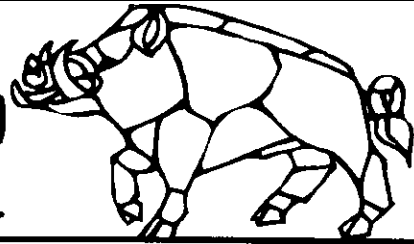


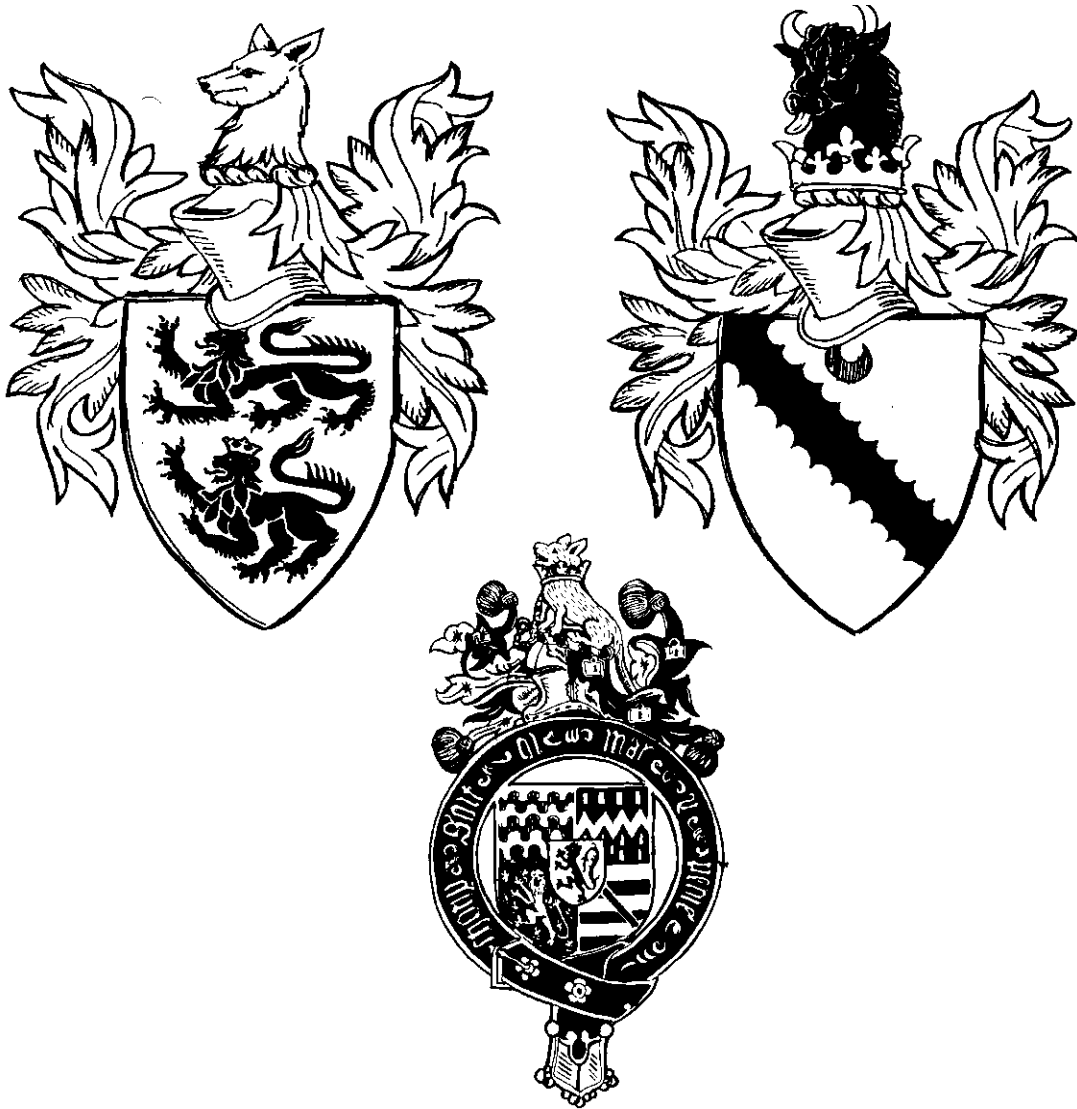
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THE CAT, THE RAT & LOVELL THE DOG

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In the belief that many features of the traditional accounts of the character and career of Richard III are neither supported by sufficient evidence nor reasonably tenable, the Society aims to promote in every possible way research into the life and times of Richard III, and to secure a re-assessment of the material relating to this period, and of the role in English history of this monarch.

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EDITORIAL LICENSE

Carole Rike

Welcome back to Geoff Richardson, who also wrote last issue's feature on the Battle of Towton. In this issue, he has tackled the three associates of Richard III with whom his name is so often linked.

