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In This Issue

The Iron Roses — Four Tough Cookies
Laura Blanchard 3
Margaret of Anjou, Helen Maurer 4
Greetings From Parent Society, Elizabeth Nokes 5
Cicely Neville, Jeanne Trahan Faubell 6
Dramatic History of the First Queen Elizabeth,
Laura Blanchard 10
Welcome to New Members 12
Margaret Beaufort, Kathleen Spaltro 13
A Look at Ricardian Fiction Through The
Centuries, Laura Blanchard 15
On Reshaping History, Sharon Kay Penman 16
Why Write History As A Mystery?,
Sharon Newman 18
Ricardian Fiction: Trash and Treasure,
Roxane Murph 20
Message From Fiction Librarian,
Jeanne Trahan Faubell 24
Ricardian Reading, Myrna Smith 25
Maxwell Anderson Scholarship Fund
Roxane Murph 33
1997 Chicago AGM Memories, Peggy Allen 34
Fifteenth-Century Conference 36
33rd International Congress on
Medieval Studies 37
Chairman’s Report, Compton Reeves 38
Scattered Standards 39
Chapter Contacts 40
Membership Application 40

Winter, 1997
FOUR TOUGH COOKIES
WHO SHAPED THE
FIFTEENTH-CENTURY

Margaret of Anjou, Cecily Neville, Elizabeth Woodville, and Margaret Beaufort—these four Iron Roses shaped the course of the late fifteenth-century, either by direct action or by influence on key players in the Wars of the Roses. Two of these women were prolific breeders; two had only one child. Two were reigning queens, and two were “Mothers of Kings.” All of them at one time in their lives demonstrably ambitious, proud, pious, charitable—and uniformly concerned with safeguarding a royal patrimony for their dynasty.

We know their names and, for the most part, only the bare outlines of their lives. We have hints of their personalities; their story survives in legal documents, propaganda screeches, or the garbled accounts of chroniclers and foreign observers.

Each in her own way tried to influence the outcome of a dynastic quarrel, and each experienced stunning and repeated reversals of fortune. The circumstances of their lives have fueled the imaginations and the pens of five centuries of dramatists and novelists.

In this section, four Society members take a look at the Iron Roses. Although we had hoped to look at all four in both fact and fiction, we were not able to do so for the Margarets. Margaret Beaufort cunningly eluded the interlibrary loan program and left Kathleen Spalatro high and dry in the fiction department. Helen Maurer interrupted the writing of her Ph.D. dissertation (on Margaret of Anjou and issues of fifteenth century queenship) long enough to outline some of the issues as she sees them with the understanding that someone else would handle the fiction. Alas, the supplementary essay on Margaret of Anjou in fiction did not arrive in time to be included here.

One final aside: it’s difficult to decide between Cecily and Cicely Neville. The section editor has chosen Cecily as the most common usage during Cecily’s own lifetime. Her Ricardian Register biographer, Jeanne Faubell, has chosen the Cicely spelling for reasons outlined in an explanatory footnote. Since neither Cecily’s contemporaries nor Cicely’s modern historians seem to be overly concerned about this inconsistency, though, there may be variation within pieces of this section as well.

-Laura Blanchard
She-wolf of France, but worse than wolves of France...
Women are soft, mild, pitiful, and flexible;
Thou stern, obturate, flinty, rough, remorseless.1

M
ar\_garet of Anjou was an uppity woman, or so we have been told. In early 1456, perhaps with a hint of grudging admiration, she was observed to be “great and strong labored” as her power expanded. After the Lancastrian defeat at Towton, however, George Neville, bishop of Exeter, new-made chancellor and brother to Warwick the Kingmaker, contemptuously referred to her as “the wife,” as if to underline the impropriety of her meddling in political affairs that were not properly her concern.2 Shakespeare immortalized the image of a transgressive Margaret: a harlot and a harridan who both betrayed and ruled her weak and ineffectual husband, Henry VI; a vengeful she-wolf who could place a paper crown on York’s head to mock his royal claim before stabbing him with her own hand.3

Although historians have by now rejected Shakespearian excess — Margaret’s alleged adultery is suppositional at best, and she was in Scotland when the battle of Wakefield took place — they still have perpetuated a view of Margaret as political actor that is not so far removed from her fictional persona. Thus we are told that her “fiery determination made compromise impossible and civil war almost inevitable,” and that “she made no pretense to hold aloof and arbitrate between the two parties [of York and Somerset, so that the] crown descended into the welter of political intrigue”; or that she bore an “attitude [from at least late 1457]... of unforgiving severity” towards the Yorkists.4 Such a view recognizes that Margaret came to exercise significant political power, but then shies away from looking at the origin and nature of that power very closely.

A part of the problem lies in our traditional habit of regarding the Wars of the Roses from a male-centered perspective. There is nothing particularly wrong with the approach, so far as it goes: men visibly dominated the fifteenth-century English political scene and, in any case, left more evidence than women of their various activities. Moreover, until quite recently, all history was male-centered. But this approach inevitably relegates a Margaret of Anjou to the role of adjunct, even as it acknowledges her importance. On a more concrete level, in. Margaret’s case it has led to certain assumptions about her allegiances that have colored our overall perception of her role and public personality as queen. As a result, her political activities are retrospectively constructed around the poles of opposition (to York and the Nevilles) and collusion (with Somerset specifically, and possibly with his predecessor, Suffolk). This means that while York’s own intentions and role, for example, have undergone considerable reassessment, the analysis of Margaret’s role has remained relatively static.

In order to move beyond this picture, the very real issue of gender must be engaged. Margaret was not, nor ever could be, simply “one of the boys.” Although gender did not prevent her from acquiring power, it dictated the terms on which she could obtain and exercise it and, by extension, affected the course of political events. What, then, did it mean for Margaret to wield power as a woman and a queen? What opportunities did queenship afford her, and to what limitations was it subject? Linked to this complicated issue are some subsidiary questions that must be answered afresh. For example: when did she become the duke of York’s dire enemy? Why did she put herself forward as a political contender?

Although queenship provided access to power, the queen’s political influence was presumed to lie in her acts of mediation or intercession, at all times subsumed by her husband’s authority.5 There is every reason to believe that Margaret understood the role she was supposed to play, and substantial evidence to suggest that, for the most part, she tried to play it by the rules. It now appears that she initially entered the political arena at the time of Henry’s illness, not as a
leader or adherent of faction, but in an effort to contain factional conflict. Up until this point her treatment of York was officially “friendly,” whatever her private feelings towards him may have been, and it then took a remarkably long time once the initial signs of suspicion and hostility began to appear for her to seem passably “wolfish.”

During the later 1450s, when Margaret’s power reached its height, she continued to appeal to the king’s authority and to represent herself, with rare exception, as his subordinate and intermediary. Although there are some indications that a kind of role reversal had begun to take place as Margaret became more active politically while Henry became more passive, it remained shadowy and incomplete. In order to exercise political power, she had to resort to a kind of “masking”; in the end, the need to deny the extent and reality of her own power undermined its effectiveness.

Notes

1. Henry VI, Part III, 1.4.111, 141-2. Shakespeare has the duke of York condemn Queen Margaret with these words just before his death.


3. Patricia-Ann Lee, “Reflections of Power: Margaret of Anjou and the Dark Side of Queenship,” Renaissance Quarterly 39, no. 2 (Summer 1986): 215-16, notes that adultery and incessant wrangling were regarded as peculiarly female vices, while deliberately-chosen vengeance was a male offense. Thus, Shakespeare’s portrayal of Margaret combined what were perceived to be the worst traits of both sexes.

4. J.J. Bagley, Margaret of Anjou, Queen of England (1948), 77; Ralph A. Griffiths, The Reign of King Henry VI (1981), 804. Cf. Bertram Wolfe, Henry VI (1981), 323, note 48, who believes that her hostility to York went back at least to 1448, a position that is no longer tenable; elsewhere, he compares her to Isabella (another “she-wolf”!) and to Henrietta Maria, the wives of Edward II and Charles I, and points out that each of these foreign-born political meddlers “saw civil war in England and the violent death of her husband” (183). Most recently, John Watts, Henry VI and the Politics of Kingship (1996), 294 and note 144, has argued that Margaret was the duke of Somerset’s “ally” from 1451, if not earlier, which permits a near-seamless transition to her emergence as York’s opponent during the crisis of Henry’s illness, and to full-blown enmity as matters progressed.


6. Anton Blok, “Female Rulers and Their Affinities,” in Transactions: Essays in honor of Jeremy R. Boissevain, ed. by Jojada Verrips (1994), S-33, suggests that women obtain political authority through their acceptance as “social males” and in the absence — real or symbolic — of a husband or close male associate.

Greetings to the American Branch from the Richard III Society in the UK at the time of the AGM:

Once again, greetings from the Society on this side of the Atlantic, shortly to be assembling in London for the AGM. Members at the AGM, which includes overseas members as well as UK members, send greetings to their American counterparts.

We hope your AGM weekend is productive — our AGM will be busy, with various sales prior to the meeting and a lot of business to get through.

We were delighted to have Professor Compton Reeves with us for Bosworth again — indeed, he is becoming quite a regular. We were also pleased to meet your Vice Chairman elect, Sharon Michalove, a little later in the year and delighted that she was able to attend a London Branch meeting. In the usual way of these things, she and I, instead of talking in comfort in the lecture hall, ended up having a long chat by the roadside!

We know that we shall have representation from the North American Continent — from Canada — at the AGM, as well as from Europe.

We continue to be impressed by the Register and by your industry in developing the Web site, and in discussing anything and everything Ricardian — and even things that are not — by e-mail. I am pleased to be included in the e-mail distribution.

We look forward to another busy and active year, and wish you the same. All good wishes for the Ricardian year 1997-1998!

Elizabeth M. Nokes, Secretary, Richard III Society
The life of Cicely Neville, ‘Duchess of York (1415-1495) spanned most of the fifteenth century. She lived through the reigns of five sovereigns, six queens, and saw four Princes of Wales not succeed to the throne. Two of her sons became king only to die untimely. Her husband was killed in battle and his head struck off to adorn the walls of York. All but one of her twelve children predeceased her. Her mighty Neville family was brought low. One essay described the fifteenth century as the age of “illustrious unfortunates,” and the life of Cicely Neville amply demonstrates that appellation. An old ballad gives us a concise history of Cicely’s career:

“A gracious lady!
What is her name, I thee pray tell me?”
“Dame Cecile, sir.” “Whose daughter was she?”
“Of the Erie of Westmoreland, I trowe the yngist,
And yet grace fortune her to be the highest.”

Cicely, romantically known as “the Rose of Raby” in reference to her beauty, was the youngest daughter and twenty-second child of Ralph, Lord Neville of Raby, Earl of Westmoreland, by his second wife, Joan Beaufort, daughter of John of Gaunt. As far as can be ascertained, she was born at Raby in 1415, and was raised with her future husband, Richard Duke of York, who became a ward of her father in 1415. When Richard left the Earl’s household to assume the duties of his rank, he was betrothed to Cicely. There seems to be some disagreement as to when they were married: Either about 1430 when she was about 14 or in 1438 when York was 27 and Cicely a few years younger — a rather late marriage for those days. At this time, York’s rights to the throne must have seemed far distant, and York was a faithful servant to the Crown.

Though by birth a Lancastrian descendant and closely related to Henry VI, her marriage to York transferred her loyalties to the House of York. She proved a staunch bulwark to York throughout his career. Their marriage may also have been the initial inducement to the younger branch of the Nevilles to support York’s reform platform and later royal claims. Cicely and York seem to have been close: frequent pregnancies (and she bore twelve children) did not stop Cicely — apparently a vigorous woman — from accompanying York to France, to exile in Ireland, and around the English countryside.

As the mistress of a large household, her administrative duties would have been manifold and her participation in ceremonial a necessity. In 1456, for example, she was with the usual solemn and stately ceremonial inducted as a member into the City of York’s Corpus Christi Guild — a harbinger, perhaps, of her later noted religious observance and an indicator of her effort to encourage the city of York to support her husband’s cause. Her son Richard and his wife Anne later joined the Guild in 1477. She certainly dressed for the role. In 1443-4 she spent so much on apparel (E608, almost the annual income of an earl) that York had to appoint a special officer to monitor her expenditures.

After 1459, events were less happy. In October 1459, after the unremitting enmity of Queen Margaret and her faction had forced York into open resistance at Ludlow, the sudden desertion of the Calais garrison forced York, Cicely’s sons Edward and Edmund, her brother Salisbury, and her nephew Warwick into precipitous flight. Cicely was left behind with the younger children Margaret, George, and Richard, to face the King’s army and the sack of Ludlow. Kendall surmises that as a woman of courage she stood at the Ludlow market cross and pleaded for the safety of her people. The King’s forces conveyed Cicely and her children to Coventry where Parliament attainted her husband and relatives for treason. Henry VI allowed Cicely 1,000 marks p.a. for her maintenance, and she and her children were placed in the custody of her sister Anne, Duchess of Buckingham, “kept full strait and many a great rebuke” until summer 1460. A contemporary chronicler also reported that Cicely gained audience with Henry VI to successfully plead on behalf of many of York’s retainers. The conditions of her release (escape?) from custody remain unknown. In the summer of 1460 she traveled to London, leaving her children a Paston dwelling and joining York at Hereford “in a chair [carriage] covered with blue velvet” and drawn by four white coursers. Do these royal trappings suggest she was already aware of her husband’s planned bid for the throne?
The arrival of Margaret's army at the gates of London following the disastrous Yorkist defeat at Wakefield in December 1460 forced Cicely to send George and Richard to Burgundy for their safety. Such was the respect in which she was held, however, that she was left unmolested at Baynard's Castle; she remained behind as chief representative of the House of York. The respect which her sons felt for her personally and for her position as Duchess of York, widow to the rightful heir to the throne, is evidenced by the staging of much of their precoronation activity in 1461 and 1483 at Baynard's Castle. One of Edward's first acts following victory at Towton was to write to his mother of the victory and submission of the city of York (William Paston wrote that he had seen and handled this letter). King Edward in the early part of his reign appears to have relied much on his mother's counsel for it was reported that she could "rule him as she pleases" — his first council after Towton was held in her house.

Edward's secret marriage to Elizabeth Woodville in May 1464 appears to have decreased Cicely's influence with him. She was unable to prevent the marriage (Edward jestingly answered that as they both had children, they need not worry about their ability to produce heirs; "Madame, I pray you be content"). She is said to have subsequently berated the marriage in such terms that it was later rumored that she declared Edward a bastard. Mancini reported 20 years later that Cicely asserted that Edward was "not offspring of the Duke of York but was conceived in adultery, and therefore in no wise worth of the honor of kingship," and offered to submit to enquiry. This is very difficult to believe, although Charles of Burgundy and Louis XI were aware of the rumor and Clarence made use of it in 1477 (though that did not stop Cicely from pleading for Clarence's life in 1478). Cicely may have been aware of the precontract with Eleanor Butler: according to Thomas More she had written to him at the time of his marriage imploring him not to commit bigamy. Nevertheless, she acquiesced and stood as godmother to Elizabeth of York.

Although it is unclear just how much time Cicely spent at court, it is clear she endeavored to keep the House of York unified. In 1469, during the "Robin of Redesdale" uprising, she traveled to Sandwich to persuade Clarence to abandon the marriage to Warwick's daughter Isabel and return to his family allegiance. In 1471, Clarence listened to the pleas of Cicely, his sister Margaret, and brother Richard to desert the Lancastrians. The family reunion, with the Queen and her children, took place at Baynard's Castle. In 1478 her pleas to Edward to spare Clarence's life were ineffective. Her name is usually among the lists of those attending family ceremonies.

Cicely's last recorded public appearance was when she stood as godmother at the christening of Edward's tenth child Bridget in 1480, and she seems largely to have lived at Berkhamsted thereafter (she was there in September 1485). We do not know whether she was in residence in London during the turbulent events of May-June 1483; for some of that time Richard resided in his mother's house of Baynard's Castle and accepted the offer of the Crown there (which some historians have used to argue against the accusation that Richard imputed unchastity to his mother'). She did not attend his coronation, but whether because she disapproved of it or because of her increasing withdrawal into religious life, we cannot know. Richard visited her at Berkhamsted in May 1485" (which, together with Richard's 1484 letter to her, indicates there was some contact between them, at least on Richard's part).

Cicely assumed the state and dignity of a reigning sovereign before York died, and maintained it thereafter. After his decease, she continued to use the arms of France and England quarterly thus implying that by right she was Queen. The official style employed by the Duchess during Edward's reign "Ce- cill the kyngs mooder and late wyf unto Richard rightfull kyng of England etc." was accepted by her in all its implications. She was the most important participant, excepting the King, in the royal reburial of York's remains at Fotheringhay, and probably helped design the ceremonial. Even after taking the vows of the Benedictine order in 1480, she still gave audience in her throne room with all the pomp and circumstance of royalty. Her royal behavior earned her the second sobriquet of "Proud Cis" — the rose had some thorns.

