

Ricardian Register



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King Richard III



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Thomas More, John Morton and Richard III

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On the matter of sources that are usually cited for the origin of Richard III's blackened reputation, it occurs to me that I've done quite a lot of reading lately around Thomas More's influential *Richard III*. Which means I have been delving more deeply into the analyses published in the Appendix to my book *Richard III: The Maligned King*, where space to discuss sources was unfortunately limited.

Many scholars of 16th-century literature subscribe to the view that More was writing satirical drama to pillory his *exemplum* of 'The Tyrant', personified as Richard III (regrettably) in his unfinished book about that king. Dr Arthur Kincaid led the vanguard in 1972 with his assessment that its dramatic structure is paramount to the proper appreciation of More's opus,¹ which was accepted by R.S. Sylvester, editor of the 1976 Yale *Richard III*, still considered the gold-standard edition.² In support of Kincaid and other literary scholars who view it as a work of drama are the contemporary reports that More was fascinated by the theatre, had already tried his hand at writing plays, and was known to leap up on to the stage during performances and interpolate an off-the-cuff role for himself.

Other analyses have been content to follow Kincaid's lead, e.g. a detailed study presented by Elizabeth Story Donno in 1982.³ Alison Hanham commented in the same vein in *Richard III and his Early Historians*, in which she termed More's work a 'satirical drama', although in her book title she perpetuated the unfortunate error of categorizing More as an historian.⁴ As early as 1963 Sylvester's commentary in the second volume of More's 'Complete Works' had made it clear that the literary world already rejected it as constituting what we (or historiographers) would call history.⁵ Few historians, however, have taken notice of literary assessments, and many traditionalists cling to the simplistic view that Thomas More kindly provided us with a reliable account of historical events.

Much of this misapprehension could have been avoided if scholars (including Sylvester) had not consistently referred to it by the short title of More's '*History*'. This is a misnomer, and we would do much better to reject it in favour of More's '*Richard III*'. No original MS of More's survives and the author, perhaps significantly, never mentioned a word of it in all the copious writings of his that are known to us. Therefore we cannot even conjecture whether he assigned a title to it himself. Moreover, although 'history' has a very specific meaning today, the words 'history' and 'story' were of course synonymous in the Renaissance (compare *histoire* in French). The title '*History*' of *Richard III* was almost certainly attached to it posthumously, upon publication, but the work is known to have been in circulation long before this. Sylvester in his Introduction states, 'we have very good evidence that a manuscript version of the *History* was in circulation at least as early as 1538', when Sir Geoffrey Pole lent George Croftes 'a chronicle of More's making of Richard III'.⁶

Thomas More had spent a number of his young years in the household of Cardinal John Morton, under the cardinal's tutelage, and in the early 1600s the idea that Cardinal John Morton authored More's book was current among members of the antiquary movement. They knew of a certain tract hostile to Richard III written by Morton which was in the library of More's son-in-law – some had read it, others knew of its contents, so there clearly were close similarities between the two works.⁷ Since then, scholarly assessments of More's English and Latin have decided against Morton's authorship (which wasn't very likely anyway, especially when you consider that Morton died in 1500).⁸

Nevertheless, knowledgeable 17th-century antiquaries like Sir George Buck and Sir John Haryngton were outspoken about the assumed authorship of More's book by Morton.

Sir William Cornwallis was more circumspect, but he intimated, in the Dedication of his *Encomium of Richard III*, that More had been influenced in his ‘life’ of Richard III by an unnamed Chronicler who in Cornwallis’s later pages is variously described as corrupt, malicious, partial, ‘undiscreete’, and ‘a favourer of the Lancastrian family’.⁹ The antiquary movement pioneered a more scientific assessment of history based on evidential documentation, and in my opinion should not be merely brushed aside.

My proposition is as follows ... (1) That More DID have access to Morton’s tract, and (2) that its contents DID prompt More’s embarking on his *Richard III* project, to the extent that it supplied his entire premise of Richard as tyrannous, hypocritical, murderous, etc. Thomas More was thus fully equipped with the ready-made central villain for his polemic against tyranny, fleshed out with Morton’s anecdotal reports of his various crimes. I then propose that (3) working from this basis, More added all the embellishments that transformed it into a piece of dramatic craftsmanship – the condemnatory language, the dialogue, the moments of high theatre such as the confrontation with Hastings – until he had something that satisfied his muse. In effect, Morton loaded the gun and More discharged it with results that Morton could only have dreamed of.

Of course, there are still a number of unanswered questions, principal among which is the matter of why it remained unfinished and unpublished. Undoubtedly the several extant versions of More’s *Richard III* (in English and Latin) are brilliantly conceived and executed. So why did he set his bravura piece aside and never seek to publish it? He couldn’t wait to see *Utopia* in print, yet he never mentioned or even finished his work on Richard. As you might expect, I have a proposition for this, too: eventually, I submit, he found he had to question the veracity of the information provided by Cardinal Morton’s tract. This was a private project to which he returned on and off over the span of several years, and he had probably written many thousands of words of his drama before he thought to speak of it to anyone. If he initially found bits of it rested on shaky ground, this would not have bothered him: More was entirely happy with the rhetorical practice of arguing persuasively both for AND against a proposition, and in this period of time ‘historical truth’ was not a known concept or even a matter of particular concern. My suggestion is that there came a time, however, when he simply could not suppress the nagging suspicion that *the entire characterization of Richard III and his story as told by Morton was unreliable*. This was not merely a matter of questioning the accuracy of certain aspects of what he had read, it was much more important than that: if what I suggest is the case, Thomas More’s belief in the mentor of his youth would have been shaken. Nothing less than this, I believe, would have disillusioned him deeply enough to have stopped him in his tracks.

Endnotes:

- ¹ A.N. Kincaid, ‘The Dramatic Structure of Sir Thomas More’s *History of King Richard III*’, *Studies in English Literature 1500–1900* (Rice University), Vol. XII, No. 2, Spring 1972.
- ² R.S. Sylvester, ed., *The History of King Richard III and Selections from the English and Latin Poems* (Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1976), p. xvi and fn. 15.
- ³ E.S. Donno, ‘Thomas More and Richard III’, *Renaissance Quarterly*, 35 (1982), pp. 401–47.
- ⁴ A. Hanham, *Richard III and his Early Historians 1483–1435* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1975), pp. 152–190, 198–219.
- ⁵ R.S. Sylvester, ed., *The Complete Works of St Thomas More* (Yale, 1963), vol. 2, Introduction.
- ⁶ *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. xxvii (*ex informatio* A.N. Kincaid, personal correspondence, 7 July 2015).

- ⁷ A.J. Carson, *Richard III: The Maligned King* (The History Press, Stroud) [2008] pp. 291–2, [2013] pp. 339–40.
- ⁸ See for example Hanham, *op. cit.*, pp. 161–3, although Dr Hanham is rather too quick to dismiss the credibility of near-contemporary and well informed opinion on the relationship between More and Morton.
- ⁹ A.N. Kincaid, ed., *The Encomium of Richard III by Sir William Cornwallis the Younger* (Turner & Devereux, 1977), pp. 1, 11, 15, 20, 24 (and see Introduction).

~ToC~

A Footnote to a Footnote: William Brandon of Soham, Henry Tudor's Standard Bearer

Jonathan Hayes

All the accounts of the Battle of Bosworth are consistent: William Brandon, standard bearer of Henry Tudor, was killed by King Richard III in the last fatal charge.

Ordinarily, this would be a footnote to a footnote. One more casualty. William Brandon escapes this fate by virtue of leaving an infant son, Charles. Henry VII was always grateful to those who fought for him at Bosworth; as a result, Charles Brandon was raised in court and became best friends with the future Henry VIII. He subsequently married Henry's sister Mary, became Duke of Suffolk, and had the very rare distinction of remaining friends with Henry VIII throughout his life. Since Charles Brandon was also the grandfather of Lady Jane Grey, William Brandon is elevated from footnote-to-a-footnote to a much greater level of interest. From almost total obscurity to shaking the foundations of the realm in a few short generations, the Brandons are deserving of a closer look.

The position of standard bearer was one of very great honor. It was also one of very great danger (the two go together). The standard bearer had no means of defending himself; he had to use one hand to support the leader's standard and the other to control his horse. And he had to ride stirrup to stirrup with his commander. The rallying point of the friendly forces and the point of aim of the enemy, he had as sticky a position as one could imagine. The position doesn't exist anymore; the advent of the repeating rifle and machine gun made conspicuousness on the battlefield extremely inadvisable. Some German and French regiments still carried banners in August 1914, but the British ceased the practice after the 66th lost the Queen's Colours at Maiwand in 1880 and there was another near loss from the 24th at Isandhlwana.¹

This raises the question: who was William Brandon and why did he get this position of great honor rather than someone else? I've tried to answer this question; the motivations of many who fought for Henry Tudor must remain guesswork, but I've tried to stay within the bounds of probability. We will never know completely, but the question should be asked.

Brandon is a town in Suffolk, and it is probable that that is where the family originated. They would not, of course, have been living there when the use of surnames became common, but they would have moved from there recently enough for Brandon to have been readily identified with the family.

Early Brandons

John Brandon appears as an archer in the company of Sir Michael de la Pole in 1386 in the Calais garrison. Richard Brandon is listed as a man-at-arms under Sir John atte Pole in a 1378 naval expedition.² These are the earliest Brandons that I have found. Given the family's probable East Anglian origin, I assume they are related in some way (the de la Poles were Earls of Suffolk with a castle in Wingfield).

John Brandon of Lynn was evidently a successful merchant; he was granted a permit to bring cereals to Holland and Zeeland in 1401.³ John Brandon is listed in the University of Hull's Directory of Royal Genealogical Data as living in King's Lynn and as the father of Robert Brandon and grandfather of Robert's son Sir William Brandon, who was born *circa* 1425 and died in 1491. Sir William married Elizabeth Wingfield sometime before 1462 (perhaps 1455?) and had 10 children by her. That he was able to marry into the aristocratic Wingfield family shows that the family was upwardly mobile and had progressed beyond the merchant stage.⁴ Their eldest son, William, was Henry Tudor's standard bearer. He is recorded as having lived in Soham;⁵ the town's web site lists his birth as 1448, which seems a bit improbable as all the sources agree that he was the eldest son of Sir William and Elizabeth Wingfield. Sir William, as he later became, would have only been 23 in 1448; too young and undistinguished to have formed an alliance with the Wingfields. So I have not been able to find a good date for the standard bearer's birth.

Sir William, the standard bearer's father, was definitely an upward mobile individual. He had attached himself to the Mowbray Duke of Norfolk's affinity in some way; in 1457 he is listed as an esquire of Framlingham—the major seat of the Duke. In the same year he is listed as Marshall of Marshalsea prison and Marshall of the King's Bench (also a prison). Apparently these positions were within the Duke of Norfolk's options, as the Duke removed Brandon from the position in 1460 for letting prisoners go about freely.⁶ Probably the prisoners had gotten this privilege through the passage of sufficient coin of the realm to Brandon. The Duke does not seem to have been the brightest bulb in the chandelier; William Brandon also comes through a bit of a scoundrel and con man. Paston letter CCLXXI (in 1469) quotes King Edward IV as saying "Brandon, though thou canst beguile the Duke of Norfolk and bring him about the thumb as thou list, I let thee weet thou shalt not do me so; for I understand thy false dealing well enough." William Brandon is also listed as one of the besiegers of Caister Castle when it was held by the Pastons. The Pastons seem to have thought he was the main force behind the antipathy of the Duke of Norfolk toward them; whether this was the actual case is not evident, however. He was knighted following the battle of Tewkesbury, probably at the instigation of Norfolk.⁷

His son, the standard bearer, seems to have been a chip off the old block, since Paston letter CCCXIII (August, 1478) reports "... Young William Brandon is arrested for that he should have by force ravished an old gentlewoman, and yet was not therewith eased, but ravished her eldest daughter, and then would have ravished the other sister both ..." It is not further reported so apparently he got off.

William, the standard bearer, married twice: first to Anne Mallory, second to Elizabeth Bruyn, who seems to have had some connection to the Tyrrell family. I have not found dates for either marriage. There were no children from the first marriage, but six from the second. Thomas, who became a Garter Knight, and Robert were apparently twins, born in 1470. Charles, who became Duke of Suffolk and best friends to Henry VIII, was born in 1484. He was buried in St. George's Chapel in Windsor Castle.⁸

The Decision to Rebel

No one would ever make a decision to rebel against their king lightly. Regardless of what one may have thought of the individual, once the king was crowned and anointed, he possessed a great deal of moral power as well as temporal. A rebellion against one's king was a rebellion against the Lord's anointed and put you in grave spiritual as well as physical danger. It could only be justified by success. Failure could easily mean your death—in a perhaps quite unpleasant manner—and your family's destitution from your attainer.

It does not take much worldly experience to understand that people rarely make a decision from one factor alone; usually several considerations lead to a course of action.

There is the personal position of William Brandon to consider. John, the last Mowbray Duke of Norfolk, died in 1475, leaving a young daughter, Anne, as his only heir. Anne was promptly married to Edward IV's younger son. This would have had a strong effect on the fortunes of the Brandon family. Their provider of "good lordship" was dead without a successor and King Edward IV was on record as having a low opinion of their worth and value. It is hardly to be presumed that Richard, as the new king, would have any better opinion. However, while they probably would not have gained from the new king, there is no indication they would have lost, either. From a straight cost-benefit analysis (which medieval people were quite capable of doing and, indeed, did frequently), the smart-money approach would have been to hunker down and ride it out. And, in fact, a lot of people did.