Geoffrey kindly responded to my call for an article on Friends of Richard. It was not until I read his original draft that I realized how naive my request was. Perhaps these were friends, but the more proper name would be associates.

I'm still looking for someone to help out with an article on the relationship between Richard III and the City of York, as well as perhaps a focus on the Stanleys, the Nevilles or John Morton (or whatever strikes your fancy). If you would be willing to write something for publication, please let me hear from you. (footnotes not required!)

Laura Blanchard interviewed Bertram Fields, the author of *Royal Blood* in January and this issue was delayed in order to include that interview. Welcome back to Laura, who stays busy with the website and has not written for us lately; as always, she does a superb job.

Peggy Allen is still looking at Ricardian Fervor and Myrna Smith is still begging for book reviews.

Please let us hear from you with your comments on our publication, any suggestions or personal news you wish to share.

Our sympathies to Dawn Benedetto, who lost her husband and nephew in a drowning accident in late December.

THANKS

I was both touched and surprised by the scroll naming me honorary Dean of Middleham College, the beautiful crystal boar and the card which you presented to me at the AGM in Cincinnati. I know that many of you besides the instigators were in on the secret and I must say none of you gave the slightest indication of what you had planned.

The boar has a place of honor in my study and I will have the scroll framed and hung next to the portrait of Richard III. Thank you all from the bottom of my heart. This has demonstrated once again that Ricardians are the greatest people.

Roxane C. Murph

THE CAT AND THE RAT AND THE DOG

Geoffrey Richardson

On the 29th November 1484, a Commission of Oyer and Terminer — including in its distinguished membership John Howard, Duke of Suffolk, kinsman to the King, John Howard, Duke of Norfolk with his son Thomas, Earl of Surrey, William Berkeley, Earl of Nottingham, and Francis, Viscount Lovell, the King's best friend — convened at the Guildhall in London.

The Commission had been summoned to hear the case against two men who stood accused of “certain treasons” and other offences. Amongst the crimes the pair were accused of, John Turbeville was charged with publishing abroad a certain doggerel verse written by the other, William Colingbourne, a Wiltshire man of some note who, in 1478, had served in his county as a Commissioner investigating land-holdings of George of Clarence, *following the* Duke's execution for treason earlier in the same year. Colingbourne's “poetic offence” dated from the early Summer of 1483, when, twelve days after King Richard's Coronation, the following rhyme had been nailed to the door of St Paul's:

*“The Cat, the Rat, and Lovell our Dog,
Rule all England under a Hog”*

Turbeville was “reprieved” to prison — possibly for turning King's evidence — but the Commissioners duly found Colingbourne guilty of treason and, at the beginning of December, he suffered the cruellest death reserved for Capital offenders, being publicly hung, drawn and quartered on Tower Hill “where for him was made a new pair of gallows”.

The Hog referred to in Colingbourne's fatal rhyme was Richard himself whose personal badge was a white boar. The other three were important friends of the King, to wit: William Catesby, Speaker for the Commons and a member of the Great Council, Sir Richard Ratcliffe, another member of the King's Council, and Francis, Viscount Lovell, whose formal education in the first steps towards knighthood had been taken at Middleham Castle, whence he had subsequently formed a life-long attachment to the fortunes of the Duke of Gloucester, later Richard III.

Strangely, the four men named in Colingbourne's doggerel verse, which cost him his life, would all die by similar violence within the next five years, two in the fury of battle, one of starvation after fleeing a stricken field, and the fourth earning the dubious distinction of being the only “man of quality” to be

publicly beheaded as retribution for supporting the losing side at Bosworth Field.

The last cruelty was reserved by fate for William Catesby, who had followed his King, Richard III, to Ambion Hill and was captured by Henry Tudor's men after the final defeat of the Yorkists. His execution was carried out, despite a groveling submission to the new monarch, in Leicester market square on August 25th, 1485.

The Cat

The Catesby family had ancient and honourable roots in Northamptonshire, but only began to acquire real wealth and importance on a substantial scale during the latter part of the fifteenth century. Sir William Catesby — father to “The Cat” — was a religious man, rebuilding the parish church at the family seat of Ashby St. Leger and, among other works, endowing a religious community in the nearby lordship of Catesby. Perhaps more important to the future of his line was Sir William's decision after the final destruction of Lancaster at Tewkesbury in 1471, to throw off his old allegiance to the Red Rose and become a retainer of Lord William Hastings, whose rush to join the then untried Earl of March immediately before Mortimer's Cross had led him to power, wealth and influence, second only to that wielded by King Edward IV himself.