Historians' knowledge of Cicely's religious life derives from a narrative "household ordinance" describing the daily life of Cicely and her household. It appears to have been written by a member of the household with the purpose of placing on record a devout method of life for the edification of others. The document was written during the last years of Cicely's life and it is unclear how many years of Cicely's life are reflected here. Cicely's day was divided into periods for hearing both private and lavish household Masses, reciting with her chaplain, contemplative reading and prayer, evensong, household meals, audiences, and recreation. Her reading though orthodox tended toward the mystical. "Her routine presented a rigid concentration on the Christian life ... Cicely's whole heart was centered on worship both public and private, and her will reveals no great concern for the intellectual advancement of religion ..."
Cicely died in 1495 and was buried at her request by her husband and son Edmund at Fotheringhay, with a papal pardon tied about her neck. Her will, in which she is identified as King Edward’s mother (she was politically savvy enough not to refer to King Richard), left most of her goods to grandchildren, friends, and household members. To the end, she remembered her duties as Duchess of York, leaving funds to a retainer who had been caught up in the treason which cost William Stanley his head in order to assist in payment of the fine.

This is the bare outline of Cicely’s life. The questions which arise are those which furnish the historical novelist with the most room for interpretation. For example, what was her relationship with her son Richard, both before and after 1483? Did she approve of or even assist with his accession to the throne? Was she present in London at that time? Did she believe that Richard was responsible for the deaths of his nephews? If so, did she forgive him? To what extent was she active at court during Edward’s reign? Did she actually threaten to call Edward illegitimate? What was her relationship with Edward, particularly after 1478? Did she eventually soften towards Elizabeth Woodville? Was she a distant mother (she seems to have always placed her husband’s interests first)? At what stage did she withdraw into the intense reclusive religious life? Did her severe piety reflect a guilt that she may have been partially responsible for some of the bloody events of that period? Was she really as devout as portrayed by Armstrong? How haughty was she really?

Historical novels focus on certain themes arising from Cicely’s life:

- **The Roman matriarch or mother extraordinaire.** Exemplified by Penman’s *The Sunn in Splendour*, Rhoda Edwards’ *The Broken Sword*, and the four-volume biographical series by Eleanor Fairburn, Cicely is a tower of strength for her sons, raising them in the belief of the high destiny of the House of York. Her dignity and rectitude are emphasized but she is passionate in defending the interests of her house. Authors assume that Cicely remained active in political life. People’s reactions to her are awe, respect, and a little fear. She is generally supportive of Richard’s actions. This category of novel is sympathetic to the House of York and pro-Ricardian.

- **“Proud Cis”.** This category of novel emphasizes “Proud Cis” — the haughty arrogant woman conscious of her Plantagenet, Beaufort, and Neville blood who will not accept Elizabeth Woodville as Queen. Generally, these novels are more sympathetic to Lancaster or to the Woodvilles, but even Jean Plaidy’s *The Sun in Splendor* stresses Cicely’s haughty nature. *The White Rose*, by Jan Westcott, a romantic novel greatly sympathetic to Elizabeth and Anthony Woodville, does so as well. *The Queen Who Never Was* by Maureen Peters, which is rife with historical inaccuracies, pictures Cicely as desirous of a crown from early age, who hates Margaret of Anjou (‘the bitch’) with a passion: “For every tear Edmund shed she will shed a river. . . . I will see the day when her own puking brat begs for mercy and receives none.” The first introduction to Cicely in *The Summer Queen* by Alice Graham is “Proud Cis” upon a royal dais.

- **Survivalist Cicely.** At all costs, the House of York must survive. From either extreme fears of vulnerability to another turn of Fortune’s Wheel or originating from motives of revenge/destiny, Cicely counsels elimination of rivals, including either or both of Henry VI or the Princes in the Tower. Carol Wensby-Scott’s *Lion Invincible* (the last volume of the Percy Trilogy) opens with the image of kneeling at the bier of her sister Alianore, attainted Dowager Countess of Northumberland, dead in poverty in 1464. She thinks: “Even now she never truly felt safe. So Alianore had been once: rich, powerful, protected by years of rank and privilege, a mirror image of herself. But neither wealth nor position had saved Alianore . . . if she herself fell it would be through Edward’s base and uncontrollable lust . . . A feeling of sheer panic swept over her.” Thus, she counsels that Henry VI be executed, saying that the House of York would never be truly safe; it was one man’s life for the sake of thousands. Again, she counsels Richard (“the last of her sons, the very last of that sweet glorious vintage”) to end the lives of Edward’s sons “if you wish to remain king. . . . For England’s sake, for York, for your own son Edward.” Mary Dodgen Few’s *Under the Winter*
White Boar depicts Cicely as fanatically obsessed with York’s safety and hatred of Elizabeth Woodville whom she blamed for the deaths of George and Edward: she ordered their deaths with Buckingham as the instrument to revenge herself on Elizabeth. Richard’s eyes are opened to the corruption underlying his House and he dedicates himself to the “real” England. Cicely he sends from his presence with horror at her madness. Of course, this depiction of Cicely is unrealistic.

Whether or not the reader agrees with any particular character interpretation, historical fiction gives one the pleasure of encountering different versions of a character, which hopefully rely to a great extent on historical facts.

Footnotes

1. In her lifetime Cicely was styled or addressed Cecill, Cecille, Cecyll; the most usual form of the name was Cecylee. Cicely was the most common form in the 15th-century and thereafter, so that using this form seems justifiable now. See C.A.J. Armstrong, “The Piety of Cicely, Duchess of York: A Study in Late Medieval Culture,” in For Hilaire Belloc: Essays in Honor of His 72d Birthday, Douglas Woodruff, editor (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1942). The articles cited in my bibliography can be obtained from the Research Library.


4. Hardcastle, in 1890, reported that there was a curious portrait of Cicely and York in the south window of Penrith Church, probably placed there by Richard III. Cicely’s head was decorated with a garland of gems, and her face gives the idea of a very handsome woman past her first youth.


9. As Armstrong says, “In what degree Richard aspersed the honour of Cicely ... and to what extent these aspersions were created by rumour, must remain a matter of doubt.” p. 77, note 17. The contemporary chronicler Fabian refers only to the allegations of the bastardy of Edward’s children; neither the Croyland Chronicle nor Rous even refer to Dr. Shaw’s sermon. It is More and Vergil who add the reference to Edward’s bastardy as being part of the sermon. When Vergil wrote that there were noblemen “to whom the Duchess of York had complained of the dishonor done her,” it is possible she was referring to the original scandal, not to the 1483 sermon.

10. Ibid.


13. Armstrong, at pp. 77, 86.

14. Rose in Spring, White Rose Dark Summer, Rose at Harvest End, and Winter’s Rose.

About the Author: Jeanne Faubel is currently the Society Fiction Librarian. She is also a professional law librarian and manages the library for a federal agency after-practicing law in her former life (all the opinions in this article are solely hers and not those of her employer). She greatly enjoys historical research and is a classically-trained singer and violinist (and mother of two children who also enjoy history).
Some years ago, Sharon Kay Penman remarked that she would never have dared make up for her historical characters anything as dramatic as what actually happened in their lives. The life of Elizabeth Woodville is a case in point. The startling events of Elizabeth’s life are equally open to conflicting interpretation, allowing novelists to portray her variously as the enchantress and the daughter of an enchantress; a conniving, ambitious, avaricious, and conscienceless advancer of her family’s fortune; and the plucky and/or pitiful queen in Shakespeare and a dozen hyperventilating Victorian novels. The legends began to grow around her life and reputation about the same time as her marriage, and she has been alternately championed and vilified by her contemporaries and by five centuries of historians, dramatists and novelists.

“My Life is a Soap Opera”

Even the date of Elizabeth’s birth is open to debate, springing from the first drama of her life. Elizabeth’s mother, Jacquetta of Luxembourg, daughter of the count of St. Pol, and widow of Henry V’s brother the Duke of Bedford had, like her royal sister-in-law Katherine of Valois, secretly taken a husband of much lower social status. As the queens’ biographer Agnes Strickland, no slouch herself as a hyperventilating Victorian, observes, “What scandals, what court gossip, must have circulated throughout England in the year of grace, 1436!” Strickland puts Elizabeth’s birth at “about 1431.” Since the Duke of Bedford did not die until 1435, this seems unlikely, and other authorities put her birth at 1436.

Although her mother had definitely married beneath her, the Woodvilles were not entirely parvenus. According to Kenneth A. Madison, historian at Iowa State University and author of the forthcoming Historical Dictionary of the Hundred Years War, “During her lifetime, the Woodville family’s gentle status was seen as having originated with her grandfather, Richard Woodville, esq. (d. 1441), who had served the first three Lancastrian kings in England and France. In reality, the family had descended from Hugh de Widville, who, according to the Domesday Book, held lands in Northamptonshire and Leicestershire in 1086. From Hugh’s to Richard’s day, Elizabeth’s ancestors had stood solidly within the ranks of the English gentry.”

Elizabeth’s first marriage, to Sir John Grey, produced two sons, Richard and Thomas. The marriage ended when Grey was killed at the second Battle of St. Albans, leaving Elizabeth an impoverished Lancastrian widow. To further complicate her situation, she had to struggle to enforce her dower rights in the face of opposition from her mother-in-law, who had recently married Sir John Bourchier, Edward IV’s uncle. She appealed for assistance to William, Lord Hastings, with whom she negotiated, in 1463 or 1464, a marriage between her son and one of Hastings’ daughters.

Her secret marriage to Edward IV spawned both sympathetic and hostile legends almost from its outset. We can choose from the appealing widow and her two sons waiting beneath an oak tree to plead for the King’s intercession on her dower rights; the two sorceresses, mother and daughter, who enchanted the young king; and the beautiful woman who spurned Edward’s lascivious advances, even when threatened at knife point, in defense of her virtue. Some of these stories were circulating in England and on the continent as early as the mid-1460s.

Over the next thirty-odd years, Elizabeth’s life would see a dramatic series of reversals — from impoverishment in 1460 to queenship in 1464; the birth of ten children; two years, 1469-1471, which were partially spent in sanctuary with her husband a fugitive, her life possibly in danger, and her future uncertain; twelve years of prosperity until Edward’s death in 1483; a return to sanctuary, the disappearance of her sons, and the emergence from sanctuary in 1484; a return to court life from late 1485 through her retirement to a convent in Bermondsey Abbey in 1487; and her death on June 8, 1492.

Dishing the Dirt

Very little of Ricardians’ received wisdom about Elizabeth Woodville stands up to serious scrutiny. In a recent article in The Ricardian, Anne Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs examine, and cast doubt upon, many of the accusations leveled against Elizabeth Woodville, including several that Ricardians hold dear. In their article, Sutton and Visser-Fuchs draw upon the work of several recent historians, including A.R. Myers, J. L. Lander, and Michael A. Hicks.

Were the Woodvilles really so grasping and avaricious? If the work of recent historians can be relied
upon, their gains in the first reign of Edward IV were
matched, or possibly outstripped by, those of the
Nevilles. What about their pernicious influence on
King Edward? That, too, comes under scrutiny. But
what about all those terrible things Elizabeth did,
like the shabby way she and her parents treated the
London merchant Thomas Cook — didn’t she extort
a whopping fine while at the same time her parents
were looting Cook’s house? Or what about her du-
uplicious order of the execution of the Earl of Des-
mond, using a purloined Privy Seal letter, just
because the Earl had made a remark critical of her
marriage? According to research reported by Sutton
and Visser-Fuchs, Ricardians must discard these
cherished myths as well. Although Cook was fined
heavily by Edward IV for treasonable activities,
Elizabeth actually waived her right to the “Queen’s
Gold” surcharge to which she was entitled; and there
is no evidence to support the accusation that her par-
ents used Cook imprisonment as the opportunity to
seize a coveted tapestry. Likewise, there is no con-
temporary evidence to support the Desmond story
— it came from a sixteenth-century “family memoir”
— and the letter from Richard III quoted to support
the story is actually a general commiseration on the
difficulties of civil war. Her complicity, or that of her
family, in the downfall of the Duke of Clarence was
argued by Mancini based on gossip current in 1483,
but all that is really known is that Edward ordered
Clarence’s execution for reasons of his own. It is pos-
sible that Elizabeth Woodville knew those reasons; it
is also possible that she was equally in the dark. Her
alleged hauteur, argues Lander, stems from a foreign
account of the banquet following her churching in
1465. It results from an ignorance on the part of the
writer about English banquet custom at the time,
which was to eat in total silence, and for servitors, ir-
respective of rank or relationship, to approach royals
on their knees. According to Lander, this was stan-
dard practice of the day, however peculiar or repug-
nant it may seem to our twentieth-century
sensibilities.

Well, what about her unpopularity? After all, every-
one knows that the Woodvilles were universally
hated. Or do we? Sutton and Visser-Fuchs offer
some evidence to support Elizabeth’s popularity, es-
specially in London.

Much of Elizabeth’s unpleasant reputation seems
to have come down to us as the result of two propa-
ganda campaigns: one by Warwick in 1469-1471,
and another by Richard duke of Gloucester in 1483-
85. Some historians would lay it more toward the
latter. Pestered for a quote on a busy day, A.J. Pollard
offered up this summary: “Today I am in the giving
vein. Basically Elizabeth Woodville was the victim
of a calculated and sustained campaign of vilification
mounted by Richard of Gloucester in the early sum-
mer of 1483.” (Pollard will speak on the topic, “The
Witch, The Hog and Historians: Elizabeth Wood-
ville and Her Male Detractors” at the May 1998
Richard III Society conference at the University of
Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Irate Ricardians can
grill him about his sources at that time.)

There is, of course, Elizabeth’s perplexing con-
duct from 1483-1485. Recalling, however, the trau-
namic events of 1469-71 — her father and brother
executed, her husband fled, herself in Sanctuary, her
marriage and her reputation the subject of a calcu-
lated propaganda campaign — her haste to see her
son safely crowned and her panic at his seizure per-
haps is more understandable. With her husband
gone and a strong and potentially hostile magnate
heading to London from Middleham Castle, Eliza-
beth may well have felt a sickening sense of
deja-vu.

Or, as Sutton and Visser-Fuchs comment about later
events, “The duplicity of the ‘stage character’ in
which Elizabeth Woodville made her later appear-
ances...is also the creation of later uncharitable and
uninformed commentators who have criticised her
successive actions, though these were clearly forced
upon her by circumstances: first her inevitable ac-
commodation with Richard III, secondly her sup-
poused involvement in plots to marry her eldest
daughter to Henry Tudor, and lastly the part she is
said to have played in the plots surrounding Lam-
bert Simnel ... Elizabeth herself is rarely given
credit for the impossible and unpleasant situation
she found herself in after the death of Edward IV.”
stripped of her fortune by Henry VII and ordered into a convent to keep her inconvenient questions about the fate of her sons to a minimum. The reality, as outlined by Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, is probably quite different. Elizabeth’s history is studded with evidence of both her piety and her charitable works, in keeping with the contemporary image of queenship as involving intercession on behalf of her subjects in “imitation of the merciful Queen of Heaven” [Sutton and Visser-Fuchs]. Seen in this light, her retirement to Bermondsey seems more the normal progression for a woman of her age than of a forced march to oblivion.

Lisbet, We Hardly Knew Ye
Although Elizabeth Woodville receives star billing in earlier centuries, she’s usually one of the supporting characters in twentieth-century fiction. “Surprisingly few novels deal with Elizabeth Woodville as the main character in view of her interesting life,” comments Roxane Murph.

The characterizations of Elizabeth Woodville fall into three main types:
- The Gallant Heroine of the Great Love Story. Jan Westcott’s *The White Rose* falls into this category. Characterized alternately as spirited or cloyingly spineless, this Elizabeth marries for love, remains dizzyingly in love till her widowhood, endures perils and hardships, all uncomplainingly.
- The Enchantress. The most compelling of these is Rosemary Hawley Jarman’s *We Speak No Treason*. In this novel, offering views of Richard from three perspectives, the first view details the spells and incantations used by Elizabeth and her mother to bind Edward to her using the dark arts of magic.
- The Opportunist. Of these, the most satisfying because the most richly textured is the Elizabeth Woodville of Sharon Kay Penman’s *The Sunne in Splendour*. This Elizabeth has a relationship with her Edward that is a startling but credible blend of ambition, sexual attraction, hard-headed practicality, and a deep bond that endured despite each character’s clear-eyed assessment of the other and despite varying degrees and levels of mutual distrust.

Sources (nonfiction):


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About the Author: Laura Blanchard, formerly Vice Chair and currently Webmaster for the American Branch, is the Executive Director of the Philadelphia Area Consortium of Special Collections Libraries and electronic publishing manager for the Department of Development, University of Pennsylvania Library. She lives with her husband and Reluctant Ricardian Roy and their two cats, Quaker City and Ferko, in Philadelphia.
Margaret Beaufort

"For the children of this world are wiser in their generation than are the children of light."

Translator and patron of literature and printing, founder of chantries and of Christ’s and St. John’s Colleges at Cambridge, great landowner and shrewd manager of vast estates—the tiny but powerful figure of Margaret Beaufort united many apparent polarities. Most striking of the polarities she lived out in her 66 years were her intense involvement with her religion and, always intertwined with this, her perennial presence in the thick of the murderous dynastic struggles of her relatives.