There must have been something else—something very compelling. For the answer to that I think we have to look to the situation in April-June 1483. At the beginning of this period, England was pretty much at peace. Edward IV was still comparatively young and, though a bit dissipated, relatively hale. He had done his dynastic duty by producing the "heir and the spare." The presumptive heir was being tutored by Anthony Woodville, Lord Rivers, the king's brother-in-law. A known warrior (he'd beaten the Bastard of Burgundy in a famous tournament), a patron of Caxton and a cultured man, he translated the first book printed in English. Just the man to make the "true and perfect king." Granted, there was Henry Tudor lurking in Brittany, but no one considered him to be of any consequence. Edward was supported by his younger brother, the Duke of Gloucester, and Lord Hastings—men of experience, ability and long-proven loyalty—as well as the Woodville family of his queen. Most men must have breathed a sigh of relief at the thought that the alarms and excursions of recent years were at an end, and years of peace and prosperity lay ahead. Even Edward's untimely death would not have seemed immediately to change that prospect.

Stony Stratford and the arrest and subsequent executions of Rivers, Grey, and Vaughn altered the situation completely. Initially, it would have seemed like a typical internal power struggle—who would control the young king in the regency until he came of age. This is where it starts to become mysterious. In spite of allegations, I've found no reason why the Duke of Gloucester, Lord Hastings, and the Woodville faction could not have worked together in a regency council. The Duke of Gloucester's interests lay in the North—where "the king's writ did not run." Lord Hastings and the Woodvilles had their own interests but, by and large, they did not overlap. It was really in everyone's interest to cut a deal. Given the known and proven political sagacity of the players, I find it very intriguing that that no deal was cut.

However, it was not and we come to the Duke of Gloucester's assumption of the throne. June, 1483, young King Edward, fifth of that name, is to be crowned, when, lo, he is revealed to be illegitimate and ineligible to succeed. Therefore, his noble uncle, the Duke of Gloucester, is the proper successor. It doesn't matter whether one subscribes to the conventional wisdom that Bishop Stillington spilled the beans or Professor Hancock's theory that Catesby did. Note the timing—very convenient, *n'est ce pas?*

Obviously a lot of people felt the same. A mite bit *too* convenient. Although the fact of the pre-contract was announced and its significance explained, there were undoubtedly many who were not convinced. Forgery of documents is not a modern innovation and the precontract was a very advantageous revelation to Richard at a critical time. Many English must have felt they were being flim-flammed. Viewed in this way, Buckingham's rebellion would have been hardly a surprise—something of the sort would have been almost

inevitable. There was a strong feeling that Edward V had been bypassed—the problem was no one knew where he was—dead, alive, or whatever. He couldn't be rescued to put at the head of a rebellion, since no one knew his location. Neither could he be proclaimed dead—if he was so declared by the rebels and Richard made him guest of honor at his next banquet, all hopes of revolt would disappear.

This was a feeling Henry Tudor could tap into to his advantage. On the principle that “the enemy of my enemy is my friend” those who were opposed to Richard's actions would have been ready recruits for Tudor's cause.

There was undoubtedly a great deal of prevarication by those who did not like the situation but felt compelled by their positions to trim their sails to the prevailing wind. Sir William Stanley comes to mind. In spite of his crucial role at Bosworth, he was executed for his part in the Perkin Warbeck affair. He must have been convinced Warbeck *was* Edward IV's son, the Duke of York, in order to abandon the man whom he'd put on the throne and throw his loyalty to Warbeck.

For an ambitious family, looking at the total political picture, regime change, in spite of the risks, offered the chance of further preferment. Sir William, then in his late 50s, was beyond military age, but his sons, William and Thomas, joined Buckingham's rebellion and on its collapse fled to Brittany to join Henry Tudor. Sir William stayed in England (he didn't die until 1491). Besides being beyond military age, this was an anchor to windward. If Henry Tudor's cause failed, he'd stayed loyal and there were other children. Backing both horses was a not uncommon thing during the Wars of the Roses—the important thing was to maintain the family fortune and not risk it on just one individual.

I haven't been able to find anything about William Brandon's stay in Brittany, but it must have made an impression on Henry Tudor since William was one of the men Henry knighted when he landed at Milford Haven. That, plus being named as Henry's standard bearer, marked him as an up-and-comer in the new regime. That it was not to be was the judgment of Fate. His son, Charles, was left to make that mark for the family.

Looking at William Brandon's history has been an interesting exercise. It is too much to expect that minor players in this era would have much documentation when so much of the major players' history remains obscure. I have enjoyed the chase and I hope you have also.

Endnotes:

The Paston Letters are a gold mine of information on East Anglia for this period and I have quoted them as noted in the text.

1. I had the opportunity to visit the Isandhlwana battlefield in 1999. Even in broad daylight, it has an eerie feeling as though haunted.
2. ICMA Centre “The Soldier in later Medieval England Database”. <http://www.icmacentre.ac.uk/soldier/database>
3. Commercial Relations of Holland and Zeeland with England from the Late 13th Century to the Close of the Middle Ages, Nelly Johanna Martina Kerling, pub. E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1954, p. 172
4. *Wynkefelde the Saxon held Honor and Fee
Ere William the Norman came over the sea*

Wingfield is a lovely small town in Suffolk, now a shadow of its medieval self. It was the seat of the de la Pole, Earls of Suffolk, notorious in the reign of Henry VI.

5. Soham is an attractive small town in the Fen Country on the A142 between Newmarket and Ely.
6. *The Life and Times of Sir Thomas Malory*, P.J.C. Field (Arthurian Studies), 1993, pgs. 115 & 122
7. *Strategy & Tactics*, #258, Sep/Oct 2009, lists the Yorkist nobility and gentry present at Tewkesbury And those knighted after the battle (p. 26). Sadly it does not give the provenance of that list. Presumably he came in the contingent of the Duke of Norfolk.
8. <http://www.tudorplace.com.ar> gives an extensive genealogy from which I have extracted the above information. I have not tried to verify it further.

~ToC~

Editor's Note: First published in the June 2016 *Ricardian Bulletin*.

In the Vigil of St Bartholomew

The Will(s) of Sir John Catesby, Justice of the Common Pleas

Erik Michaelson

As Henry Tudor's retinue left Bosworth Field for Leicester, they carried not only the dead body of the king, but the living body of William Catesby ('the Catte'). Seventy-two hours after the battle, William wrote his will in custody in Leicester, his execution shortly to follow. One line from this will is well known to historians, as a first-hand reference to the actions of the Stanley clan at Bosworth:

'My lordis Stanley, Strange and all that blod help and pray for my soule for ye have not for my body as I trusted in you.'¹

However, the counterpoint to this condemnation occurs a few lines along:

'And uncle Johanne remember my soule as ye have done my body; and better.'

William's beloved 'Uncle John' was Sir John Catesby, Third Justice of the Common Pleas (at the time of the writing of William's will and his own), and, by purchase, lord of the manor of Whiston, Northamptonshire. If, as William's will implies, the two prayed together in London before Richard's army set out to meet Tudor, Sir John's prayer was probably along the lines of, 'Almighty God, we lawyers of the Inner Temple may be formidable in a courtroom, but less so on a battlefield. Please help my nephew keep his head down.'

As copied into the Milles Register, the will of Sir John Catesby is a remarkable testament of the time (no pun intended), as it is not one document, but two. The second document copied into the Register, dated the 6th of May 1485, is an elegant composition of a man with great pride in three things: his religious piety, his command of the Latin language, and a certain tablecloth in his possession (no need to go into that here). No boilerplate legal Latin phrases for Sir John! Even the most mechanical language for a will is given little extra flourishes, as if to personalize the endeavor. His first 'bequest' (perhaps meant to play on the alternate definition of the word *legatus*, 'legacy'), at a full ninety-nine words, is an exhortation to God to deign to fashion Sir John's sons and daughters into the men and women that a father would wish them to be. Any genealogist seeking to itemize the many lands and tenements bequeathed by Sir John would be rather out of luck with this document, but one could ask for little better glimpse into the mind of a man of prominence nearly 530 years dead.

For a clear glimpse into a moment of history, though, we can look to the document that precedes this one in Sir John Catesby's entry in the Milles Register. Starting with the same invocation of *In nomi[n]e Patris et filij et sp[irit]us Sancti Amen*, it clearly is not meant to

be a codicil, but a second will. Sir John then names and titles himself in the same way as in the other will:

*Anno d[omi]ni millesimo CCCCLxxxv^o Ego Joh[an]nes Catesby miles et iustic[iarius] d[omi]ni Reg[is]...*²

‘In the year of our Lord 1485, I, John Catesby, knight and justiciar of the lord King...’

But then, an awkwardly-phrased date raises the first of many questions with respect to this second document: What King did he have in mind?

...videlicet in vigilia Sancti Bartholomei Anno predict[o]

‘...that is to say, in the Vigil of St Bartholomew, in the year aforesaid.’

The vigil, or eve, of the feast day of St Bartholomew the Apostle is the 23rd of August. As Tudor's retinue embarked on its slow progress from Bosworth to Leicester on Monday the 22nd, the lightest messengers on the swiftest horses had probably already disappeared off their right flank, to deliver the news of the battle's outcome to its prime destination, London. By Tuesday, the Vigil of St Bartholomew, that message was spreading through the city.

The will that Sir John Catesby wrote that day is barely longer than just the first bequest in his will of May. It gives the impression of a hurried, unfinished draft. The standardized legal Latin phrases that Sir John had disdainfully dispensed with in May (‘My soul I bequeath to Almighty God...’) are now put to use, perhaps for their actual purpose, to save time and effort. The line regarding his wish to be buried at the Abbey of St James at Northampton is copied verbatim from the earlier will, but nearly all that follows is a highly disjointed list of purely monetary bequests. First to receive, in a notable departure from the gender preference of the first will, are Sir John's daughters Anne and Elisabeth, at one hundred pounds apiece. Next, forty pounds each are bequeathed, also in one line, to Humphrey and Euseby, Sir John's first and fifth sons, respectively, going by the ordered list of succession laid out in the May will. Next, in a separate line, is the grant to Walter, the fourth son: another forty pounds; but why a separate line? Then, two bequests of twenty pounds each to a Richard Balington and a John Mores (and their respective wives). Then, apropos of nothing, a new instruction for his burial appears, now entrusting it to his wife's discretion. But we return immediately to the money bequests: a whopping one hundred ten pounds for Francis, the third son. The will then abruptly ends with a final grant of one hundred marks each to Anthony, George, and Hugh; sons seven, eight, and six, respectively.

For an erudite man of the law, this is clearly not a polished declaration, composed at leisure, but the Vigil of St Bartholomew 1485 was far from an ordinary day. Whatever their political persuasion, all Londoners must have realized that day that life was going to change forever. We have the luxury now of knowing what changes were to come, but on that Tuesday in London, the possibilities must have been frighteningly many. Some questions were more immediate: the king was dead, but what of fathers, brothers? Or nephews? If the state of Sir John's new will betrays panic, he certainly had more claim to panic than many in London that day. The last line of the May will he was rewriting contained the name of his executor *Willielmum Catesby filium Willielmi Catesby militis*, a man now surely near the top of the list of *personae non gratae*. On the 23rd of August, William Catesby still lived, but even if that news had gotten to London so soon, the fate of his life was clearly in doubt. Could Sir John have also been fearing for his own life that day?

By its very nature, a will is a rumination on the certainty and possible untimeliness of death. Sir John's May will is given the name of *ultima voluntas*, but on the Vigil of St

Bartholomew, he tells us he is writing *testamentum meum et ultimam voluntatem*. The change from a ‘last will,’ of mainly transfers of lands, to a testament, of pecuniary bequests, suggests a man envisioning attainder, and the loss of his position, title, and properties. Clues to the reason behind these new grants of huge sums of money are found at the very end of the will of May. After the naming of executors, (indeed, right below William Catesby’s name) is the instruction

*Et volo q[uo]d moneta liberis meis an[te]dict[is] sup[er]ius legat[a]
Deportet[ur] ad camera[m] Gylhall' london[ensis] ib[ide]m custodiend[a]
S[er]c[un]d[u]m consuetudine[m] Civitat[is] London[ensis]*

‘And I will that the money to my children above bequeathed be conveyed to the vault of London Guildhall, to be guarded by the same, according to the customary right of the City of London.’

No money is bequeathed to the children in the will of May; this can only be a codicil, referring to the new will, and appended to the old one about the same time. He seems to have chosen, at this point in his task, not to replace his old will with the new one, but use it as an addendum. The ‘customary rights’ of what is now known as the Corporation of the City of London have long been exceptional. No king would dare violate them until they were (temporarily) suspended by Charles II, and it took the decapitation of Charles I to justify that.

A search of the charters of the Corporation might reveal what particular right Sir John Catesby was invoking, in order to use the Corporation’s headquarters at Guildhall as a stronghold and strongbox after his death, to keep his liquid assets in his children’s name beyond the reach of the new king.

The codicil then allots five marks to each executor (surely an uncommon gesture) *p[ro] labor[es] suo in hac p[ar]te apponend[um]*, ‘for his efforts applied in this matter,’ and grants Sir John’s movable goods to the care of his wife.

It is clear from his will of the 23rd of August that Sir John spent that momentous day bringing all of the acumen of an experienced jurist to bear, to prepare for any possible contingency of this new dynasty for himself and his family. Did others in London rewrite their wills that day, fearing that their prosperity under Richard III would be held against them? As the new regime took shape, it would become clear that many of the darkest fears of those first days after Bosworth would not come to pass, and many such contingency wills may have been dispensed with. Even William Catesby’s uncle was not attained. He received his reappointment to the court (though a month later than the other justices), and was even promoted to Second Justice of the Common Pleas, but died shortly after, in January of 1487. Perhaps these documents he wrote on the 23rd of August 1485 survived to be conveyed to the Probate Court in Lambeth because still too little time had passed for Sir John to feel completely secure.