William Catesby had married early, before Tewkesbury was fought, to Margaret, the daughter of Lord Zouche of Harringworth. This was an excellent match for an aspiring young man and appears to have been a very successful marriage, judging by his reference in his will to “my dear and well-beloved wife, to whom I have ever been true ...” And, the matrimonial benefits increased further when, following the death of Lord Zouche, Catesby's mother-in-law married John, Lord Scrope of Bolton, a wealthy and influential landowner in north Yorkshire, whose contacts and standing further improved the prospects of this ambitious young man.

Following his father, the younger William had entered the service of Lord Hastings and, like his uncle John before him, sought a place in the legal profession. In this pursuit he was most successful and by 1475 was sufficiently learned to be lecturing to students at the Inns of Court on the legal implications of Magna Carta. As well as Hastings, he had retainers from Thomas Bourchier, Archbishop of Canterbury, Lady Latimer, co-heir to the Warwick Earldom, and

even more significantly for his future standing in the Realm, he became known to, and carried out much illegal work for, Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham.

Perhaps the most significant statement on Catesby's capabilities comes from Thomas More, who in his *Historie of King Richard III*, says :

“ . . . besides his excellent knowledge of [English] Law, he was a man of dignified bearing, handsomely featured and of excellent appearance, not only suitable for carrying out assignments but capable also of handling matters of grave consequence.” But then goes on, “Indeed you would not wish that a man of so much wit should be of so little faith”

Equally interesting is the Sainted Thomas's writing on Catesby's relationship with Hastings. He says that Catesby was “of [Hastings'] nere secret counsel ... and in his most weighty matters put no man in so special trust [since he well knew] there was no man so beholden to him as this Catesby . . .” “And, most interesting of all, on events leading up to Hastings execution: “... it was the disimulation of this one man that stirred up the whole plague of evils which followed. If Hastings had not trusted him so completely, then [Lord Thomas] Stanley and other nobles of their faction would have withdrawn at the first suspicion of deceit and with their departure they would have overthrown the secret and wicked plans of the protector ...”

In this section at least, one clearly discerns the guiding hand of the Master of Deceit himself, More's patron, John Morton, adding — as always — a great lie to the basic truth, and again attributing his own “secret and wicked plans” to the long-dead, betrayed Richard of Gloucester. And, one may go on to wonder whether the real reason for Catesby's hasty execution after Bosworth was not some involvement in the conspiracy of the wicked Stanley, Morton and Margaret Beaufort to bring about the eventual downfall of Richard III, and the consequent need to close his mouth — permanently. Food, perhaps, for further reflection on this fascinating subject one day.

However, to return to our theme, the fortunes of the Catesbys, which had flourished under the patronage of Hastings, might have been expected to fade after the Lord Chamberlain's hurried execution on June 13th, 1483, but, to the contrary, they blossomed as never before. The younger William Catesby proved adept at trimming his sails to the changing winds of power in England and, following the death of his family's former benefactor, he immediately appeared as a close confidant of the Protector — soon to become King of England. There were reports that

Catesby had, in fact, joined with Buckingham in scheming the down-fall of his late master, and this would fit with his continuing progress along the Corridors of Power. But, as was to appear regularly in his subsequent career, no proof was ever brought forward of his involvement in such appalling treachery.

In the next two years, following the accession of Richard III to the throne, his devoted servant William Catesby amassed an astonishingly large portfolio of property. Building on the family estate established by his father centered on Ashby St Legers, he acquired title to more than a score of Manors and Lordships stretching across three counties — Northants, Leicestershire and Warwickshire — including four Manors in Northants which were deeded to him by Francis Lovell, less than three months after they had been restored to the Viscount from the late Sir Richard Grey's properties, by the King himself. Evidence perhaps of the persuasive powers of The Cat, who, in addition to his broad acres was confirmed as Chancellor of the Earldom of March, made Chancellor of the Exchequer for life and granted further stewardships previously held by other retainers of the dead Hastings.

One illustration of the methods used by Catesby in acquiring more and more real property is the case of John Foster, another of Hastings' retainers who held the fat stewardship of St. Albans jointly with his Lord. Foster was seized within hours of Hastings' execution and thrown in the Tower. After two days without food or water in a stinking dungeon, Foster felt impelled to give up his stewardship, which was immediately granted by a still-grateful Protector to Catesby.

Buckingham's revolt against the new King gave fresh scope to Catesby's opportunities to serve his Monarch and fulfil his own ambitions. He collected many new estates confiscated from the late Duke and his adherents and soon became the principal channel to the King's ear. By Christmas 1483, Lord Stanley was paying him an annuity for his “goodwill;” Lord Dudley made him steward of his estate at Rugby at a yearly fee of 10 marks and Thomas Bouchier made him Bailiff of Paghham at a fee of two marks. In January 1484, at the only Parliament of Richard's reign, Catesby was appointed Speaker for the Commons, perhaps the ultimate demonstration of his Sovereign's trust. William Catesby had definitely arrived.