Studded with saints, her life could serve as a précis of the Christian faith of the fifteenth century. Not only was Margaret Beaufort given to many acts of piety, to regular devotions, and to charitable beneficence, but the circumstances of her life also exposed her—from afar or at a distance—to figures currently and later revered for sanctity. After her father’s death, Henry VI made Margaret the ward of William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, the implacable antagonist of Saint Joan of Arc. Margaret as a young widow with a posthumous child would later name her baby Henry after the same Henry VI—whose reputation for sanctity almost rivaled his renown for political fatuity. Much later in life, Margaret would take as her confessor John Fisher, whom she urged her grandson, the young Henry VIII, to obey in all things. Henry VIII would instead propel Fisher towards canonization by executing this courageous defender of Queen Catherine of Aragon and denigrator of the Royal Supremacy over the Church in England.

Margaret’s closeness to Fisher, in particular, underscored her deep concern with the unworldly. Yet her family heritage, her marriages, and her advocacy of her child, Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, could serve as a veritable index to the vagaries of the Lancastrian/York conflict and to its eventual resolution in the establishment of the Tudor dynasty. A daughter of the Beaufort house born on the wrong side of the blanket during John of Gaunt’s prolonged affair with Katharine Swynford, Margaret was naturally a Lancastrian by blood. Her marriage to Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond, half-brother to Henry VI, bonded her even more to the Lancastrian side. Henry VI, her brother-in-law as well as her second cousin, in urging Edmund to marry Margaret, may even have intended to make his half-brother his heir in the right of Margaret Beaufort.

The eventual birth of the Prince of Wales, Edward of Lancaster, to Henry VI’s queen Margaret of Anjou, made all such shifts to create a Lancastrian succession seemingly unnecessary. Moreover, Henry VI’s saintly incompetence and the ambitions of Richard Duke of York to supplant Edward of Lancaster as the heir ended in the political maelstrom of the Wars of the Roses. The accession of Edward IV and the dominance of the York dynasty necessitated Margaret’s coming to terms with her Yorkist relatives through her next husband, Sir Henry Stafford. Her father-in-law, the first Duke of Buckingham, the implacable antagonist of Joan of Arc; her husband’s nephew and namesake, the second Duke, was a protege of Edward IV, as well as the ally of Richard III. Margaret became a widow for the second time when Sir Henry Stafford died from wounds suffered from fighting for Edward IV at Barnet.

As the young widow of Edmund Tudor, she had proposed the marriage to Henry Stafford, which turned out to be a close and happy union. As the widow of Henry Stafford, she again made terms with her Yorkist relatives by marrying an ally of Edward IV and the steward of his household, Thomas, Lord Stanley, the Earl of Derby. When Richard III came to power, Stanley played an equivocal role. Stanley, who became steward of Richard’s household, carried Richard’s mace at the coronation, and Margaret carried Queen Anne Neville’s train. Yet Margaret’s involvement in her nephew Buckingham’s failed rebellion caused Richard to attain her and to jail her in the keeping of her husband. Undeterred, Margaret conspired with Bishop John Morton to supplant Richard
with her son, Henry Tudor, and Stanley won the battle of Bosworth Field for his stepson Henry by delaying his participation until he could effectively betray Richard by turning the tide.

Not only a conspirator and financier of a rebellion and invasion, Margaret was also a dynasty-maker. Years before the accession of Richard III, Margaret had discussed with Edward IV the possibility of uniting the Lancaster and York strains by marrying Princess Elizabeth of York to Henry Tudor. Now, with Richard III in power, she resumed those negotiations with Edward IV's widow, Elizabeth Woodville.

With Henry VII married to Elizabeth, Margaret's influence on both made her a formidable figure at court and in the land. Tragically for her, she outlived both her son and her daughter-in-law, being named as the chief executor of Henry VII's will and seeing her grandson begin his gaudy career as Henry VIII.

How do we reconcile the unworldly and devout Lady Margaret with this portrait of a mover and shaker whose designs had crucial impact on the death throes of the House of York and the birth pangs of the Tudor dynasty? Perhaps we could say that Lady Margaret Beaufort both enjoyed and was fit for the exercise of power, both spiritual and political, and that she saw no such contradictions between spirituality and ducal. Unlike her kinsman Henry VI, whose undoubted goodness and piety undermined his political acumen, and unlike his queen Margaret of Anjou, whose effective and ferocious political leadership seemed to dismiss the spiritual realm, Margaret Beaufort comfortably united religiosity with an appetite for power.

The historians and biographers admire her as a formidable woman, who even gained the right to hold property and to sue, giving her an unique legal status. Their questions center upon what reading to give the ambiguous evidence about certain matters: (1) how valid did the Beaufort claim seem to contemporaries? (2) did Henry VII base his claim upon his Beaufort descent or not? (3) what was the exact nature and extent of Margaret Beaufort's influence upon Henry VII?

Cicely Neville, the mother of Edward IV and Richard III, came from an older generation of Beauforts; the granddaughter of John of Gaunt, Cicely was Margaret's father's first cousin and thus Margaret's first cousin once removed. Both were mothers and grandmothers of kings; moreover, these blood cousins were further related by the marriage of Henry Tudor to Elizabeth of York, for Margaret was Elizabeth's mother-in-law and Cicely Elizabeth's grandmother. Thus Henry VIII had Margaret Beaufort as a grandmother and Cicely Neville as a great-grandmother. When this matriarch of the York dynasty died in 1495, her will left to Margaret a breviary bound in cloth of gold. Was this elegant gift in itself emblematic of the contradictions Margaret Beaufort embodied?

[Ed Note: Spaltro had hoped to include a review of the fictional treatment of Margaret Beaufort in a novel, The Lady Margaret, but was unable to obtain it via interlibrary loan as we went to press. In most other novels of the Wars of the Roses, Margaret Beaufort makes only brief appearances, chiefly as offstage player in the negotiations with a sanctuary-bound Elizabeth Woodville for the marriage of Elizabeth of York and Henry Tudor. When she does appear, she is usually characterized as reserved and austere. -L VB]

Sources:

About the Author: Kathleen Spaltro, a new member, lives in Woodstock, IL with her husband and two beloved dogs, Winston and Franklin. [A female black lab named Stalin also used to live in her neighborhood.] Since receiving a Ph.D. in English from Northwestern 16 years ago, she has written, edited, and taught literature and writing in a variety of capacities. Currently, she is trying to master the mysteries of HTML.

Sandra Gulisbrecht [w]arms the drawbridge at the 1997 AGM
Scratch A Novelist, Find a Historian

A LOOK AT RICARDIAN FICTION
THROUGH THE CENTURIES

When Carole Rike and I talked about doing a special fiction section last summer, I had no idea how compelling the idea would be for such a broad range of contributors.

Knowing that Roxane Murph, who wrote the book on Ricardian fiction, would be giving a talk on the subject at the Annual General Meeting, we thought it would be nice to share that talk with those who could not attend. Then, we hoped to hear from a novelist and a mystery writer about their craft. Finally, we got to talking about some of the really tough cookies of the Wars of the Roses, and so you will find here a mixed bag of biographies and reviews of literary characterizations of the four Iron Roses of the wars: Margaret of Anjou, Cecily Neville, Elizabeth Woodville, and Margaret Beaufort.

The result is a remarkably diverse set of perspectives on fiction and its role in illuminating, enlivening, and perhaps shaping the way we view the historical record. Roxane Murph has converted her talk into an essay on trash and treasure in Ricardian fiction. Sharon Kay Penman and Sharan Newman, both leaders in their genres, have each contributed an essay. Two of our four Roses are topics for dissertation research by some of our Schallek scholars, so in the case of Margaret of Anjou (Helen Maurer) and possibly Cecily Neville (as I write this, Allison Dingwall is struggling to restore a lost file), we are enjoying the fruits of our financial support. Our fiction librarian has called on the resources at her command to give us an in-depth look at characterizations of Richard’s mother in fiction. To complete the picture, Susan Dexter has created a remarkable illustration, based on the Iron Roses theme, for the cover.

A number of themes echo through many of the essays presented here. To set them in context, it may help to remember that the dichotomy between history and fiction is a relatively recent phenomenon. As Charles Wood observes in an essay on the topic, “Whereas people today tend almost automatically to classify books about the past into two genres, those of history and of historical fiction, people as late as the Renaissance saw only one — pure history. .. What is not appreciated is the extent to which, in premodern times, the failure to differentiate history from literature could cause considerable confusion about the past for authors and readers alike.” He goes on to say, “…if one were to compare More’s History of King Richard III to Penman’s [The Sunne in Splendour], it would be difficult to determine why one should be classified as history and the other as fiction. Their methods are the same in many respects, and the so-called novelist tends to be much more historically precise than the so-called historian.”

The issue of fidelity to the historical record, especially when it is incomplete, biased, or confusing, resonates through the essays of Murph, Penman and Newman, and shows up in the brief biographies of the four Iron Roses. Murph assesses the degree of historical accuracy to be found in a wide range of Ricardian fiction. Penman speaks of her responsibility to bear accurate witness for her historical characters and lays out her own guidelines for what is and is not permissible in augmenting the record. Newman, a scholar and teacher in addition to being a mystery writer, speaks from direct experience when she writes of the need to correct many common misperceptions about the Middle (or, worse yet, Dark!) Ages with her writing.

Several of our contributors have touched on the gender issue in their writings. If records for the period are incomplete, those for women are almost nonexistent. Helen Maurer reminds us that in Margaret’s case, we’re dealing with a “man’s” issue (war) being written about by a series of male historians, which has resulted in serious distortions that are difficult to counteract. The relative invisibility of women, except in the most stark outlines of their lives, is in some ways a boon to the novelist, giving them more leeway in creating their characters. I was struck by the fact that this fiction section is in all ways a women’s section: all of the authors, and all of the Roses, are women. Is it, I wonder, because we’re so accustomed to trying to make sense out of fragmentary and incomplete information in our own lives?

This has been an exciting section to work on. I am grateful to Carole for encouraging me to pursue it, and to our many contributors for their work.
What did Mark Twain think about England's most controversial king? I confess I do not know. But since Twain once wrote that "the very ink of history is written with fluid prejudice," it is certainly possible that he'd have been somewhat skeptical of the traditional view of Richard III as Evil Incarnate. At least I'd like to think so. Twain understood that history does not come down to us from the heights of Mount Sinai. It is open to question, subject to distortion, filtered through our own biases and expectations... and in Richard's case, skewed for all eternity, courtesy of a certain playwright from Stratford upon Avon.

Because Richard's story is so disputed and so dramatic and so tragic, his life has been a rich source for writers down through the centuries. When I stumbled onto his history, I had no idea that it would lead me to a career as a novelist. My first reaction was a sense of indignation, anger at the injustice done this long-dead medieval king. Since my initial attempts to share my indignation with my friends invariably resulted in a blank stare or a "Richard who?", I decided to channel my outrage onto the printed page, and the eventual result was *The Sunne in Splendour*. Because I had the bad luck to have the only copy of the manuscript stolen, it would take me more than twelve years to complete the book, and by that time, I was hopelessly hooked upon writing about the Middle Ages. Fortunately for me, the Plantagenets produced enough rebellious sons and disgruntled brothers and conniving kings and willful queens to provide me with material for a dozen books, at the very least.

I recently had a letter from a woman who wrote to tell me that she'd enjoyed my books. In the course of the letter, she posed an interesting question. Princess Diana had just died and in the wake of the maelstrom of criticism directed at the tabloids, she found herself wondering if historical novelists might be guilty of exploiting the lives of the people they write about.

Few of us would equate writing a novel about Mary, Queen of Scots or William Wallace with the stalking and ambushes and high-speed chases of the paparazzi in search of their celebrity prey, and, I hasten to add, neither did my correspondent. But her query raised some very intriguing issues. What is the responsibility of the historical novelist? How much license can we take in our depiction of people who actually lived and events that truly happened? What do we owe our readers ... and the long-dead men and women we write about?

I remember reading an article by William Styron some years ago in which he dealt with some of these very issues. His reasoning was that novelists ought not to tamper with the memories of their readers, and I believe he suggested a cut-off period of fifty years. In other words, we can in good conscience write about Abraham Lincoln or Florence Nightingale—provided we do our research, of course! But we ought to think twice before casting John F. Kennedy as our major protagonist—or villain. I seem to remember that he even coined a term for this uneasy blend of history and fiction—faction.

I realize that not every one will agree with Mr. Styron on this issue. But even those novelists who see no harm in writing of recent or current events will surely agree that there are limits to be set, lines to be drawn. Since I cannot answer for other writers, I can only offer my own guidelines. In writing my historical novels, clearly I have to rely upon my imagination to a great extent. I think of it as "filling in the blanks." As I mentioned in one of my Author's Notes, medieval chroniclers could be utterly indifferent to the needs of
future novelists. Sometimes it is necessary to “invent” essential details; for example, I had to pick my own date for Richard and Anne Neville’s wedding, and again for the birth of their son.

But there is a great difference between “filling in the blanks” and distorting known facts. On those few occasions when I’ve had to tamper with history—as when I set Edward’s 1469 confrontation with the Earl of Warwick at Middleham instead of Pontefract—I make sure to mention my tampering in an Author’s Note. I also attempt to keep my characters true to their historical counterparts. Obviously, this is not always possible. Sometimes all we know of a medieval man or woman are the stark outlines of their lives; women in particular too often slipped through the cracks.

And sometimes there is a need to reconcile conflicting images. Simon de Montfort’s second son and namesake (called Bran in my novels to save my sanity) came to his uncle’s defense within hours of arriving at the Evesham battlefield just in time to see his father’s head on a pike. As devastated as he must have been, he still stopped the Kenilworth garrison from taking revenge upon Henry III’s captive brother, the Earl of Cornwall. Yet within five years, this same man took part in one of the thirteenth century’s most notorious crimes. He and his brother Guy murdered their cousin during High Mass, in an act of vengeance that was as foolhardy as it was futile. Even after taking into account that Guy was the ringleader in this brutal killing, I still had to explain how Bran’s sense of mercy and fair play could have eroded enough to bring him to that blood-stained Italian church. “My” Bran was a man tormented by guilt, a man who blamed himself—with some justification—for the battlefield deaths of his father and elder brother, a despairing, lost soul who sought to drown his pain in wine flagons and ale kegs. The five years after Evesham were a slow spiral down into the dark for Bran, making the killing at Viterbo not only understandable but almost inevitable.

Now... how true to history was I? True enough so that I could still sleep at night! We know that the real Bran was shattered by his father’s death and the part he played in that tragedy. While no chronicler mentions him turning to wine for solace, it makes sense to me that he might well have done so. And so I feel that in creating the character of Bran, I kept faith both with the historical evidence and my readers.

It is very important to me not to mislead my readers. I do my best to build a strong factual foundation for each of my novels, and rely upon my Author’s Notes to keep my conscience clear. Because the Plantagenets led such wildly improbable lives, I often find myself reassuring my readers after one of my novels that Yes, this really did happen. Just the opposite will be true in my medieval mysteries, where I’ll be warning readers that the plots come from my imagination, not from history. Whether I am writing about Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine, or Justin de Quincy and his duplicitous lady-love, Claudine de Loudun, it matters greatly to me that my readers can trust what I write, that they know there may be mistakes in my books but never deliberate distortions. I try to bear in mind the words of Samuel Butler: “Though God cannot alter the past, historians can.” Historical novelists can do even more damage, almost as much as Hollywood screenwriters—or sixteenth century English playwrights.

About the Author: Sharon Kay Penman needs no introduction to most Ricardians. Her first novel, The Sun in Splendour (Holt, 1982), won Richard III many new friends with its sympathetic portrayal and is held up, along with her other novels, as models of accuracy in historical fiction. Her subsequent novels include Here Be Dragons, Falls the Shadow, The Reckoning, and When Christ and His Saints Slept. In 1996, Penman entered the realm of medieval mysteries with her first mystery novel: The Queen’s Man, which was nominated for an Edgar award. Penman is currently working on another mystery, to be released in fall 1998, and novel about Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine, to be released in fall 1999. Penman lives in Mays Landing, New Jersey with her three dogs.

For more information on Penman’s novels, see the Richard III Society web site (http://www.r3.org/penman/).
I began writing mysteries several years ago because I was a historian. That might sound like nonsense until one remembers all the mystery writers who have become historians in order to delve into various unsolved crimes of the past. The murder of the Princes in the Tower is the most prevalent, starting with Josephine Tey’s *The Daughter of Time*. Everyone wants to know who killed them. Richard? Henry Tudor? And when? Or perhaps they weren’t murdered at all. Perhaps they were smuggled out of England altogether and grew up to found families who are still sworn to take over the throne when the time is right. As with the fate of the last Romanovs (even after DNA testing), people will undoubtedly speculate forever on the disappearance of those two little boys.

Every historian is a detective. We’re faced with incomplete information, muddled clues and inaccurate or misleading witnesses. All of these are compounded by the biases of previous detectives on the case. One of the most dangerous things a historian can do is to trust someone else’s data. There are so many interpretations of primary documents and artifacts that studying them through the lenses of earlier scholars only makes it more likely that the resulting conclusions will be distorted. I’ve read so many reviews of historical research accusing the author of writing fiction that it seemed only sensible for me to put in some dialogue and call it that.