I also feel that there is meaning in the fact that, even though Sir John’s first will has a simple numerical date of May the sixth, he makes the point of dating his second using the feast-day convention of ‘the Vigil of St Bartholomew.’ The Latin of the May will is not just that of an accomplished lawyer, but a devout and learned Christian. How many Latin wills in the Milles Register employ the Biblical phrase *per omnia seculorum secula*, which comes down to the liturgy of the Church of England in the more familiar form of ‘forever and ever, world without end?’ Did he use the feast day, thinking of the broader meaning of a ‘vigil,’ as a sleepless night of prayer and watchfulness, realizing that he and many other Londoners were about to experience just that when the sun set that Tuesday? This may have been the most hectic day of Sir John’s life, but I’m convinced he would have made sure to

attend mass, perhaps at St Paul's Cathedral. There would have been parishioners there of all walks of life. Some would be thanking God for the events of the day before, but most would be seeking comfort in the Church in a new age of danger and uncertainty. The Sarum Missal tells us the specific liturgy that would have been sung on a Vigil of St Bartholomew; the opening words, the *introit*, are taken from Psalm 52. Sir John Catesby, a man who knew his Vulgate, would have come in from the street, the words of Henry Tudor's heralds fresh in his ears proclaiming the great victory at Bosworth and the death of Richard III at Tudor's hands, only now to hear the priests' invocation:

Quid gloriatur in malitia qui potens est iniquitate...

‘Why boastest thou thyself, thou tyrant, that thou canst do mischief?’

Endnotes:

¹ TNA: PRO Prob. 11/7/15

² TNA: PRO Prob. 11/8/5

~ToC~

A Monk Expounds upon Knighthood: Alexander Barclay and St George

Compton Reeves

In a manner unusual in Europe, communities of Benedictine monks served nine of the seventeen cathedral churches of late-medieval England. A monk named Alexander Barclay served in Ely Cathedral in the early sixteenth century. A man with literary aspirations, Barclay translated from Latin prose into English verse of the *Georgius* by Baptista Spagnuoli the Mantuan (1448-1516), an Italian Carmelite, poet, and popular humanist writer. Barclay's *The Life of St. George* expanded at times upon his source, and the expressions of his personal piety are of interest and are related to his comments upon knighthood.¹ Barclay may have been in agreement with the parts of the *Georgius* that he did not alter.

The date of Barclay's birth is uncertain, but likely in the north of England during the reign of King Richard III (1483-85).² Barclay's later literary achievements indicate that he had by some means gained a mastery of the Latin language. Whatever Barclay's birthplace, date and parentage, he appears in the register of the acts of Bishop Hugh Oldham of Exeter under the year 1508.³ Barclay must have been a recent resident in the diocese of Lincoln, for he had obtained a letter dimissory from the bishop of Lincoln allowing him to seek ordination outside of that diocese. Bishop Oldham ordained Barclay as a sub-deacon on 18 March 1508, deacon on 8 April, and priest on 22 April. The collegiate church of Ottery St. Mary in Devonshire ordained Barclay with a title, that is, a guarantee of employment. He did not long remain a secular priest at Ottery, but while there he completed *The Ship of Fools* (printed in 1509), considered to be his first major literary work, and also made a translation into English verse of Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff*.⁴ After a short but unknown length of time, Barclay left Devonshire for Cambridgeshire and became a Benedictine monk in Ely Cathedral Priory.⁵ By 1515 Barclay ranked twenty-first in seniority among the thirty-five monks in the Ely community. It was while a monk at Ely that Barclay wrote his five *Eclogues*, pastoral poems in English verse, the fourth and fifth based on poems by Baptista Spagnuoli. Spagnuoli was, as noted, the source of Barclay's *Life of St. George*, also written at Ely. The *Eclogues* were the most successful of Barclay's writings, going through several printed editions. Although it is the focus of this essay, *The Life of St. George*, printed about 1515, did not enjoy particular literary success and was almost lost to posterity.⁶ Spagnuoli was not a singular discovery of Barclay, for as the intellectual revival of the

Italian humanists had made an impact among English Benedictine communities, the writings of the Mantuan had an influence on English literature.⁷

While a monk of Ely Cathedral Priory, Barclay did not, so far as is known, become one of the Ely monks to study at Cambridge University, although he was a man of learning and an accomplished Latinist. The Ely community regularly sent monks to Cambridge for periods of study, and records are not sufficiently complete to be positive that Barclay was never one of them.⁸ At the same time, Barclay has been judged “the only literary figure of note” at Ely Cathedral Priory.⁹ A very productive writer, Barclay versified from the Latin of Domenico Mancini *The Mirror of Good Manners*, and revised an elementary schoolbook on Latin words. He also translated Sallust’s *History of the Jugurthine War*, and wrote a text on writing and pronouncing French, in addition to the works mentioned.

Barclay did not live out the remainder of his life as a Benedictine monk. Sometime in the 1520s he left Ely to transition into a Franciscan friar, and he may have left England to study at a university abroad, perhaps in Germany.¹⁰ He returned to England in the 1530s when he is recorded as being in opposition to the Henrician Reformation. Barclay then disappears from surviving records until the mid-1540s. He then surfaces, having apparently altered his views on the break with Rome, as vicar of Wookey, Somerset and a beneficed secular priest in the Church of England. In 1547 he filled in as headmaster of the school at Wells Cathedral. At the end of 1548 he moved to Essex to become vicar of Great Baddow while holding Wookey as a pluralist. In 1552 he was appointed rector of All Hallows, Lombard Street, London, but he died before he could take up the position. He was buried at Croydon, Surrey, on 10 June 1552.

Barclay’s later life, while curious, is tangential to his translation while at Ely of the life of St. George, which he dedicated to two men. One was Nicholas West (d. 1533), bishop-elect of Ely, an accomplished diplomat in the service of Henry VII and Henry VIII, and a man whose favor Barclay could well have wished to cultivate.¹¹ The other dedicatee was Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey and duke of Norfolk (d. 1524), a Knight of the Garter (the patron of which order of knighthood is St. George) and the commander in the English victory over the Scots at Flodden Field on 9 September 1513 in which King James IV of Scotland was killed.¹² Henry VIII was out of the kingdom at the time, and Howard gained great fame from the victory. To Barclay, Howard was ‘Georges worthy knyght’ (Prologue, l. 77), while St. George was the ‘lyght of knyghthod’ (Prologue, l. 47).

Unlike some modern uncertainty, Alexander Barclay accepted that St. George was an historical person. What follows is a summary of the story of St. George as translated from Latin into English verse that a Benedictine monk thought would be edifying and inspiring for an audience of English readers and hearers. Barclay’s ‘parfyte myrroure and flour of chyualrye’ (l. 213) was born to noble and wealthy parents (ll. 211, 214, 229) in Cappadocia when the land was under Roman rule. George was not born a Christian, but came to hear of Christ and was converted (ll. 239-45). As a young man, George thought most of war, and devoted himself to subduing tyrants, maintaining right, and gaining a reputation for valor (ll. 252-59). Barclay followed his source in describing George’s skills as a warrior: throwing a dart, using a sword or any other weapon, throwing a weight or a bar, putting a stone or slinging one, drawing a powerful bow to launch a lengthy shaft, running, jumping, swimming,¹³ wrestling, or riding horses and breaking lances. George was better than any famous champions of the past, even Hercules, Arthur, or Charlemagne. (ll. 260-321). Barclay then departs from his source with an exhortation to English youth to leave the folly of useless games and follow the example of St. George (ll. 323-29). George’s skills led to his being appointed a military tribune or captain by the Romans, and Barclay noted the strategic importance for soldiers to have good leaders (ll. 333-50). The mature George is

then described as tall and substantial, with a ruddy complexion, and a full head of blond hair, but George took no pride in being a handsome man (ll. 351-64). As would be expected in an idealized biography, George exemplified chastity, not taking a wife, and being immune to wanton lust (ll. 233, 368-71, 385-99).

George had been chosen by God (ll. 379-85). He was like a rock or a great oak tree standing firm against worldly pleasures or vanity (ll. 393-95). George favored mercy and fought for the right, did works of mercy in his leisure time, was charitable to the lowly and poor, and was contrite for his sins (ll. 405-20). George was a valiant captain in war, yet his fame grew from his virtues as well as from his courage (ll. 435-55, 463-68). As a flower of chivalry, George was selected as captain of a legion to join the emperor Maximian on a conquering expedition in Libya (ll. 470-83). On the expedition, George came to the town of Silene, a rich city surrounded by a wall and a wet, stinking moat in which lived a foul dragon (ll. 484-504). The dragon was huge and venomous, with a long neck and tail, wings, and scales on her back. Her poisonous breath was fatal to humans, birds, and beasts, as well as to the vegetation around the city (ll. 512-60). The dragon was also insatiably hungry and, to placate her, an act of parliament had ordered that two persons from Silene would be chosen by lot each day to be given to the dragon as food, one in the morning and one at night, as a way to spare the city from further destruction (ll. 563-74). Barclay was thinking as an Englishman in speaking of an act of parliament, and he appears to be using Silene as a metaphor for England.

Silene was ruled by an aged king whose only child, Alcione, was a goodly virgin damsel, the hope of the dynasty. The choice for placating the dragon ultimately fell upon her (ll. 593-98, 802-03). Wanting to be above the law, the king resisted, but the commons demanded that he must obey his laws, and he grimly complied (ll. 609, 612). The woe and sorrow of the king and queen, and of the populace, was pitiable in the extreme (ll. 631-51). Yet the day came for the devouring of the lovely virgin princess (ll. 652-55). Word of these events reached George, who donned his armor, mounted his mighty horse, gathered a small band of companions, and rushed off to Silene prepared to do battle (ll. 659-72). Alcione was brought forth at daybreak clothed royally in wedding garb. The citizenry bewailed her fate and prayed uselessly to their gods. After the king and queen kissed their daughter farewell, she was bound with chains to a pillar. The hungry dragon swam to the shore of her malodorous ditch and climbed out, spreading her wings. Lifting her scales and neck, she shook the green mire from her fearsome body (ll. 676-775). Alcione spoke with grief that a dragon was about to devour her, unaided by the gods she had venerated (ll. 779-828).

From a hill George observed with distress and compassion the fate about to befall the sacrificial virgin as the dragon moved slowly toward her prey (ll. 830-47). Courageous George crossed himself, couched his lance,¹⁴ struck his gold spurs to his mount and, to the wonderment of the watching folk of Silene, the lone cavalryman charged toward the fearsome monster. George ran his lance into the dragon's mouth, through her throat and into her womb (ll. 848-70). The violence of the attack taxed the strength of George's valiant steed, but it recovered to continue the struggle (ll. 872-89). George then drew his sword and struck at the dragon so hard and often that the sword broke in his hand (ll. 891-96). The dragon was mortally wounded, but not yet done. George took up a spear and thrust it through the dragon's throat and into her heart. Prostrate on the ground, gnawing with crooked teeth on the spear piercing her body, the dragon died (ll. 897-914). As a great cheer rose from the city, the royal servants, speechless with joy and relief, rushed to release Alcione from her chains and bring her into the city. As the king and queen embraced their daughter, the queen, (with words invented by Barclay) could now proclaim her joy over the saving of her daughter's life, and heaped praise upon George (ll. 915-94).

In the triumphal aftermath of the slaying of the dragon, the hero George addressed a receptive audience in Silene. He informed the inhabitants that the dragon had been sent to torment them not by true gods but by fiends, and George called upon his audience to abandon their false gods and convert to Christianity, telling them about the Trinity (ll. 995-1078). George's appeal was a success.

The king and queen were first to be baptized, followed by Alcione and the people of Silene. Idols were cast down, temples became Christian churches, and George taught the rites of the faith. He also ordained priests (ll. 1114-35). George even taught the new converts the calendar of the Church, its seasons and feast days, and set it down clearly in writing (ll. 1135-41). With all these matters concluded, the body of the dragon, which must by then have been ripe with decomposition, was burned (ll. 1143-45). The converts then portrayed for posterity the story of the dragon on the walls and gate of the city, and made portraits of both the Virgin Mary and George, the royal champion (ll. 1146-55). They also wrote plays to commemorate the momentous events just past, with the intention of having them performed annually (ll. 1156-59).

They offered additional thanks to George for all that he had done, and in gratitude for saving their lives and souls, the king and queen offered the hand of Alcione to George in marriage, with the intention that the realm would in time become his to rule (ll. 1163-90). George expressed his gratitude for the offer, but refused, saying that thanks were due not to him but to God. Moreover, that he wished to maintain his chastity (ll. 1192-1204). Rich gifts were then bestowed upon George, and he in turn spent the gifts on churches and in aid of the poor, the sick, and on other works of charity (ll. 1208-18). In the center of the city George had a church built, dedicated to the Virgin Mary. During construction,¹⁵ a spring of water opened up that was soon discovered to be medicinal (ll. 1220-46). As people drank the spring water it cured the illnesses caused by the dragon's poison. In addition, the water was channeled out to the animals and the surrounding fields to make them healthy and fertile once more. The presence of the medicinal water naturally strengthened the faith of the new converts.

With the building of the central church well under way, George decided that it was time for him to take his leave of Silene. The population gathered so that George could offer a farewell speech. The message George offered was a call to live in harmony one with another, to avoid the sins of discord, sloth, lust, and envy, to obey their king (who is counseled to be virtuous), and to walk in faith the path of grace. In summation, George committed those listening to Jesus and said 'Heuyn is your mede if ye in faith be true' (ll. 1254-1330).

Setting out from Silene, George made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. He visited all the major pilgrim sites where events described in the Bible had taken place, such as the Holy Sepulcher, Calvary, and the house of Mary and Martha. He then journeyed to Persia, where he decided to renounce the life of chivalry and turn himself to a more holy way of living (ll. 1359-79). To learn his new heavenly form of living, George turned for instruction, as Barclay anachronistically states, to Carmelite mendicants (ll. 1385-1400). Taught by word and deed, George came to see the tedium of earthly things. As George was abiding in Persia, the number of followers of the Christian faith was growing. At the same time, enemies of Christianity were conspiring together. This ensuing persecution resulted in many martyrs to the faith (ll. 1401-1645). George was living quietly in Persia while the persecution spread.

