PROFESSOR CHARLES T. WOOD
HIS MAJESTY’S LOYAL OPPPOSITION
Changes of address and dues payments to:
P. O. Box 13786 • New Orleans, LA 70185-3786
## Chapter Contacts

**Chicago &and**  
Anne Butzen  
4320 North Claremont  
Chicago, IL 60618  
(312) 463-2938

**Middle Atlantic**  
Mary Schaller  
584.5 Parkeet Drive  
Burke, VA 22015  
(703) 323-7339

**Michigan Area**  
Sara FiegenSchuh  
12236 Canton Center Road  
Plymouth, MI 48170  
(313) 4557128

**New England**  
Linda Spicer  
109 Chapman Street  
Watertown, MA 02172

**New Jersey**  
Susan Mahoney  
28 Floyd Avenue  
Bloomfield, NJ 07003

**New York City**  
Suzanne Present  
162 Avenue B #8  
New York, NY 10009

**Northern California**  
Andrew Knight  
1731 Pine Street  
Martinez, CA 94553  
(51) 2294973

**Northwest**  
Beverlee Weston  
25 18 Cascade Place W.  
Tacoma, WA 98466  
(206) 5664995

**Ohio**  
Thomas L. Coles  
817 Madison Avenue  
Lancaster, OH 43130  
(614) 654-4657

**Rocky Mountain**  
Pam Milavec  
9123 West Arbor Avenue  
Littleton, CO 80123  
(303) 933-1366

**Southeastern Pennsylvania**  
Regina Jones  
253 Ashby Road  
Upper Darby, PA 19082  
(215) 352-5728

**Southern California**  
Karl L. Bobek  
500 S. La Vera Park Circle #37  
Orange, CA 92668  
(614) 6544657

**Southwest**  
Pat Poundstone  
4924 Overton Avenue  
Fort Worth, TX 76 133

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### COMING IN THE FALL ISSUE...  
**FOCUS ON BOSWORTH**

Our Fall issue of the Register will feature Bosworth, which — to my knowledge — we have not done before. If you have pictures, slides, personal experiences or some knowledge of the events of August 22, 1485, please contact your Editor and share them with the Society.

We’ll have a special prize at the AGM for that member who submits the most interesting information on Bosworth Field, the events of the day, or those leading up to it!

Let us hear from you!

Carole Rike

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*Ricardian Register* 

Spring, 1992
His Majesty's Loyal Opposition

This traditional historian’s damning assessment of Richard III is tempered by a curious sympathy for his predicament

Laura Blanchard

well-developed sense of whimsy brought Dartmouth history professor Charles T. Wood to the study of Richard III—a study that has spanned a quarter-century, embracing both teaching and writing, and including several articles and a critically-acclaimed book on comparative constitutional history.

Wood began his academic career, metaphorically speaking, on the other side of the Channel, as a French historian; his The French Apanages and the Capetian Monarchy 1224-1328 (Harvard Historical Monographs No. 59, Harvard University Press, 1966) is among his early publications. In the late 1960s, though, Wood was tapped to teach an experimental freshman seminar at Dartmouth. These seminars were designed to serve as a replacement for the mandatory second semester of English composition, placing students as close to the frontiers of knowledge within a field as possible.

Recalls Wood of the time, “The late 60s were a crazy time to be an historian and especially a medieval historian. The counter-culture was in; history was out; and anything that had happened more than five minutes ago was deemed irrelevant. Being of a somewhat impish disposition, I was naturally curious to find out just how bad the situation was really becoming, so decided that I should teach my seminar on absolutely the most irrelevant topic I could think of.”

As it happened, irrelevancy was easy to come by. Wood had studied medieval English history under Helen Maude Cam at Harvard during the period that Josephine Tey and Paul Murray Kendall were stirring the pot with their revisionist works. Miss Cam, a constitutional historian of some repute, was not shy about expressing her annoyance. According to Wood, one day in class Miss Cam remarked with some asperity: “I just do not understand how people can get so upset over the fate of a couple of snivelling brats. After all, what impact did they have on the constitution?”

And so, in search of medieval irrelevance, Wood remembered Richard and Miss Cam, and his first Freshman Seminar became “The Great Richard III Murder Mystery.”

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“My assumption here was that students would of course recognize the hopeless irrelevance of the topic,” he explains. “At the same time, though, my bet was that they would find the whole notion of investing crouch-backed Dickon intriguing or ‘camp’ enough that adequate numbers would sign up, as indeed they did. Then, once in the course and familiar with the evidence, I anticipated that not a few of them would find themselves desperately anxious to pin down the truth of the matter, totally irrelevant through they knew that truth to be. Such a contradictory set of reactions struck me as not a bad introduction to the whole academic enterprise.”

And desperately anxious they became. One resourceful freshman undertook a series of surveys of popular opinion about Richard’s reputation. The results were not encouraging to Richard’s defenders: ten out of thirteen Dartmouth librarians found him guilty, as did eight out of twelve faculty members. “Nor were these results limited to Dartmouth,” adds Wood. “Snowed in one day at Boston’s Logan Airport, our budding sociologist found that passenger opinion at Eastern Airlines went against Richard of Gloucester ten to one (three undecideds), while at American the unfavorable margin was fourteen to two.”

There were two significant consequences to Wood’s choice of Richard as a seminar topic. First, his “irrelevant” subject, fueled by the passions and discoveries of his students, inevitably became a research topic. As Wood puts it, “I learned more than my students did. And among the things I learned was that the reign of Richard III was one heck of a lot more interesting than either Miss Cam or any other historian had ever made it out to be. Richard III went on my research agenda, and my first article on him appeared in the mid-1970s.”

Second, and perhaps equally inevitably, he was invited to be the American Branch AGM speaker in 1968 and has maintained a Ricardian connection ever since.

The ‘Cock-up Theory’ of 1483

Wood’s first article on the subject, “The Deposition of Edward V,” reviews the events of the April-June 1483 period in the context of other medieval English depositions and, in particular, with regard to the deposition’s impact on the power of parliamentary authority. His view of Richard’s actions during the period of the Protectorate is comforting to most Ricardian moderates: “There is little evidence to sustain the traditional view that from the beginning Richard aimed at the throne. On the contrary, his every move
suggests a much more limited ambition... that at most
the Duke of Gloucester was, in modern terms, 'keeping
his options open.' In subsequent paragraphs,
Wood offers a sympathetic and refreshingly pragmatic
Richard's eye view of the political situation facing
him, the fragmentary intelligence he would have
received in Yorkshire, and the very real and unpleasant
consequences that inaction could bring to him and his
family. "Little wonder, then," observes Wood, "that
he should have so boldly seized Rivers and the rest at
Stony Stratford... since retaining some Woodville
hostages provided an obvious form of self-protection
against an unknown future."

In the *Traditio* article, Wood also introduces a view of
Richard's character which will later find its full expres-
sion in *Joan of An and Richard III: Sex, Saints and Gov-
ernment in the Middle Ages* (Oxford University Press,
1988): "Despite the tactical ability [Richard] displayed
in gaining custody over Edward V at Stony Stratford,
little in the record of the following month and a half
suggests much political skill or sagacity. Far from domi-
nating the situation, Richard appears much more fre-
quently to have been trapped by it, uncertain what his
next move would be. This view of Richard's capabili-
ties was colorfully described by A. M. Pollard as Professor
Wood's 'Cock-Up Theory of History'.

Ricardians, reading the *Traditio* article and the
more comprehensive treatment of the issues in *Joan
and Richard*, often become embroiled in the contro-
versies over Richard's actions and character to the
exclusion of Wood's analysis of Richard's impact on
the development of parliamentary authority. Accord-
ing to Wood, the 1484 Act of Succession stresses
parliamentary authority to the extent that "the reader
is practically invited to draw the conclusion that, con-
trary to Richard's own assertions, he had not fully
become king until Parliament declared him so." He
continues:

If one pursues this line of reasoning, Parliament
emerges as considerably more important than a court
of record. Its members are no mere judges; rather, they
embody the realm and as its representatives they, not
the king, speak to its interests and on its behalf.
Pushing the argument even further, one is tempted to
say that insofar as the Parliament of 1484 made Rich-
dard truly king, its legitimating authority surpassed
that traditionally accorded to rights of inheritance,
coronation, and the grace of God. Ironic though it may be,
Richard III, legendary usurper and tyrant, has some
claim to having been the one possessor of a genuinely
parliamentary title during the entire Middle Ages.

Wood's *Joan of Arc and Richard III* is the synthesis of
research sparked by three of his classes: the Richard III
Freshman Seminar, a subsequent seminar on Joan of
Arc; and an advanced class on the comparative histories
of England and France. "It suddenly occurred to me for
no known reason," explains Wood, "that if I were to
write a book on Joan of Arc and Richard III as two
fifteenth-century figures whose careers would do much
to explain why and how France and England had
developed such different forms of government, many
of the introductory chapters could be drawn from
other articles that had hitherto seemed to lack fo-
cus." Central to the thesis of the book is the notion that
England evolved its concept of monarchy limited by
parliamentary authority as a response to the many dis-
continuities in royal succession. Wood points out that
from Hastings to Bosworth, eight of the 19 kings of
England, over 42%, were not the sons or grandsons of
their predecessors, as opposed to only three out of 21,
less than 15%, in France. To put it simply, England had
to evolve an alternative to royal authority because it
found itself without that authority so regularly. Early
chapters of the book explore issues of royal legitimacy,
the age of royal majority, the concept of kingship and
the counterbalancing forces of the nobility or parliament
during the reigns of Louis IX, Edward I, Edward II, and
Richard II.