That doesn’t mean that I feel one can play fast and loose with the truth just because one is writing “popular” fiction. I do as much primary research for my mysteries as I ever did for academic papers. As a matter of fact, last year I delivered a paper based on the work I did for the third mystery, *The Wandering Arm*. Afterward, a woman asked me if I had got the idea from reading the book. (No one remembers author’s names.) Some people find my agonizing over minor points a bit bizarre, but I know many other authors who do so. Most of the best historical mystery writers today have degrees in history or related fields. Elizabeth Peters is an Egyptologist, Leonard Tourney a Shakespearean scholar and Miriam Grace Monfredo is a librarian with an undergraduate degree in American history. There are many more.

Why do we bother? I’ve spoken with many of my fellow history/mystery writers and we all agree that we owe it to the readers, most of whom will never take a course in, the period in which our books are set. And too often, the courses they’ve had previously were general surveys. In these the Middle Ages particularly are still presented as a dark gap between Rome and the (so-called) Renaissance. Even the best teachers can’t hope to present a culture so varied and complex in a ten-week period. Therefore, the information we give the reader must be as accurate as possible.

Also, the form of fiction is a wonderful chance for the historian to give a synchronic view of a short span of time, instead of the linear framework that most classes need to follow. We can take one year or even one day and present it from a multitude of viewpoints. Instead of separating political, military, artistic, literary, religious and social history, we are forced to combine them all in order to give as accurate as possible a portrait of the way people lived and thought.

For me, it is the way people thought, the way they perceived the world and their place in it that is the most interesting. It is also why I find the mystery the best fictional medium to express my view of the twelfth century. I have always found it very difficult to communicate to students the wide variety of beliefs at this time. The concept of a long block of history in which everyone was credulous, superstitious and mentally enslaved by “The Church” is pervasive in our society. Sometimes I would spend most of a term just getting students to read the primary documents without prejudice. And I didn’t always succeed. In a mystery novel, the thought processes of the characters are essential to the solving of the crime. At last I can show people of differing beliefs, from different backgrounds trying to understand each other. I can deal with minority points of view and the broad range of attitudes toward them by those in authority.

I believe that human beings have changed little emotionally in recorded history. Therefore the underlying motives for crime haven’t changed, either. Greed, fear, love, hate and revenge are all understandable today. So the reader has something familiar to hold on to while I take them into the medieval permutations of these traits. Someone might commit murder in a misguided attempt to assure an enemy of eternal damnation. Someone might kill to protect a relic or to cover up a sin. Or a murderer might be brought to confession through fear of losing his soul. In between, I can discuss the attitude toward relics, the debate between Abelard and St. Bernard, the precarious place of the Jews in Christian Europe, the
anomalous position of women throughout society and many other aspects of the time that fascinate me.

In this essay, I've tried to answer two questions: why write historical fiction and why the mystery. For me, it's another way of teaching about a time I love and intend to continue studying for the rest of my life. Hopefully for the reader it's a chance to visit another time and place and to see it in a new light. My goal is to interest people in my field enough that they will hunt out the primary material, even in translation, and perhaps even return to the university to learn more about the reality of the Middle Ages. There are plenty of fine professors there who would love to fill them in.

About the Author: Sharan Newman is the author of an Arthurian fantasy trilogy; Guinevere, The Chessboard Queen and Guinevere Everemore, now being reprinted by Forge Books, and also the Catherine LeVendeur mystery series; Death Comes as Epiphany, The Devil's Door, The Wandering Arm, Strong as Death and, forthcoming July 1998, Cursed in the Blood. They are all set in mid-twelfth century France. She has an MA in Medieval Lit and is finishing her doctorate in History. She has taught at Michigan State University, Temple University, and The University of California, Santa Barbara but now is a full-time writer and freelance lecturer. She recently moved home to Portland, Oregon with her husband and plans never to move again.

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Most Ricardians enjoy reading novels and plays about Richard III and the Wars of the Roses, and there are a great many of them. The subject has interested writers of fiction since before Shakespeare’s Richard III, and there is hardly a time since then that hasn’t seen the publication of several works about the period. In the years leading up to 1985, the 500th anniversary of the Battle of Bosworth, there was a veritable explosion of novels with a Ricardian theme, which has abated only slightly since then. Most works of fiction about our period are of indifferent quality, some are so badly written one can only wonder how any publisher could consider them, and a precious few are works of such quality, that they are a joy to read. Of course, the opinions I will express are my own, and many of you will disagree with them, and so I think it would be advisable to define my criteria. Some of my Ricardian friends think that any novel is good whose author rejects the so-called ‘Tudor Myth’ and believes that Richard, if not actually a saint, was as near as makes no difference. Conversely, any book which portrays Richard as a villain, or even as a mere mortal with flaws, is bad. I don’t subscribe to this philosophy, and some of my choices will annoy some of you, but although I approve, indeed cheer authors who write works sympathetic to Richard, that is only one of the criteria by which I judge a work. To be included in the treasure category a work must be well written by an author who has more than a nodding acquaintance with the rules of English grammar, the characters must have more depth than many of the cardboard creations too often found in popular historical fiction, and last, but certainly not least, the author has to know more about the period than the dates and names of some of the more important figures of the time. And now to my choices of some of the best and worst of the field.

I hope we can agree that Shakespeare’s Richard III, although it was responsible in large measure for the unfortunate and inaccurate reputation that Richard has suffered over the centuries since his death, is a great work. We may cringe at the caricature that the Bard passes off as the real Richard, we may grind our teeth and boo and hiss, but we cannot argue about its merits as literature. It has everything a drama should have: sublime writing, an exciting plot, and gripping characters, and as long as one doesn’t accept it as historical fact, we can enjoy it for what it is, the best, and unfortunately the most influential work of Ricardian fiction, and certainly in a class by itself.

Since, however, novels make up the majority of Ricardian and Wars of the Roses fiction, most of my examples will be chosen from this genre, although I will discuss some plays. The novel, as we know it, is a relatively new form, and although there are some works written as early as the late 16th century which qualify as novels, it was not until the 18th century and the rise of an educated middle class which had both the income to buy books, and the leisure to read them, that the novel came into its own. One of the earliest English novels, written in 1700, is the anonymous Amours of Edward IV, an Historical Novel, narrated, supposedly, by Elizabeth Woodville to pass the time in sanctuary. She tells how Warwick, after killing her husband in battle, falls madly in love with her. She spurns his love, and when he goes to France to negotiate a marriage for Edward IV, she goes to the king and begs him not to force her to marry Warwick. The two fell madly in love and marry, and Warwick is so enraged, that he rebels against the king. This plot, improbable as it is, was apparently the inspiration of two 18th century plays. The earlier one, The Earl of Warwick written in 1764 by Paul Hiffernan, has Warwick, whom the author calls “the born enemy to oppression of every sort, and strenuous assertor of the Rights and Liberty of Man,” and Elizabeth Woodville in love and planning to marry. When Warwick goes to France to arrange Edward’s marriage, the king falls in love with Elizabeth. Warwick is infuriated by Edward’s betrayal, and he agrees to help Margaret of Anjou put Henry VI back on the throne. The noble Elizabeth attempts to repair the quarrel, but to no avail. Warwick, however, thinks things over and then attempts to return to Edward, but the enraged Margaret stabs him. Elizabeth then stabs herself and throws herself on Warwick’s body. This play is only slightly more ridiculous than another play inspired by the Amours of Edward IV, This is The Earl of Warwick, a Tragedy in Five Acts, published in 1766 by Thomas Francklin. In this play Margaret of Anjou attempts to prevent a marriage between Warwick and Elizabeth and to encourage one between Elizabeth and Edward IV. She hopes that when Warwick learns of his betrayal, his humiliation will force him to turn against Edward and restore Henry VI to the throne. Although Elizabeth tries to play the peacemaker, Margaret’s plan works, but on the battlefield the two men patch up their
quarrel. Warwick then pursues Margaret and her army, but when he reaches her, she stabs him. Before he dies Warwick asks Elizabeth to marry Edward to atone for his, Warwick’s betrayal. Edward promises to pattern himself on Warwick and he and Elizabeth are married.

These are extreme examples of an author’s distortion of historical truth, with bizarre results. Such blatant distortion was more common in the 17th through 19th centuries than it is now, but unfortunately, because it is more subtle, and many authors pretend impartiality, the modern distortion is more insidious and can be more dangerous.

Very few authors of the period between 1600 and 1800 showed any sympathy for Richard, or indeed any of the Yorkists. By the 19th century, however, Henry Tudor, the darling of earlier writers, was undergoing a reassessment. He was no longer always the pure and virtuous hero who had saved England from the monstrous Richard III. In the 1812 play Henry the Seventh, an Historical Tragedy in Five Acts by Richard Chevenix, Henry is a veritable monster himself. He is portrayed as the mean, greedy usurper he undoubtedly was, who refuses to marry Elizabeth of York until parliament confirms his title in his own right, mistreats her when he does finally marry her, and after the Perkin Warbeck rebellion, schemes to involve the pretender and young Warwick in a plot so he can execute them.

Some of the worst Ricardian novels, as well as plays, were written in the 19th century, those in which Richard is portrayed by authors who apparently believed that Shakespeare had given us an accurate picture of a monster, deformed in both body and mind. He is the evil Duke of Gloucester in Mrs. Shore’s Jane Shore, or the Goldsmith’s Wife, A Thrilling Story of the Reign of King Edward IV. In this work the heroine, Jane, lectures Edward incessantly on the virtues of compassion and forgiveness, and pleads with him to spare the lives of the co-conspirators Clarence and Hastings, despite the machinations of the evil Gloucester. This brave little heroine works tirelessly to bring peace and understanding among the quarreling factions of the court, and after Edward’s death she repents of her sins and reconciles with her husband. Indeed, there are several works in which the unhappy Jane, who is so brutally mistreated by Richard, reconciles with her husband before her death. In Heywood’s play Edward IV, Jane is surprised and hurt by Richard’s later enmity, since she had interceded with Edward in his behalf, and helped him in other ways. At the end, she and her husband, with whom she has reconciled, die in each other’s arms. In Nicholas Rowe’s play, The Tragedy of Jane Shore, she and her husband have a dramatic deathbed reconciliation, and after her death he is taken off to be executed.

In William Harrison Ainsworth’s 19th century novel, The Goldsmith’s Wife, another one in which history is distorted beyond recognition, Jane plays the diplomat and spy, negotiating treaties between England and France, and singlehandedly attempting to save Clarence’s life.

Edward Bulwer-Lytton’s The Last of the Barons has Warwick as hero and Richard as villain, a ‘crafty pygmy’ and brave, if machiavellian warrior. After Warwick’s death, as Edward and Elizabeth Woodville are reunited, she catches the ‘glittering and fatal eye’ of the Duke of Gloucester, and she holds her infant son close, as if she knows instinctively that one day he will be destroyed by his uncle’s ruthless ambition.

One of the worst of the 19th century novels, in terms of writing, characterizations, and historical inaccuracy, is At Ye Grenere Griffin, or, Mrs. Treadwell’s Cook, by Emily Sarah Holt, who wrote several works about the period. Anne Neville is the put-upon heroine, who, after the death of her beloved husband Edward of Lancaster, hides in the home of a tailor and his wife, and works for them as a cook. Anne knows that Richard wants her inheritance, and will force her into marriage to get it, a fate she views as worse than death. He tracks her down, kidnaps her in the dead of night, and takes her to Westminster Abbey, where despite her desperate and continuous shrieks and screams for help, he forces her to marry him. This is, of course, pretty silly stuff, but Victorian readers probably ate it up.

Unfortunately, the 19th century did not have a monopoly on bad Ricardian books. There have been many egregious examples from the 20th century as well, and not all of them are of the bodice-ripper paperback romance type. And some of them, for all their many flaws, are dear to the hearts of some Ricardians, because they are on the ‘right’ side of the controversy. I know that many of you enjoyed Marjorie Bowen’s Dickon, since the author is firmly on the side of the angels, but in my opinion that is the only thing it has going for it. Bowen, unaccountably, ignores the question of the fate of the princes, surely the central mystery of Richard’s reign, and the one on which his reputation rests. Since she dispenses with that little problem, she has no problem portraying Richard as the perfect knight, whose actions are governed entirely by his desire to bring peace and prosperity to England.

Another of my least favorite Ricardian novels is The Ragged Staff by C. M. Edmonston and M. L. F. Hyde, published in 1932. Yes, it took two authors to produce this ridiculous travesty, in which Anne Neville’s father promises her that she will not be forced to marry the evil hunchbacked Richard, who lusts after her and her fortune. She marries Edward of Lancaster, and after his death she is spirited away by the
young hero of the novel to keep her out of the clutches of the wicked duke. There is no escape for poor Anne, however, for Richard finds her and forces her to marry him.

Many Ricardian novels were written for young people, and among them are some of the worst, both in terms of writing and history. Edwin Putnam Gleason’s *The Mystery of Boshingham Castle: A Tale Concerning the Wicked King Richard III and the Princes in the Tower* is one of these. It concerns the discovery, by two young students, of the diary of Elizabeth Brackenbury, the daughter of the Constable of the Tower, in an old crypt. The diary tells how Elizabeth overhears the murderers of the princes discussing their plan. She reveals the plot to a friend, Arthur Ardleigh, and with the help of other loyal Yorkists, they attempt to save the boys. They fail and are imprisoned by the evil Lord Boshingham, but escape. Arthur goes to France to join Henry Tudor, and after Bosworth he and Elizabeth marry, and are rewarded with the forfeited estates of the wicked Lord Boshingham. This author’s research seems to have consisted solely in reading More’s History, but More could write, and he couldn’t.

Paula Simonds’ *Daughter of Violence* is another on my list of really bad Ricardian novels. The writing is abominable, and the plot ludicrous, although Richard is the good guy. Anne Neville is forced to marry Edward of Lancaster, although she and Richard are in love, and Margaret of Anjou, Edward’s possessive mother, attempts to murder Anne. After Edward’s death at Tewkesbury Clarence hides Anne to keep Richard from marrying her, but she is rescued by Thomas Malory, and she and Richard are reunited.

Alice Harwood, who wrote 3 novels about the period, never seemed to learn much about it in the process. Added to her ignorance of the period is her inability to create characters of any depth or to write convincing dialogue. *The Merchant of the Ruby* concerns Richard, the younger of the princes in the Tower, who persuades the murderers sent by his wicked uncle to spare him. He is taken to Flanders, where he grows up as Pierre Osbeck, later known as Perkin Warbeck. *The Clandestine Queen* is about Elizabeth Woodville, her marriage to Edward IV, and Warwick’s rebellion, and the heroine of the last one, *The Uncrowned Queen*, is Margaret Beaufort.

Most of these bad novels are merely boring or irritating, but one goes far beyond these faults. You may have read Guy M. Townsend’s *To Prove a Villain*, which should indeed have been called *To Disprove The Daughter of Time*. I was really infuriated by the book’s snide, smug tone, the author’s attempted put-down of Tey, and the truly loathsome hero. Toward the end of the novel, when he is in danger of being murdered himself, I was pulling for the murderer.

Philippa Wiat wrote several novels about the Wars of the Roses, and they are extremely amusing. Unfortunately this was not the author’s intention. In *The Master of Blandeston Hall* Giles Athelstane, an agent of Richard III, wants to marry Elena, the sister Henry Wyatt, a Yorkshire friend of Henry Tudor, and is furious when Wyatt refuses his permission. Giles then seduces Elena’s friend Catherine into marriage, and forces her to reveal that Wyatt had sheltered Tudor. Catherine hangs herself, and Giles betrays Wyatt to Richard, who has him arrested and tortured. Tudor rescues Wyatt on his way to Bosworth, and after the battle he returns to Blandeston to discover that Giles has murdered his wife and son, raped Elena and taken possession of the estate. The kindly new king, Henry Tudor, punishes the evil Giles and restores Blandeston to Wyatt.

In *Prince of the White Rose* Richard of Gloucester imprisons his two nephews after Edward IV’s death and spreads the rumor that they are illegitimate. He orders their murder, but Richard, the younger, is spared and sent to Tournai to live with Catherine Osbeck, who had born Edward IV an illegitimate, son Perkin, now deceased. Richard becomes Perkin, and waits to claim the throne. After Bosworth Henry Tudor seduces Elizabeth of York, gets her pregnant, and marries her. When Perkin is captured after his ill-fated rebellion, Elizabeth, who thinks he is an imposter, refuses to see him, until persuaded to do so by Jane Shore, who pays for her interference with her life. Perkin’s wife Katherine discovers that she is pregnant, and Henry Tudor, who lusts after her, rapes her so that he can claim the child as his own. Poor Elizabeth of York, by now convinced that Perkin was really her brother, is wracked with guilt because she allowed her fear of Henry and love for her children to make her deny him.

In *The Kingmaker’s Daughter* Anne Neville and Edward of Lancaster are madly in love, but Richard kills both Edward and his father, Henry VI. When he rescues Anne from Clarence’s clutches, she marries him, and learns to love him, despite the fact that he has added Clarence and the elder of the princes in the Tower to his list of victims.