One of the chief persecutors of Christians was the Roman prefect Dacian ('Dacyan'), whose cruelty George finally could no longer endure. George put aside his knightly garments, dressed himself in simple garb, and confessed to Dacian that he was a Christian

(ll. 1650-59). George then boldly denounced Dacian as a tyrant and rejected the gods Dacian worshiped. Because of George's knightly fame, Dacian responded with courtesy, saying that he was obeying the emperor's orders. He tried to flatter and argue George into changing his views (ll. 1660-1708). George would have none of it. He again proclaimed his faith, denounced false idols, spoke of the Trinity and of heaven, and said that it was a noble deed for a knight to die 'to fortyfy the ryght' (ll. 1709-92).

At this point, Dacian abandoned the carrot and took up the stick, and ordered his servants to torment George. The knight was bound with ropes and stretched out, and his flesh was attacked with fire, iron hooks, and nails, resulting in terrible, bleeding wounds into which salt was rubbed (ll. 1793-1824). George withstood the torture meekly and with cheerful countenance. He believed his wounding was a purging of his sins, and prayed that the grace of God would keep his mind focused upon his faith (ll. 1825-73). Dacian then had George released and thrown into a stinking dungeon, during the night under guard. He prayerfully accepted that he would die a martyr's death and be taken into heaven (ll. 1874-97). However, an angel visited George in the night, touched his wounds, and healed them. The angel spoke to George of the delights of heaven that were the reward of martyrs (ll. 1912-46). When Dacian learned that the knight's wounds were healed, the tyrant concluded that George was an enchanter (ll. 1955-67). Dacian's response was to bring in a famous local enchanter to overcome George. Dacian's overconfident and boastful enchanter decided to use poison to kill George and discredit his Christian beliefs (ll. 1968-2121). The local population gathered in the marketplace to witness the prowess of the pagan enchanter. George, though bound in chains, was in good spirits for the event. Cheerfully and with trust in God, he drank the cup of poison offered to him. Nothing happened. Concerned, Dacian ordered a second cup of poison given to George, which he also drank without any ill effect. Overwhelmed by his failure to kill George, the enchanter fell at George's feet and proclaimed his belief in Christ. This turn of events enraged Dacian. He ordered that the enchanter be beheaded, and the crowd kicked the severed head into a privy (ll. 2122-35).

George was returned to prison while a new torment was devised. The new instrument of torture was a great, turning wheel of oak with iron teeth designed to grind and tear George to shreds (ll. 2136-71). George was undisturbed by the prospect, holding firm in his trust of God's mercy. And indeed God sent the four winds to destroy the engine of torture in a mighty tempest. Foiled again, Dacian caused George to be thrust back into prison. Changing course once more, Dacian decided to use argument in his approach to George. One morning George was brought before Dacian, now convinced that George was a skilled sorcerer. He planned to entice George with the prospect of the fame he could enjoy in the service of Rome. George would come to be known as a more cunning enchanter than those of Persia. Rome, Dacian told George, really needed the services of one such as himself (ll. 2173-2219). George's holy mind was of course not turned by Dacian's words, but he promised that he would sacrifice in the temple of the pagan idols and asked that an audience be assembled the next day (ll. 2220-32). George had a plan.

Dacian was joyful and boastful that he had gained victory over the Christian knight. Puffed up with pride, he summoned the people to gather at sunrise to witness George sacrifice to the gods. The vain Dacian was certain that his gods had overcome the Christian one (ll. 2234-96). George was brought out unchained, and went to the temple as people strained to observe and hear what he might say (ll. 2301-59). George then knelt and prayed silently that the temple with its false idols be utterly destroyed so that the people would turn from their erroneous worship and learn to follow omnipotent God. Scarcely had George finished his prayer when thunder cracked and the earth opened to swallow the fractured

temple into the burning, smoky depths of hell. Many people died, but Dacian was among the few survivors. Dacian had George brought before him and accused of the wicked murdering of so many people (ll. 2360-73). However, a judge stated that Dacian was insane and that the idols destroyed were nothing but stones unable to save the citizenry (ll. 2374-80). George then offered to make a sacrifice at another temple, but Dacian did not accept (ll. 2381-94).

The king of the city now enters the story. Furious at the damage George has caused, he told his queen that the blood of George must pay for the offending of the gods (ll. 2395-2415). The queen had a very different reaction to the strange and miraculous events in the city: she accepted the power of God, saw George as a divine instrument, and converted to Christianity, urging the king to do the same (ll. 2416-43). At this, the king flew into a rage, ordered that his queen be stripped naked, whipped with tree branches, and hung up (ll. 2444-78). In her torment, the queen, grieving that she had not been baptized, turned to George for words of comfort. George assured her that she was baptized in her blood and that heavenly bliss would be hers as a Christian martyr (ll. 2479-2520). She died commending herself to the Son of the Blessed Virgin.

After all of these events, God determined that George, who was back in prison bound with chains, had suffered enough. He sent angels to warn him of his approaching death and tell him that his soul would be taken to eternal glory (ll. 2521-50). The angels gave George comfort through the last night of his earthly life and praised him (ll. 2551-85). The angels addressed George as the flower of worthiness and of knighthood, scourge of tyrants, and honor of his nation. His manly doughtiness was commended as God's faithful knight who persevered without fear in fighting, and they assured him that his final pain would be short and eternal bliss his reward. His pain may have been brief, but it was intense and gruesome. George's sentence was to be dragged through the streets by savage bulls until his body was disjointed and torn, and then to be beheaded (ll. 2585-2618). George endured his execution prayerfully, meekly, and fearlessly. Angels received his soul, and it was carried to heaven to be met with joy by the court of God.

Dacian was nearby with a band of soldiers when the martyrdom of St. George was completed. Dacian remained blind to the miracles that had happened before his eyes and to the manifestation of God's power in creation (ll. 2619-67). A fire descended from heaven and burned Dacian and his men into black powder which the wind carried away as their souls descended into the endless torment of hell. Thus, God avenged his knight, who stood joyfully in heaven.

Having completed his story of St. George through his verse translation of Spagnuoli's *Georgius*, Alexander Barclay then added a prayer of his own composition addressed to the blessed martyr St. George (ll. 2668-2716). Barclay lauds St. George as the scourge of tyranny, a pillar of faith and holiness, a confounder of idolatry, and the chosen knight of Christ and Mary. Saying that St. George had chosen to be the patron saint of England, Barclay asks St. George to grant that all knights might be bold for God in order that grace and virtue might be abundant and that 'ryghtwyse chyalry' might triumph over all enemies. While minimizing his skills as a writer, Barclay states his intentions in praying to St. George. Barclay wants to excite people to honor St. George. He wants to be patronized himself by the saint, who will then be a defense against 'the olde serpent'. For England, Barclay petitions that England be preserved in peace and unity, that rebels and upstarts be repressed, and that the king be preserved from adversity. He begs health, wealth, good life, and charity within the realm. He requests the patronage of St. George for the English in turning away from earthly and transitory pleasures toward the salvation of the immortal soul.

Reflecting in conclusion upon Barclay's recounting of the story of St. George, what

might be gleaned of the Ely monk's thoughts about assorted matters? Barclay's Benedictine and priestly commitment to celibacy is a powerful current. The Virgin Mary aside, misogyny was a prevailing theme: George wanted nothing to do with women (and the associated sexual lust), including Alcione, who would have brought him wealth and power (earthly treasures). The dragon was female, and the king of the Persian city had his queen publicly stripped of her clothing, whipped, and executed. Barclay was utterly consistent in his religious orthodoxy, and convinced that the only true religion was Christianity. He believed firmly in the power of God to work miracles, the doctrine of original sin ('orygnall offence', l. 222), the patronage of the saints, and the reality of heaven and hell. He praises works of charity. Barclay held death for the faith in high regard, and did not shrink from describing the horrors of degradation and torture. It is curious that he followed his source in having George instructed by Carmelites rather than substituting Benedictines. The schoolmaster in Barclay's character came through in particular when he admonished England's youth to follow the example of St. George, and when he instructed the newly converted citizenry of Silene on their Christian duties and on how they should behave and obey their ruler. The setting is very English in that there is a parliament and that even the king is expected to obey the law. For Barclay chivalry and knighthood are synonymous. When he writes of chivalry and knighthood he implies ideal behaviors of saintly virtues and martial manliness, true obligations of perfect gentility. St. George is chaste, does works of charity, and is utterly devout in his religion. He is a superb equestrian, is physically strong, can handle any weapon, and is ferocious and without fear in conflict. St. George is the ideal Christian knight and the patron saint of England.¹⁶ Repeatedly acknowledging St. George in the poem as England's patron saint is a consistent departure Barclay made from Spagnuoli's *Georgius* in telling the story of his knightly hero.

Endnotes:

- ¹ *The Life of St. George by Alexander Barclay*, ed. William Nelson (London: Early English Text Society, Original Series 230, 1955). Subsequent references to Barclay's poem will be from Nelson's edition, and will be given parenthetically within the essay and in the form of line numbers of the poem.
- ² Nicholas Orme, "Alexander Barclay," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004-15), accessed 15 June 2015.
- ³ *Life of St. George by Barclay*, ed. Nelson, p. xi.
- ⁴ Orme, "Barclay," *ODNB*.
- ⁵ Joan Greatrex, *Biographical Register of the English Cathedral Priories of the Province of Canterbury, c.1066 to 1540* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), p. 390.
- ⁶ *Life of St. George by Barclay*, ed. Nelson, p. ix.
- ⁷ J. G. Clark, "Humanism and Reform in Pre-Reformation English Monasteries," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Sixth Series, 19 (2009): 77.
- ⁸ Joan Greatrex, "Rabbits and Eels at High Table: Monks of Ely at the University of Cambridge, c.1337-1539," in *Monasteries and Society in Medieval Britain*, Harlaxton Medieval Studies 6 (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1999), pp. 312-28.
- ⁹ Joan Greatrex, "Benedictine Observance at Ely: The Intellectual, Liturgical and Spiritual Evidence Considered," in *A History of Ely Cathedral*, ed. P. Meadows & N. Ramsay (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2003), p. 93.
- ¹⁰ Orme, "Barclay," *ODNB*.
- ¹¹ For West, see Felicity Heal, "Nicholas West," *ODNB*, accessed 9 April 2016.
- ¹² For Howard, see D. M. Head, "Thomas Howard," *ODNB*, accessed 9 April 2016. Howard was made a Knight of the Garter by Richard III: A. C. Reeves, "Richard III's Knights of the Garter," *The Ricardian* 24 (2014): 98-100.

- ¹³ Swimming was recommended as physical training for Roman soldiers, but not for men in Barclay's time who wore plate armor. N. Orme, *From Childhood to Chivalry* (London: Methuen, 1984), p. 207.
- ¹⁴ Roman cavalry could not perform such a maneuver because they had no stirrups to confirm themselves on horseback.
- ¹⁵ Early in the poem Barclay identified George as the servant and knight of the Virgin Mary (l. 112).
- ¹⁶ St. George as England's patron saint is explored fully in Jonathan Good, *The Cult of St George in Medieval England* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2009).

~ToC~

Richard III's Intestinal Infection—Fact vs. Fiction

Susan Troxell

The discovery and mitochondrial DNA confirmation of Richard III's mortal remains was a seismic event in Ricardian historiography. For the first time, historical narratives about his personal appearance, manner of death, and post-mortem treatment could be tested against the objective scientific findings rendered up by his bones. We observed how myths (his "hunchback," withered arm, and the exhumation and dumping of his remains into the River Soar) were debunked. With the use of a "body double", Dominic Smee, we learned how well he could function on and off the battlefield despite having idiopathic, adolescent-onset scoliosis. Another discovery that came out of the king's skeletal remains was the presence of roundworms in his gravesite and the scientific theory that he suffered from an intestinal infection prior to death.

A quick internet search for the topic of Richard III and roundworms leads to headlines and stories suggesting that his body was "riddled" and "crawling" with parasites, that his infection produced symptoms that limited him physically and mentally, and that his lifestyle was dissolute with luxuries, yet simultaneously unsanitary and hazardous. Richard III has the unique attribute of being both too kingly and too banal: a regal monarch on the outside, yet rife with disease on the inside. But do the scientific findings support these conclusions? This article attempts a brief analysis of the data as well as the media's reporting of them, since it seems that new myths and misconceptions are being created as quickly as others have been dispelled.

Riddled With Parasites?

Let's begin with the actual study, reported by the British medical journal *The Lancet*, in September 2013. There, the scientists reported that they collected soil samples from the area where they discovered the king's skeleton, from the dirt near the pelvis and head. They also collected soil from outside the grave cut for comparison. After putting the soil samples through a series of fine mesh sieves and the application of chemical agents, they examined

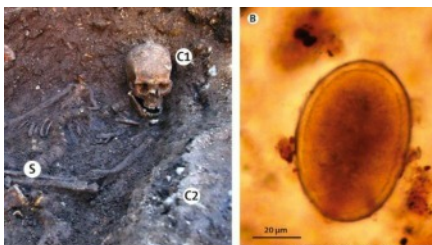


Figure 1. A soil sample (S) taken from Richard III revealed several roundworm eggs. Control samples from his skull (C1) and outside the grave (C2) linked the infection to his body. Photo: Mitchell et al., *The Lancet*.

the residue with powerful microscopes and saw the presence of multiple roundworm eggs (*Ascaris lumbricoides*) in the pelvic sample, where the intestines would have been during life. The sample from the skull was negative for parasite eggs, and the control sample from outside the grave cut showed only scanty environmental soil contamination with parasite eggs. This led them to conclude that Richard III's intestines were infected with roundworms

at the time of his death, and it was this finding that prompted the flurry of media reports that he was “riddled” and “crawling” with parasites.