In the chapters on Richard III, Wood stresses Rich-
ard's reliance on the legitimating authority of parlia-
ment. Before his accession, Richard apparently
intended to have parliament extend the Protectorate.
After his accession, Richard called a parliament for
November 1483, which was cancelled in response to
the Buckingham rebellion; within two weeks of his
return to London after quelling the rebellion, Richard
had called the January 1484 parliament. The Act of
Succession passed by this body profoundly extended
parliamentary authority, to the equally profound dis-
quiet of the lords spiritual at least, by rendering a
judgment on the legitimacy of Edward IV's marriage
to Elizabeth Woodville, "not only on a temporal mat-
ter but also a spiritual one, the validity of a sacra-
ment."

While Ricardians debate Elizabeth Woodville's
motivations in emerging from sanctuary and coming
to terms with Richard in the spring of 1484, Wood
observes that she began her negotiations within days
of the end of the 1484 session and argues that she, too,
accepted the strategic importance of the 1484 Act of
Succession:

Historians have often assumed that the parliament of
the later Middle Ages had little practical authority and
that its chief purpose in the kingmaking process was
merely to lend an air of specious legality to accessions
that were, in truth, no more than the brutal results of
conquest. If so, though, the parliamentary legitimation
of a usurper should have had no effect on the conduct
of those opposed to him, whereas the present case shows
just the opposite. Once parliament had declared Rich-
dard to be England's legal king *Elizabeth* concluded that
the game was lost, dubious though everyone knew his
tide to be. She would take what she could get, and in so
doing, she demonstrated that she, too, believed that "the
court of parliament is of such authority... that manifes-
tation and declaration of any truth or right, made by the
three estates of this realm assembled in parliament... maketh before all things, most faith and certainty..."
mall wonder, then, that Richard should have so doggedly sought a meeting of parliament, for even a man of his limited political perceptions had to recognize that in its approval lay his best hopes for long term success. 13

And, indeed, Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey, defended his allegiance to Richard III to Henry Tudor’s face by citing parliamentary authority, as Wood notes at the conclusion of Joan and Richard: “‘He was my crowned king.’ Surrey explained, ‘and if the parliamentary authority of England set the crown upon a stock, I will fight for that stock. And as I fought for him, I will fight for you, when you are established by that same authority.’” 14

A Love Letter to the Society

Shortly after “The Great Richard III Murder Mystery” was launched at Dartmouth, retired Dartmouth art librarian and long-time Society member Maude French spotted the course description in the Freshman Seminar catalog. She passed it along to American Branch chairman Bill Hogarth. As Wood tells it, “I take it that this gripping news arrived just at the moment that Bill was beginning to exercise the chairmanship of finding a speaker for the next AGM, one who might prove both more entertaining and less insulting than A. L. Rowse, who had just finished spitting in everyone’s soup at the most recent AGM, and in me he saw opportunity.” Freshman seminar and AGM talk bore the same name, “The Great Richard III Murder Mystery.” Wood did indeed entertain some forty attendees at the meeting, held at the John Barleycorn restaurant in New York City.

Libby Haynes, who attended the meeting, recalls it vividly: “He told us how he designed the course, using To Prove a Villain as text, so that students would do their own research and come to a conclusion using their own reasoning skills, which many of them had never had to do before.”

Wood’s 1968 Ricardian debut as AGM speaker marked the beginning of an association with the Society that continues to this day.

Following the AGM speech, Wood became a regular attendee at annual meetings in New York City through the 1970s and early 1980s, and an occasional contributor to Tire Ricardian. He has lectured on Ricardian topics in many venues, including the annual Medieval Conference in Kalamazoo, Michigan. When William Schallek established the scholarship fund in 1978, Wood was a natural candidate for the Advisory Board, of which he is still a member. His commitment to the viability of the Schallek Award program is further evidenced by his status as a leadership contributor to the Endowment Campaign.

Further (and this is a fact largely overlooked by many Ricardians), he serves as an unofficial academic publicist for the Society, taking pains to mention the Society, and especially to cite Jeremy Potter’s Good King Richard as a source, wherever possible in his

The Line We Love to Hate: “Fittingly Unshriven”

If there’s one single sentence Charles Wood has written that’s most likely to make the average Ricardian go ballistic, it’s one that ends his Joan of Arc and Richard III narrative of the battle of Bosworth Field:

By midmorning, Richard III lay vanquished, having died very much as he lived: blindly unrepentant, fittingly unshriven, and in a characteristically dramatic charge.

Maybe Wood was just looking for a dramatic close? Well, not exactly: it turns out every word was carefully weighted and chosen, as he patiently explains:

“As anyone concerned with rhetoric and style will assure you, things often sound best if they are constructed in triads, and that’s especially the case when one is trying to ring down the curtain. As it happened, too, I had just quoted Croyland to the effect that there had been no priest around, which meant that Richard had not, in fact, been shriven. Thirdly, I had earlier argued that a lot of Richard’s villainous reputation had resulted precisely from the blind ways in which he had several times violated the moral norms of his age. Moreover, the Croyland quote emphasizes that Richard, far from being reflective or penitent, was looking forward to what he was going to do to his enemies if he proved victorious.

“That evidence led naturally to the first third of the triad, ‘blindly unrepentant.’ Then, however, my knowledge of theology intruded. Absolution is granted only to those who are penitent or who at least claim to be penitent (and on that issue the priest must give the benefit of the doubt). Here, however, it wasn’t just a case of there not being a priest present. On the contrary, the quote demonstrates that Richard was far from being sorry for anything. Because he wasn’t, he wasn’t eligible for absolution or, in other words, in quite precise theology he was ‘fittingly unshriven.’ The final third of the triad—‘in a characteristically dramatic charge’—was my attempt to give the man his due in terms of his bravery; but that phrase, too, must be tempered by what I had had to say earlier about the curiously fragmented way in which Richard appears to have viewed the world.”
publications. Never mind that his impish disposition may occasionally prompt him to have a little fun at the expense of some of our more charming eccentricities: these citations have served as the impetus for more than one freelance Ricardian to come looking for the Society.

Wood confesses to a bit of a soft spot in his heart for the Society; indeed, he once referred to his Harvard Magazine article, “Who Killed the Little Princes in the Tower?” as his love letter to the Society. And, as he recently remarked, “I have a friend who argues that the whole point of a liberal education is to teach people not to be bored with themselves, so that if the TV breaks down some night, one can happily pick up a book instead. It seems to me that the Richard III Society has that kind of stimulating function for all of its members. It provides a focus for a whole range of activities both mental and physical, and it provides a home for people to do so at an incredible range of levels, from the serious research scholar to the romantic dreamer and/or poet to the determined tourist to Ricardian England to the embroiderer of kneelers for Sutton Cheney. In other words, the Society is a kind of liberal education in action, and I like that.

Predictably, Wood’s publications have received mixed reviews from Ricardians. Although the article was largely sympathetic to Richard’s plight, subsequent publications tackle the more difficult issues of his reign, including the legitimacy of his claim to the throne, his competence as king, the Elizabeth of York affair and, of course, the murder of the Princes. Wood’s conclusions are not always entirely flattering to Richard.

The characterization, in the Traditio article, of Richard as a man not entirely in control has evolved, by Joan and Richard, into a sympathetic but nevertheless damning assessment of Richard’s assets and liabilities. While giving Richard full marks for courage, tactical ingenuity, and forcefulness, Wood sees in these very traits the key to the flaws in Richard’s character. “A brave man, given to risking his all on a single toss of the dice, he appears ever to have moved from one unexpected crisis to the next, each time attempting to extricate himself from his immediate difficulties with a bold and decisive stroke.” In Wood’s view, Richard responded only to “definite and definable problems,” which he tried to handle “through the use of brute force, typically applied both pure and simple.”

In one profoundly insightful passage which perhaps disturbs Ricardians most because it offers a compelling vision of how a basically decent human being might come to do some appalling things, Wood observes that Richard is “one of those people who sees trees rather than forests, a person never quite able to grasp the fact that events are interconnected and that actions taken in response to one event are likely to have consequences in others, often those where they are least expected. In short, he was a person who viewed the world in an incoherently fragmented way, and because he acted to contain the forces opposing him individually, without regard for potential relationships, he was to find, in the course of his reign, that matters went steadily from bad to worse. One wonders, really, whether he ever knew why.

In his analysis of the events of Richard’s reign, Wood draws on several traditional sources, notably Vergil, Mancini, and Croyland, to support his thesis that Richard’s concrete response to specific threats provided the stuff from which Shakespeare’s legend was ultimately fabricated.

Encouraging the reader to try to view medieval events as they were seen by medieval people, he stresses, for example, the importance of the tale of the Massacre of the Holy Innocents in the medieval church, and its impact on the contemporary reaction to the rumors of the Princes’ demise: “The extraordinary devotion Christians displayed on Holy Innocents’ Day can only underscore the extent to which children were never, never to be made pawns in the deadly games played by their fathers.” In Richard’s apparent willingness to violate sanctuary to gain custody of the young Duke of York; in his summary execution of Lord Hastings; in the presumption of the death of the vanished Innocents and the proposed incestuous marriage with his niece; and, finally, in the chaotic events leading up to the battle of Bosworth, with troops bereft of priests or breakfast and Richard dying in “that last, mad, and lonely charge.” Wood sees the unconnected responses that fueled the Black Legend. As he puts it, “Blindly and all unknowingly, Richard III was well on the way to creating the factual basis for Shakespeare’s myth of the monster.