The Cat used the immense political power he had acquired, allied with his natural powers of persuasion, to carve out his own mini-empire in middle England and, by the time Richard summoned his forces to meet at Leicester in August 1485, William Catesby had achieved his chief ambition, which was to supplant his former patron, Hastings, as the chief

magnate in the Midlands. To accomplish so much in two brief years, he often had to employ harsh methods, and there were many rumours of his sharp practice in legal dealings, but with his monopoly of access to Richard, there was no possibility of “complaint to Higher Authority” reaching the King. The Cat had it all sewn up, but he was widely disliked — hated is probably not too strong a word — in his own counties, and much of this opprobrium must have brushed off on to his master. In one more instance, Richard trusted not wisely, but too well.

Catesby was present at Bosworth Field, though he did not play any active role in the fighting, and was taken prisoner by Tudor’s men. The decision to execute him was inevitable, given his close association with the dead King Richard, the many enemies he had made in the previous two years and, in the view of one Chronicler at least, the strong probability that “he knew too much.” His Last Will and Testament, signed before his execution on August 25th 1485, throws light on a number of aspects of his life and career. He left instructions to his “dear and Well-beloved” wife, Margaret, as his sole executor “to restore all lands that I have wrongfully purchased” and he goes on to list a number of specific cases — presumably “purchases” made under particularly heavy duress. He orders that his Father’s debts and bequests should be paid, specifically noting moneys left to the Nunnery at Catesby and leaves one hundred pounds to the Duchess of Buckingham to help her see “her Lord’s debts paid and his will executed”, all duties which — for obvious reasons — Catesby had been “putting off”. Clearly, a man badly tainted with avarice.

In his private life, he may have been a nicer person. He asks Margaret’s forgiveness for any offence he may have unwittingly given her and “prays” that the Bishops of Winchester, Worcester and London will help her in executing his Will. Less generously, perhaps, he asks her to remain single, though he promises to pray for her soul as he hopes she will for his ... “and Jesus have mercy upon my soul, Amen.”

The chief interest for this historian in Catesby’s brief, last document lies first, in an apparently pointless plea to Henry Tudor to “be a good and gracious Lord” to his widow and orphans which he “Doubted



Memorial Brass to Sir William Catesby

— photo Geoffrey Wheeler

not. . . for he is called a full gracious prince ...” and which concludes “... for God I take to my judge, I have ever loved him ...” And the opening sentence in the second [and final] paragraph which reads “My Lords Stanley, Strange [Stanley’s son] and all that blood, help and pray for my soul for ye have not for my body as *I trusted in you...*” [Author’s italics] Why did he trust in the Stanleys ? How could he expect Tudor to know that Catesby had “ever loved him?” And what possible reason could Catesby have had to expect decent treatment for his relicts from a man as mean and vengeful as Henry Tudor? Clearly he thought he had reasonable cause for such hopes, but all were disappointed since the Stanleys did not intervene in his cause and Henry confiscated virtually **all** the expanded estate, kept most of it and used the rest to “pay off” supporters — ever the model of an economical monarch!

There is much fertile ground here for future research methinks, but next we must turn to the second man defamed in Colingham’s verse, who was very different to the crafty, clerical Catesby.

The Rat

Sir Richard Ratcliffe was a typical North of England fighting-man from the same mould as Robert Ogle, the unsung hero of First St Albans, and John Conyers, who settled the account of Sir William Herbert — briefly Earl of Pembroke — at Edgecot. He was the second son of Sir Thomas Ratcliffe of Derwentwater and like all his family, was counted among the supporters of the Middleham Nevilles, a loyalty which transferred naturally to Richard of Gloucester, son-in-law of the last great Neville.

Ratcliffe became the second husband of Agnes, widow of Sir Christopher Boynton, and daughter to Lord Scrope of Bolton and thereby, eventually and after a roundabout fashion, he would count William Catesby as his Step-Brother-in-Law. After his marriage, Ratcliffe set up house at Sedbury in North Yorkshire and came to the notice of Richard of Gloucester soon after the Duke’s move north to Middleham, through his involvement in expeditions against raiding Scottish bands. Richard made him a Magistrate of the North Riding in 1471 and within five years, he was Constable and Master Forester of Barnard Castle. In 1477 he was appointed to the Duke of Gloucester’s Council and made one of Richard’s feoffees of Middleham.

Further marks of the Duke’s favour continued to improve the standing and, no doubt, the finances of the faithful work-horse Ratcliffe, who was made Commissioner of Array in Durham and Northumberland in 1480. In the following year, after making courageous efforts in the punitive campaigns against the raiding Scots, mounted by Gloucester,

Ratcliffe became Sir Richard and he was further advanced in 1482 when the tails were cut from his pennon and he became a Knight-Banneret.