What was not reported as widely, however, was the very critical finding that the king’s remains did not have many of the parasites they would expect to see from someone who lived in the 15th century and who had a nobleman’s diet:

“Past research into human intestinal parasites in Britain has shown several species to have been present prior to the medieval period, including roundworm, whipworm (*Trichuris trichiura*), beef/pork tapeworm (*Taenia saginata/solium*), fish tapeworm (*Fasciola hepatica*). We would expect nobles of this period to have eaten meats such as beef, pork, and fish regularly, but there was no evidence for the eggs of the beef, pork, or fish tapeworm. This finding might suggest that his food was cooked thoroughly, which would have prevented the transmission of these parasites.”

So, there was evidence of only one type of common parasite, but not three others that would have been expected of a man who ate meat and fish regularly. Richard III was known to have eaten a high protein diet rich in these foods; this was reported in a paper published by the *Journal of Archaeological Sciences* in 2014. Of course, no journalist would have written a headline saying “Richard III was remarkably free from common parasites of his day.” That wouldn’t be as attention grabbing, right?

Coincidentally enough, not long after the report of Richard III’s roundworm infection had hit the news cycle, another study was published in the *Journal of Parasitology* showing that parasitic infections of the gut were more widespread than previously known. This time it was the Vikings who lived hundreds of years earlier than Richard, but had the reputation of being “robust types, feared throughout much of Europe” and who “enjoyed excellent living conditions”. The study showed that the soil samples from Viking latrines contained parasite eggs from roundworm and human whipworm, along with liver fluke from cattle or sheep. “You can’t tell if they come from parasites that infected humans or animals by simply looking at the eggs,” said one of the scientists. “But by examining their DNA, we are able to confirm what we until now have only believed to be the case: that a thousand years ago, humans carried these parasites around.” It certainly puts Richard III’s infection into perspective: not as shocking or even really that unexpected given that roundworms and other parasites had been carried around by humans for generations.

Another feature of Richard III’s infection that went under the radar screen was the nature of the evidence. According to the lead investigator of the *The Lancet* article, 15 roundworm eggs were located in the king’s gravesite, and one was found from outside it. This disparity in number only circumstantially suggests Richard III had the infection. But it’s also possible that the control sample collected from outside the grave was not representative. That a Victorian latrine later penetrated the gravesite might explain the presence of roundworms. Dr. Philip Mackowiack, an infectious disease specialist at the University of Maryland, has observed that the samples from the soil surrounding the grave might have contained fewer eggs than usual just by chance; the researchers might have seen much more if they had taken additional samples from neighboring areas. If they had, then there might have been no basis to say the parasites were contained in Richard III’s body. They could have been part of the background environment in which the king’s remains were deposited.

Suffering An Infection At The Battle Of Bosworth?

Another narrative that has crept into the finding of roundworms in Richard III’s grave emerges from the impact an intestinal infection might have had on his mental and physical

health during his last year of life. Some people find it just too tempting; he must have been very sick at the Battle of Bosworth or very frightened by what he saw when he relieved himself in the privy or garderobe. Some seek to use the roundworm infection to explain what they see in retrospect as irrational behavior, such as his last cavalry charge at the Battle of Bosworth. Science, however, does not support these speculations.

The symptoms of a roundworm infection depend largely on the type of roundworm that infects a person. Roundworms, like all living organisms and parasites, come in many different types; some are more “virulent” than others and make the human host sicker. Others are less so, and create no symptoms at all. Since no DNA testing was done by the scientists on the specific roundworm eggs found in Richard III’s grave, no one knows exactly which strain they were. They could have been the virulent or the non-virulent type.

The scientists who reported on their findings in *The Lancet* have concluded that they were *probably* the most common strain that has been observed in English and European archeological sites. Assuming this to be the case, what are the symptoms? It turns out they are relatively minimal. What would have happened is that Richard, as duke or king, would have eaten something that had traces of human feces on it; probably from a cook who just used the privy and then went to the kitchen to prepare food. Or it could have come from vegetables that were raised with fertilizer that had been mixed with human waste. In either case, no one would have noticed this contamination, roundworm eggs being invisible to the naked eye, and since the Germ Theory of Disease was not yet discovered, no one would have thought to thoroughly wash the food or their hands before it was prepared. Most of the food would be cooked, but sometimes it was served without being cooked to the temperatures that would have killed off any bacteria or parasites. Neither Richard nor his contemporaries would have known that they were eating something contaminated and he would have gone for weeks without noticing anything at all.

It is only after an incubation period that the roundworm eggs ingested by human hosts begin to infect them. The eggs hatch minuscule larvae, which then migrate to the lungs from the gut, and travel up the “wind pipe” or trachea. This causes a mild tickling sensation in the airway, and the human host coughs. And, just like everyone who has a very mild cold or some phlegm upon coughing, they swallow the sputum into their stomach. From there, the roundworm larvae develop into worms, which live in the intestines and create new roundworm eggs to be excreted. The intestinal worms themselves cannot survive burial conditions and cannot be examined by archeologists, thus the “crawling” with roundworms headline is really not accurate. Moreover, the scientists who wrote *The Lancet* article cannot say *how many* intestinal worms Richard III had; if he had only a few, then they probably would have done him no harm and would have had no impact on his robustness. Treatment for intestinal worms in the 15th century included a change in diet, ingesting wormwood or other abortifacients, or bloodletting. Whether Richard III ever had these treatments is unknown but, if he had submitted to extensive bloodletting, it’s possible that the treatment was worse than the infection.

The U.S. Centers for Disease Control and the United Kingdom’s National Health Service say that most people do not even know that they are infected with roundworms, and that at most, one will experience a passing low grade fever, mild abdominal discomfort, and nausea. In the most severe cases they will pass a worm the size of an earthworm in their stool or have intestinal obstruction leading to malnutrition. People who have a good diet and plenty of food usually experience no problems at all, as they will not lose nutrition and will not suffer weight loss or other vitamin deficiencies.

Anyone who has studied Richard III's last years of life will be very disappointed to see any references to the king being sick or lacking in nutrition. As shown by John Ashdown-Hill in his book *The Last Days of Richard*, he went about his business without any disruption. There were no contemporary reports of his being ill or *in extremis* from an intestinal blockage—the symptoms of which would have been very obvious and difficult to suppress or disguise. Stories sprang up in the Tudor era saying that Richard suffered from a restless, fevered night before Bosworth. However, that would have not been caused by roundworms since Richard III's infection had gone past the initial incubation stage. Most historians have rejected this tale and, if they give it any credence at all, they tend to attribute it to the “sweating sickness.” In any case, it is difficult if not impossible to reach any conclusion as to how Richard III's roundworm infection affected his life. The scientists who have commented on it have described it as being mildly annoying or a mere nuisance.

A Filthy Medieval Age?

Aside from being riddled with parasites and made irrational in mind, the last myth that has arisen from the finding of roundworms in Richard III's gravesite is the notion that medieval society was filthy and extraordinarily unhygienic. *The Lancet* article actually shows that the king had fewer parasites than the scientists expected, leading them to conclude that the technical preparation of his food had reduced the transmission of intestinal parasites. Of course, he was from society's elite class, so his hygienic standards would have been much better than those in the lower economic strata.

Nevertheless, people in the medieval day did take baths, wash their hands, clean their teeth, and change their undergarments regularly. I was visiting The Cloisters in New York City and was struck by their collection of medieval *aquamanile*—vessels that were used to wash hands in liturgical and secular settings.



Figure 2. Collection of aquamanile vessels at The Cloisters, New York

A nobleman always washed his hands before and after eating a meal—not to do so would have been considered bad manners. During banquets, people would take their food from shared platters, but care was taken to minimize touching it. Most food was thoroughly cooked, as there was a preference for roasts and highly flavored/spiced dishes, and the sale of reheated cooked food was outlawed by the City of London. Eating raw vegetables and salads was not as common as it is today.

Roundworms continue to infect humans despite our improved personal hygiene, public sanitation, antibacterial soaps, and knowledge of germs. Estimates of roundworm infection in the 21st century range from affecting between 800 million to one billion people, including millions of people living in the United States. The persistence of this parasite shows that it cannot be eradicated even in modern, first-world countries. Most intriguingly, there is a developing body of science that offers the theory that human beings' immune systems have lived with microbes and parasites, like intestinal worms, for millennia. Researchers such as Dr. Patraic Fallon at Trinity University in Dublin are now exploring the concept that in today's overly-sanitized conditions, our immune systems may go “haywire” in the absence of these common parasites and result in inflammatory diseases of the bowel and nerve systems. They are now exploring the efficacy of treating such inflammatory diseases with therapies in which intestinal worms are *deliberately* administered to mouse models. So, while our medieval ancestors may have suffered from many parasitic infections of the gut,

they may have actually received some protective benefit that is yet to be fully understood and appreciated.

Conclusion

Although the 2012 discovery of Richard III's skeletal remains is an archeological feat of our modern age, we must remember that no other medieval monarch's skeleton has been subjected to such a rigorous scientific analysis using today's cutting-edge laboratory tests and forensic tools. It makes Richard III's skeleton a novelty and novelties have a way of exaggerating their significance because we have no others for comparison. One wonders what scientists would find today if they exhumed the remains of other monarchs from the 15th century such as Henry V, who is believed to have died of an intestinal infection (dysentery), or Edward IV, who suddenly died from an unknown cause. We might then be able to put Richard III's physical well-being into a much more accurate context, but until then, the narratives which continue to shape him as horribly diseased in body say more about the way we tell the story of his life rather than the way he actually lived it.

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~ToC~

Ricardian Reviews

Myrna Smith

*...like so many book reviewers, [Cosmo] had a distressing tendency to set everybody right about everything. Strong men had often hidden behind trees when they saw Cosmo coming.—P.G. Wodehouse, **A Few Quick Ones.***

In which the present reviewer tries to set everyone right...

Richard III: A Ruler and His Reputation—David Horspool, 2015, Bloomsbury Press, New York and London

If it was Mr. Horspool's intent to provide a 'balanced' view of Richard III, he starts off wrong. On page one, he analyzes Richard portrait thus: "Here is a picture of nervous energy, and of gnawing conscience." Funny, all I see is a slight outdoorsman's squint. He later quotes Nicholas von Poppalu, who saw Richard in the flesh, not a portrait. "Apologists for Richard used to note that von Poppalu made no mention of any deformity... The findings that Richard suffered from quite severe scoliosis, which would have made his shoulders appear uneven, point to something different about von Poppalu's remarks. He clearly noted something unusual about the king's appearance with the contrast of delicacy and strength that he pointed out." Note first the strawman. Many Ricardians, including Paul Murray Kendall, thought that he might have had uneven shoulders, though not knowing the cause. But since they didn't know about his scoliosis before anybody could know about his scoliosis that now proves how stupid they were. Second, the fact that von Poppalu did not notice a deformity is adduced as proof that he must have noticed one! Then he casts doubt on von Poppalu's report altogether: "...the fact he mentioned that their meeting took place in Pontrefact rather than Middleham, where Richard was known to have been staying... is a sign that he wasn't a stickler for accuracy." No, it merely indicates he was a foreigner who was not conversant with English geography. Horspool then goes on to commit this howler: "It may seem strange to argue that a man who was killed before he reached his thirty-second birthday was a born survivor, but given the fact that two of his older brothers

had died violently, he must have learned to be one.” Horspool thus feels justified in depicting Richard as a Protean character, changing as necessary. Even his birthdate. He was two months short of his 33rd birthday at Bosworth Field, not less than 32. This could have been determined simply by checking Wikipedia.

To his credit, Horspool does dispose of the argument that the marriage of Richard and Anne Neville was “incestuous” as claimed by Michael Hicks. He does not find any signs of having a guilty conscience regarding Clarence in Richard’s founding of chantries. Nor does he find the death of George Neville to be suspicious, as Terry Breverton does, though he does think Richard may have been aware of “a life-threatening illness” some time before. There is no proof that George had such an illness, nor, for that matter, that he died in an accident. Either assumption is just that—an assumption. The author admits that “In those months [before 1483] Richard was engaged in the sort of pursuits that would have assured him a relatively minor, but perfectly honourable, place in the nation’s history.”

Though he shows some effort to try to be fair in these cases, in many others he makes assumptions that tend to Richard’s guilt, without apparently being aware that they are assumptions, not facts. For example, in the Countess of Oxford affair, Horspool admits that some of the charges may have been exaggerated, and were certainly belated. “It is tendentious to argue, as one reputable historian has done, that ‘the man who maltreated the frail old Countess of Oxford was *potentially* capable of murdering the Princes in the Tower.’ Yes, and a man who hadn’t maltreated her was *potentially* capable of doing so too.” By this argument, I could be considered *potentially* capable of being involved in the assassination of JFK, because I had not committed any other crime!

Another example: “Richard’s appointment [as chief justice of Wales]...was made during the minority of Herbert’s heir...who was three years younger than Richard...but there was no guarantee that Richard’s role would not be made permanent at his expense later.” So Richard can justifiably be condemned for something he *could* have done, but did not actually do? (William Herbert served Richard faithfully, and even became his son-in-law.) In another context, the fact that Richard paid for lands that he already held is made to somehow sound nefarious.

The close ties between Richard and the city of York were, to a large degree, Horspool thinks, a matter of the city knowing on which side its bread was buttered. However, he also depicts the duke as very much a hands-on magnate, even involving himself in a dispute about church pews.

Regarding Richard’s attempt to legislate justice, Horspool states: “Historians have debated the effectiveness of Richard’s response, but there is no doubt that the intentions behind them were sensible and just; these were no mere populist gestures.” But he does find ‘populist gestures’ elsewhere, e.g. writing of the laws in English (“...how much statute law formed the reading matter of the average English subject...?”) The case for Richard as a disinterested legislator is more difficult to make with his measures against foreigners, the less palatable side of the pro-English agenda.” What a pity Richard and his contemporaries couldn’t look ahead 500 years to see what the attitudes of 20th- and 21st-century historians were going to be, and adjust their actions accordingly!