Ricardians will find a dismally satisfying number of specific points with which to take issue in the last chapter of Joan and Richard. In fact, it prompted Jeremy Potter to comment, “All in all, [the final chapter] confirms me in the belief that the impact of the Society on academic historians has been wholly negative. They have simply been put on their mettle to resist revisionism.

Yet when Ricardians pause in their debates of such issues as whether Richard did in fact ever think of marrying Elizabeth of York, or whether he did indeed order the murder of the Princes, they find that Wood’s two central points remain unchallenged: Richard’s accession had a far-reaching impact upon the constitutional development of parliamentary authority; and his tendency to solve problems with bold strokes failed to take into account probable consequences, to his lasting detriment.

Or, to let Wood have the final word (as he inevitably does): “I don’t at all see a villain with designs at the start. On the contrary, I see a perfectly decent guy who was perfectly prepared to serve honorably as the Protector of his nephew and his realm, but who then got caught up in a series of political binds for which he lacked the human skills needed to resolve them without violence. It’s more a tragic story of all sorts of
limited people out of their depth than it is one of evil and villainy. I submit that the people I envisage are believable human beings, including my Richard."  

[Note: Charles Wood is Daniel Webster Professor of History and Comparative Literature at Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire. He is currently working on a new translation of Froissart's chronicles, in addition to a book on the political uses of the Arthurian legend from 1200-1600. For the 1992-93 academic year, Wood will be Visiting Barnaby and Mary Critchfield Keeney Professor of History at Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island. In addition to his academic activities, Wood plays a key role, as Treasurer and member of the Endowment Campaign team, in the activities of the Medieval Academy of America, reported on elsewhere in this issue. Joan of Arc and Richard III: Sex, Saints and Government in the Middle Ages is available from the Sales Officer in hardcover, $31.00, and from Oxford University Press in paperback ($14.95). To Prove a Villain, a casebook that includes the full text of Shakespeare's Richard III and Tey's The Daughter of Time plus excerpts from More, Holinshed, Vergil, Croyland, Buck, Walpole and other sources, is available from the Sales Officer for $14.00. Add $2.00 shipping per order for orders from the Sales Officer.]

N O T E S:

1. Wood, Charles T. "In Medieval Studies, is 'To Teach' a Transitive Verb?" Keynote address at conference, Teaching the Middle Ages, Eastern Illinois University, March 14, 1992.
3. Wood, "Transitive Verb."
5. Wood, "Transitive Verb."
8. Ibid, p. 263.
16. Ibid.

Membership Survey

The Board of Directors of the Richard III Society is discussing the possibility of supporting other Ricardian-related organizations, such as the Middleham Restoration Endowment and the Medieval Academy of America. Groups such as these may be of benefit to the Society, and we in turn may benefit them.

If the goals and objectives of another organization are compatible with the goals of the Richard III Society, would you (as a member of the Richard III Society) react favorably to the Society's support of:

Middleham Restoration Endowment?  Yes  No
The Medieval Academy of America?  Yes  No

Other Ricardian-Related Organizations? (Specify):

Comments:

Please return to Toni Collins by August 22, 1992:
Toni Collins, 11 Page Street, Danvers, MA 01923

Summer, 1992  a  Ricardian Register
This article is based on a paper written by R. J. Bennett, part of a series done in the 1960's on prominent people of the 15th century. It has been edited and revised by Ms. Friedenberg.

Reginald or Reynold Bray was a loyal follower of Henry Tudor, and played a part in his successful grab of the crown. For that help Bray was well rewarded following the Battle of Bosworth.

He was born in the parish of St. John Bedwardine, near Worcester, the second son of Sir Richard Bray, one of the council of Henry VI, by his wife Joan Troughton. Sir Richard was of Eaton-Bray in Bedfordshire, and lies buried in the north aisle of Worcester Cathedral. He may have been physician to Henry VI.

Reginald Bray was a shrewd and energetic man of affairs, who first came into prominence as the Receiver General and Steward of the Household to Henry Stafford, the second husband of Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond. Her first husband had been Edmund Tudor, son of Katherine of Valois, Queen to Henry V, and Owen Tudor. Months after the death of Edmund Tudor, Margaret, at age 14, gave birth to her only child, who was named Henry in honor of his uncle, King Henry VI. Margaret passed the Beaufort claim to the throne of England to her son, Henry Tudor.

When the Countess married Thomas, Lord Stanley, her third husband, Bray continued in her service. He was used as a messenger by Margaret and John Morton, Bishop of Ely in their incessant plotting.

In early autumn of 1483 an insurrection was brewing in the southern counties against the King, Richard III. Bray, acting on behalf of the Countess, went to the Duke of Buckingham at Becknock. John Morton, Bishop of Ely, was being held in custody at the castle, following the events that led to the execution of William, Lord Hastings. Morton introduced the emissary to the Duke, who told Buckingham that her ladyship was in communication with a number of Lancastrian friends. Together Morton and Bray developed plans to aid the cause of Henry Tudor, keeping Buckingham in ignorance of these, while the Bishop worked upon the Duke’s own ambitions for the throne. Buckingham began to scheme with the Countess, and also with the former Queen, Elizabeth Woodville, wife of Edward IV, who was in sanctuary at Westminster. Ross credits Bray with recruiting rebels to accept Buckingham’s scheme to rebel against the King.

"When the Duke of Buckingham had concerted with Morton, bishop of Ely (then his prisoner at Becknock in Wales), the marriage of the Earl of Richmond with the Princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward IV, and the Earl’s advancement to the throne, the bishop recommended Bray for the communication of the affair to the countess, telling the duke that he had an old friend who was in her service, a man sober, secret and well-witted, called Reginald Bray, whose prudent policy he had known to have compassed matter of great importance; and accordingly he wrote to Bray, then in Lancaster with the countess, to come to Brecknock with all speed. Bray readily obeyed the summons, entered heartily into the design, and was very active in carrying it into effect...."

After the collapse of the rebellion, and the execution of Buckingham, Bray shared in the remarkable show of clemency on the part of Richard, and was not even included in the Act of Attainder, having received pardon two weeks before Parliament met, doubtless through the good offices of Lord Stanley.

Bray is strongly suspected of having had a considerable share in the subsequent campaign of slander which the Parisians of Henry Tudor waged against Richard, particularly in the spreading of rumors that he contemplated marriage with his niece, Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward IV At the same time it was undoubtedly Rotherham, Archbishop of York, who betrayed the King’s negotiation with the Duke of Brittany for the capture of Tudor. That consummate intriguier, Morton, was now in Flanders, and was one of the most active directors in the slandering campaign.

When Richmond’s invasion was in imminent prospect, Bray collected a large sum of money, according
to Polydore Vergil, before the expedition left Normandy, to defray the expense of the venture, and kept in touch with Henry’s adherents throughout the country. After landing, Henry sent a stream of messages to his mother, to Bray, to the Stanleys and others, and at Shrewsbury the untiring and devoted steward paid over to the Earl monies he had gathered. From the Stanleys Henry received only promises.

Bray was present at the Battle of Bosworth, if not actually engaged in the light. His name has been mentioned in connection with the legend of Richard’s crown — actually this was a chaplet of gold worn around the helmet -pushed under a hawthorn bush after the king’s death. Some follower, or one in search of booty, may have discovered and hidden it. Bray is said to have taken the crown to one of the Stanleys, either Lord Stanley or Sir William Stanley, his brother. One of them carried it triumphantly to the man who had been enabled through their treachery to seize the throne, the new king, Henry VII. Gairdner also credits Bray with finding the crown under the hawthorn bush. However, this is conjecture.

Bray became a great favorite with Henry VII, and retained his confidence until the King’s death. At the coronation he was made a Knight of the Bath, and later was appointed a Knight of the Garter.

The King made him his joint chief justice, with Lord Fitzwalter, of all forests south of Trent, a privy councillor, also high treasurer, and the chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. In October 1494, Bray became high steward of Oxford University, and it is believed that he occupied the same office at the University of Cambridge.

In June 1497 he was with the royal forces when the revolting Cornishmen, under Thomas Flamank, a lawyer, and Michael Joseph, a farrier of Bodmin, had marched to London to demand from the King a relaxation of the taxation imposed to pay for an army to resist a Scottish invasion. Williams’ states that they wanted to force the King to dismiss his financial experts, Morton and Bray. Lord Audley, a south country baron, was in command of the rebel host, which at Blackheath was completely defeated. The three leaders were taken and executed. Bray, who was made a knight banneret for his services, was also granted a portion of Lord Audley’s estates after that Lord’s death and attainder.

According to Lander’s Bray, who was one of King Henry’s most prominent servants, was denounced by the Cornish rebels in 1497. During the Warbeck rebellion, “I asked who ruled the King, who has control over him. He said there is only one who can do anything, and he is named Master Bray.”

It can well be reckoned that no supporter of the King was more fully rewarded for his loyalty than Bray. He managed Warships astutely to increase the King’s income. The Committee under the Council, the “Council learned in the Law,” consisting of legal experts among the Councillors, sat under the presidency of the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. That position was first held by Bray, who kept it until 1505.

Palmer’ writes that Henry VII had packed his son, Prince Arthur, off the Welsh Marches, with tutors and a trusted governor (Sir Reginald Bray). So passive and immature was Arthur that he seemed constantly to have been upstaged by those around him, the King, Princess Catherine, and his 10 year old brother Henry. Arthur did what was recommended to him by his tutor, by Sir Reginald Bray, or by the King. On the marriage of Prince Arthur, Bray was associated with persons of high rank in the church and state as a trustee for the dowry assigned to the princess Catherine of Aragon.

He was also an architect, and is credited with having finished St. George’s Chapel, Windsor, originally built by Edward III (under the direction of William of Wykenam).