Possibly the most bizarre plot is that of *The Child Bride*. In this novel the 8-year-old Anne Mowbray is married to 5-year-old Richard, the younger son of Edward IV. She returns to her parents’ home, where her mother engages Joan Halidon as her companion. Joan is the illegitimate daughter of Anne’s father, and her spitting image. When the girls are grown the family moves to Westminster, where they both fall in love with Edward, the king’s older son. Edward loves Joan, and after Richard III seizes the throne and imprisons him and his brother, Joan sneaks into the Tower, where she and Edward consummate their love.
When she returns for a second visit, she sees Edward’s corpse, and is killed by his murderers, who mistake her for Anne. Her body is buried as Anne’s, and when the real Anne dies of the plague, her husband Richard, who has escaped from the murderers, watches as her body is secretly interred. Imagination is a necessary attribute of a novelist, but so is a plausible plot.

I know that some of you enjoy reading those paperback romances I mentioned earlier, but of the many I have been obliged to read I don’t think I have ever read one that was not a painful experience. None of them has any value, historical or literary. Their settings are, as far as I can see, merely window-dressing for unimaginative tales of lust and intrigue, and since their plots have a dreary sameness, I won’t bore you with any resumes.

But enough of the trash. Let’s move on to some treasures. Of course the aforementioned Josephine Tey’s The Daughter of Time is probably the best-known, and one of the best, of all Ricardian novels, and has probably been responsible for bringing more people into the Richard III society than any other. Tey’s portrayal of Richard is completely sympathetic, and her goal was to counter, point by point, the calumnies spread by the Tudor apologists, especially Sir Thomas More. She was eminently successful, partly because she, like them, carefully omits any evidence which runs counter to her thesis. But it convinced me, and countless others.

Tyler Whittle’s The Last Plantagenet is another well-written defense of Richard, and if he is not quite as pure as Tey’s Richard, he is still portrayed as an honorable man who does his duty as well as he can.

Barbara Jefferis’ Beloved Lady, based on the Paston Letters, takes place during the reign of Edward IV, and while it does not deal directly with Richard, is one of the most intelligently written about the times. The author is at home in the period, and her characters are well-developed and convincing.

Another of the more successful authors who wrote about our subject is Rosemary Hawley Jarman. Her first book, We Speak No Treason, is Richard’s story, told by three people who loved him, and is perceptive and beautifully written. The King’s Grey Mare, her second book, has Elizabeth Woodville as the not completely unsympathetic heroine, something some Ricardians may find hard to accept. Her third and fourth novels cover periods which bracket the Wars of the Roses. The Crown in Candlelight tells of Katherine of Valois’ romance with Owen Tudor, and The Courts of Illusion is the story of Perkin Warbeck. I recommend both of them.

One of my favorites, which is really pre-Ricardian, taking place as it does during Jack Cade’s Rebellion in 1450, is Brazenhead the Great by Maurice Hewlett. The book is very funny, the hero is an endearing rogue, and anyone with an interest in the early events of the Wars of the Roses should find it entertaining.

I’m sure that most of you have read Sharon Kay Penman’s The Sunne in Splendour, one of the most historically accurate novels about the life and times of Richard III. Penman’s research is astounding, and she gives a sympathetic, believable portrait of Richard, and his contemporaries.

Elizabeth Peters’ The Murders of Richard III has been rather controversial. I enjoyed the book, and was surprised by the unfavorable reactions of some Ricardians. Peters pokes fun at some of the more uncritical defenders of the king, but there is no malice in her work. I suppose it just proves the that some of us are over-sensitive on the subject, or perhaps we take ourselves too seriously at times.

Philip Lindsay, who wrote a sympathetic, almost hagiographic, biography of Richard called The Tragic King, also wrote several novels about the period. London Bridge is Falling takes place during Cade’s rebellion, and They Have Their Dreams, also published as A Princely Knave, is about Perkin Warbeck, but Richard figures prominently in two of his novels, The Duke is Served, and The Merry Mistress. Both portray Richard as a good and loyal man, who places duty above personal advantage. All of them are well-written, and historically accurate.

Richard is almost saintly in Dora Greenwell McChesney’s Confession of Richard Plantagenet, a man who must pay the price for the sins of his family, as well as for a few minor ones of his own. These do not include the murders of his nephews, although he does kill, albeit reluctantly, Edward of Lancaster, Henry VI, and Clarence in order to protect both Edward IV and himself. After Richard seizes the throne, the princes are murdered by Catesby, acting on orders from Buckingham, who believes they are a danger to Richard. Although Richard was innocent of their murders, he feels responsible, and knowing that he will be blamed, decides to keep it secret.

In Marion Palmer’s The White Boar Richard is a good man driven by necessity to take actions he deplores, although it is Buckingham, using Tyrell as his instrument, who murders the princes. As in McChesney’s book, however, he accepts part of the blame, since he believes it was his seizure of the throne that led to their deaths.

Probably the novel which has aroused the most controversy among our members is Patrick Carleton’s Under the Hog, which I consider one of the very best written about the period. Several years ago, at the suggestion of one of the members of the committee of the English Society, the American branch published the book. We had, we believed, good reason to think that members who had looked in vain for a used copy of the original would welcome a new, inexpensive, but...
quality edition. The work received great critical ac-
claim when it was first published in 1938, and the
only subsequent edition was a paperback published
sometime in the 1980s, which is also hard to find. We
knew as well, that it is one of the most frequently bor-
rrowed books in our fiction library. Therefore, after a
copyright search had been made, we decided it was
safe to go ahead with the project. It was then that we
discovered that, while many Ricardians regard the
book as a minor masterpiece, others, more vocal,
think quite the opposite. Their objections stem from
the fact that Carleton’s Richard, while not exactly a
sinner, is far from a saint; he is, in fact, a human being,
with a human being’s faults as well as virtues. Carle-
ton’s characterization of the events and characters of
the Wars of the Roses period is vivid, convincing and
accurate. He accomplished what few novelists who
combine fictional and historic characters manage to
do, which is to write dialogue that sounds real, and
characters who are not wooden metaphors for good or
evil. He credits Richard with a rigid code of behavior,
to which he adheres no matter what the cost. Unfor-
fortunately, according to this author, one of the costs of
attempting to end the bloodshed of the civil wars was
the death of the princes, but not of the others of
which he has been accused. On balance, Richard is
portrayed as the best and most honorable of the York-
ists, and I think it is a pity that Carleton’s opinion that
he was guilty, most reluctantly, of the most heinous
crime of which his detractors have accused him, has
made some of us unfairly criticize this excellent novel.
If you haven’t read it, I recommend that you do.

I’m sure that all of you have your most or least fa-
vorite Ricardian novels, which I may or may not have
mentioned. I had, because of the limitations of space,
to omit many in both the trash and treasure catego-
ries, and I confined myself pretty much to those writ-
ten about Richard III, rather than the period in
general, but I hope you will be inspired to read the
good novels written about the period, regardless of
the author’s view of our favorite, and much-maligned,
monarch.

Roxane Murph is immediate Past President of the
American Branch of the Richard III Society. The text of this
article was given as a talk at the 1997 AGM. She is the
author of The Wars of the Roses in Fiction, An

MESSAGE FROM THE FICTION LIBRARIAN

Jeanne Traban Faubell

The present issue of the Register focuses on Ricardian fiction.
One of the privileges and pleasures of Society membership is
access to the Fiction Library, which contains a wide array of
fiction dealing with the period of the Wars of the Roses, as well
as, more generally, the 15th century, and more specifically,
with particular historical persons. Historical fiction as a genre
forms a pleasurable extension to the field of historical research.
A good fiction author can draw the reader into a vivid vicarious
experience of the times in which a character lived. The lacunae
resulting from historical research may leave the reader with
many unanswered questions as to what really happened, what
were the person’s reasons for acting as he or she did, what did
that person feel, are there optional interpretations of specific
historical events? A good work of historical fiction converts
the dry facts on the historical page into living characters and
situations. I invite Society members to send requests to me for
borrowing items; a list of Library holdings is available upon
request.

What follows is a plea. As many of you know, a number of
Library books were lost in a flood which damaged the previous
librarian’s home. I am particularly looking for the following items to replace lost materials, as well as to add to the collection
books some new materials. If you encounter any of these
materials at used book sales, from used book vendors on the
Internet, please consider making a donation to the Library (the
bookplate on the inside of the cover will acknowledge your
donation).

- Few, Mary Dodgen. Under the White Boar
- Graham, Alice Walworth. The Summer Queen
- Hammond, Jane. The Red Queen
- Harnett, Cynthia. Nicholas and the Wool-Pack
- Honeyman, Brenda. Richard, By Grace of God ***
- Horter, Pamela Jean. Brief Candles
- Newman, Sol. When Bats Make Evensong (play)
- Peters, Maureen. Beggarmaid, Queen.
- Powers, Anne. Queen’s Ransom (also known as
Royal Consorts)
- Rosenthal, Evelyn. Presumed Guilty ***

In addition, I am looking to add the following titles:
- Hill, Sidney. Don’t Call Him Mortimer. New Millen-
ium, 310 Kennington Road, London SE11
4LD (1996) (I wrote to them to purchase a copy but
have received no response.)
- Wensby-Scott, Carol. The first two volumes of the
Percy Trilogy (or Saga -published in the early
1980’s):
- Lion of Alnwick
- Lion Dormant (Library has last volume Lion Invin-
cible which explores the relationship between
Henry Percy, 4th Earl of Northumberland, and
Richard as Duke of Gloucester)

(** means books particularly desired)
[The Efficient Baxter] gave people the impression of possessing an eye that could pierce six inches of herveyised steel and stick out the other side... He did not suspect his fellow creatures of this or that specific malfaiseance, be simply suspected them.—P. G. Wodehouse, Leave it to Psmith

Ricardians may be put off by the subject matter of this symposium, and still more by the Editor’s reference to Richard III, on the very first page, as being “evil.” But if they call swallow their outrage for a little bit, they might find a few gems.

Contributor Christine Carpenter, for example, characterizes Henry as a “poor king,” not in the sense of “not rich” but as in “not good.” She admits this is polemical, even self-consciously so, and perhaps she has deliberately overstated her case somewhat. She makes a legitimate point, for example, when she says: “Of how many kings is it true that, having been peacefully succeeded by an adult son, their principal and most loyal servants are immediately arrested, and eventually executed...?” But then she goes on to compare Henry with Edward IV, who “...with none of Henry’s advantages on his accession, and a far more dangerous situation to cope with, had effectively ended serious resistance...ten years after his accession” whereas Henry had not done so in twelve. This makes it sound as if rulers must proceed by a timetable: having reached a certain benchmark in a reign, they must by that time have overcome a rebellion — and should go out to create one if none were at hand. It also imposes the judgments of the writer, who has the benefit of hindsight. One might draw an analogy with the Cold War — because the Russian threat turned out to be no threat does not mean it never was one. She makes the same judgment as to what she calls Richard III’s “panickey” and “stupid” reactions, and the same rejoinder applies: We know how it was going to come out, they didn’t.

The papers divide themselves into several generalized divisions. Carpenter (the lead-off) and two others deal with the history of the reign itself, and Henry’s influence in... The next four deal with the relationship of Henry and his family to the Church, which segues into a discussion of the Tudors and the arts, by way of the chapel in Westminster Abbey, its decoration and its glazing. (Two essays) Janet Backhouse considers “Illuminated Manuscripts Associated with Henry VII and members of his family,” and finds his passion for pasting the Tudor rose onto any flat surface available just a little vulgar, as does the editor. Two more deal with music at the Tudor court, and it strikes Mangus Williamson as significant that a songbook from this reign has so many songs in major key, stressing patience, resignation, contemplation — and of course the ubiquitous Rose iconography. But this may be generalizing on too little evidence. Because only one song-book has come down to us does not mean that there were not others. The bouncy and/or bawdy tunes may not have been put into any song folio, because ‘everybody knows them’ or because it was somehow considered not fitting.

Finally, in the last chapter, our own Pamela Tudor-Craig succeeds in bringing a breath of humanity to the (shall I put it in quotes?) “Royal” family, and to this rather technical scholarly publication. Margaret Tudor, on her journey north to marry James IV of Scotland, comes alive for us, as a child — still only 12 years old — enjoying the pageantry; as a precocious politician, observing the courtiers with a shrewd eye, and as a bewildered and homesick adolescent.

We also get a view of Thomas Hall, of a wealthy merchant family, who had the young queen as his house guest for two nights. While I do not mean to suggest that the other parts of the book are poorly written, I have to say that the best and most interesting writing concerns two rather peripheral characters in Tudor History.

—m.s.

Thee situation in Germany had come up for discussion in the bar parlour of the Anger’s Rest, and it was generally agreed that Hitler was standing at the crossroads, and would soon be compelled to do something definite. His present policy, said a Whiskey and Soda, was mere shilly-shallying.

“He’ll have to let it grow or shave it off,” said the Whisky and Splash. “He can’t go on sitting on the fence like this. Either a man has a mustache or be has not. There can be no middle course.” —Ibid., “Buried Treasure”

I will save you the trouble of looking in the index. All references to Richard III are found in the second chapter, which concerns Henry VIII and Francis I on the Field of Cloth of Gold. Though he has nothing positive to say of Richard, he says nothing negative either — nothing, in fact but the mention of the name. But he does say that Henry Sr “had systematically stamped out nearly every member of the House of York.”

Do not feel, however, that you don’t need to read the book because I have told you everything important that is in it. On the contrary, it deserves a careful perusal by anyone who is interested in history of any period. Mr. Mee discusses seven major conceptual pitfalls “that undo the best made plans of the most able practitioners”, although they’re not limited to seven, and gives a case study for each. They are:

- The difficulty of knowing the facts, illustrated by the meeting of Pope Leo and Atilla in 452, not simply difficult but impossible in this case since no one knows what was said, only that it was effective. Even in lesser cases, however “Most sources of information — in our daily lives as in the archives we leave behind, .. are dreadfully inadequate, incomplete, filled with error, biases, giving weight to certain facts because they happen to be the only ones that have survived...”

- Second, the propensity to substitute, and to accept, show for substance, as illustrated by Henry and Francis;

- Third, the role of chance, or the Fickle Finger of Fate, as illustrated by Cortez and Montezuma in 1519 (also a perfect illustration of what is colloquially and politically incorrectly known as a ‘Mexican standoff’);

- Fourth, the principle of contingency, or everything depends on something else, but does not necessarily bring about the same results. (“...a rise in the price of bread will cause a revolution except when it doesn’t.” - Paul Veyne). This is illustrated by the meeting of the Congress of Vienna in 1815 - the Congress that danced instead of working, some said, and perhaps should have danced all night;

- Fifth, the false lessons of history, or the cat-on-the-stove-lid analogy, illustrated by the Paris peace conference in 1919, where the French had learned that the Germans were never to be trusted, the Americans had learned from their own Civil War not to be over-punitive; and Lloyd George had learned, as a consummate politician, “when forced to choose between one loyalty and another — chose them both” in his private life as well,

- Sixth, The Rule of Unintended Consequences, illustrated by the Yalta conference in 1945. Churchill heatedly proclaimed that he did not intend to preside over the break-up of the British Empire, but he did. Roosevelt did not intend to start a cold war, or any other kind; rather he gave in to Stalin to avoid just that. Who knows what Stalin intended, but it was surely not the eventual break-up of his empire, which faltered mostly of its own weight. Which brings us, finally, to:

- Lastly, the Fantasy of Realism — “the difficulty of basing one’s actions on an accurate reading of the ‘real world’” or of foretelling the future. This is illustrated by Mikhail Gorbachev’s coming to London, hat in hand, in the summer of 1991, asking for help to keep the Soviet Union going, and moving toward democracy. The assembled leaders of the Industrial Nations looked back, perhaps, at the last 175 years, realized the folly of slicing up the world (Vienna), of over-punishing one’s enemies (Paris), and of being over-trusting with one’s allies (Yalta), and decided to do nothing, or very little. Yet non-action is an action as well, and this may have had results that were not yet apparent in 1993, are even yet not apparent — or it may not. We don’t know what the future holds; in fact, it holds nothing — it doesn’t yet exist.

An extremely thought provoking and interesting book, but not all “great men” and important facts. Mee gives us entertaining sidelights too: the bedbugs in Churchill’s quarters, and the fact that the Huns did not put steaks under their saddles to tenderize them. It was rather for the benefit of the horses.

— m.s.

No Sussex Boules, no Hants Hilshbury-Hepworths in her family. She came of good, solid suburban stock, related on the male side to the Higgadons of Tangerine Road, Wandsworth, and through the female branch connected with the Browns of Buckley, the Perkinses of Peckham, and the Wedges — the Windermere Wedges, not the Ponder’s End lot. — Ibid., “The Story of Cedric”

The Plantagenet Connection — Published semi-annually by Heliotrope Communications, P.O. Box 1401, Arvada, CO 80001, Kenneth H. Finton, ed.

A scholarly journal, mainly of interest to medievalists and genealogists. The issue I have, (Vol. V, No. 1) contains articles on the ancestry of Elizabeth of York, “The Search for Geoffrey of Montmouthe’s Sources.‘, “The Genealogy of a Manuscript,” and an article on the genealogy of Jesus — what the Plantagenet connection is there, I’m really not sure! I will be glad to send this on to
someone with an interest in genealogy, who could do a proper review. Just let me know.