“We still can’t read Richard’s mind,” yet he purports to do just that. Horspool does not necessarily believe that Richard was aiming at the crown, even when he seized the young king from Rivers “On another page: “We can only ever make educated guesses at Richard’s state of mind...it cannot have failed to occur to him that he *could* (Horspool’s italics) launch an attempt on the throne....*perhaps* (mine) he decided to see how the protectorship played out...It seems likely that more than one side of the argument is valid.”

He does give a somewhat more balanced view of the Battle of Bosworth Field: “The additional recruits that Henry made on his progress through Wales were not the result of a spontaneous flocking to his colours...The lack of support [for Richard] before Bosworth can be conceded, though the short time between Henry’s landing and the battle could account for many absences. But on the field, it may be a tactical miscalculation rather than a failure of moral leadership that really let Richard down.”

Regarding the bones: after quoting a Westminster Abbey spokeswoman about the bones in the urn (“...the mortal remains of two young children, widely believed since the 17th-century to be the princes in the tower, should not be disturbed.”) Horspool goes on to claim: “the most that we can say is that the possibility that they are the remains of Edward V and Richard of York, and that they died while Richard was king, (which as both their sovereign and the man entrusted with their care, at least makes him partly culpable for their deaths), have not been disproved by the various scientific attempts to make their bones speak.” One: there have not been various attempts—only one, in 1933. Two: Isn’t this another example of Bertrand Russell’s teapot?

Bertrand Russell’s teapot was defined by that philosopher like this: “If I were to suggest that between the Earth and Mars there is a china teapot revolving about the sun...nobody would be able to disprove my assertion, provided I was careful to add that the teapot is too small to be revealed even by our most powerful telescopes. But if I were to go on to say that, since my assertions cannot be disproved, it is intolerable presumption on the part of human reason to doubt it, I should rightly be thought to be talking nonsense.” Horspool seems to suggest that is what Ricardians do, but aren’t three fingers pointing back at himself?

This could go on for pages, and did in my original draft. But I can’t resist adding a few more examples of convoluted reasoning and inaccurate facts.

“She (Elizabeth “Jane” Shore) was a rare example of an independent woman who apparently did not rely on marriage to secure her place in society.” A mistress is an independent woman? Seems to me she was even more dependent on a man than a wife, as she had no legal protection.

“Henry Tudor had emerged as a serious threat in France, albeit in Brittany.” Brittany was not a part of France at this point, and Henry could not be in two places at the same time.

“Urswick was immediately sent to the French court to ask whether they would receive Henry, a request that Anne of Beaujeu [the regent] enthusiastically accepted.” We have no idea of her state of mind.

“Papal dispensation could be secured [for a marriage between Richard and Elizabeth of York], as happened later in the century for Joanna of Naples and her nephew Ferrante, who were related in the same degree (she was his aunt.)” If he was her nephew, of course she was his aunt.

Even Thomas Howard, son of one of Richard’s most prominent supporters, “managed to manoeuvre his way into Henry’s affections, and after three years imprisonment, was restored to his title.” No, not until the reign of Henry VIII and after Howard had won the battle of Flodden Field.

There are some flashes of wit: “Subscriptions to a Duke of Buckingham Society would not, one suspects, raise enough for a dinner, let alone an excavation.” And: “Historians tend to enjoy demolishing other historians’ cases to make their own.” Also: “...anyone who admits to an interest in, let alone in writing a book about Richard III, consigns himself to a bombardment of Olivier impersonations. Nobody offers an Ian McKellan...an Al Pacino.”

A personal preference: It would have made for much easier reading if Horspool had transliterated the Middle English of his chroniclers into modern spelling, after duly informing us that he was doing so. There are notes and a bibliography, but NO INDEX.

I suppose there is no wilder Indian than an American publisher when he gets off the reservation. Relieved for the nonce of the nauseous daily task of interviewing American authors, most of them wearing horn-rimmed spectacles, he has an exhilarating sense of freedom. He expands. He lets himself go....in a few short hours Russell Clutterbuck got self and guest thrown out of three grillrooms and a milk bar...—ibid

Bosworth 1485—Michael Jones, Pegasus books, NY, 2015

This is a new edition of the book first published some years ago, incorporating additional material, for some of which Jones himself was responsible, as recounted in *The King's Grave*. His new introduction depicts Richard as a “confident and aggressive commander” at Bosworth Field, contrary to Tudor propaganda, accepted unthinkingly by many historians. Though the re-issue has an American publisher, British spelling has been kept. Something that should have been changed is the reference to Richard’s bones having been lost after the dissolution of the monasteries, or thrown into the river. We now know that they were not, and this should have been updated in the text. He does provide notes, maps, genealogies, and a full index.

In the introduction to the original book, A.J. Pollard wrote: “What Jones has rebuilt is not the truth...of what really happened, or what Richard’s contemporaries knew to be the truth, or what they even believed to be the truth...[he] has crafted a marvelously imagined recreation” And that is what it is, with emphasis on ‘imagined.’ The subtitle to the original book was *The Psychology of a Battle*. Jones does give a good overview of that—geography not so much. The presumed location of the battle has changed over time, and might change again. Battle of Witherley, perhaps? You’d think they would have paid more attention.

Michael Jones is at his best when discussing the psychology of battles and the psychology of soldiers in battle. For this, he relies to a great extent on the writings of Commynes, who had first-hand experience, realizing both how an adrenaline high could cause someone “to forget to be afraid,” yet at another time, to just try to stay out of the way, or to run. Commynes does not condemn them. It was difficult for any soldier to know what was going on in another part of the battlefield, and it would be amazing to a modern soldier that Medieval and Early Modern combatants sometimes took breaks in an encounter, either by mutual consent, or on a pre-arranged signal. Well, wielding a heavy sword does get tiring.

But most of the account is not about the battle, but about Richard III. Jones sees him as having something of a father fixation. Would Richard really have a clear memory of his father, who died when he was seven? “A mythology is bigger than a memory, and Richard grew up in its shadow...” In his final charge at Bosworth, “Richard sought out his opponent on the field of battle, seeing the engagement not just as a clash of armies but as a duel between two champions. In this the son would rekindle the flame of his father’s memory with his crowning marital achievement.” Is this how Richard felt, or is it the thoughts that Michael Jones is putting in his mind? “It is hard for a modern audience to enter a world where the unbroken line of legitimacy, the transmission of the essence of a family’s identity, was of such paramount significance. But if we do enter it, we encounter a powerful yet disturbing value system in which seemingly unacceptable action may become a cruel necessity.” Yet, Richard, the strict legitimist, faithfully served the brother he knew to be a bastard (because his mother told him so) for years.

Richard, says Jones, was influenced not only by his father's memory, but by his mother's personality, and he does not put a very favorable light on this. A bit of a queen bee, to put it politely. Much—too much—is made of the incident when Duchess Cecily threw a hissy fit when informed of her son Edward's marriage to Elizabeth Woodville, threatening to name him as illegitimate, with no right to the throne. She is depicted as telling her son, in effect: "How can you demean your royal blood by marrying this...this...low-born widow? And you are not so royal yourself, since Richard Plantagenet wasn't your father!" One can imagine what Edward would have to say to that.

What is the source for that conversation? Why, Sir Thomas More. True, he was only a child at the time, but he was informed by Elizabeth (Jane) Shore, who got the story from Edward IV in person. More, who was so strict that he would not allow his male and female servants to speak to each other unless absolutely necessary, was a chum of Mistress Shore? In any case, this is third-hand evidence, prone to being embellished or edited along the way.

What was Cecily's motive for traducing her own reputation? Simply the desire to see her one remaining son on the throne? "It is not implausible that discomfort with that fateful act, back in Rouen...may have caused Cecily to lash out at the sexual misconduct of others." This is known as the logical error of 'begging the question:' assuming something not proven, and perhaps incapable of proof, as if it were fact, and building an argument on it.

Richard is, of course, guilty. "A decision by Richard to put the princes to death still remains the most likely outcome...he ordered them to be killed...sometime in August 1483. This grim scenario fits with the only account offering a date for the boys' deaths, the reconstruction made by Sir Thomas More..." who Jones admits was hardly a firsthand witness. And certainly Thomas Cromwell, whom Jones also calls into court, is an even less reliable witness.

Yet Jones does admire his subject. He sums up in the last paragraph of the book: "Here, instead of the evil loner, we glimpse a Richard who could be the flawed, but ultimately tragic hero of the story...The tragic heroism of Richard's last battle sheds a very different light upon a courageous, determined and energetic man caught up in a family drama and shadowed by its legacy and by what it required of him...He sought to find in the battle both an act of redemption and the symbol of a new beginning...in endeavouring to honour the legacy of his father, he found himself in a bloody re-enactment of that father's fate."

Regrettably, Michael Jones has not only fallen in love with the subject of his history, he has fallen in love with his own pet theory, and looked for evidence to bolster that theory instead of facts.

All publishers are sensitive, highly strung men. Knopf is. So is William Morrow. So are Simon and Schuster, Harper and Charles Scribner's Sons.—ibid.

It was my intention to review Michael Hick's *The Family of Richard III* (Amberley Press, Glos, 2015) and Matthew Lewis' *The Wars of the Roses: The Key Players* (also Amberley). Fearing that they might get lost in the crowd—they deserve better than that—I am postponing them until next time. Also, I'm beginning to get reviewer's fatigue, brought on by too many books on the same subject. As teasers or previews of coming attractions, I can't resist adding a few notes.

Lewis: "Catesby Sr veraciously built a grand property portfolio." I think voraciously is meant here; can't say how truthful he was.

Re what we might call the Buck letter: "...perhaps the young Elizabeth, keen to be queen and urged on by her mother, wrote more than one letter unsobly alluding to a plan between her and the king to wed once Anne was gone." Since the letter is not now in

existence, there is no proof that even one such letter was written, or if it was, that it referred to a marriage to the king.

Re the bones in Westminster Abbey: “it is important to consider what it might mean for those human remains if they were not the princes. Would they suddenly no longer deserve to be where they have rested for over 300 years? They are still the remains of someone’s child.” Or rather children.

Hicks: “During the Wars of the Roses cousins did kill cousins, brother-in-laws killed brothers-in-law.” (Sic)

“Although the Wars of the Roses began about good governance, it degenerated into a dynastic struggle.”

“...his sister’s brother Suffolk.” He was her husband. “...the new king’s sole uncle by blood, Richard.” Richard was Edward IV’s sole surviving brother, but Edward V had living uncles on his mother’s side.

“Richard acknowledged his own two bastards and paraded them in public.” There is no proof that they were ‘paraded,’ or that they even lived in his household. They may have, but this is only a possibility, not a certainty.

“Cecily...married John Viscount Welles, the new king’s paternal uncle.” Maternal half-uncle.

“Henry VII even persuaded some French that he was the son of Henry VI.” Jones has pointed out that this was more likely the idea of the French royal family, not Henry’s.

Henry VII treated Elizabeth of York’s sisters and nieces “almost humanely, allowing them to marry and breed.” (Sic and a couple of !!)

I am not a mother myself, but I understand a mother’s heart from soup to nuts. In her pride at the young plug-ugly’s triumph, everything else will be forgotten.—Ibid.

Red Rose, White Rose—Joanna Hickson, Harper, London, 2014

Joanna Hickson is the author of *The Agincourt Bride* (about Katherine de Valois) and *The Tudor Bride*. This volume is about the Plantagenet bride, Cecily Neville. It is her story, from the age of 17 to her early widowhood, and that of her vast extended family—22 siblings!—half of whom are feuding with the other half, and stealing from them, sometimes employing legal means, sometimes not. Makes me glad I was an only child. It is also the story of her illegitimate half-brother, devoted squire, and co-narrator, Cuthbert (Cuddy). Cuddy eventually marries a woman named Hilda—very North of England.

Cecily is kidnapped by a connection of the other side of the family, a cousin of sorts. By luck, her own efforts, and those of Cuthbert, she is returned unharmed. That is, depending on your definition of ‘unharmed.’ Hickson has her taking a lover, but he is not an archer. Lady Cecily wouldn’t stoop so low.

The characters speak good modern English, though not anachronistic English. Neither do they have anachronistic attitudes. Cecily arranges the marriages of her children strictly according to protocol, not considering their wishes at all. Her relationship with her husband, Duke Richard of York, seems to be emotionally distant, even when he is physically present.

Ironies abound. Cecily admires the Tudor brothers, Edmund and Jasper, not least because they are Earls. She considers marrying a couple of her daughters to them, but it doesn’t work out.

Much of her history is obstetric, necessarily. By the time her twelfth child, Richard, is born, she is rather fed up with childbearing. It doesn’t help that the new baby is “small and curiously formed, not crippled but slightly shortened in the trunk and weakened by

it..." This enables the author to foreshadow Richard's scoliosis, which didn't begin until he was perhaps 10+.

Joanna Hickson makes Cecily understandable and sympathetic and Sir Cuthbert sympathetic and admirable. His mother was a peasant, and he is not afraid to lend a hand with hay-making and other chores, nor is his wife, Hilda, who could be the model for Patient Griselda. Nevertheless, Sir Cuthbert is also a nobleman, and Cecily and most of her contemporaries have great respect for him, which the reader will share.

I am a broad-minded man and can tolerate female novelists.—ibid

Coincidentally, all of the novels in our current outing have been written by women, but are none the worse for that, especially when male writers of histories sometimes indulge in fiction, as we have seen.

Succession—Livi Michael, Fig Tree, UK, 2014, pb

Rebellion—Livi Michael, Fig Tree, UK, 2015 pb

These two novels cover the Wars of the Roses from the early years through 1471, mainly through the eyes of its prominent female characters, queens and duchesses: Marguerite d'Anjou, Margaret Beaufort, Cecily Neville, and others. But it is not altogether from the woman's point of view. The Duke of York soliloquizes before his execution, about the children he has lost:

They follow you, these dead children. They never left, like the living ones.