Bray was a considerable benefactor. He built, at his own expense, a chapel in the mid-south aisle of St. George’s, which still bears his name in various parts, as well as possessing on the ceiling his arms, crest, and initials, frequently repeated, together with his punning device, a hemp-bray, an instrument used in the manufacture of hemp. Bray designed the famous Henry VII Chapel at Westminster, the first stone of which is supposed to have been laid by him, in conjunction with Abbot Islip and others on 24th January 1508.

Unfortunately he did not live to see the completion of the Chapel, as on 5th August the same year, he died and was buried in his chapel at Windsor.

He was a munificent benefactor to churches, monasteries, and colleges. Bray married Catherine, daughter of Nicholas Husse, a descendant of ancient barons of that name in the days of Edward III. He left no issue.

FOOTNOTES:
1 Dictionary of National Biography, pp. 1145-6
2 Ross, Charles, Richard III, p. 112
3 D N B
5 Williams, Neville, Henry VII, p. 79
7 Williams, Ibid., pp. 173-4
8 Palmer, Alan, Princes of Wales, pp. 87-8
All New Richard III Debuts in Dallas!

New Production Dispels Old Myths About Richard III

“Now is the winter of our discontent made glorious summer by this sun of York”

Since 1591, when William Shakespeare wrote his classic play Richard III, the world has known Richard III as an aspiring, murderous arch-villain, born hunchbacked, withered in arm and toothed. Now Barbara Ann Productions, together with director Richard W. O'Brien II, have set out to correct this aberration of history.

The all new Richard III made its debut this past Wednesday, and rest assured that the world will quickly come to love this lovable monarch. Based on new historical evidence uncovered by renowned specialist, Dr. Alfred Richard O'Brien II of Argyle, Texas writes:

Richard O'Brien II of Argyle, Texas writes:

“Elaborate birth announcements tend to run in our family. My father, Richard I, is a frustrated English major/aspiring writer who took to electronic composition to feed and clothe his family of six. Dad started out with a simple, witty announcement for my older brother and escalated to a poster-sized, color announcement for his sixth child (and first daughter).

“As my wife and I planned to have a sizeable family, I had always thought that there would be a Richard III. A few years ago, in an attempt to learn more about my namesake, Richard II, I read Shakespeare’s Richard II. As you may know, Shakespeare wasn’t especially kind to Richard II either, painting him (maybe justifiably) as an incompetent king who lost his crown without much of a light.

“I continued on and read Richard III and immediately had misgivings about naming my future son after such a “monster”. Digging through the notes in the back of the book, I detected several hints that Richard III may not have been quite the creature that Shakespeare made him out to be. Years later, when I sat down to announce our newborn son to the world, I remembered the hints of a cover-up and proceeded to expound upon that theme.

“In mid-March 1991, I had just started mailing out the finished announcement when my brother called to tell me about the article in The Wall Street Journal. The timing and similarities between the two “articles” was an amazing coincidence that I thoroughly enjoyed. To further confuse our friends and relatives, we mailed out the remaining announcements along with a copy of the WSJ article. I am sure that more than a few friends thought that I was crazy going to the trouble to counterfeit both articles.

“My wife Barbara, my daughter Kelly, Rich and I are now expecting a new addition to the family this coming May. I have two more months to come up with a new announcement that will hopefully give him/her the introduction afforded our Richard III.”
The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095-1270
PENNY J. COLE

This book is the first comprehensive study of crusade preaching. Cole identifies preachers, examines their sermons, and attempts to assess the impact that the sermons had upon the laity who heard them. Setting her subject within the wider contexts of crusade history and of general developments in medieval preaching, Cole shows how and why the character of crusade preaching changed in the years from 1095 to 1270 and throws new light on the doctrines and ideals of holy war. Transcriptions of five previously unpublished crusade sermons are provided at the end of the book.


Join the Medieval Academy!

Anyone with an interest in the Middle Ages is welcome to join the Medieval Academy of America, the oldest and largest organization of medievalists in North America.

Members receive the Academy’s quarterly journal, Speculum, and the triannual newsletter, Medieval Academy News. Members also receive a 20% discount on Academy books and monographs and offers of special sales on Academy publications.

The Academy’s annual meeting, to which all members are invited, is a three-day program of lectures and special events: the 1993 meeting is scheduled for April 1-3 in Tucson, Arizona. The Academy’s prizes for best first article, best first book, and most distinguished book on a medieval topic are awarded at the annual meeting.

Academy projects of special interest to Ricardians include CARA, the Academy’s standing Committee on Centers and Regional Associations, which fosters support for the teaching of medieval subjects in colleges and universities; and its Medieval Academy Reprints for Teaching (MART) series, produced in cooperation with the University of Toronto Press, to keep books needed for classroom use in print at affordable prices.

Membership fees are:
Student/unemployed/retired member $20
Regular member $35
Contributing member $45
Life member $700

For further information and membership forms, contact the Medieval Academy.

Available from The Medieval Academy of America

The Medieval Book
BARBARA SHAILOR

In recent decades new interest has developed in the physical format of the medieval book and its historical context—how manuscript books were made and how they have deepened our understanding of the intellectual and social milieu of the Middle Ages and Renaissance. One of the richest storehouses of early manuscripts is Yale University’s Beinecke Library. Its collection provides the basis for Barbara Shailor’s fully illustrated, two-part study of the medieval book and its place in medieval and Renaissance society.

The first section examines the manuscript book as an archaeological artifact of a period when mass-production was unknown and every volume had to be written and assembled by hand. Shailor discusses physical format, script, decoration, and binding, as well as parchment, paper, and the various types of ornamental initials, borders, and miniatures that often made the medieval book a brilliant artistic achievement.

In the second part, books are grouped by genre—both religious and secular—to show how the contents of a volume and its function within society influenced its physical appearance and the way in which it was produced. Fashion, use, and financial considerations dictated the design of the book, the style of its script and illumination, and the manner in which it was bound. As a result, the medieval book appeared in a myriad of forms ranging from modestly executed monastic texts to lavishly illuminated Books of Hours for the laity of the fifteenth century.

New Medieval Academy Reprints for Teaching Title
Available from University of Toronto Press

The Medieval Academy of America
1430 Massachusetts Ave.
Cambridge, MA 02138
(617) 491-1622
This year we were able to award a scholarship to Ann Elaine Bliss for $750. Will we be able to give $1,000 next year, will it be the same, or will we have to decline an award altogether?

In the past year, two positions on the Committee have been filled with the appointments of Mary Donermeyer and Morris McGee.

The Southeastern Pensylvania Chapter completed a mailing to universities, resulting in a promising response from a number of these contacts.

Anne Sutton was kind enough to allow us to run an ad in The Ricardian at no charge. Anne also provided us with the proper information on the University of York, where people there had not heard of our Scholarship. This garnered two responses from students who will be seeking their education in the U.S.

The Medieval Academy of America ran an ad for us in their Speculum in February of 1992. They have also provided us with a mailing list.

With all of these ingredients, we are missing one vital detail: funds. While many individuals have responded to our appeal, we still need more help.

Only the New Jersey Chapter has declared themselves a Leadership Chapter. Don’t let them stand alone! If you are unsure of what your chapter needs to do to become a Leadership Chapter, contact Joe Ann Ricca.

Top Ten Ways to (Accidentally) Get Rid of Pesky Royal Nephews:

10. Withhold all strawberries and hope they get scurvy.
8. Suggest bathing in wine improves teenage complexions.
7. Assign as stud-grooms to White Surrey.
6. Provide buckshot-filled pillows for those bedtime pillow fights.
5. Drop a hint about Roman treasure buried under the stairs.
4. Ask Cousin Harry to babysit.
3. Encourage bungee jumping from Tower Bridge.
2. Remove bulb from nightlight at the top of the Bloody Tower Stairs.

And the number one way to get rid of ex-princes:
Circulate story of William Tell, then leave apples conveniently near archery butts!

Reprinted from the Ohio Chapter’s Crown & Helm.
Source unknown (but suspected).
Found under chair-cushion of Palace of Westminster.

Needed!
Raffle prizes for the 1992 AGM
If you have any suitable memorabilia or gift that would be appropriate to help us with this fund-raising effort, please contact Roxane Murph.
Betty Miller informs me that Cafaeis’s name is pronounced Codvil. This from the highest authority: Peters herself, at a book-signing. She hints a glossary may be out soon. The latest mystery is out now, _The Summer of the Danes_.

Betty would like to hear from other Ricardians who have met Ms. Peters or know something about the background of the books. Her address is: 15'21 Windsor Way #3, Racine, WI 53406.

Myrna Smith

(EDITOR'S NOTE: SEE MYRNA'S REVIEW COLUMN, FALL OF 1991)

As we approach the 507th anniversary of the battle of Bosworth, there are two items of Ricardian interest I would like to bring to the Society’s attention.

Have we Ricardians ever thought of Richard III as a godparent? One of his nephews, Richard de la Pole, carried his name. It was the custom of the time for the child to take the name of his godparent, and it is quite possible that Richard III was Richard de la Pole’s godparent. Richard de la Pole fled from Henry VII’s clutches in 1501. With the execution of his older brother Edmund in 1512, Richard became known as the White Rose earl of Suffolk. Like his Uncle, Richard met his fate in battle, being slain in the service of Francis I of France at the battle of _Pavia_ on February 21, 1525.

Members of the society are familiar with Henry Percy, the fourth earl of Northumberland who betrayed Richard III at Bosworth. However, that infamous day of August 22 would come back to haunt the Percy family. On that date in 1572, the seventh earl, Thomas Percy was executed for holding the Catholic faith. The fourth earl, in part for his actions on the 22nd of August, would later suffer an ignominious death at the hands of his tenants in 1489. The seventh earl’s actions on that fateful date would merit his being declared Blessed by Pope Leo XIII in 1895.