Richard of Gloucester's trust in Ratcliffe was made apparent again by his appointment as a member of the Council of the North Riding in May of 1483. In the same month, Ratcliffe had ridden south with the Duke to the fateful meeting with Buckingham and Rivers at Northampton and then on to the triumphal entry into London on May 4th, as part of the escort for the new boy-king, following the arrest of Rivers, Grey and Vaughan at Stony Stratford.

Richard kept Ratcliffe by him during his first month as Protector of the Kingdom - feeling he could well have need of strong loyal hands about him in the "foreign" country of England's Capital - and this perception was confirmed by developing events. Early in June, Richard's chief ally, Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham came to the Protector with a detailed report of a plot by the Woodville faction with which Gloucester's old comrade-in-arms, William, Lord Hastings had allied himself, and which aimed at the seizure of Edward V prior to his Coronation and his return to the care and supervision of his Woodville family. Since Gloucester would be sure to resist any such change, he too would be taken and imprisoned or, more likely, killed by Hastings' men. The neutralising of Richard would take place at the earliest possible opportunity, probably after or during a meeting of the Great Council which, under the Protector's Chairmanship, currently ruled the country.

With Buckingham, Richard of Gloucester rapidly formulated plans for a counter-coup and moved to summon armed reinforcements from his home ground in Yorkshire and the North. On June 11th therefore, Sir Richard Ratcliffe left London and spurred hard up the Great North Road bearing secret letters under Gloucester's personal seal. He reached Leconfield on the 13th of the month and delivered one of his letters to Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, leaving immediately for the City of York and thence to Lord Neville and other adherents of the Protector's cause. Coincidentally, on the same morning, Richard's first counter-blow had been struck when, at the special Council meeting he had used as bait for the plotters, he turned the tables on the would-be assassins and ordered the arrest and summary execution of Lord William Hastings, latterly Great Chamberlain of England.

His mission completed, Ratcliffe hastened back again to Richard's side and learned that the planned revolt, once made leaderless, had fizzled out.

However, the Protector had one further mission for him: he was to go to Pomfret Castle where the Warden of the Middle and Eastern Marches had

been instructed to assemble Anthony Woodville, Earl Rivers, his nephew Lord Richard Grey and Sir Thomas Vaughan, who had all been judged guilty of Treason, for immediate execution. Ratcliffe would carry the warrant for this terminal act and would stay to ensure that the executions were properly carried out. This he did, and the three died together on June 25th 1483, thus keeping Ratcliffe away from the historic occasion when the three estates of England processed together to Baynard's Castle, Richard's mother's home in London where he was lodged, and there prayed that the Duke of Gloucester would take on the dire responsibility of Kingship.

Unwillingly, Richard of Gloucester acceded to the peoples' demand and, a month later, Richard Ratcliffe received the due reward of his unflagging efforts in his master's support when, with John Conyers, he was made a Knight of the Garter in the Coronation Honours posted in July, 1483. During the next three months, Ratcliffe was busy as always about his King's business, travelling part-way with him on his "meet the people" tour of England and checking developments in the northern counties and particularly in the Border area. He rejoined the King as Richard left York at the end of September and began a slow progress back to London. However, news of an armed uprising in Kent reached him at Lincoln in mid-October and caused him to hasten his progress southwards, only to halt again when news came that the Duke of Buckingham was "up" with, reportedly, a large force of Welshmen and English Marchers at his back and proclaiming his support for Henry Tudor as true King of England.

Richard acted decisively, sending to John Howard, Duke of Norfolk, to move against the Kentish rebels and summoning all his northern support to meet with him at Leicester not later than October 22nd to march against the "false traitor" and "most untrue creature living," Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham. When his rapidly-assembled army swung through Leicester's gates on October 24th heading south-westwards to Coventry and from there, onwards to meet Buckingham, Sir Richard Ratcliffe rode at his side, the veteran's well-worn armour gleaming dully in the watery sunlight.

From his stronghold in Brecknock, Henry Stafford had been leading his forces eastward for the previous six days, hoping to gather strength to use against the "usurping" Richard as he went. Unhappily for him, the climate proved entirely hostile and it had rained solidly and torrentially throughout their march. The men were wet, cold and hungry and desertions had already started when the news came that King Richard was approaching with a very large and well-equipped force. That was enough for Buckingham's rebel army, which dissolved in the rain

and the mud and disappeared back towards its [mainly] Welsh homeland.

The King received the news of the collapse of Buckingham's threat as he left Coventry, so he swung his army southwards instead of to the west, and as he moved forward through improving weather, the make-shift alliance of the remaining supporters of Lancaster and Woodville crumbled before his approach. Reaching Salisbury on October **28th**, Richard rested his troops for a day and the following morning, amid great excitement and surrounded by heavily-armed guards led by the Sheriff of **Shropshire**, Buckingham - dirty, dressed in rags, despairing - was brought in for judgement. Sir Ralph Assheton, Buckingham's Deputy as Constable was designated by the King to hold court and, with no defence to offer, the Duke was condemned as a traitor and executed in Salisbury market square on November **1st**, 1483.