They sat with us at table or stood with us at church. They were there at the wedding of my eldest living daughter Anne. And they had grown quite tall.

Nor are all the characters and narrators of the nobility. John Coombe of Amesbury, who rescued Queen Marguerite and her son, gets a chapter to himself, as do a couple of anonymous soldiers, and the madwoman who lights a hundred candles for Owen Tudor. (His daughter-in-law thinks he is 'troll-like,' but obviously not everybody does.) For the most part, however, it is the story of these prominent women, and Ms. Michael works to give us a warts-and-all portrait. Margaret Beaufort rather coldly and curtly dismisses her devoted nurse, believing she has been working against her. She takes pride in being consulted by her mother about the estate, "preferred to her older half-brothers and even to the lawyers." No doubt, as she wouldn't let sentiment stand in her way. But her frustrations as a mother are sympathetically depicted.

If the usual Ricardian novelist—and even serious historians—have been prone to feel Cecily Neville's pain at being 'kept straightly' by her sister, Duchess Anne, Ms. Michael gives a different view. No doubt Anne was glad to be rid of her at last. Faced with an unsatisfactory tureen of soup, Cecily speaks her mind: "If I had wanted warm water, I would have asked for it." Some may think that the author goes too far in the 'warts-and-all' direction, as with her description of Edward IV's health problems. But when one is attempting a saga, or rather a tapestry, one has to include some of the drosser threads.

Some may feel that the author has taken too broad a view, in not having one main protagonist, but this is a worthy and mostly successful attempt, and worth-while for this, and for the unusual point of view.

...[His] emotions were such that only a topnotcher like Shakespeare could have slapped them down on paper, and he would have had to go all out.—Ibid

Blessop's Wife—Barbara Gaskell Denvil, Gaskell Publishing House, 2015

Summerford's Autumn—Barbara Gaskell Denvil, 2015

Blessop's wife, Tyballis, is an abused wife, both by her husband and her mother-in-law. A chance meeting with a young gentleman gives her the determination to leave her churlish

husband and evil mother-in-law. She runs away from home and joins Andrew Cobham's hostel for ne'er-do-wells—prostitutes, vagabonds and people who are just down on their luck. This is not altogether free. Drew expects her to help earn her keep, but not the way you might think. He involves her, in a rather minor way, in the events of 1483. At least, he intends it to be minor. For Drew Cobham is a trusted aide to Richard III, and leads a double life.

This novel illustrates that 'the short and simple annals of the poor' are not that simple and definitely not that short. Perhaps reading it electronically made it seem even longer to an old-fashioned addict of the paper media. I don't know what I would cut, though. Some of the sex scenes? They certainly exist, but don't seem overdone. The adventures? (Tyballis gets up to plenty on her own hook, as well as on Drew's behalf.) The mystery? There is enough of that, and well-handled. I never guessed the identity of the mole in Cobham's household. We also learn something of the back-story of both protagonists. Andrew also comes from a rather dysfunctional family, but this is only gradually revealed. The descriptive passages? Not only do they set the scene, they point up the differences, and similarities, between the rarified atmosphere of the royal court and the less-rarified milieu of the lower classis, as exemplified in the Noel celebrations. Andrew's household has to make do, but they manage to enjoy themselves anyway. The humor? It is sprinkled through the book. Here is our heroine insisting that she is not drunk: "I can talk perfectly well and I know exactly what is happening. Though I'm not sure that I should be sitting on your lap and I'm not sure how I got here."

Not that the story is all laughs. There is a darker side, and a number of deaths, some of them natural. All in all, an enjoyable read, engaging the reader's interest and sympathy.

Autumn does not start off so leisurely. It begins with a violent death, presumably accidental. We are then introduced to the Earl and Countess of Summerford, and a few pages later, to our hero, Ludovic, and his brothers, Brice, Gerald, and Humphrey. The younger brothers address each other as "my dear," but it is meant ironically. One is in open rebellion to the Tudors, another has a mysterious source of income, which we may rightly surmise is not a legal one, and Humphrey, the heir, is unfortunately mentally challenged, and cruel with it. Even Ludovic is a bit of a snob, but his association with our heroine, Alyssoon Welles, will gradually cure him of that. You might think the parents, as depicted in the early part of the novel, deserve this motley bunch, but by the book's end, you will have come to sympathize with them.

Alyssoon will shoot her future inamorato with a bow and arrow, then nurse him back to health, at least partly. She is not quite as low-born as she seems, her father having been mayor of Canterbury, but she does have an intimate understanding of how the other nine-tenths live.

We do get a look-in at the Tudor court, where Ludovic meets Perkin Warbeck. Lu's sympathies, like those of his brothers, are with the Yorkist remnant, but he tries to keep them concealed, not always successfully. Someone has to stay out of trouble to get the others out of various imbroglios. But even Ludovic and Alyssoon get caught up in the coils of treason. The author manages to keep her leading man and lady out of bed for most of the book's length (498 pages), but not out of trouble. There is plenty of adventure, but more character development than is usual in this type of book, and also historical accuracy.

Where Rosie M. Banks merely touches the heart strings, Cornelia Fothergill grabs them in both hands and ties them into knots.—ibid

The authors reviewed below aim less to touch the heartstrings than to tickle the funny bone or chill the spine. They aim simply for entertainment, and achieve it.

Queen of Hearts—Rhys Bowen, Berkeley Publishing Group, NY, 2014

Malice at the Palace—Rhys Bowen, Penguin, NY, 2015

Lady Georgiana Rannoch, 35th in line of succession to the British throne, and her actress mother, are on their way to Hollywood, where Mummy is to star as Mary I in a film about the Tudors. (There's the connection!) First they have to get there, and their trip on the Berengaria is complicated by the presence of Wallis Simpson and a jewel thief. Georgie's main squeeze, Darcy O'Mara, is on the trail of the latter. Once disembarked, they run into a number of Hollywood types, including a producer who seems to be based on a combination of William Randolph Hearst and Sam Goldwyn, but can't be either one, since they both died in their beds, and Charlie Chaplin, who is based on Charlie Chaplin. All will be solved at the end, including the jewel robbery.

In *Malice*, Lady Georgie is back in London for the wedding of her cousin George, (Not the one who became George VI. That was Bertie. I know—it's confusing.) but she is not going to be just a guest. Queen Mary wants her to take the bride-to-be, Princess Marina of Greece, around to the shops. She soon finds that an unacknowledged part of her task is to keep Marina from discovering the secrets of George's past. There's a murder, of course, a couple of ghosts, and some elderly, but very lively, daughters of Queen Victoria. And of course Darcy turns up again.

Some oddities: Although a character says that Charlie Chaplin had made some talkies, that was not the case at the time of the story (1934). And Chaplin's trademark was a derby, not a pork-pie hat. Further, no American would refer to a 'bathing costume.' Bowen appears to know her royals better than her cinema history. The only outstanding error I found in *Malice* was reference to 'the son of a newspaper magnet.' Surely 'magnate' was meant?

This and other books in the Royal Sypness series, have some serious moments, but overall they are charming romps, so why expect strict accuracy? Good light reading.

And one closer to the 'right' time period:

Cross of Vengeance—Cora Harrison, Severn House Publishers, UK, 2013

I seem to have missed several books in the Burren series, featuring Mara the Brehon. I'll try to catch up soon. In the meantime, the one now being reviewed is set in 1519. Outside events impinge more than in previous stories. Christopher Columbus is mentioned in passing and Martin Luther in more than passing. The scholars of the earlier books have grown up and embarked on their own careers, but Fachtman has returned to be Mara's assistant. New boys at the law school now include, among others, Mara's own son and grandson, the latter being somewhat the elder. Mara is now in her mid-forties, and complains of slowing down a bit, but certainly not in brain-power. She will be put to the test physically in this volume, too.

A party of pilgrims has come to the local shrine, not all of them very respectable. There is a Welsh nun and her two secular sisters, one a widow, the other a deformed and presumably unmarried young woman. There are a couple of clerics, one Spanish, one Italian, and a German named Hans Kaufmann, who is suspected of being a follower of Luther. When the shrine catches fire, destroying the precious relic, he is suspected of this as well. He confesses and claims sanctuary. Case closed? Of course not. He is somehow taken out of sanctuary, stripped naked, and murdered, spread-eagled on a tomb. Mara has her work cut out for her, as all the suspects have alibis, or were physically incapable of carrying out the crime. There will be another spot of arson, and other adventures, before it is all sewn up. For fans of Sister Fidelma, or the classic detective story generally.

Many thanks to Nina Kefer for the following review:

Richard Duke of Gloucester as Lord Protector and High Constable of England—Annette Carson, 2015, Imprimis Imprimatur

In order to try and make sense of the events of 1483 that led to Richard, Duke of Gloucester being crowned King Richard III it is important to understand two things: firstly, what powers Gloucester did—and did not—have and, secondly, medieval canon law's stance on irregular marriages. In her latest book Annette Carson, author of *Richard III: The Maligned King* and member of the *Looking for Richard Project* which successfully organised the search for the King's lost grave, focuses on the first. Based on both historical sources and modern day authorities, she seeks to establish what the offices of Lord Protector and Constable of England actually entailed and then assesses Gloucester's actions against these "job descriptions". In the process, she debunks a number of myths which have been repeated for centuries.

The book is divided into three parts. In the first part, Carson explores the history of the offices of Protector and Constable and how they developed with changing requirements. She begins by explaining how 15th century England, faced with a King who was first too young and later too unwell to rule, devised a system of government which was strictly divided between a royal council, a Protector and the guardians of the King. This Protector was not a regent, but merely a chief councillor whose powers were specified—and therefore limited—by Parliament. In fact, the office was created for Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester in order to deny him the regency his bother Henry V had granted him in his will.

Moving on to the Constable of England and his court, she traces their development from a martial court with jurisdiction over matters of discipline and armorial disputes in the royal army to becoming instrumental in dealing with treason and civil unrest even when the country wasn't at war. She shows that the Constable was empowered to prosecute such cases without indictment or jury and, since at least 1467, also without trial or appeal. Finally, she looks at the changing definition of what constituted a treasonable offence, the development of attainder and what a conviction meant for the family and estate of the convicted.

In the second part of the book, Carson applies the information gathered in the first part to the events of 1483 as far as they can be gleaned from surviving documents and chronicles. The results are illuminating. She shows that foreign commentators like Dominic Mancini and Polydore Vergil misunderstood key aspects of English law and customs and demonstrates how, by accepting their claims at face value; historians have allowed their misconceptions to become part of the traditional narrative.

This includes the popular belief that Gloucester was the Protector of his nephews: as Carson points out, when the office of Protector was created in 1422, its holder was specifically excluded from having custody of the King's person. The custodians of Edward V were his Woodville relatives, who in this role were however excluded from government to preserve the balance of power between council, Protector and guardians of the King. Seen in this context, it is not surprising that their high-handed actions in the aftermath of Edward IV's death aroused suspicion in various quarters, including the council, which given the precedent of Duke Humphrey, responded by handing the guardianship to Gloucester, effectively making him regent. Carson argues convincingly that he should therefore not be viewed as a partisan aggressor, but as restorer of law and order.

Another common misconception she addresses is Mancini's claim that Gloucester held no public offices until the council confirmed him as Protector and therefore wasn't authorised to execute Anthony, Earl Rivers and his companions Grey and Vaughan. In fact,

in 1469 he had been appointed Constable of England for life and Carson suggests that their executions, as well as that of William, Lord Hastings, were not the acts of an ambitious Protector intent on removing the obstacles between himself and the throne, but those of a Constable faced with treason. Showing Richard as Constable was difficult to do because the Constable's court left no records. However, Carson was able to demonstrate, contrary to popular perception, that he did have the authority to sentence them to death and the estates of Hastings and Rivers were dealt with in a manner which reflects the sentencing pattern of the Constable's court.

All of this is meticulously referenced with footnotes and citations from primary sources, including little known details such as the fact that the council tried to persuade Elizabeth Woodville to leave sanctuary by proposing an oath—a full month before Gloucester was offered the throne and almost a year before, as King, he swore a similar oath. Additionally, the third part of the book contains some of these sources in unabridged form, namely Chancellor Russell's draft speech for Edward V's first Parliament which sets out Gloucester's expanded role in his nephew's government, Edward IV's ordinances for the household of Edward V in Ludlow outlining the responsibilities of Rivers, Grey and Vaughan and the letters patent for the appointment of all Constables and Vice Constables of England under the Yorkist Kings. The reader can compare them word for word to see that it wasn't Gloucester who, as Richard III, gave his Constables sweeping new powers to deal with opponents of his regime, as has been claimed, but his predecessor Edward IV. Some of these documents are published here for the first time and, given how crucial they are to understanding the events of 1483. One has to wonder why it took so long.

In a nutshell, this is a small, but important book which offers a much needed reassessment of Gloucester's so-called usurpation. It should be required reading for Ricardians and traditionalists alike.—*Nina Kefer*

~ToC~

2016 Annual Report: Richard III Society, American Branch

2016 Chairman's Report, Jonathan Hayes

I will be handing over the Chairman's gavel at the GMM in Denver, so this is probably the time to look back and reflect on what's happened in your Society over the last few years in which I have had the honor of being Chairman.

No-one can say they have been boring! The reburial and the events in Leicester during the reburial week were an exciting experience for all of us who were able to attend. We talk about once in a lifetime, but that was an occasion which truly fit the description.

We've restructured the By Laws to closer fit the current economic/member age needs. The Schallek Funds administration remains in good hands and we are getting the scholarly results for our research library.

Your Society is stronger than ever today as evidenced by the incredibly capable slate of new Board members. It has been my privilege to work with the talented and industrious members of the current and previous Boards who have done so much to create that strength. It is to their efforts that your Society owes its current vitality. I hope you will take a moment in Denver to individually thank them for all their hard work; I certainly will do so.