James Ignatius McAuley
Burke, Virginia

You would expect to find Followers of the White Boar trooping around musty old castles in England. It would not be surprising to discover White Rose Ricardians on the Plantagenet Trail in France (as Al & Ellen Perlman of the Mid-Atlantic Chapter did in the summer of ’91). You might even encounter a stray True Believer in the North woods of Canada. But EGYPT? Egypt!!

Egypt, the land of pharaohs, gods and sphinxes, is a most unlikely haunt for Ricardians. Yet there in the middle of the mighty Nile River, cruising between Aswan and Luxor, Mary and Marty Schaller of Burke, VA met with Vic and Betty Hanson of Birmingham, AL over breakfast. Ricardians are everywhere! Raise high the Blue and Murray Banner! An immediate meeting of the Richard III Society, Upper Egypt Chapter, was convened, appropriately at the Temple of Horus at Edfu. Horus is the falcon god of the rising sun and eternal life -_The Sunne in Splendor!!_.

Mary Schallet

I have an entry for Laura Blanchard’s “Ricardian Hall of Shame”. I have a copy of a book entitled _Makers of History, Richard III_ by Jacob Abbott. It was published by Harper & Brothers, in New York and London, in 1886. I found this book in my mother’s attic. She insists that I read this book as a child, although I have no recollection of it. It certainly hasn’t colored my feelings about Richard now.

On another note, are there any other members of the Society living in Louisville, KY or the surrounding area? Occasionally, I wear my White Boar to work, which has sparked some interesting conversations, particularly with a “Tudor”co-worker, but I’d love to be able to talk with others of the same bent. If anyone out there would like to start a mini-chapter, please feel free to contact me.

I enjoy the _Register_ immensely and look forward to receiving it each time. It pulls me out of the humdrum day and gives me an excuse to dream about what might have been.

Shawn Marie Herron
I’m abandoning my usual public relations topics this issue to talk about an organization that is in the forefront of a drive to strengthen the position of medieval studies in North America: The Medieval Academy of America.

The Medieval Academy is the pre-eminent interdisciplinary organization for medieval studies in the United States. Founded in 1925 by people who believed that the Middle Ages should be better represented in the study of the humanities, the organization has grown to a membership of just under 4,000, representing scholars in the fields of art, archaeology, history, law, literature, music, philosophy, science, social and economic institutions, and all other aspects of medieval civilization. Although most of its members are medieval scholars, it is an open-door organization: membership is open to anyone interested in the medieval era.

As Medieval Academy Treasurer Charles T. Wood recently wrote, “The foundations of the European portion of our culture were laid in the Middle Ages, the period in which we find the sources for the greater part of our intellectual and artistic life, of our political and social institutions, of our means of expressing and communicating knowledge. Our medieval legacy includes not just monuments of art and architecture .. . but the common-law basis for our legal system; the institutions of effective representative government; the chief instrument of higher education, the university; and, possibly most important of all, the formation of the modern languages of Western Europe, on which most work in the humanities depends. In effect, then, the Middle Ages represent the childhood of the humanities today, that formative period when our culture began to take on recognizable shape.”

The Academy’s quarterly journal, *Speculum*, contains some 250 pages of articles, book reviews, and advertisements per issue; an informal newsletter, published three times a year, provides news on upcoming events, calls for papers, available scholarships. Through an arrangement with the University of Toronto Press, the Academy keeps an arsenal of about 30 basic medieval studies texts available for teaching. Many of these texts are worthy candidates for the average Ricardian’s bookshelf, and it is thanks to the Academy that they are available at such reasonable cost. Its three-day annual meeting includes several plenary lectures, issue-specific sessions in over a dozen disciplines, plus the usual banquets, entertainments, business meeting, and so on.

Sharp-eyed readers will note that I’ve quoted Charles T. Wood, profiled elsewhere in this issue as a member of the Schallek Academic Advisory Board and the author of books and articles on the life and reign of Richard III. There are other connections between the Society and the Academy. When I took over the publicity for the Schallek Award program, for example, the Medieval Academy helped me hit the ground running by making its list of centers for medieval studies, embracing over 100 universities in the United States, available to us at no charge. The Academy regularly runs an announcement of the Schallek Awards in its newsletter, bringing us applications from qualified graduate students.

This issue of *The Ricardian Register* includes a new experiment in cooperation: the Medieval Academy’s full-page advertisement in this issue is complemented by a half-page advertisement for the Schallek Awards and the Richard III Society, scheduled to appear in the current issue of Speculum. This advertisement will bring the activities of the Society to the attention of many of the country’s leading medieval scholars, many of whom may not have heard of us before.

Although the Medieval Academy has a much broader focus than we do, its work serves to create a climate in which fifteenth century English studies can grow and flourish. Through its Committee on Centers and Regional Associations (CARA), it supports a series of conferences devoted to teaching medieval studies at the graduate, undergraduate, and high school level; it helps individuals with funding proposals for summer institutes aimed at these teachers; and it provides summer institutes in disciplines such as paleography and codicology, which are important building blocks for the medieval scholar but are not part of many regular curricula.

The Medieval Academy was also instrumental in the publication of the recently-completed thirteen-volume *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, published by Charles Scribner’s Sons. This mammoth work, including articles by some 1,300 authors, was designed, as Wood observes, “to be accessible to everyone from high school student to research scholar.” If you’ve never seen it, it’s worth a trip to the nearest library that has one just to browse the entries on your favorite topics.

The list of Medieval Academy activities could go on and on, but one final one is worth mentioning: they’re striving mightily to save an entire century of medieval scholarship. Virtually everything published between 1850 and 1950 was on acid paper, and these books are quietly being consumed by that acid’s slow fires. The Medieval Academy’s plan to identify and
In the two years that I've been a member of the Medieval Academy, I've relished my quarterly issues of *Speculum* (which it takes me a good three months an issue to read), enjoyed seeing Schallek Award announcements in the prestigious company of such august organizations as the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation and the J. Paul Getty Museum; found lectures and exhibits to attend; and, of course, enjoyed my attendance at the annual meetings. As an amateur medievalist, I'm grateful for the scholarship they've made available to me at such minimal cost; as a potential medieval scholar, I'm grateful for the academic opportunities they foster. As a Ricardian, I can't thank them enough for what they're doing to help provide a pool of qualified applicants for the Schallek Award and to bring the activities of the Richard III Society to the attention of the broad community of American medievalists. This is why, in addition to being a member, I am also a modest contributor to their Endowment Campaign. On balance, I believe that I'm still receiving far more than I'm giving.

Membership in the Medieval Academy is a surprisingly modest $35 per year. I'd strongly suggest that any Ricardian seriously interested in broadening his or her understanding of the medieval era would find that $35 to be money well spent. Through the CARA program, you can be involved on a local or regional level. To join, send your check to The Medieval Academy of America, 1430 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, MA 02138. Add a little for their endowment campaign, and Uncle Sam will match you 33¢ for every buck. And be sure to tell them you heard about them through the Richard III Society!

**WENSLEYDALE CHEESE**

Joe Ann Ricca

The perfect companion to that pint of Old Peculier is a Ploughman's Lunch — provided that it includes Wensleydale Cheese.

The medieval abbots of Jervaulx were well known for their special breed of hardy horses, but they were also responsible for introducing cheese-making in Wensleydale. Since 1156 the original formula (from ewes milk) has been handed down from generation to generation and only recently has a written recipe been used.

By the seventeenth-century, short-horn cows were replacing ewes as milk producers with sheep being mainly the source of wool and mutton. The farmhouse cheeses, the responsibility of the wife during the summer, were pickled in brine until 1890 when dry salting was utilized. Most of the cheeses were made for home consumption, but some did find their way into the local markets.

Edward Chapman, a Hawes merchant, decided in 1897 to purchase milk in bulk and manufacture the cheese himself; by 1935, the newly formed Milk Marketing Board threatened to close the Hawes creamery. Kit Calvert of Hawes put up the capital to encourage local farmers to support him. Under his tutelage, another new creamery was opened and in 1964 the large creamery at Kirkby Malzeard was established.

Today these creameries, together with the one at Coverham, produce tons of Wensleydale cheese for the area. The cheese is still matured in the traditional way which has made it so popular.

Blue Wensleydale is another choice available but whichever you choose, you can't go wrong — it will please the palate and will make your Ploughman's Lunch all the more pleasurable.
New Jersey

The New Jersey Chapter held its May 9th meeting in the Highland Park home of Joshua Cherniss. Thanks were given to Suzanne Present, Wendy Gitt and the Lefkowitzs for their tireless work on the April 25th garage sale, which raised $142.00 for the Middleham Restoration Endowment and was so successful that it was proposed to be held annually.

The membership was brought up to date on the issue now before the Board of the American Branch as to whether or not the Society should support Richardian related organizations such as the Middleham Restoration Endowment and the Medieval Academy of America.

A number of members will be attending the June 13th performance of Richard III starring Ian McKellan at the Brooklyn Academy of Music. This is in conjunction with the Society efforts for self-promotion during the tour.

Joshua will be doing a quarterly AGM report for the newsletter. Barbara Woods has been appointed Membership Director. Margaret Gurowitz volunteered her services with brochure reproduction. Joe Ann announced two upcoming speaker engagements at Rutgers University and Montclair State University.

Sadly, we bid farewell to long-time member Laura Blanchard who is moving to Pennsylvania. We'll miss her greatly!