Many of Richard's loyal supporters benefited greatly from the attainders which followed the stamping out of the last embers of rebellion, but none more than Sir Richard Ratcliffe. He was granted estates in Devon, Dorset and Somerset to a value of over 1,000 marks and it was clear that Richard intended him to be his chief upholder in the Southwest and his main defence against any resurgence of the Lancastrian Earls of Devon. Immediately however, Ratcliffe was most sorely needed in the North again and such was the number of missions and other charges he was given, to and against the **Scots**, it is hard to believe that he was able to spend much time in his new estates. As further reward for his continuing services, Richard made him Sheriff of Wakefield and Sheriff of Westmorland for life in August 1484 and he was noted by the chroniclers as one who "carried great sway in County Durham" in the dying months of King Richard's reign.

In the late Summer of 1485, the news came of Tudor's landing in Wales and Ratcliffe again rode south to join with his master and King. The rendezvous was at Leicester and there his most loyal captain joined Richard, last of the Plantagenets, and together the two rode out of Leicester's gates on Sunday, August **21st**, leading a smaller army than they would have hoped for and with Henry Percy hanging back at the rear, a doubtful ally at best. When Richard made his last cast of the die the following day and charged down Ambion's slope in a last, vain effort to silence Henry Tudor's spurious claims once and for all, Ratcliffe was at his side, still guarding his flank and rear, and he died with the King, for whom and for whose cause he had lived, in the following melee.

For his loyalty and bravery he was posthumously attainted a traitor to "England's lawful King" in the first Parliament of the new reign, and his vast estate

went to swell the rapidly burgeoning wealth of the hitherto penniless scion of the lost cause of Lancaster, with some parts reserved for restoration to the Courtenays and other former owners who had suffered for their support of the claims of the House of Tudor.

Now, the Cat, the Rat and the Hog were gone. Only the Dog remained and he had fled, stripped of lands and wealth and titles, to sanctuary in the Abbey Church of St. John in Colchester. Here he waited and rested and planned for another accounting with the Welsh usurper which would come out differently to that at Bosworth Field.

The Dog

Francis Lovell is the shadow-man of Richard's triumphs, even his birthdate is not known with any certainty, though it was undoubtedly between November 1455 and February 1456. He was the only son of Sir John Lovell and Joan Beaumont, both families being staunch supporters of the Lancastrian cause. His father joined Lords Scales and **Hungerford** in trying to hold the Tower for Henry VI following the return of the Earls [Salisbury, Warwick and March] from Calais in June 1460 and, after Edward's victory at **Towton** the following year, all Sir John's lands were confiscated by the new King.

However, he was not attainted and by the end of 1463 had found his way back to favour with his Yorkist rulers and achieved the recovery of his estates. He was then unwise enough to join Somerset's rebellion in the early Summer of 1464 and his death is recorded on January 9th 1465. Later that year, his mother Joan was married again — ironically, in light of later events in the life of her son — to Sir William Stanley, but, on August **5th**, 1466, she too died.

Six months earlier, at the age of 10, Francis had been married to Anne Fitzhugh, third daughter of Lord Fitzhugh of Ravensworth in North Yorkshire and Alice Neville, sister to the Earl of Warwick. This linkage with the Neville family was further reinforced in November 1467, when the wardship of Francis Lovell -with the revenues from his broad estates — was granted to Richard Neville and Francis was sent to Middleham Castle, the Earl's northern stronghold, to begin his training as a knight. This would be the first tie between the lives of Lovell and Richard of Gloucester, since the youngest Plantagenet had spent a similar apprenticeship at Middleham, which he completed some months before the arrival of the young Lovell.

The early years of Francis Lovell's training for knighthood were, therefore, spent in the nerve-centre of Warwick's plotting to maintain his supremacy in the ruling of England, contrary to the ideas of his former pupil and cousin, Edward IV. This is

confirmed by Lovell's, and his wife's, inclusion in a general pardon to the Fitzhugh's for acts done in support of the rebellion by Warwick and Clarence against the King's majesty in July 1470. Briefly thereafter, the pardon became irrelevant when Warwick returned and re-installed Henry VI as England's King but, after Edward's crushing victories at **Barnet** and **Tewkesbury**, the future of Francis, Lord Lovell, was amongst the many loose ends tied up by Edward IV, and his wardship — and the income from his estates — was passed to John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk and husband to Edward's sister Elizabeth. It was while he was a ward of Suffolk that Lovell met the Duke's son, John de la Pole, Earl of Lincoln, eventually designated as heir to the throne by Richard III, and at Lincoln's side years later, Lovell would see the final demise of the house of Plantagenet of York on a gory field beside the old Roman road, the Fosse way, in the Summer of 1487.