In the last analysis, it is still the membership which creates the strength of the Society. I know you all will give Compton Reeves and the other incoming Board members your full support as they take on their duties. Since I will be *ex officio*, the Immediate Past Chair, I will still be around. I would be quite remiss if I didn't also ask you to put your research caps on and get busy on producing articles for the *Ricardian Register*. If I can do it, you certainly can!

I'm really looking forward to seeing you all in Denver. The Denver Chapter is putting on a GMM which would be tough to match.

2016 Treasurer's Report, Lisa Pince

2016 Q2 YTD Summary Report, August 1, 2016

Asset Summary as of June 30, 2016

Fund or Bank Account	Beg Balance as of 1/1/2016	Dividends	Additional earnings	End Balance (as of 6/30/2016)
Calvert Ultra Short Income - A	\$5926.25	\$32.06		\$5981.39
Vanguard Total Bond Mkt Index Fund	\$140570.12	\$1786.56	\$5976.56	\$148333.24
Total	\$146496.37	\$1818.62	\$5976.56	\$154314.63
Wells Fargo Checking Acct	\$28622.58			\$2212.96
Wells Fargo Savings Acct	\$2750.84			\$34764.67
PayPal	\$1391.45			\$1560.01
Total	\$32764.87			\$38537.64

Treasurer's Report cont.

2016 Income, Expenses, Balance Sheet Q2 YTD:

Income	Detail	Amount	Totals
Dues			\$9870.00
Gifts	General Fund	\$4255.00	
	McGee Fund		
	Schalleck Fund		
	Weinsoft Fund	\$66.00	
	AGM Desination	\$400.00	
Gifts Total			\$4721.00
Amazon Smile			\$28.94
Blue Pay Transaction Fees			\$214.50
Investment Income	Dividends, Interest, etc		
Interest	From WF Savings		\$3.70
AGM Registration	pending		
Sales Depart			\$308.24
Add'l Registers			\$23.11
Total			\$15169.49
Expenses	Notes		
Conference Calls			\$82.91
AGM			\$1545.74
NY State Fees	Filing fee for NY tax return		\$50.00
Ricardian Register PPS	UK publications mailed with Register		\$3257.53
UK Publications Shipping			\$2153.71
UK Society Dues	Due in December		\$0.00
Publicity			\$967.55
Website			\$0.00
Bank fees	Wiring fees and check imaging fees		\$144.07
Fiction Library			\$160.99
Non-fiction Library			\$819.31

Treasurer's Report cont.

2016 Income, Expenses, Balance Sheet Q2 YTD, cont.:

Income	Detail	Amount	Totals
Sales Inventory			\$255.52
Sales Office expenses			\$16.63
Blue Pay Monthly fee	varies between \$16.15 and \$16.45		\$114.55
Blue Pay Volume fee	varies between \$36 and \$47		\$251.56
Neon Monthly fee		\$49.00	\$294.00
PayPal Transaction fees			\$27.20
Blue Pay Compliance Penalty		\$29.95	\$59.90
Total Expenses			\$10201.17

As always, the UK dues are paid in December. This typically runs around \$12,000 depending on the exchange rate and membership at the time the dues are sent to the UK. The primary expenses to the Society continues to be publications and shipping expenses. This includes both UK and US generated publications.

GMM 2016:

To date, the Society has spent \$1500 for GMM expenses. The majority, thus far, has been for airline expenses for Dominic Smee. As the date approaches, more transactions are anticipated.

Calvert and Vanguard Funds:

Oversight of these funds, as well as the banking, will be transferred to the new board in September/October.

As a reminder: all membership dues are figured according to the IRS requirements. This means that only funds that cover the fair market value of benefits to members can be counted as dues. Any amount over that is counted as a gift. For the Richard III Society, American Branch, the \$60 basic dues and each \$5 for additional family members is called dues on these reports. Any amount over that is counted and reported to the IRS as a gift. I.e.: An Honorary Fotheringay member is accounted for as dues for \$60 and a gift of \$15 into the general fund. If not otherwise specified, the gift is placed in the general fund.

Treasurer's Report cont.

2017 Budget

Income	Amount	Comments
Dues	\$23760.00	Based on July membership data: 396
Gifts	\$5000.00	Includes all "dues" over \$60/\$65 and all other donations
GMM	\$4000.00	
Registration		
Sales	\$400.00	
Investment	\$2808.62	
Dividends		
Investment	\$5000.00	Market dependent
Gains		
Total	\$40968.62	
Expenses		
Conference	\$250.00	
Calls		
GMM	\$3000.00	
Expenses		
Fiction Library	\$250.00	
Non-fiction	\$250.00	
library		
NYS filling fee	\$50.00	
Ricardian	\$6000.00	Mailing includes 4 Bulletins, 2 Registers and the annual Journal.
Register PPS		
UK Shipping	\$4800.00	1200 x 4 (quarterly)
Membership	\$11484.00	This assumes UK membership fees remain at 18 GBP per mbr
dues to UK		
Blue Pay	\$198.00	16.50 per month
Administrative		
fee		
Blue Pay	\$564.00	47 per month
Volume fee		
Neon Monthly	\$588.00	49 per month
fee		
Publicity	\$1200.00	Google Ad
Sales	\$250.00	
Inventory		
Bank Fees	\$200.00	Wiring fees to the UK
Total	\$29084.00	

2016 Membership Chair Report, Sally Keil

The past twelve months have been a very big year for the Membership Department, as we moved to a new database system to manage our membership information. The transition went very smoothly. To date, almost half of our members have created log on accounts for themselves so that they can log on securely to the new system via the Internet.

Through the new system members can update mailing addresses so publications won't go astray, and advise of new email addresses so electronic communications will always be received. Members can now check on the term of their membership, renew on line using a credit card or Paypal, and also avail themselves of the auto renewal capability so they never have to worry again about their membership lapsing in error.

The new system has also given the regional chapter moderators the ability to get a current, up-to-date listing of all members in their regional area so as to bolster their efforts at building opportunities for local Ricardian fellowship.

The new system is also linked to our web site; this has finally given us the capability to enable people to join the Society directly through the web site. This is a huge improvement, and in the past year 85 new members have joined the American Branch in this fashion.

I am sorry to say that about 79 members have not renewed their memberships, so our member total has remained almost the same. I was interested to see that all of the people who did not renew, had joined only the prior year: perhaps all of the news about the discovery of King Richard's remains caused a flurry of interest that was not sustained.

Some statistics: we currently have almost 400 members in the American Branch. Of that, about 83% are Individual or Family memberships. We have about 14% of our members at the Fotheringhay level, and the remaining 3% are at the top tier levels of Middleham, Bosworth and Plantagenet Angel.

It has been my privilege and honor to be the Membership Chair for the past four years; I have greatly enjoyed the many lovely and wonderful emails and notes that I have received. As I step down from this position, I want to thank all of the members ...it has been a joy to work with you.

2016 Non-fiction Library Report

The Non-Fiction Library has had a very productive year. All the books that were lost by the U.S. Postal Service have been replaced, thanks to the generous support of our members. This cost is reflected in the rather large outlay of expenses (\$800) to the Non-Fiction library in the Treasurer's Report, the great majority of that sum having gone towards purchasing replacements. Looking ahead, the library's expenses should be able to return to a normal level.

We were able to rid the library of a large volume of duplicates, by offering them for sale to our members and then to the general public. While we were able to offload over 50 duplicates, the remainder was donated to the Free Library of Philadelphia. However, some duplicates were retained, and they are still available for purchase at a very minimal price. Please contact our non-fiction librarian, Susan Troxell, if you are interested in them.

We added several books and primary sources to the non-fiction collection, including those recently written by such authors as John Ashdown-Hill, Annette Carson, Michael Hicks, and the archeologists who were involved in the disinterment of Richard III's skeleton. Meanwhile, we've added several critical primary source materials, including the *Parliamentary Rolls of Edward IV, Richard III and Henry VII (1471-1487)*, the *Plumpton Letters*, the *Beauchamp Pageant*, and the Norman Davis edition of *The Paston Letters*.

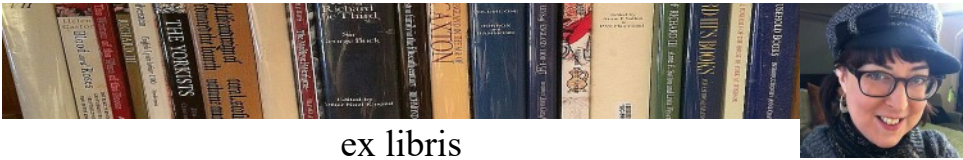
2016 Non-fiction Library Report, cont.

One special item of interest is that our library has received a copy of the full Ph.D. dissertation thesis successfully defended by Sarah Peters Kernan at The Ohio State University in May 2016. She was a recipient of the Schallek award, which is funded by our Branch. Her thesis is entitled *For al them that delight in Cookery: The Production and Use of Cookery Books in England, 1300-1600*. Sounds appetizing!

We continue to accept donations of books, but regretfully we are not able to accommodate duplicates. If you would like to donate books, please contact our librarians and they can assist you with your gift. All donations are tax deductible.

2016 Editor's Report:

In 2015, the *Ricardian Register*, a quarterly magazine, was split two semi-annual publications: 1. the *Ricardian Register* (a journal academically oriented towards articles on Richard III, fifteenth-century English culture, and Wars of the Roses), and 2. the *Ricardian Chronicle* (an online newsletter about member events, member activities such as “in the footsteps of Richard III tours,” and interviews with member authors). The feedback thus far has been quite positive. I am indebted to everyone who has contributed to both publications.



ex libris

Susan Troxell

I am pleased to announce that the Non-Fiction Library has been completely restored to its “former glory” as the project to replace the books lost by the US Postal Service in 2015 has been fully executed. It was truly amazing to see 24 members donate over \$1,400 to this cause, which allowed me to purchase replacements and acquire additional new texts to expand our collection of research materials. Our library now contains a vast array of primary sources, rare and out-of-print books, and almost all those from leading scholars and writers in the field of Ricardian study.

We were also able to sell 55 surplus copies, raising \$500. This left 40 surplus titles, many of which are still being offered for sale to the public and our membership (see announcement herein). The rest of the duplicate books were donated to The Free Library of Philadelphia’s “Book Corner”, which sells used books for \$3 or less, the proceeds of which go toward one of the country’s oldest non-profit, free libraries serving the educational needs of a large and diverse population. If you would like to know more about The Free Library, please check out their website at freelibrary.org. The Free Library’s collection of ancient manuscripts contains the famous *Edward IV Roll*, the incredible genealogical roll of ancestry that was used to promote the Yorkist entitlement to the English throne. They have digitized and made public the entire roll, and have included a scholarly annotation to it. You can find it here: freelibrary.org/medieval/edward.htm.

It seems that, almost every month, a new book is being published about Richard III, his contemporaries, or his time period. I try my best to sift through the new titles and acquire those that would add research value to our library. However, if you see a book that you think should be added to our collection, please feel free to send me an email (researchlibrary@r3.org) and I will do my best to accommodate the request. We also accept donations of books. All you need to do is send me a list of the titles you wish to donate, and I will let you know whether they can find a new home here. I would like to make a “shout out” to members Carol Adams and Carole Bell, who recently donated many items to the Non-Fiction Library, including back issues of *The Ricardian* and James Gairdner’s multi-volume 1904 edition of *The Paston Letters*.

Currently, my focus has been on acquiring additional primary source material, such as *The Plumpton Letters*, *Jean de Wavrin’s Chroniques*, and *The Parliamentary Rolls of Edward IV*. Going forward, I hope to acquire *The 1484 Parliamentary Roll of Richard III* and *The Beauchamp Pageant*. In my opinion, primary source materials are a critical part of a research library. But I’ve also been able to acquire all the recent books about the 2012 archeological discovery of Richard III’s skeletal remains, as well as other new publications about the Wars of the Roses and the 15th century. All these, and others, are available to members for only the cost of outbound/inbound postage (usually does not exceed a total \$10 for 3 books). I am also available to answer questions, conduct research, or forward by email any selected portions of texts that can be scanned. So, please feel free to use this feature of your Society membership! Your “inner scholar” or “inquiring mind” will be deeply gratified.

[Recent Acquisitions of the Non-Fiction Library:](#)

Ashdown-Hill, John, *The Wars of the Roses* (Donated by UK R3S)

Bradfield, N., *Historical Costumes of England – 11th to 20th Century* (Donated by Carole Bell)

Davis, Norman (ed.) *Paston Letters and Papers* (3 vols.)

Gairdner, James, *The Paston Letters* (4 vols) (Donated by Carole Bell)

Gies, Frances & Joseph, *A Medieval Family: The Pastons of 15th Century England* (Donated by Carole Bell)

Goodman, Anthony, *A Traveller's Guide to Early Medieval Britain* (Donated by Carole Bell)

Horrox, Rosemary (ed.), *The Parliamentary Rolls of Edward IV* (2 vols.)

Kirby, Joan (ed.) *The Plumpton Letters & Papers*

Williamson, Audrey, *The Mystery of the Princes* (Donated by Carole Bell)

Editor's Note: ex libris first published in the June *Ricardian Chronicle*, the online newsletter of the American Branch.

~ToC~

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~ToC~

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January 1–March Issue

July 1–September Issue

~ToC~

From the Editor

A new executive board of officers is in effect as of October 2, 2016 and is listed in contacts on page 42.

Many thanks to all who contributed to this issue of the *Ricardian Register*. The quality of the *Register* depends on these and future contributions. Please note the submission guidelines (below) to help me concentrate on the content instead of the format. Do contact me if you have any questions about formatting your document. I'd be delighted to help.

Submission guidelines

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

Inside back cover
(not printed)

Front cover:

King Richard III by **Jamal Mustafa**

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

Richard III

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

Richard III Forever



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