Topping off this informative and exciting meeting was guest speaker Regina Jones from the Southeastern Pennsylvania Chapter. Regina's topic was “The Battle of Bosworth Field” and we were enthralled with her remarkably detailed and well-researched presentation.

The New Jersey Chapter will be celebrating its third anniversary at our next chapter meeting on August 15.

Susan Mahoney

Northwest Chapter

We have welcomed a growing membership with pleasure, and put everyone to work on our annual stint at the local Highland Games in July.

Our spring programs have been as varied as our host-homes and our new members. In March Beverlee Weston spoke on Sir John More, father of our sainted Thomas. With pictures, a timeline, and a genealogy, a good deal of background information was offered.

In May, Marge Nelson spread out her maps and talked about London under Richard III. We each received two maps of the area, each entirely different, to follow along, and to keep for ourselves.

President Rahne Kirkham reviewed “ancient” history with an outline of boy-kings and their regents until Richard III. With many details and asides, she brought the history alive over the decades, talking about the many hazards and dangers of caring for a minor who is also king during the middle ages.

We look forward to the Highland Games results, and our August meeting which is also the Battle of Bosworth date. Recently, we have set our October meeting as an opportunity for a general review and update of Richard III’s history and Society affairs, for ourselves as well as new members.

Beverlee Weston

Ohio Chapter

On March 28, 1992 the Ohio Chapter held its winter meeting at the home of Cindy and Spencer Northup. The program, conducted by national Chapter Coordinator Janet Sweet, consisted of a review of the possible fates of the Princes in the Tower. The motives and opportunities of the three traditional suspects were outlined (i.e., Richard III, Henry VII, and the Duke of Buckingham), and then more conjectural solutions were offered: suicide or even survival. The extensive handouts accompanying the presentation were so impressive that Chapter president Tom Coles instructed they be photocopied and sent to the members not in attendance.

A three-day Medieval conference was held in Columbus during March, 1992, sponsored by the Medieval Academy of America. Scholars from around the country attended the event. Public Relations Chairman Laura Blanchard and American Branch Chairman Gene McManus were guests of honor at a party held on March 21, attended by several members of the Ohio Chapter.

The next meeting of the Ohio Chapter will be at Squire’s Castle in Cleveland’s Metro Park on Sunday, July 19. The fall meeting will be in Lancaster, Ohio: a birthday feast for Richard hosted by Tom Coles.

Southeastern Pennsylvania Chapter

The Spring meeting on March 21 was one of our best ever! Twenty members attended to hear Joe Ann Ricca speak on Middleham Castle. The presentation was lively and interesting; it was spiced up by the ongoing comments and questions, which Joe Ann encouraged, from the audience. She ended the program with a videotape of the quincentenary celebrations at Middleham in 1985. Thanks, Joe Ann, for a great afternoon.

David Macool deserves some thanks also — not only for procuring the meeting site but also for warming up the crowd for Joe Ann by showing off the helmet from a suit of armor he is having made. We all
enjoyed seeing — and in some cases trying on” the helmet. It definitely added interest to the meeting!

In April our Chapter was pleasantly surprised by a request from a local Rotary Club: could we provide a guest speaker for their next meeting? Wendy Logan bravely stepped into the breach and on April 23 addressed the group on “Richard III: Fact and Fiction”. Once again we were able to enliven the presentation with a visual aid provided by David: in this case a replica of a medieval sword. Wendy did a fine job and many people from the audience stayed behind afterwards to thank her and to get a copy of our Chapter reading list.

Our library exhibit went up in early May, as scheduled, at the Upper Merion Library; in June it will be at the Radnor Library. We are concerned that we do not have it booked for August, when our memorial notice generates a lot of interest in the Society. It will be a great time to showcase the exhibit, so to all our Chapter members reading this: HELP! Can your local library host our display during August?

Our next meeting will be on Saturday, June 13, at the Four Seasons Hotel in Philadelphia.

**To Keep Theatre Alive**

The Maxwell Anderson Playwright Series is dedicated to carrying on Mr. Anderson’s generous policy of helping playwrights develop their new works for the theatre. Presentations are made of professional actors and directors in staged readings by established and emerging playwrights, with audience discussion afterwards.

Each year a Maxwell Anderson play is re-introduced. To commemorate their tenth anniversary, a very special reading will take place on October 10 and 11 of Anderson’s “Richard and Anne”.

For further information on this reading, contact Ms. Muriel Nussbaum, MAPS Artistic Director at (203) 847-4124, or write to her at 11 Esquire Road, Norwalk, CT 06851.

**Membership Cards**

The practice of issuing membership cards was discontinued two years ago. The mailing of these cards, which had little practical purpose, saves the Society on postage and handling, as well as the printing of the cards. If you have a need for a card for identification purposes (such as attending the AGM in England), please send a self-addressed envelope to the Membership Secretary.

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**A Note of Thanks**

Recently the members of the American Branch of the Richard III Society responded **overwhelmingly to a letter from the Middleham Restoration Endowment**.

**Since** our inception in March of 1990, the Middleham Restoration Endowment has been working diligently in conjunction with English Heritage. **Our sole purpose** is to raise funds for the fabric of the castle to insure that the restoration and preservation of this important Ricardian landmark continues.

Chapters such as Ohio, Mid-Atlantic and Southern California were among the first to feature our cause through their newsletters. To them we are truly grateful. Since that time we have also captured the attention of the Southeastern Pennsylvania, Northern California and New Jersey chapters.

Our base has broadened with representatives in the U.K., Spain, France and Austria. Prominent publications such as **UK Magazine**, **Realm**, the English Heritage newsletter and **Heritage** magazines have featured stories and articles about our work. We have been contacted by many individuals and organizations who had no previous knowledge of Richard III. They merely share the same convictions we do — a commitment to history and heritage.

Every year our goals become higher. But, with every year, our commitment grows stronger. At the last meeting with English Heritage, I toured the castle grounds and our goals for 1992 were duly noted. One has already been realized: we have secured the funds to commission a replica of Richard’s standard which shall be presented to English Heritage later this year. Our other concern was the northern wall of the castle, or as our public relations manager refers to it, “The Heart of Richard’s Lordship of the North”. Every year the Yorkshire winds and winter ravage the delicate walls, making it even more vulnerable. Other Northern properties **affiliated** with Richard such as Scarborough, Barnard, and Richmond will feature information on the Middleham Restoration Endowment.

The next time you have the opportunity to visit Middleham, take pride in knowing that no matter what role you played, you helped further Middleham’s existence. You shall also come away understanding our commitment and work. But — more importantly — it will become apparent why Richard and Middleham are forever entwined.

In conclusion, on behalf of the Executive board of the MRE, Susan, Jenny, Bobbie and I would like to extend our deepest appreciation to those who have given so generously and who have placed their trust and confidence in our work. I can assure you it has not been misplaced.

With our deepest appreciation,

Joe Ann **Ricca**
Chairman/Founder
Middleham Restoration Endowment
The first part of this column has been changed for this one issue to allow for an in-depth discussion of two new biography-studies. Your guest-reviewer, Laura Blanchard, appears by courtesy of Epistula regis, the newsletter of the New Jersey Chapter.


Long-time Ricardians will remember Pollard as one of the witnesses for the Bad Guys in the 1984 British television production, The Trial of Richard III.

What a treat, then, to open this handsome volume and to read, on page 5, such sentiments as “All the accounts of his reign written after Henry VII became king are compromised. The works of Sir Thomas More and Polydore Vergil... are histories, not sources, heavily influenced by the official interpretation and the memories of the victors. In the case of Vergil, the reminiscences of men like Fox, Bray and Urswick who happily recalled the experience of exile and conspiracy before 1485 are invaluable, but the viewpoint is inevitably partisan.”

This does not mean that our one-time Tudor apologist has painted all his roses white and gone on academic campaign for Saint Richard. While acknowledging the flaws of the post-1485 historians, Pollard also finds enough contemporary ‘evidence’ to suggest that Richard’s reputation is not without stain; for this, he is likely to draw the wrath of the ardent Ricardian.

Pollard has made an academic career of studying the Yorkist era. On staff at Teeside Polytechnic Institute in Middlesbrough, he has spent much of the past ten years writing about the gentry and nobility in Richmondshire, that corner of Yorkshire that Richard called home for much of his adult life. Throughout the book, his efforts to reach a truly balanced assessment of an issue that arouses strong emotion on either side are evident. For this, he is entitled at the very least to a courteous hearing.

Pollard acquits Richard of the predictable crimes, like the murder of Edward of Lancaster. His personal jury is out on the question of Richard’s courtship of Anne Neville - was she a willing bride or not? - was there love or affection on either side before the marriage? He does, however, paint a picture - quite unflattering to all parties - of the two ducal brothers, Richard and George, and their duchesses, squabbling over the inheritance of Warwick’s widow, who was inconveniently still alive. Pollard also suggests that Richard’s early career as Lord of the North was not without its imperfections. The portrait of Richard in the early 1470s that emerges from Pollard’s pen is one of the hotheaded and somewhat belligerent kid brother who has to be reined in ever so often.

After the English invasion of France in 1475, Pollard has Richard settling down with an apparently sincere desire to provide good government in the North. His characterization of the maturing Duke of Gloucester is a cautiously sympathetic one of a man who, after a storm-tossed youth, has found his role in life and is largely at peace with himself and his place in the world. Pollard does remind us, however, that the motivation behind Richard’s actions as Lord of the North, like other questions relating to his piety or general character, cannot be determined from the fragmentary evidence left to us.