Ten years prior to the downfall of the White Rose, Francis Lovell, having attained his majority, petitioned King Edward for the return of his estates and this was granted on November 7th of 1477. However, obtaining possession of what was rightfully his was not a simple matter and for some considerable time Francis Lovell found himself involved in suits at Law to recover his lands. Some of the litigation was against powerful magnates, Lord William Hastings was one, and another was Sir Richard Grey, respectively the King's best friend and oldest comrade-in-arms, and Edward's step-son. Lovell clearly needed a "friend at court" and the likeliest provider of such support would appear to be the King's brother, Richard Duke of Gloucester. Lovell had large land-holdings in North Yorkshire, some of them — **Bedale** for example — running immediately next to Middleham's estates, so there was much in common between the royal Duke and his fellow-graduate from the Castle's training school and on June 20th 1480, Francis Lovell was appointed a Commissioner of Array for the North Riding of Yorkshire.

His first duties involved the recruitment of men to march with Gloucester on a major, punitive campaign into Scotland. This invading force was led — in addition to Duke Richard — by the other chief land-owners in the Borders, Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland and Lord Thomas Stanley. Lovell found opportunities to distinguish himself in the ensuing fighting and he was knighted by Richard at Hutton-by-Berwick on August 22nd 1481. Later, as the advance into Scotland continued, he was himself granted the privilege of knighting two of his own commanders following action near Dumfries, one of the pair being that vastly experienced captain, Richard Ratcliffe, Constable of Barnard Castle. After the campaign, Richard continued to find employment for

Love11 in the north and he was appointed a commissioner of oyer and terminer for Yorkshire in March, 1482.

In November of that year, he received his first summons to Parliament, where the success of Gloucester's Scottish campaign was greatly lauded and, on January 4th following, was signally honoured by the King's appointing him, Viscount Lovell, clearly a further celebration of Gloucester's victories through the ennoblement of one who had earned a place among the Duke's most-trusted captains. Three months later, on April 9th, 1483, Edward IV, greatest warrior-king of the English, died peacefully in his bed and Richard of Gloucester would have sore need of men he could trust.

In the fraught months following the King's death, leading, via the exclusion of Edward's children from the succession on account of their illegitimacy, to the Coronation of Gloucester as Richard III, Lovell was busy on his master's behalfworking as a commissioner of the peace in Northamptonshire, the East Riding of Yorkshire, Bedfordshire, Berkshire, Essex and Oxford and, late in June, was appointed a chamberlain of the Royal Household, confirmed as Chief Butler of the Kingdom and created Constable of Wallingford in Oxfordshire. Love11 and his wife played prominent roles in the Coronation ceremonial, with Francis carrying the third Sword of State and his wife joining the Queen's procession on the eve of the ceremony. They joined the royal couple on their following tour of the Kingdom and entertained them at the newly refurbished residence at Minster Lovell, en route to Gloucester.

When news of Buckingham's revolt reached the King, Lovell was immediately sent to his estates to raise men and to command similar support from his principal neighbours, chief among whom, Sir William Stonor, failed to comply and had indeed taken his forces to join Henry Stafford's rebels. However, Love11 raised a strong force which rendezvoused at **Banbury** on October 18th and marched on to Leicester, joining Richard there two days later.

He stayed with the King's army throughout the campaign and witnessed its effective ending in **Salisbury** market square on Sunday, November 1st, when the erstwhile Duke of Buckingham was publicly beheaded.

Through the remaining short period of Richard's reign — less than two years of life remained to him



Arms of Francis, Viscount Lovell based upon his Garter Plate

after Buckingham's death — Francis Lovell continued his chosen role as the King's close friend and trusted confidant and when news came of the advent of the long-awaited Tudor invasion, Lovell was sent by Richard to raise men and to guard the south coast which was regarded as the likeliest place for Tudor's landing. The King placed his most trusted servant in the place where his undoubted loyalty was most needed. In the event, Henry Tudor landed in South Wales on August 7th and quickly began making his way toward the centre of England for the do or die confrontation with the last of the Plantagenet line.

Lovell turned his back on the south coast and headed north towards Leicester again for a reunion with his King, prior to the final confrontation with the descendant of the bastard Beaufort sprig and he joined the army in time to move out of the city gates for a last time, and to encamp at Sutton Cheney in the evening of August 21st, 1485. Less than twenty four hours later, friendless, masterless and in continuous peril of his very life, he was a fugitive from Tudor vengeance, fleeing south and east towards temporary sanctuary in Colchester.