"...It comes down to this," said the Biscuit... "If England wants a happy, well-fed aristocracy, she mustn't have wars. She can't have it both ways." — Ibid., Big Money

It came into existence towards the middle of the 15th century at a time when the landed gentry of England, who never knew when a besiging army might be coming along, particularly if they lived close to the Welsh border, believed in building their little nests solid. — Ibid., Galahad at Blandings


Until the last chapter, this is a most interesting work. Since the history of Wales is preserved by bards attached to noble families, Evans has used this source. However, he clearly recognizes the dangers of too intense loyalty, the inclusion of legend and the effusive quality of poetry, and rejects much of that material on those grounds. His style is easy, having a bit of Welsh lilt to his prose; his language is vivid and his viewpoint fresh.

The invective of Wales is always aimed at "the Saxon" despite the fact that the border lords of Wales are obviously of Norman descent. He explains that the red rose is the national symbol for Wales and has nothing to do with the Lancastrian line. The Welsh were neither Lancastrian nor Yorkist but were nationalistic, attaching themselves to one line or the other for personal or national gain.

Wales was a lawless place in the second half of the 15th century, a refuge for criminals and under repres- 
sive laws created after Owain Glyndwr's rebellion. Many Welshmen joined one lord or another in the French wars for personal advancement and the chance at booty. Many did well.

Evans spends much of his time contrasting William Herbert and Jasper Tudor, both Earls of Pembroke. Jasper he admires for his unwavering loyalty, sound judgment and elusiveness. Evans refuses to accept that Owen Tudor's marriage to Catherine of Valois was illegitimate though he admits it was illegal. A fine point indeed. Herbert was the first of the new men of lowly birth to rise to a position of power through intrigue. He became a close advisor to Edward IV.

Evans sees enmity between Edward and Warwick from the first and he denies Warwick the title "Kingmaker." Edward made himself king at Mortimer's Cross and Towton and could have easily joined and saved Warwick at the second battle of St. Albans but left him to his fate. Warwick's attempts to control Edward always come to naught and Edward, with Herbert at his elbow, systematically humiliated and frustrated Warwick, driving him into rebellion.

Richard is seldom mentioned. A minor Lancastrian rebellion broke out in 1469 and Richard, age 17, was called upon to deal with it. "...we may presume that his intervention reached its mark." The rebellion was staged by the older brothers of Rhys ap Thomas. In 1473 Rhys was involved in lawlessness that seems to have had nothing to do with the dynastic wars. Evans has included a drawing of Richard's crest as Duke of Gloucester.

Richard's reign is covered in a few pages and is too skimpy to be of much value. Evans makes a glaring er- ror which makes his overview of Richard questionable. If the future Edward V was nine years old in 1471 as Evans says, he would have reached his majority in 1483 and no protector would have been needed. To his credit, Evans ignores More, strawberries, withered arm and all, but says that Richard came down from the North determined to take the throne. There is no mention of the illegality of Edward's marriage. Evans does not say Richard murdered the nephews, only that they were murdered and that perhaps that act supplied some motivation to Buckingham's revolt.

He says that Richard's tyranny drove some of the Woodvilles to France but omits the missing treasure. Richard's main error in Wales was placing overweening power in Buckingham's hands to the detriment of prominent, local families. That was remedied after Buckingham's fall. Rhys ap Thomas's family was among the beneficiaries. All Wales did not defect to Henry Tudor. Some fought with Richard and were attainted for doing so.

-Dale Summers, TX

Those who have an interest in historical mysteries and historical controversies might be interested in Wallace O. Chariton's Exploring The Alamo Legends, Wordware Publishing, Plano, TX, 1990. Even though 350 years closer to our time than Bosworth Field, the events surrounding the siege of the Alamo are shrouded in obfuscation, some of which appears to have been deliberate. Men wrote letters in those days — it almost seems that they would have had no time for fighting, considering the length and number of the letters that the commanders wrote - but that only adds to the confusion. Chariton tries to straighten it out, debunking myths in some cases, in others debunking the debunkers, in still others, admitting that he can come to no conclusion. Neither side, he says with laconic understatement, "displayed any abundance of military intelligence... it is difficult to determine who made the most critical errors." Chariton, the descendent of a family that came to Texas just too late to fight at the Alamo — fortunately for him - writes with wit, humor, and a true Texas twang.
...There was nothing that you could really call a war between his higher and lower selves. The lower self won hands down. -Ibid., “Cats Will Be Cats”

![Crime Through Time — Mariam Grace Monfredo and Sharan Newman, eds. — Berkeley Publishing Group, NY, 1977, paperback](image)

Say the editors in the Introduction: “... the past may seem comforting because it’s over. We know how the story ends. But do we? History is fraught with mysteries. The question of whether or not Richard III ordered his nephews murdered will no doubt be debated for years to come. It is a natural transition from delving into the question of who really killed the princes in the Tower to creating a story set in that same time about a fictional murder, one that the author and the reader can satisfactorily solve.”

They have not, however, included a story set “in that same time.” The closest: are “Solomon’s Decision,” by Ms Newman, in 12th century France, and Edward Marston’s “Murdered at Anchor,” tempus Sir Francis Drake. Aside from these, there is a wide range of settings, from ancient Egypt to World War II, and a number of authors with impressive credits in this genre: Anne Perry, Peter Lovesey (Bertie), Laurie King, Steven Saylor, et. al. For all mystery fans.

—m.s.

...if you were a millionaire, would you rather be stabbed in the back with a paperknife or found dead without a mark on you, staring with blank eyes at some appalling sight? -Ibid. “Strychnine in the Soup”

![The Wicked Winter — Kate Sedley, Headline Publishing, Chatham, Kent, 1997](image)

Roger Chapman rides again — er -- walks again. The mystery-solving peddler starts an unlikely journey in January to sell his wares in the countryside. He arrives at Cedarwell Manor just before a terrible snowstorm, in the company of a traveling friar, Brother Simeon, to find the mistress dead of a fall from a tower. Next, her half-brother apparently sleep-walks into the well. Then a Saxon hermit is found strangled, the first death in three days obviously a murder. The Chapman has 24 hours to solve the murder, because the storm is over and the ice is melting. Which he does, of course. Although I know that the culprit is invariably the least suspect, this one caught me completely by surprise. I noticed that Roger sprang up from a deep sleep and ran out into the snow without his boots; however, I missed some vital clues.

Richard is mentioned briefly as owning a Lollard Bible by the disapproving friar. Roger is definitely developing Protestant tendencies.

The book is given a medieval flavor by timing events by relating them to events in history. Details of medieval life, such as preserving eggs in beeswax, lend a touch of realism. The last sentence in the book whets the reader’s appetite for the next book. For the sake of his daughter, Roger determines to remarry.

-Dale Summers, TX

(Dale found this book during her trip to England, so its American publisher is not known yet, but it will probably be on the shelves by the time this review is in print. As a side point, Dale noticed a book called The Hanged Man among Sedley’s credits, but has no knowledge of it, nor do I. Can any of you help us?)

One of the poets, whose name I cannot recall has a passage, which I am unable at the moment to remember, in one of his works, which has for the time being slipped my mind, which bits off admirably this age-old situation. The gist of his remarks is that lovely woman rarely fails to start something.

—Ibid., “The Long Hole”

![The Prince of Darkness — P.C. Doherty, St Martin’s Press, NY, 1990](image)

The first is one of Doherty’s Hugh Corbett novels, Edward I period, and hence somewhat before our era. The prince of the title would appear to be the future Edward II, although the dust jacket refers to “Prince Philip of Wales,” perhaps by confusion with Philip IV of France, who is also mixed up in this. The mystery is concerned with the sudden and suspicious death of the prince’s former mistress (Edward’s, that is.) Without giving away the plot, I may say that Doherty is an Equal Opportunity author, giving his female characters the same chance of being villains as the men. In his afterward, the author refers to Edward II’s future inamorato (if that is the right word), Despencer, and tells us that the English were determined that no future Spencer get so close to the throne. Writing some 7 or 8 years ago, Doherty opined that the curse may perhaps have been broken with the marriage of the current Prince of Wales to a Spencer. Or perhaps not.

The second book, under one of Doherty’s many aliases, is a Roger Shallot or picaresque novel of suspense, and is rather immediately concerned with Richard III, though it is set in the time of Henry VIII and is flattering neither to the last Plantagenet nor to the first two Tudors. (Shallot is fond of Elizabeth I, though — to hear him tell it, very fond.) Shallot and his Sherlock Holmes, Benjamin Daubney, head for the Tower of London to track down a murderer who is doing away with the Guild of Executioners, one by one, and someone who is issuing orders signed with the seal of Edward V. Could they be one and the same person? Could one of the Princes in the Tower have survived? How is the killer getting into what is in effect a locked room — or is it? The two detectives
have run-ins along the way with various con artists as well as the Plague, but do not get distracted from the mystery. Its denouement is not one of the usual “solutions” to the mystery, but is quite plausible. - m.s.

The female novelist who was at that time her favorite always supplied with each chunk of wholesome and invigorating fiction one beetle-browed hero with a grouch and a scowl, who rode wild horses over the countryside till they foamed at the mouth and treated women like dirt. - Ibid., “The Rough Stuff”

... if there is a branch of modern industry in which the demand is greater than the supply, it is the manufacture of knights and corsairs ... a girl has to take the best she can get. - Ibid., “A Mixed Threesome”


The hero of Ms Phillips’ paperback romance is not beetle-browed or scowling. As a professional jester, he could hardly be. Our heroine, escaping from a forced marriage, runs directly and literally into his arms. They join forces and make their way to the court of Elizabeth I, with our Elizabeth Hayward disguised as a boy, but surely the disguise would deceive only the most unobservant. Young Elizabeth is plucky and resourceful, however — until they near Hampton Court, when she starts fainting every few pages. There is a good reason for this ...

Tori Phillips is our own Mary Schaller, who has written several other romance novels, one of which, Silent Knight, is nearer to our period, set in the 1520's. She apparently did not have any say over the cover art. Tarleton the jester is just as charming as you might have pictured him, and the heroine is as lovely, but she is dressed in 18th century style. The real Tarleton, a real jester, in the real 16th century, could not have been as romantic and noble as this. (Sigh.) Though Phillips uses time-honored plot devices, she does it with style and wit, and the book is well-deserving of the Maggie it won -whatever that is.

— m.s.


This book, a collection of seven scholarly essays and appendices, spotlights the region of the “North” of England during the 15th century, and “has the temerity to identify the fifteenth century as the age of Richard III...” (p. ix). The book is the product of the fifth triennial conference of the Richard III Society held 2-4 April 1993 at University College, Durham.

A.J. Pollard’s Introduction addresses the question of what is meant by “the North of England,” and what did it mean to English people in the 15th century? There was really no unitary concept of “North” in the 15th century, and the term meant a different area/entity depending on the context in which it was used. However, it seems to have been a cultural construct for the people of the South. There was a received image of a distant, lawless, rebellious yet free province of England akin to the Wild West image of 19th century US history. Wars of the Roses propaganda certainly played up this image. Thus, Pollard warns that sweeping statements about the character of the “North” should be made with caution.

Several essays address in particular the question of perceived lawlessness in particular counties, not in the North as a whole. The essays which address this issue from different perspectives conclude that order and a sense of stability were maintained far more than given credit by later historians. In part, this was because the Church and clergy fulfilled their stabilizing dispute-settlement role more effectively in the North than elsewhere (Dobson, “Politics and the Church in the Fifteenth-Century North”), and in spite of the fact that those who should have been most diligent in preserving the peace, i.e. the gentry, were those who disturbed it most (Hayes, “Ancient Indictments’ in the North of England, 1461-1509,”). The latter article details the efforts of a 1478 Commission of the Peace on which sat the Duke of Gloucester, Hastings, Dorset, Northumberland, Stanley et al. — a volatile mix! — to settle a running armed feud between two gentry families who still managed to retain royal favor. In Pollard, “The Crown and the County Palatine of Durham, 1437-94,” the author concludes that after a 1437-1483 hiatus when the Neville Earl of Salisbury and the Duke of Gloucester, powerful local magnates, basically controlled the Bishops of Durham, Richard as king learned from prior kings’ mistakes and extended his royal authority in the palatinate to strengthen Crown control of the far north-east. This he did by appointing John Shirwood (resident in Rome) as bishop and by using the palatine counsel as a sister body to his Council of the North. This was a “novel departure” by which Richard foreshadowed reforms of 50 years later.

The two essays of most interest to those focusing on Richard’s character and activities are Grant, “Richard III and Scotland,” and Hughes, “‘True Ornaments to Know a Holy Man’: Northern Religious Life and the Piety of Richard III.” The first article explores Richard’s possible motives underlying both the 1482 war with Scotland and the 1483 grant of independent palatine status-to facilitate his own territorial ambitions in south-west Scotland. As king, relations with Scotland were high on his agenda; unfortunately, his aggressive stance, moderated too late in his reign, encouraged Scots support for Tudor at Bosworth.
Nevertheless, the Nottingham treaty of 1484, personally negotiated by Richard, with its use of Scottish-English royal councillors in conjunction with the Council of the North to review truce breaches and supervise border justice and by reduction of the wardens’ powers, reveals an innovative approach to governing the North as a whole in the context of Anglo-Scottish relations. “It was Richard III, not Henry VII, who brought the north back under royal control.”

The second article, “True Ornaments...“, which I found the most interesting in the book, focuses directly on Richard the man. Richard professed a piety specifically northern in character, espousing the ideal mixed life of action and private prayer centered on books of hours. There is another analysis of the prayer added to his book of hours as well as conjecture that Richard identified strongly with the David of the Psalms as the man of sorrows, beset with enemies, punished and tested by God for his sins. Entirely new to me was Hughes’ exploration of the imagery “in Richard’s royal portraits which, drawing heavily on the iconography contained in the visions of St. Mechtild of Hackeborn (whose The Book of Gostlye Grace was owned jointly by Anne and Richard), can be argued to reveal Richard’s image of himself, presented to his people. Hughes believes both portraits symbolically portray a suffering misunderstood tormented man who, despite his bereavements, refused to despair of God’s grace, besought forgiveness through prayer, and dedicated his life to subjects who did not appreciate or understand his sacrifice. If Hughes’ reading is correct, then despite what one may think of Richard’s actions, one can sympathize with the torment they caused him.

Despite its scholarly focus, the essays are very readable and interesting. The Appendices include the entire translated text of Archibald Whitelaw’s 1484 address to King Richard at Nottingham (the one in which he says “Never before has nature dared to encase in a smaller body such spirit and such strength.”). I recommend this book highly for readers who wish to explore further the cultural setting which so influenced Richard as King and as Duke of Gloucester.

Jeanne Trahan Faubell

In the days of King Arthur, nobody thought the worse of young knight if he suspended all social and business engagements in favor of a search for the Holy Grail- Ibid., “Sundered Hearts”

Your Reading Editor is still searching for the Holy Grail of more good reviews of good books, or even a good review of a bad book. (No Ricardian would be capable of writing a bad review, if they write at all.) Help me in my quest!

The Other Ricardian Fiction

“Other,” in this case, refers to Richard IV rather than Richard III — that is, the man who called himself Richard IV: Perkin Warbeck. Many believe he actually was Richard, Duke of York, younger son of Edward IV. (For the case for this, see Diana Kleyn’s [Richard of England, Kensal Press, Oxford, 1991]. For the case against, any biography of Henry VII. For Lambert Simnel’s story, see Lambert Simnel and The Battle of Stoke, by Michael Bennett, Alan Sutton, 1987.) At least one of the autobiographical sketches Perkin wrote was clearly fiction; either the letter he wrote to Ferdinand and Isabella, as Richard Plantagenet, or the “confession” he wrote for Henry VII. Perkin was not the only Yorkist pretender (the word is used in the sense of one who has pretensions to a throne). He had been preceded by Lambert Simnel, who claimed to be Edward, Earl of Warwick, who was actually alive, but in the Tower of London.

Brief Biographical Sketches Of The Pretenders

In 1487, the boy “Earl of Warwick” had turned up in Dublin, which was odd. (See paragraph above.) On June 11 of that year, the presumed earl, accompanied by the real Earl of Lincoln, Viscount Lovell, Irish soldiers and Swiss and German mercenaries landed in England and made their way through Yorkshire toward Stoke Field. Due to superior manpower and weaponry, the King’s forces won, Lincoln was killed in the battle, Lovell escaped but was never heard of again. The boy was taken prisoner, and Henry announced that he was the orphaned son of an organ-maker, or a joiner, or a cobbler, or a baker, who had been trained to impersonate the Earl by a priest named William Simmonds, or Richard Simmonds. Clearly not the Earl of Warwick, and too young to be considered responsible for his actions, he was pardoned by Henry but put to work as a scullion in the royal kitchens. Later, he became a falconer, lived into the reign of Henry VIII (at least) and had a son.