For the critical events of the April-August 1483 period, Pollard gives a “soft traditional” reading of the evidence. While taking Richard roundly to task for the executions of Rivers, Vaughan, Gray, and, particularly, Hastings, Pollard remarks on the possibility that Richard had no intention of assuming the throne until the events of June 1483 swept him into it. Pollard attempts an even-handed analysis of the mystery of the Princes in the Tower. He makes a stronger-than-usual case for John Howard, Duke of Norfolk, being involved (either with or without Richard’s direction) pointing out that it was Howard, not Brackenbury, who was Constable of the Tower while Richard was on progress at Warwick Castle.

Pollard’s final judgment on Richard’s life and reign leaves us with a complex, enigmatic, flawed and ultimately tragic figure. Surviving a troubled youth to find meaning and balance in his life as Lord of the North, he loses his moral footing in the currents of the events of 1483, which swept him to a series of ruthless acts that cost him his peace of mind, his throne and his life. As Ricardians we may not agree with all of Pollard’s conclusions but we must respect the integrity of his attempts to make an objective assessment.

This book is worth having in your personal Ricardian collection for a variety of reasons. It’s an excellent review of the old evidence, the early and later historians, Shakespeare, and the whole colorful assembly of defenders and accusers. Beyond that, it adds a new dimension for those Ricardians whose views were largely shaped by Tey or Kendall, drawing as it does on the vast array of recent historical inquiry into the events of the Yorkist era.
In fact, it can even serve as a study guide. The book is grouped into logical sections: early and late stories about Richard; his childhood and youth; Richard and the North, usurpation and rebellion; the fate of the Princes; the reign, and Richard’s character. In addition to the meticulous footnotes and bibliography, there’s a “Further Reading” section, recommending general texts as well as specific books or articles to review in pursuit of specific subjects. This section concentrates on scholarship from the Sixties to the Nineties, and is invaluable in helping the layman achieve a “state-of-the-art” grounding in current historical thought. Articles from the Ricardian and even The Ricardian Register are liberally cited as important reading in this section, including a recommendation for the recent articles by the American Branch’s own Helen Maurer.

Another advantage: the book, while unquestionably the work of a scholar with a grasp of the minutiae of fifteenth century English history, is no scholarly tome to be read with the aid of a yellow hi-liter and a handful of NoDoz. Pollard has captured the drama and sweep of events behind the details and laid out the trends in fifteenth century historical research for a non-academic audience in vigorous, vivid prose. For a Ricardian, especially, it’s a gripping read.

Finally, the book is drop-dead gorgeous. It’s without question the best coffee-table book on Richard ever published. Many of the “usual suspects” were involved in the book’s production: Alan Sutton gave the impetus, and such Ricardian household names as Geoffrey Wheeler and Carolyn Hammond feature prominently in the acknowledgments. In addition to the formal chapters, there are eight photo-essay sections, reminiscent of spreads in Life or National Geographic, on topics such as “Richard III’s Birth Sign,” “Pigs and Boars,” and my personal favorite, “Cartoons and Caricatures,” including a reproduction of pages from the Jonny Quest comic book where Jonny saves the Princes just before Bosworth (from Tudor assassins, at Richard’s request). The book attracts more than Ricardians. I took it to work and it drew curious browsers by the busload. Even the Reluctant Ricardians in your household may find themselves leafing through it and learning a thing or two in the process.

I got my copy from the Book of the Month Club for two Book Dividend Credits plus $17.95. I think it lists at about $35.00. It’s one of the best Ricardian investments I’ve made this year.

Laura Blanchard

A Few Additional Comments, by your Reading Editor:
Certainly this is the coffee-table book en alt. It is indeed lavishly illustrated, mostly in color, though some of the illustrations are, at first glance, a little puzzling. What’s Marlon Brando doing here? More important, Pollard writes with skill and wit, which may cause many readers to overlook his errors both logical and tactical.

Item: For reasons too complex to go into here, much of Richard’s power in the North depended on his nephew George Neville. After making a case for Richard’s ambition as the motive for his usurpation, Pollard tells us that George died on May 4, 1483, leaving Richard in a financial pickle. (Not his exact words.) Pollard says Richard may have (not his italics, either) known that George was dying before he seized power on April 30, and he had to take the throne to keep his power in the North. Isn’t that going to extremes? It is, Pollard admits. “What is striking is the lengths to which Richard would thus appear to have gone to protect himself against what was still only a potential danger.” (P. 105) This is the logical error known as begging the question -basing an argument on an unproved and unprovable premise — and it is a tactical error because it is overkill. Reaching for this far-fetched “evidence” weakens his other, stronger, evidence.

Item: Nine out of ten men in Richard’s position, says Pollard, would have played by the rules. Playing by the rules, and being implausibly self-sacrificing, Richard could have had “the stain of illegitimacy... removed by the ritual of coronation. Edward V, like Elizabeth I later, could have been declared legitimate and all doubts removed.” Neither Richard nor those nine hypothetical gentlemen could have acted by a precedent which was to be set in a Protestant England nearly a century later. Besides, if it was so simple to “remove the stain” why did not Henry VII do this for Elizabeth of York, rather than trying to hunt down all copies of Titulus Regis?

Item: Why did Elizabeth Woodville agree to come out of Sanctuary in March 1484? Insurance, says Pollard, against Henry Tudor’s defeat. She would not have done this unless she believed her sons were dead and it was no longer possible to back their cause. He then intimates that Elizabeth favored, if she did not promote, a match between her daughter and Richard because “it would have facilitated her full rehabilitation at the centre of events. But such a marriage would... have been unthinkable had Elizabeth of York not been universally considered the eldest surviving child of Edward IV.” We thus have Elizabeth Woodville as a devoted mother who could not have compromised the position of her sons as Edward’s heirs so long as they were alive, and a monster who agreed to the bastardization of her daughter, clearly alive and Edward’s heiress -and even tried to tie her for life to her brother’s murderer! We could accept the madonna or the Medea, but not both in one!

Because this book covers much of the same material as A.J. Pollard’s book, it is bound to be compared to it. This is not comparing apples and oranges, more like oranges and tangerines. Hicks is narrower in his scope, covering the “usurpation” and events leading up to it. The ultimate fate of the Princes is almost an afterthought. Pollard is clearly writing a “popular” history for non-academics, but he does have footnotes. Hicks is writing a more serious, less colorful treatise, apparently intended for the scholar, as he presumes a certain previous knowledge - but he has not one single footnote! His references at the end of the text are in the form of a bibliography, and seem to consist mostly of secondary sources.

The author’s theme throughout is that Richard was a master propagandist, a chameleon-like figure wearing a different face for everyone, and building his campaign so subtly through all the steps that led up to his accession that “contemporaries found in favor of the defense.” (Richard). Immediately on his coronation, however, everyone turned against him because his crime was so heinous. In order to support this theme, he commits, unwittingly perhaps, many logical errors.

He is inconsistent. When referring to the Lancastrian usurpers he says “… kings did not reign by hereditary right alone…” but becomes a strict dynast where Edward IV’s sons are concerned. Additionally, he confuses absence of proof with proof. The Woodvilles had no animosity toward Richard, he claims, and lists various business and social relations between the parties to back this up. He can justifiably claim that there was no hostility apparent, no plot proven. He cannot flatly claim that there was none, because this is a statement he cannot prove. One can sympathize with the scholar of this period, as there is so little real evidence. The Earl of Oxford, petitioning Henry VII for redress of a wrong done by Richard to his late mother, points out that there was no record of this in 1493, and he was afraid it would be forgotten altogether. In fact we know of it only through Oxford’s own evidence. This does not necessarily make it false — although why did the earl wait 8 years after Bosworth? But one has to wonder how much other evidence for or against is gone forever — destroyed by Richard or his men as being too incriminating? By Henry or his followers as being too flattering? Or simply never recorded by lazy or incompetent clerks? From my experience, I suspect the last.

Hicks’ most damning evidence against Richard is not negative evidence, though it would be hard to call it positive. He reasons this way: Richard executed Rivers and Grey only when he knew his accession was assured and he would not have to answer to anyone for their deaths. His men on the spot would not have carried out the execution unless they had no fear of retribution. Hence they knew in advance of Richard’s usurpation, which actually occurred on the day of the execution. How could they have known? Richard told them, but not by letter or credence. He told them face to face before he left for London, because he did not see them later. Here, then, is the fallacy which most historians fall into at one time or another: the assumption that as we know how things were going to turn out, they must have known too. If Richard confided his plans to the parties to back this up. He can justifiably claim that the Woodvilles would make themselves available at the right time and place for use as patsies.

This is not to say that the book has no virtues. Hicks is not stuffy, and he tries to be fair. You can see him trying to be fair, and sense his admiration of Richard’s loyalty to his esquires who were killed at Towton, even while condemning his disloyalty to his nephews. He shows us the X-ray of the famous portrait with the Tudor overpainting. And he mentions the Ricardians, whom he acknowledges also in the bibliography, as an “influential majority.” Flattering, but inaccurate. A few thousand world-wide does not a majority make. There is evidence of in-depth research, for instance as regards Edward IV’s treasure — insufficient, says Hicks, to even pay for a funeral. This puts a different light on events, and makes one wish all the more for some documentation.

Over and over, Hicks tells us that “it doesn’t matter what the truth was, but what people perceived as the truth.” Sorry, but it does matter. It matters in so small a matter as H.L. Menken’s bathtub, and it matters here. The historian may not be able to determine the truth. He or she may be forced to speculate and even to build an argument on speculation, so long as speculation is not confused with fact, and the conclusion arises from the facts given. All too often, this is not the case.

