members prepared several medieval menu items based on recipes in a recent book, including bread trenchers, and brought English ale and Malmsey wine with which to wash it down. We hope to repeat the event next year, if not annually. Our meeting topics, usually presented by a rotation of 3-4 members, includes book reviews, heraldry discussions and reports by members who attended the AGM and other events of interest. We try to attend Detroit area performances of Shakespeare's *Richard III* to spread the word about the historic Richard III; we have attended other exhibits related to the medieval period. We have added several new members in the last year, thanks surely to the excitement surrounding the finding of Richard's bones in Leicester. Larry Irwin is the moderator.

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## Illinois Chapter

Janice Weiner, Chairman

We have had two meetings so far this year. In March we met to watch one of the videos that were made to document the finding of Richard III's bones. One member mentioned she included a section of Richard III in a production of hers at the Downers Grove Library. (Her son actually played Richard and wore a costume.) Local business was also discussed. June's meeting was more of a discussion of various local issues. We made a donation to the cemetery where Amber McVey rests. We discussed the AGM and who might attend the meeting. One of our members read an article about Tewkesbury written by a friend of hers. Another member reported on Anne Easter Smith's new book on Jane Shore. A third talked about her visit to Leicester. Recently, we had our get-together at the Bristol Renaissance Faire in Wisconsin. We hope to have a couple more meetings/events this year. We now put out an informal newsletter twice a year and will send it to anyone interested in seeing it. My email is: [jlweiner@sbcglobal.net](mailto:jlweiner@sbcglobal.net). Please contact me for information on the chapter.

Over the past few years we have watched various videos on historical topics, including some Ricardian subjects. We try to schedule a yearly visit to the Bristol Renaissance Faire. We hosted another AGM fairly recently. We've hosted three since I joined the local in the early 1990s. For a number of years we have had a winter holiday "feast" hosted by one of our Downers Grove members. We have been on a couple of "field" trips this past years —

one to a “castle” in a small town. (It was quite a bed and breakfast.) We have about nine members who come regularly to meetings and hope a couple more people are able to become members of the local chapter.

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## New England Chapter

Sally Keil, Moderator

This past year has been a busy year for the New England chapter. We were so pleased to be able to arrange a live Skype conversation with Philippa Langley, who gave us an inside look at the ‘dig’ that she inspired that found the remains of King Richard III. It was great to be able to meet her – even if only electronically! – and to have the opportunity to ask her questions about this very exciting project.

We also viewed a series of DVDs on the War of the Roses. We have one left to view to complete the set.

One of the hallmarks of the New England chapter is the great luncheon spreads we provide to our members! Sandwiches, salads, chips, drinks, and scrumptious desserts were enjoyed by all...and we were very happy to see our membership roster grow this past year. At our last meeting, we had some 15 people in attendance: a record for us.

Our ‘Outreach’ activities were also in high gear. I have prepared a three hour lecture (yes! Three hours! OMG!) on the life and times of Richard Plantagenet. Accompanied by a PowerPoint slide presentation with pictures, the lecture is generally broken up into a two part series that I have been invited to give at the Putnam CT public library, the Pomfret School as part of their guest lecture series, and at two of our local colleges: the Quinneboag Valley Community College and the U of Connecticut. So far over 100 people have attended these various sessions, showing keen interest in Richard following all of the publicity of the dig. We have even picked up a new member!

Lively conversations on topics of interest to Ricardians, playing our ‘Ricardian Jeopardy!’ trivia game, silent auctions of great and fun items to help raise chapter funds and, at the end of each year, our Christmas party luncheon, are some of the events we all enjoy.

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Individual \$60.00 \$ \_\_\_\_\_

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

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

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## Contributing and Sponsoring Membership Levels

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Judy R. Weinsoft Memorial Research Library \$ \_\_\_\_\_

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Morris McGee Keynote Address Fund \$ \_\_\_\_\_

Schallek Special Projects Fund \$ \_\_\_\_\_

Total enclosed \$ \_\_\_\_\_

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

Circle One: Mr. - Mrs. - Miss - Ms. - Other: \_\_\_\_\_

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

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

Mail to:

Richard III Society Membership Dept.  
c/o Sally Keil  
1219 Route 171  
Woodstock CT 06281 (U.S.A.)

## From the Editor

Joan Szechtman

At risk of sounding like a looped CD, now that Pamela Garrett is the American Branch Research Office, I will be relying on her expertise to help in researching articles submitted for publication. Therefore, as some articles submitted for publication may need more research before they can be published, I have pushed the article deadline back by two weeks. The deadline for articles is:

March • January 2 / June • April 1 / September • July 1 / December • October 1

Any article submitted after the first of the month, but by the 15<sup>th</sup> of that month, may still be published. This will depend on the need for research.

The deadlines for everything else remains:

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



We are still in need of a treasurer. Diane Hoffman is now entering her sixth year serving in this capacity. Although Diane has greatly simplified the process, this position does require a certain amount of skill as there are tax forms that need to be filled out, and funds that need to be maintained. During her tenure as treasurer, Diane has organized the funds and streamlined the duties and will be available to bring whoever volunteers up to speed. If you do have some knowledge in these areas, please contact Diane at [treasurer@r3.org](mailto:treasurer@r3.org).

### **Advertise in *The Ricardian Register***

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

Classified advertising rates for each insertion:

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

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

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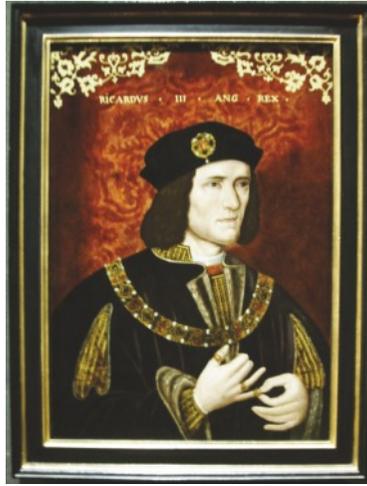
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Inside back cover  
(not printed)

## Portrait of Richard III at National Portrait Gallery, London

photograph by *Joan Szechtman*



### **Front cover: *Richard III Forever* by Mary Kelly**

Richard III and Wars of the Roses memorabilia, including prints are available at [Boar and Banner Shoppe](#)

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

Public domain image from WikiMedia Commons ([wikimedia.org](#))

## **American Branch Sales**

Sales now has many Ricardian-related postcards on-hand—several have NPG portraits of Richard or his relations. There's even a postcard with the NPG portrait of Henry Tudor—use it as a dartboard!

Because postcards are relatively expensive to mail—who knew?—you're encouraged to buy multiple sets of postcards (2 per set, priced at \$1 per set). We'll charge only one shipping fee on orders of up to four sets of postcards. If you want quite a few postcards, contact [sales@r3.org](mailto:sales@r3.org) and we'll get you a price.



Postcard of the Middleham Jewel

Part of the influx of Ricardian materials from the AGM included several used books. They're listed in the catalog and while the pricing with shipping may be a bit higher than you might find in a local used bookstore by buying from Sales you not only get a good read, you help the Society. And you help declutter my basement!

See latest Sales Catalog on the Members Only page of the American Branch [website](#).