Perkin Warbeck was in the service of the wife of Sir Edward Brampton in the late 1480s, and Sir Edward is worth a book of his own, which, to my knowledge, has not yet been written. A protege and servant of Edward IV, soldier and merchant, with a touch of the pirate, Brampton made his peace with the House of Tudor, and was re-knighted by Henry. However, Perkin was working for another merchant, a Breton silk salesman, when, as he told it, he was wearing his master’s product on shore in Ireland and was mistaken for (a) the Earl of Warwick (b) the illegitimate son of Richard III, and (c) one of the Princes in the Tower. Perkin resisted, but not too forcefully, and the dichard Yorkists begin to think about rebellion again. The uprising disappeared in the face of an approaching
English force, and Perkin went on to France. France always welcomed pretenders to the English throne — Henry Tudor had been one — but a treaty between the two countries required the King of France to give Perkin up. Instead, he let him leave the country and go to Flanders, where Marguerite of York, the Dowager Duchess, welcomed him as her nephew. From there, he attempted a landing in Kent, hoping to rally the English to his side, but the men of Kent didn’t rally very well. Going on his way, Perkin eventually fetched up in Scotland. The King of Scotland accepted him as Prince Richard, married him to a royal cousin, but eventually, in the face of a possible invasion from England, let him go back to Ireland again. From here, he attempted another invasion of England. He got as far as Exeter, possibly even breaching the walls of the city. As the royal army advanced, Perkin took to flight. He sought sanctuary, but left it under a promise that his life would be spared. Henry put him under a sort of house arrest, from which he escaped. After his recapture, he was put in the Tower.

At this point, a friar named Patrick brought forth his protege, the son of a cordwainer, Ralph Wilford, who also claimed to be Edward of Warwick. This was the last straw for Henry. After having Ralph Wilford executed, he almost certainly entrapped Warbeck and Warwick into a “plot against the government.” Warwick was beheaded and Warbeck hung.

There was a Perkin Warbeck, born about 1474, the son of Jean Warbeck, a boatman of Tournai. In 1485, he was in Antwerp, and very ill, according to his story. If there was a substitution, it took place at this time. Perkin’s stories of himself, particularly his “confession,” are riddled with errors, and must be classified as works of fiction in themselves.

Selected Bibliography of Fictional Works About Lambert Simnel And Perkin Warbeck

Barnes, Margaret Campbell, The King’s Bed, Macrae Smith (hb) 1961, Popular Library (pb) 1971 — The story of Richard’s illegitimate son, the bricklayer of Eastwell, and his wife, the daughter of an innkeeper who was host to Richard III before the battle of Bosworth and thus came by the bed of the title. Young Richard Broome (get it?) is offered the opportunity to become a pretender but wisely turns it down, leaving the position open to Perkin Warbeck. Unlike The Tudor Rose, rather sympathetic to Richard.

The Tudor Rose (hb 1953), Popular Library (pb) 1971 — Life story of Elizabeth of York, along conventional lines. Richard III is guilty as charged, but Elizabeth discovers that the man to whom she is unhappily married is just as bad. Elizabeth believes that Perkin must be an impostor, but...

Barrington, Michael, A Mystery To This Day, 1949 — Told that he is a son of Edward IV, Perequin is a brilliant rabble rouser but not much of a soldier. But he does have the habit of playing with a dagger, like someone we know! According to this, the Spanish ambassador to Scotland was urging King Ferdinand to go to war with England to rescue Warwick and Warbeck.

Campbell, Alexander, Perkin Warbeck, Or The Court of James The Fourth of Scotland-An Historical Romance, 3 Vol., London, 1830 (found in the Library of Congress by Roxane Murph) — James welcomes PW to his court, convinced that he is the elder (sic) son of Edward IV, though he is actually the son of a Jew of Tournai.

Clarke, Mrs. Henry, A Trusty Rebel, Or A Follower of Warbeck, Th. Nelson & Sons, London, c. 1908 — An adventure story for boys, very little dated. Fairly realistic, well characterized, but also full of action and disguises and all sorts of derring-do, and very little preaching. There’s a plucky heroine, too.

Ellis, Beth, A King Of Vagabonds, 1911 — The story of PW, Katherine Gordon, and James Strangeways, whom Katherine later married. Reads as if published 30 years later than it was. Obviously influenced by Freud; though sex is not explicit, it’s not overlooked. P knows he is not the true prince, but does not know his true identity. He is an ambitious plotter, his wife is a snob; her true love, Strangeways, is the only truly heroic character.

Farrington, Robert, The Killing of Richard III, 1971 (pb 1972), Tudor Agent 1974, pb 1977, The Traitors Of Bosworth -These three thrillers recount the adventures of Henry Morane, a 15th century James Bond. In the first, he is a civil servant in Richard’s employ. Surviving Bosworth (by the skin of his teeth and because he is a born survivor) he reconciles himself to Tudor rule and earns a certain respect form Henry VII. He visits Margaret of Burgundy as an undercover agent, meets both pretenders, administering a much-needed spanking to one.

Gellis, Roberta, The Dragon and The Rose, 1977 (pb) — Attempts, with some success, (if you can suspend your disbelief) to make Henry VII into a romantic leading-man. Covers the Simnel uprising and ends just before Elizabeth’s coronation.

Gretton, Mary Sturge, Crumplin, 1932 — Set in 1491, this is the story of a Yorkist plot to crown Richard Duke of York. Sympathetic to the Yorkist cause, and written in a highly poetic style.

Hammond, Alice, Merchant of The Ruby, Bobbs-Merrill, NY, 1950 -The eternal triangle, its angles being PW, his wife, and Henry VII. Written in a rather old-fashioned...
style, and everybody is so noble you can hardly stand
them, but otherwise not bad. Pro-Tudor. This is probably
the only work of fiction or fact in which Ralph
Wilford has a speaking part.

Hesseltine, William, The Last of The Plantagenets, 1829
— Purports to be the transcription of an ancient ms.
written by Richard’s illegitimate son. Amazingly, he
writes in full pre-Victorian style, and seemingly was paid
by the word or maybe the pound. In this story, young
Richard spent some time as a soldier of fortune in
Burgundy before becoming a brickmason. He does not
support PW because the latter says nasty things about
Richard III.

Hill, Pamela, The King’s Vixen, GP. Putnam, 1954 (hb),
Popular Library, 1961 (pb) — The heroine is Flaming
Janet Kennedy, and the story involves her lovers (among
them James IV) and husbands. Richard III is referred to
as a “hunchback” but also a “true man and honest
soldier.” PW comes on scene briefly.

Hodgetts, J. Frederick, Richard IV Plantagenet, 1888
— The author admits his story was inspired by a “quaint old
book,” obviously Hesseltine’s , Rather more streamlined
and action-oriented than the original, but still very
Victorian. Young Richard’s adventures take us down the
Simnel uprising.

Holt, Emily Sarah, A Tangled Web, 1885 -The author
keeps forgetting she is writing a novel and digressing into
historical lecturing, but she is less turgid than many male
Victorians. Snobbish Lady Katherine is shocked to
discover that her husband is not only a fake but the son of
a converted Jew. Holt is sympathetic to the Jews, less so
to Catholics, though a priest is featured as one of the
good guys. Though PW also has his faults, he is treated
with sympathy, but Holt has no sympathy at all for the
Tudors.

Honeyman, Brenda, Richmond and Elizabeth, 1970 (hb),
1971 (pb) — Life stories of Elizabeth of York and Henry
Tudor, though there’s not much life in them. It is hard to
get interested in characters who seem to have little
emotion beyond resignation (Elizabeth) or a low-key
resentment (Henry, of Richard III). Perhaps the author’s
heart is simply not in this work. (She is also the
pro-Ricardian mystery novelist Kate Sedley.) The
rebellions are incidents.

Hunt, Wray, Satan’s Daughter (pb) -- Alys, a poor but
not very honest girl wishing to better herself, gets mixed
up with the witch cult. Witch Janet Deane has a special
reason for revenge against Henry Tudor, and schools
Alys to become his mistress with a view to poisoning
him. It is stretching a point to call this Warbeckian

fiction, as he appears (literally) only as the late PW, but
he is important to the plot.

James, G.P.R., Dark Scenes of History, 1852 — Tales
from history, including the story of PW. Typical
Victorian stuff.

Jarman, Rosemary Hawley, The Courts of Illusion, Little,
Brown, 1984 — Told in the first person by Nicholas
Archer, from a Yorkist family, who joins the entourage
of PW, which point of view enables the author to hedge
on Perkin’s identity. Distinguished mainly by steamy
and sometimes unconventional sex, and by the general
passivity of its hero, who always seems to be influenced
by stronger personalities.

Kilbourne, Janet, Wither One Rose, 1973 — Elizabeth of
York and Henry Tudor gradually come to love each
other, almost too late. Elizabeth believes Per-kin to be her
brother, but nevertheless forgives Henry for his death.

and NY, 1990 -Story of Lucas Lovat, employed by
Henry VII to spy on Katherine Warbeck. Since Henry
doesn’t wholly trust him, he has Lady Megan, one of
Katherine’s ladies-in-waiting, spy on the spy. The story
that parallels the love story contains an ingenious
solution to the Great Mystery. The author’s usual forte is
Regency romance, but her excursion into fresh fields is
well-crafted.

Lindsay, Philip, They Have Their Dreams, 1956 (hb), A
Prince ly Knave 1971 (pb title) — Story of PW and
Katherine Gordon, with Henry Tudor as a
thorough-going villain, allowed not even a neutral
quality, much less a redeeming one.

— A children’s story about Lambert Simnel. He looses
both his parents in an epidemic and is taken in by
William Simmonds, so feels indebted to him. LS is
schooled by Elizabeth Woodville, among others, for his
role.

Maill, Wendy, The Playing Card Queen, 1970 — The
title refers to Elizabeth of York, whose likeness appears 4
times in every pack of cards. Elizabeth realizes PW may
very well be the Duke of York. This is a novel of
atmosphere, the atmosphere being cold winter most of
the time. Not much really happens.

Neele, Henry, The Romance Of History, 1828 — Highly
colored “tales from history.” Includes “The White Rose
of England,” about PW and Katherine Gordon.

Winter, 1997

- 32 -
Palmer, Marion, *The Wrong Plantagenet*, Doubleday & Co, Garden City, 1972 (also pb) - Sequel to the author’s *The White Boar*. Young Simon Love11 has a good plenty of adventures, following the person known as PW. The author calls him the Duke of York or Prince Richard, and he thinks of himself as Richard Plantagenet, but Simon comes by information which indicates he could not be.

Peters, Maureen, *Elizabeth The Beloved*, 1965 (hb), Beagle, 1972 (pb) — Elizabeth of York loves her Uncle Richard, accepts her marriage to Henry VII, but is not entirely without spirit. She confronts PW, but recognizes that he is not her brother.

Plaidy, Jean, *Uneasy Lies The Head*, Robert Hale, London, 1982 — The uneasy head belongs to Henry Tudor, whose reign this story covers in not always accurate detail. PW is PW, as Henry knows he must be. LS is “a simple-minded boy” and he is not the only one who appears to be simple-minded, because of the basic-reader style in which Plaidy writes.

Rosenthal, Evely, *Presumed Guilty*, Vantage Press, NY, 1982 — This is the story of Richard III, told by several different narrators, at different times, after his death. One of the narrators is Margaret of Burgundy, who knowingly supports pretenders for reasons which seem to her good and sufficient.


Seymour, Arabella, *Maid of Destiny*, R. Hale, London, e. 1950 - The fictional Jane Beaufort is the “unloved daughter of a cousin of Henry VII,” and one can understand why she is unloved. She seldom — make that never — has a good word to say for anyone except Richard III, and he’s dead. The few characters who are not as bitchy as she is are either weak-willed nonentities, or even worse than she is. With friends like this, did PW need enemies?

Stoker, M. Brooks, *Prince Perkin*, R. Hale, London, 1966 — I have not been able to obtain this book, but from what I’ve heard, it is a rather pedestrian retelling of the story, though with some wit and style. If you have read it, please share your impressions, if not the book!

Sudworth, Gwynedd, *KING OF DESTINY*, 1973 — Very sympathetic recounting of Henry Destiny’s life, with all the chief incidents. For the sake of his son’s future, Henry sets up Warbeck and Warwick for their judicial murder, but he is much troubled by it. Elizabeth believes that PW is “some kind of cousin.”

Tranter, Nigel, *Chain of Destiny* — One of a series of novels on Medieval Scotland. I have not yet read this one, but it is about James IV and reportedly features PW.

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**THE MAXWELL ANDERSON SCHOLARSHIP FUND**

In 1995, with the permission of the Anderson family, Maxwell Anderson’s two act play *Richard and Anne*, which he wrote in 1955, was published for the first time. Thanks to the generosity of Mrs. Anderson, a long-time member of the Richard III Society, and other members of the family, the Society receives half of the royalties from the play, to go into a scholarship fund for graduate students in medieval and Renaissance English literature. For many years the Society has supported the Schallek Fund for graduate studies in medieval and Renaissance history, and many of the recipients have since distinguished themselves in the field.

The Schallek fund has grown, through the generous support of Maryloo Schallek and other Ricardians, to a size that permits the granting of several significant scholarships each year, and it is our hope that, with your support, the Anderson Fund will increase as well. Many of our members believe that our encouragement of research into the history and literature of the 15th-century through scholarship grants is one of the most important contributions the Society makes to Richard’s cause, and we hope you agree.

We are therefore asking for your support in making the Maxwell Anderson Scholarship Fund grow, so that within the next two or three years we can award our first scholarship. If you would like to help in this worthy cause, you can send a check, made out to the Richard III Society, Inc., in any amount you choose, to our treasurer, Bonnie Battaglia. Her address is 5191 Hanks Exchange Road, Placerville, CA 95667. Please indicate on your check that it is for the Maxwell Anderson Fund.

Roxane Murph
The 1997 AGM in Chicago will always evoke two main themes for me: first, the fiction resources available to entertain Ricardians and, second, the enduring mystery so central to the Society's raison d'être—what fate befell the Princes? As with any ACM, many other subthemes existed for that weekend, and interplayed with the joy of meeting once again, in the flesh, friends whom the chapterless Ricardian like me sees only once a year.

Not all the joys of the AGM could be experienced by any one person, alas. There are those who will thank the energetic Illinois Chapter AGM organizers for providing a choice of workshops on Saturday morning, but the choice provides only agony to those who must choose, for it is always a choice to miss something. I can only beg these workshop presenters to reprise their performances at a future AGM: Dawn Benedetto, who examined lives of prominent Yorkist women; Sharon Michalove, who shared her knowledge of medieval cooking; and Tom Cole, who expounded on medieval heraldry and its importance in the fifteenth century, in costume. The adulatory rumors circulating after their workshops whetted my appetite to see them.

Janet Trimbath's workshop "What Happened to the Princes?" reviewed many theories on the subject, and ran the gamut from the conventional to the outrageous. Also, in her presentation and in her thorough handouts, Janet reviewed the history of "those bones" and speculated along with her workshop attendees on the possibility of using DNA analysis to obtain more information about them. In Janet's workshop the novel *The Crimson Crown* was first mentioned—more about that later.

Next, Mary Miller touched upon the fates of the Princes and examined the events leading to Richard's taking the throne in "The Critical Months". Mary provided her audience with a detailed timeline from April 6, 1483, until July 6, along with a tantalizing list of "Questions to Consider", a group of "Points to Remember", and a bibliography. Mary led a discussion so lively it was hard to conclude in time for the next workshop in the same room, which was—

Janice Weiner's "Historical Mysteries". Janice surveyed one selected genre: detective fiction, with particular emphasis on detective fiction set in historical periods. Attendees learned that Brother Cadfael is certainly not the Alpha and Omega of medieval detectives—he has lots of company! Janice's talk, of necessity time-limited, covered medieval European fictional detectives. Her excellent handout, "An Informal Bibliography of Historical Mysteries", comprises many other ages and places from ancient Egypt and Rome up to twentieth century America and also includes a list of reference material on detective fiction. It lists mystery novels by author, giving the detective and historical period in the author's novels.

Saturday's keynote speech after the luncheon was given by Jeff Nigro, of the Art Institute of Chicago. Jeff accompanied his speech with a slide presentation of some of the finest examples of fifteenth century art from the Low Countries. AGM attendees who were prescient enough to extend their stay in Chicago could see the originals of some of these at the Art Institute.

The events after Saturday night's banquet turned again to the theme of the fates of the Princes, although these were not investigated in as scientific a manner as Janet Trimbath's workshop had done earlier in the day. Mary Miller was Chief Investigator, Instigator, and generally creative fountainhead for an examination after the style of "How to Host a Mystery" games. Your humble scribe here will not comment on Richard III (whom she played), but wishes to award some light-hearted acting awards. Shall we call them the "Clarence"s? 

- The Clarence Award for Best Acting and Most Acting must go to Celeste Bonfanti, in the role of Buckingham.
The Clarence Award for Best Directing, of course, goes to Mary Miller, along with Best Writing and Best Production.

The Clarence Award for Best Acting by a Woman in a Woman’s Role in a Woman’s Costume will be shared by (in alphabetical order) Lynne McLean as Margaret Beaufort, Carol Mitchell as Jane Shore, and Janet Trimbath as Elizabeth Woodville.

The Clarence Award for Best Acting by a Woman in a Bishop’s Costume goes to Maggie Cantrall.