Myrna Smith

Laura Blanchard’s comments:

Recently, I started re-translating Mancini as an exercise to brush up my Latin. Although it quickly became obvious that I’ll have to do more than sit with Mancini and a dictionary, I couldn’t help but be struck by the degree of translator bias in C.A.J. Armstrong’s translation. Any time he had a choice between a neutral meaning and a pejorative meaning for a word Mancini used, Armstrong went for the pejorative. One wonders how much of Mancini’s reputed hostility to Richard was Mancini’s, and how much Armstrong’s.

And I think we’re in much the same case with Hicks’ new work. It was not exactly surprising to read in the introduction that Hicks had Armstrong as his supervisor at Oxford and that he writes glowingly of “Armstrong’s splendid edition of Mancini.” Not
once, but several times, Hicks reminds us that Mancini was so hostile that he titled his work “The Usurpation of Richard III.” Most Ricardians know that usurpation is at best a secondary definition of the term occupation, which more properly means occupation or taking. Armstrong-like, Hicks will never ascribe a decent motivation to anything Richard does if he can blame it on a machination instead.

Get a load of this passage, for example: “By rescuing and marrying Warwick’s daughter Anne Neville, Richard could wrest more of her father’s lands from Clarence. He refused to take her without her lands , .. When Richard whisked [Nan Beauchamp, the Earl of Warwick’s widow] away to the North, he did so not to restore her inheritance but to deprive her of it permanently.” Maybe Anne wasn’t so happy about having her brother-in-law, George of Clarence, get her lands either. Maybe Richard (who, let’s not forget, isn’t even twenty, for all he’s commanded the vanguard at BARNET and Tewkesbury) simply didn’t feel like seeing George get all the perks after leaving Edward in the lurch. Maybe Richard was rescuing Nan Beauchamp in the only way open to him. (Or maybe he wasn’t. Maybe she’d been really nasty to him when he was a page at Middleham and he was enjoying a little payback.) After five hundred years, who knows? Well, apparently, Hicks does. I’d sure like to know his source for the line that he wouldn’t marry Anne without her lands. I’d like to know the source for a lot of his other statements, too, but since he isn’t telling his sources, I’m not buying his conclusions. (Since Anne was a well-brought-up 15th century maiden, she would probably have been ashamed to be taken without a dowry. - MS.)

It’s really a shame, too, because it appears that Hicks’ initial section on the nature of politics during the Wars of the Roses is a worthwhile analysis. I’ll never know, though, because his sources aren’t documented and enough of his conclusions in other sections of the book are suspect that I’m reluctant to take any of his comments on faith.

Me again: Laura thinks that I’ve been easier on Hicks and harder on Pollard than she was. I guess it balances out then. (Since I entered this on the computer under the file name PH, for Pollard/Hicks, you might say it’s ph-balanced!) A reviewer can only give you some idea of what the book contains and express his/her own impressions. That’s why we need opinions from as many of you as possible.

The Queen’s Secret, The Story Of Queen Katherine
-Jean Plaidy, G.P. Putnam’s Sons.

The first American edition of The Queen’s Secret appeared in 1990, giving us an insight into the life of Katherine de Valois, wife of the recently movie-starred King Henry V.

Katherine and her siblings were neglected children. Their father, Charles VI of France, fluctuated between sanity and raving madness. Their beautiful mother, Isabeau of Bavaria, took her husband’s problems in good spirits and her lovers’ attentions in quick succession. The eldest of the princesses, Isabela, had been sent to England at the age of eight to become the bride of Richard II. The king treated her as a little sister and she was devastated when he died. She refused to consider marriage to the king’s cousin, Henry of Monmouth, who later became Henry V. His second choice was his sister Katherine.

Isabela told her sister wonderful stories of being “the little queen”, but had no good to say of Monmouth. Thus, when Katherine learned that Henry had asked for her hand in marriage as part of the peace treaty, she looked forward to England with delight, but only with trepidation upon her future husband. She grew to love him and early on bore his son. Henry was away for long periods, however, continuing to light the French, and the nine years of their marriage passed slowly for his neglected queen.

Some of the facts in this story may be questionable. The novelist must be allowed a bit of romantic freedom, however, and if the book isn’t gospel, it still makes for good reading.

The rest of the story is based on Katherine’s attachment to Owen Tudor. Plaidy says they were married in a secret ceremony so their children would not bear the stigma of illegitimacy. How Katherine and Owen kept their family a secret from the court and the nation is fascinating reading.

We meet a number of Ricardian friends in this story. The Beaumonts and the Tudors are here, of course, as well as Warwick the Kingmaker. John of Bedford, at that time regent of France, was the first husband of Jacquetta de St. Pol, who, as Lady Rivers, was the mother of Elizabeth Woodville. Seems like old home week.

Plaidy gives us 306 pages of interesting reading about a queen whose place in history is only vaguely chronicled. I imagine much of it is true. The rest of it provides a pleasant story that does no harm to her memory.

Helen Cure


I had little hope for a nearly ninety-year-old book, and I was not disappointed. The author begins by stating that there was nothing of depravity in Richard’s personality -but that the influence of his proud and haughty mother created in him great ambition. He was consistently loyal to his brother Edward, and a very good soldier -which meant that he was a very bad man. Everyone knows that only a very bad man can be a good soldier!

The style of the book is so simplistic that it might have been written for children. The errors are so many and so blatant that it appears to have been written from memory, not from any source material.
Example: Abbot describes a scene in which Anne, half-dressed and with her disheveled hair around her shoulders, runs screaming down the corridors begging Richard not to poison her. Perhaps Abbot was thinking of Henry VIII and either Katherine Howard or Katherine Parr.

Another blatant mistake is an engraving from an “ancient portrait” which shows an armored and mustachioed Richard in a haughty pose. The armor is decorated, but not with the arms of England!

It really rather pleases me to own a 90 year old book, and we can use it to measure the progress of historical method.

Dale Somers

Another candidate for the Hall of Shame is offered by Kim Dziurman: Roberta Gellis’ The Dragon And The Rose. Space limitations prohibit using the full review (with excerpts, yet) this time, but I must give her summation: “...in defense of Ms. Gellis, she makes a sincere effort to portray Henry Tudor as a Romantic Hero, which has not been hitherto attempted, to my knowledge. ...Perhaps, as optimists, [Elizabeth] and Gellis were merely following the old advice: “If God gives you Henry Tudor, make lemonade.” (You will hear more about this in the next issue — I hope.)

Karen Friedman sent an excerpt from the Book-of-the-Month Club bulletin describing a likely competitor. It’s Command Of The King, by Mary Lide, and is “set in the court of King Henry VIII in the period just following the War of the Roses”. If any of you have read it, please send us your comments. I love to read these kind of books, just to tear them apart!

On a more positive note, Toby Friedenberg writes about The Fate Of Princes, by PC. Doherty, reviewed here recently. While pointing out that there are errors both of grammar and fact (e.g. identifying the Duchess of Buckingham as Elizabeth Woodville’s daughter rather than her sister), Toby adds:

“I enjoyed the descriptions of the horror of London especially when contrasted with the green English countryside of Minster Lovell. The Yorkist characters were well drawn, a mixture of weakness and strength, fear and ambition ... The opposition team, particularly Morton and Margaret Beaufort, were stereotypically evil. .. but of course we cannot criticize a narrator for showing his own bias.

“The plot against the princes, as revealed to Lovell, is convoluted rather than diabolical, but makes for a most interesting assumption. It does serve to answer some difficult questions logically, always a welcome addition to the famous conundrum.”

By the way, for Ricardians who are also detective story aficionados, may I recommend Kate Sedley’s Death and The Chapman, about a 15th-century shamus, and possibly the first of a series. I hope to have a review of this soon, if fate and you gentle people cooperate.

BOARD CHRONICLES

May 3, 1992

In attendance: Chairman Gene McManus, Vice Chairman Ellen Fernandez, Immediate Past President Roxane Murph, Treasurer Joe Ann Ricca, Membership Chairman Carole Rike and Secretary Toni Collins. The Board happily and gratefully welcomed Carole Rike as Membership Chairman.

Membership: Carole reported that we now have 614 members, with activities in this area being brisk. Work is being done on follow-ups and the creation of new databases.

Publications: Roxane received a detailed report from sales Officer Linda McLatchie concerning prices for reprinting Under The Hog. Roxane recommended that enough copies be pre-sold to cover our costs. She also suggested that we consider a hardcover printing as the price difference is small between paperback and hardback. The Board accepted Roxane’s recommendations.

Work on the potential publication of Richard and Anne is ongoing — kudos to Roxane for her efforts.

Scholarch Award: Joe Ann announced that the Scholarship Committee has made a $750 award to Ms. Ann Bliss of Missouri, whose research field is Chaucer. The 1993 campaign will begin in September.

Exhibit for the National Tour: Gene reported that much thought went into the production of an exhibit to accompany the Ian McKellan National Theatre tour. Discussions with Publicity Director Laura Blanchard led to concerns about transporting, mounting and insuring a large scale display. A scaled down version of the exhibit, in poster format, is being produced. The poster can be reproduced in volume and can be shipped to the local chapter contact. Chapters will be reimbursed for having posters drymounted, and the posters can be exhibited as chapters are able.

AGM Subsidy of Board Members: Ellen and Toni report that there is some willingness to ease the financial burden on board members who must attend the AGM. In particular, it is felt that the Chairman’s expense might be covered in whole or in part. Ellen will prepare a written report.

Future AGM’s: Gene has a request from the Northern California Chapter to host the next available AGM, which would be 1995. The Board requested that the Northern California Chapter submit a proposal to the Board concerning such items as possible meeting sites, accessibility, etc.
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