The Clarence Award for Best Acting by a Woman in a Man’s Role, but in a Woman’s Costume, goes to Marilyn Koncen, as James Tyrell.

And, last, but not least, the Clarence Award for Best Acting by a Woman in a Man’s Role, but in no costume, goes to Diane Batch, a most charming Henry Tudor. (To avoid titillation, I must record that Diane was indeed clothed, just not in medieval costume.)

Sunday morning’s breakfast talk by Roxane Murph returned to our second major theme: Ricardian fiction. Roxane covered the whole territory: the good, the bad, and the ugly, with the most laughs going to plot summaries from the bad and the ugly. Once again, my ears pricked up at the mention of The Crimson Crown, by Edith Layton (don’t hold my feet to the fire on the spelling.) As in Janet Trimbath’s Saturday workshop, it was mentioned that this novel dramatizes a “truly unique” solution to the mystery of the Princes’ fate. I will shortly be knocking on my local library’s door to inquire as to its availability.

What does fiction have to offer the Ricardian, who is often a professional or serious amateur historian? We have learned from Roxane’s talk that we cannot always depend on fiction to learn historical facts. But, fiction set in “our time” can always be an entertainment. And, it can be a valuable introduction to the Ricardian story. How many of us came to the Society initially following a first reading of The Daughter of Time? How many more will come to the Society by way of such an introduction?

I would like to thank everyone who worked and contributed to make the 1997 AGM possible and such a success. The ACM Planning Committee, workers, and contributors included: Mary Miller, Dawn Benedetto, Evelyn Perrine, Janice Weiner, Mary Bourke, Maggie Cantrall, Nita Musgrave, Lynne McLean, Joyce Tumea, Carol Mitchell, Kay Janis, Jenny Miller, and Joan Marshall. Thanks especially, too, for the table favors: the handsome mug from the Saturday luncheon and the scroll with Richard’s prayer from the evening banquet.

I would also like to thank Mary Ellen Pierce for taking charge of the Sales Office Merchandise and shipping it quickly back to John McMillan, Sales Officer. I hope to see everyone who was at the ACM, and all the rest of you, in Cincinnati/Florence next year.

And speaking of next year’s AGM, a few predictions:

- Next year, Sharon Michalove will do the hat trick—winning her third Schallek raffle grand prize in a row.
- Next year, the Board will actually find time to hold a meeting on Saturday afternoon.
- Next year, Evelyn and Al Perlman and I will find a fourth for a bridge game, and time to play.
- Next year, the Ohio Chapter will have enough T-shirt inventory to satisfy demand.
FIFTEENTH CENTURY CONFERENCE

Sponsored by The Richard III Society, American Branch in cooperation with The University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and Ohio University

May 3-6, 1998 — University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Champaign, Illinois

SESSION 1

Nanette Y. Mollere, Department of History, Nicholls State University, The Relationship between the Crown and the Episcopate during the Reign of Edward IV (1461-1483)

A. Compton Reeves, Ohio University, Athens, Ohio, Bishop John Booth of Exeter

SESSION 2

Mark Addison Amos, Department of English, Wilkes University, "That they resemble not bestis": London's Urban Elite and the Symbolic Battle for Status

Michael D. Myers, Department of History, University of Notre Dame, The Failure of Conflict Resolution and the Limits of Arbitration in King’s Lynn, 1405-1416

SESSION 3

A. J. Pollard, Department of History, University of Teesside, The Witch, The Hog and Historians: Elizabeth Woodville and Her Male Detractors

Helen Maurer, University of California, Irvine, Margaret of Anjou and the Loveday of 1458: A Reconsideration

SESSION 4

Virginia K. Henderson, Department of Art History, Emory University, Retrieving the "Crown in the Hawthorne Bush": The Origins of the Badges of Hen y VII

Gretchen A. Adams-Bond, Henry Tudor as Heir of York

SESSION 5

Douglas Biggs, "Lords be near at Hand, for We shall Presently Have Need of You": Henry IV and the Greater Nobility, 1399-1405

Sharon D. Michalove, Department of History University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Giles Daubeny: Hastings to Henry VII?

SESSION 7

Kelly DeVries, Department of History, Loyola College in Maryland, The Use of Gunpowder Weapons in the Wars of the Roses

Kenneth G. Madison, Department of History, Iowa State University, The Dartford Rising of Richard, duke of York

SESSION 8

Susan M. B. Steuer, Department of History, University of Minnesota, Religious Second Careers: Options of Widows in Religious Life during the Fifteenth Century

Craig Koslofsky, University of Illinois, The Burden of the Dead? Challenging Intercession for the Dead in the Fifteenth Century

SESSION 9

Kelly Gritten, University of Notre Dame, Vickers Revisited: Humphrey, duke of Gloucester and the Dynamics of the Minority Council

Larry W. Usilton, Department of History, University of North Carolina at Wilmington The Later Plantagenets and Their Corrodars

SESSION 10

Matthew Goldie, Department of English, The City University of New York, Gauging Engagement: Audience Responses to English Drama after 1409

William White Tison Pugh, Department of English, University of Oregon, The Historical. Social Body of Marge y Kempe

KEYNOTE

Joel Rosenthal, History Department, State University of New York at Stony Brook, Women's Religion in 15th Centu y England: Was There Such a Creature?

SPECIAL PRESENTATION

Anne D. Hedemann, Department of Art History, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Some Aspects of Art in Fifteenth, Centu y Europe

To receive a copy of the conference brochure when available: write to Sharon D. Michalove, Department of History, University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign, 309 Gregory Hall, 810 Wright Street, Urbana IL 61801, mlove@uiuc.edu. Details will also be posted at the Society's web site (http://www.r3.org/conf1998/) when available.

Winter, 1997

- 36 -
NEW SELECTIONS IN THE RESEARCH LIBRARY


Sharon Michalove, Children! Geue Eare Your Duties to Learn: The Education of Upper-Class Englishwomen in Late Medieval and Early Modern England (PhD diss., 1996)


We also have two extracts from Political Poems and Songs relating to English History, ed. by Thomas Wright, vol. II (Rolls Series, 1861):
“On the Recovery of the Throne by Edward IV”
“Glossary of Medieval Latin and English Words”

And we now have indices to The Ricardian through 1996.

Thanks to Richard Avansino, Sharon Michalove, Jeff Wheeler, and the Weinsoft Fund for these additions to the research library.

33RD INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS ON MEDIEVAL STUDIES

Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo MI
May 7-10, 1998

The Richard III Society session at this year’s conference is part of the five-session symposium in honor of Charles T. Wood, “History in the Comic Mode.” The 1998 conference will have more than 500 sessions, topping last year’s 457. At roughly $100 registration and $17/night for dormitory accommodations, this is a very affordable conference.

THE LIGHTER SIDE OF FIFTEENTH-CENTURY LIFE
Sponsored by the Richard III Society, American Branch

A. J. Pollard, University of Teesside, One Summer at Middleham

Gilbert M. Bogner, Ohio University, Alchemists, Pirates, and Pilgrims: The Unconventional in Lancastrian Knighthood

Helen Maurer, University of California at Irvine, Reporting the Wars: The Great Westminster Pie-Fight-A Cautionary Tale

A. Compton Reeves, Hilarity in the Cathedral Close

To be placed on the Congress’s mailing list, write The Medieval Institute, Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, MI 49008-3801, 616-387-8745, mdol_congres@wmich.edu, or visit their website (http://www.wmich.edu/medieval/congress/

It is with great regret that we report the passing of Mr. John Crandall, of Morris, New York, on March 9, 1997. Mr. Crandall had been a member of the Society since 1991.

We offer our deepest sympathy to his family.

Mea Culpa!

The cover of our Fall, 1997 Register was composed of a collage of photos taken at the Society Memorial in Leicester, England.

These photos have been used many times by us, in this publication, in brochures, in fliers, etc.

On this most recent occasion, we neglected to attribute the photos to Geoffrey Wheeler, our English friend who is the font of all good photographs (and a few other things!). This cover was done in my business’s darkroom, and I overlooked the typesetting, not the source.

My sincere apologies, Geoffrey. We’ll try not to let it happen again.
Welcome to Chicago, and to this, our thirty-seventh Annual General Meeting as an American Branch.

We owe this magnificent gathering to the many volunteers in the Illinois chapter who have worked so hard to make this event a success—and, of course, to you, my fellow Ricardians, who have gathered here to share your passion for the past and your commitment to shining the clear light of reason on the shadows that surround the reputation of Richard III. I want to welcome Sharon Michalove to the Board as Vice Chairman. In extending a welcome to Sharon, I am able also to extend a deeply felt expression of gratitude to Laura Blanchard for her splendid service as Vice Chairman, and for her willingness to continue as the Web Magistra for the American Branch. I am also pleased to thank the other members of the Executive Board, together with the entire community of Ricardians, for working with such delightful enthusiasm that I have been made to appear to be a highly successful Chairman with embarrassingly little effort on my part.

In many ways, we Ricardians are a backwards-looking group, since our reason for existence is the study of events that happened over five hundred years ago. But we also need to be a forward-looking group—to look ahead, to set goals, to develop plans to help us meet these goals. And so, as we enter the last year of my tenure as Chairman, I want to look both backwards and forward as I survey the state of American Ricardianism and its implications for the Branch.

When I assumed the chairmanship in October 1994, the desirability for the American Branch to make a place for itself in the scholarship of fifteenth-century England was very much in the forefront of our minds. After years of being labeled as part of the academic fringe, we were on the way to making some significant contributions to the field of late medieval and early modern English studies. We had recently completed a capital campaign for an endowed scholarship fund and savored the bittersweet satisfaction of the late Judy Weinsoft’s bequest to endow a fund for our research library. Plans were under way for our first ever scholarly conference. We had some ambitious plans for publishing some serious research. As I look back on our progress in those years, I can see that a lot of our goals have been met or are close to completion. Our first conference was a success, and we should see the fruits of that success next spring when the proceedings of our first conference are published by Alan Sutton in its Fifteenth Century series and when we hold our second conference in May. Our annual session of papers at Kalamazoo has become a medieval studies institution. We have entered the field of electronic publishing with the establishment of our web site, and as you will read in the report on that activity we have put all the significant fifteenth- through eighteenth-century sources for the Ricardian controversy online, along with many other resources that aid teachers in presenting Richard III in the classroom.

And this focus on scholarship has not been at the expense of our membership, not by any means: we are over the 700 mark and continuing to attract new participants in the Ricardian world every week.

Looking ahead now, I wonder: what goals can we set ourselves to top our already considerable achievements? Listening to members over the years, it occurs to me that now may be the time to let our scholarly endeavors roll along on their own momentum, and to concentrate on many of the other activities that make being a Ricardian so very enjoyable. I am thinking of our members’ interests in the ways the pageant of the Wars of the Roses can be interpreted in fiction or in literature. I am thinking of our interest in many things medieval, or late medieval, above and beyond who is doing what and to whom. My own research into English cathedrals in preparation for my next book reminds me of the pleasure so many Ricardians take in touring castles, cathedrals, and the English countryside. How can we make their experience more meaningful and more enjoyable? What can we do to bring that experience to those who cannot go to England this year—or any year?

As we identify new goals and new projects for the Branch, let us also consider a concern that has been important since the days of the Society’s founding: so many people with an interest in Richard III have no idea how to find the Society. What should we be doing, beyond our web site and our annual in memoriam notice, to reach these people? And speaking of matters in memoriam, a special commendation must go to the Michigan Area Chapter for the Memorial Service for King Richard it arranged last August at Mariners’ Church in Detroit. Such an event undertaken by a chapter brings us back to what the membership of the American Branch wants to undertake as objectives.

These are questions to ask the whole membership, and we are planning to do so, in a survey that we will ask Frank Murph, a credentialed statistician, to help us to develop. But the people gathered here in this room represent a majority of the leadership of the Branch, and so I am hoping that we can devote much of this meeting to a conversation about how the Branch can best serve its members, reach out to new people, and provide satisfying volunteer opportunities. To borrow a phrase from Morris McGee, who led the Branch to a new identity a decade ago, this strikes me as Ricardianloyalty of the best kind.

There is no limit to what a group of dedicated, enthusiastic volunteers can do, and no limit to the jolly times it can have in striving to achieve its goals.

Compton Reeves
Chairman

Editor’s Note: Space did not permit that we include all committee reports presented at the AGM, as is customary. The balance will be in our Spring, 1998 issue.
Michigan Chapter

The Michigan Chapter met on October 18, 1997 at the home of Ellie Pierce. Eileen Prinsen reported on the Memorial Service which took place at Mariner’s Church on August 24. Members were pleased with the service, Dr. Stockton’s address and the welcome given us by the Reverend Ingalls.

Janet Trimbath reported that she has contacted a representative of Rochester Public Library and viewed the display space that they provide to community groups for a month at a time. We are pencilled in for August, 1998. We need books, posters and three-dimensional objects for the display.

The Michigan Chapter had nine representatives at the AGM Meeting.

The next meeting is scheduled for Saturday, January 10, at the home of Barbara Underwood in Clawson. Diane Batch will speak on heraldry.

The possibility of touring the Medieval collection at the DIA as a feature of the 1998 Coronation Banquet was discussed.

Larry Irwin discussed the career of Richard’s big brother, Edward IV. Larry noted the difference between the first and second parts of Edward’s reign, the premature announcement of his death at York, the precontract with Eleanor Butler, the circumstances of his marriage to Elizabeth, his involvement in the deaths of Henry VI and Clarence.

The following slate of officers was presented: Moderator, Eileen Prinsen; VP Secretarial, Ellie Pierce; VP Treasurer, Linda Peecher; Members at Large, Janet Trimbath and Diane Batch.

Ohio Chapter

On Sunday, the 21st of September, the Ohio Chapter attended the Ohio Renaissance Festival, an annual, permanent-site event near Waynesville, after which attendees gathered at Stacey’s Restaurant in Wilmington for a buffet dinner, election of officers and regular Chapter business meeting. We had a great turnout for both the Festival and the dinner/business meeting, although a few members opted to attend one without the other, a few remaining at the Festival until its twilight closing and others, who had been to the Festival before, arriving just in time for dinner. The elections saw Bruce Gall (Cincinnati) and Beth Kosir (West Allis, WI), Chairman and Secretary respectively, elected for the first time and Pat Coles, Gary Bailey, Bobbie Moosmiller, and Compton Reeves returned to offices held during the previous term.

Chapter members traveled to Chicago for AGM ‘97, a great Ricardian event which considerably augmented the laurels already decorating the 12-year history of the Chapter. Members Judie Gall and Compton Reeves both received the Society’s 1997 Dickon Award for continued meritorious service to the American Branch. Not only was it an important moment in the Chapter’s already illustrious history, but it would always be more personally memorable to Ohio Ricardians at AGM ‘97 as what would probably be the only time both Judie and Compton would be rendered speechless, what’s more at the same time.

Our Ricardian spirits wonderfully refreshed by the ACM, we returned to Ohio filled with even more ideas for AGM ‘98, which we’ll be hosting the weekend of October 2-4, 1998 at the Commonwealth Hilton in Florence, KY, only minutes from the Greater Cincinnati/Northern Kentucky International Airport. We’re also looking forward to a fun-filled meeting in January at the Columbus Main Library, when Pat Cole will be presenting a program on the history of medieval clothing and the art of making costumes, the latter amply illustrated by samples of the beautiful ones she’s made for herself and her husband, Tom, over the years. That meeting is scheduled for Sunday, 1-11-98 (with 1-18-98 as a bad weather alternate) and the Spring meeting will see us back at the Raleigh’s in northern Ohio. The first weekend in May, we’ll be making our 11th annual appearance at the Ohio State University Renaissance Festival. Summer ‘98 will find us gathering at the Commonwealth Hilton, to better familiarize ourselves with the facility we’ll be using for the AGM. We’ve an active year ahead of us and hope to see many new faces joining in all the fun and activity. For more specific information about the Chapter, please contact: Bruce W. Gall, 5971 Belmont Ave., Cincinnati, OH 45224-2363; (513) 542-4541; e-mail: bwgjcg@ix.netcom.com, or check the Chapter’s Homepage at the Society’s website (http://www.r3.org/ohiol.html).

—Judie Gall

A note to Chapter members: Please put your Ricardian Register Editor on your newsletter mailing list. If you furnish a brief summary of your Chapter’s activities, I will include them in this column. Otherwise, a recap can be done from your newsletters or Chapter minutes.
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Membership Application/Renewal

☐ Mr. ☐ Mrs. ☐ Miss

Address:

City, State, Zip:

Country: Phone: Fax: E-Mail:

Individual Membership $30.00 Contributions: Schallek Fellowship Awards: $________
Individual Membership Non-US $35.00 General Fund (publicity, mailings, etc) $________
Family Membership $________

Contributing & Sponsoring Memberships:
Honorary Fotheringay Member $ 75.00 Total Enclosed: $________
Honorary Middleham Member $180.00 Family Membership $30 for yourself, plus $5 for each additional family member residing at same address.
Honorary Bosworth Member $300.00
Plantagenet Angel $500.00
Plantagenet Family Member $500+$________

Make all checks payable to Richard III Society, Inc.
Mail to Peggy Allen, 1421 Wisteria, Metairie, LA 70005