Over the next two years, Francis, Viscount Lovell, again became the shadow-man of Plantagenet history. His name is associated with minor, and unsuccessful, rebellions in Worcestershire, Yorkshire and Lancashire, before he is seen emerging in Burgundy, where Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy, sister of Edward IV and Richard III, and last-surviving source of political power for the Yorkist claim to the throne, continued to plot and pay for schemes to dethrone the Welsh usurper. Here, in the Spring of 1487, he was joined by John de la Pole, Earl of Lincoln and, together, the two slipped over to Ireland — the old Yorkist power-base — and with 2,000 German mercenaries led by an experienced captain, Martin Schwarz, and several thousand wild Irishmen under the Earl of Kildare, sailed eastwards to land on the Lancashire coast on June 4th, 1487. With them came a young boy who, they claimed, was Edward, Earl of Warwick, son of George of Clarence and the true heir to the crown who came to claim his own.

Twelve days later after an untidy campaign of marching and countermarching, the army led by Lincoln and Lovell met Lancaster's one great general, John de Vere, Earl of Oxford near Newark in a battle which history would name Stoke Field and, after initial success, the Yorkists were thoroughly and finally routed. Many of the Irish were trapped against the broad current of the River Trent and its waters ran red with their blood for miles downstream, others fled towards Lincoln and were caught and hanged on

gibbets all along the road to this spurious refuge, and in the centre of the city itself. Henry Tudor was intent on showing his people what happened to those who rebelled against his beneficent rule.

Lincoln, with Schwartz and his men, died on the field; the boy pretender turned out to be a commoner called Lambert Simnel and he was put to work as a scullion in the King's kitchens; but the most painstaking search among the bodies of the fallen failed to unearth the corpse of Francis Lovell. The shadow-man had, once again, disappeared. This time, however, there would be no second-coming for the Viscount Lovell, Knight of the Garter, and close friend of the last Plantagenet King. His story proper ends in the bloody aftermath of Stoke Field, but an ancient tradition holds that he was run to earth in his family seat of Minster Lovell, hiding in a secret cellar, and there he was walled up on Henry Tudor's orders and left to starve to death. True or not, Francis Lovell, last of the Middleham Paladins, was never seen again.

Sources and Author's Notes.

As always, I have made full use of the Society's central Library, courtesy of Carolyn Hammond and am grateful to her and to Peter for their ever-available help and advice.

The source-documents I found most useful in preparing this article were :

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The Hastily Drawn Up Will of William Catesby by Daniel Williams. [Leicestershire Archaeological Society Transactions, Vol 51, 1975/6]

The Life and Times of Francis Lovell by Robottom/Workman/Carty [Booklet produced by the West Midlands Branch of the Society, 1982]

The Political Career of Francis Viscount Lovell by Joanna M. Williams [Article in *The Ricardian*.]

Together with various sources from my own library, mainly :

North-Eastern England during the Wars of the Roses by A.J. Pollard


Richard III by Paul Murray Kendall

And my own *The Hollow Crowns* and *The Deceivers*.

Note: I have modernised all the Olde Englyshe quotations used in the hope of making them more easily intelligible to today's readers. If any purists object to this, my apologies.

A CELEBRITY DEFENSE

Laura Blanchard

 Bertram Fields' Royal *Blood: Richard III and the Mystery of the Princes*, Regan Books, 1998, \$25.00

Imagine Dustin Hoffman, Mario Puzo, Dominick Dunne, Charlie Rose, Nora Ephron, and dozens of other luminaries turning out to celebrate a new book defending Richard III. It happened last October, when Hollywood attorney Bertram Fields' *Royal Blood: Richard III and the Mystery of the Princes* was released by Regan Books. For Ricardians resigned to seeing their hero dumped on by the world's all-time greatest playwright, a saint, and every columnist looking for a metaphor for egregious wrongdoing, this was a welcome change.

Some Ricardians, watching the media hoopla with mingled elation and bemusement, had another question: who is this Bertram Fields, and why is he writing a book about Richard III?

The Harvard-trained Fields needs no introduction to those in the entertainment business, and especially to those in the field of entertainment law. His client list includes the Beatles, Dustin Hoffman, John Travolta, James Cameron, Tom Cruise, Warren Beatty, and almost every major studio. He defended Steven Spielberg and the Dreamworks Studio in the lawsuit over the *Amistad* script, and was retained by Paramount to argue the appeal of Art Buchwald's high-profile lawsuit against Eddie Murphy over *Coming to America*. He met his wife, art consultant Barbara Guggenheim, while defending her in a lawsuit brought against her by Sylvester Stallone. According to the Harvard Law Bulletin, "[His reputation as a legendary litigator is based on stellar performances in the courtroom and at the negotiating table, in high-profile cases often involving huge sums of Hollywood money. He is also famous as the lawyer able to argue any side of the issue, for any industry party, and win..." *Vanity Fair* put it even more succinctly, calling Fields "the most feared man in Hollywood."

So, just why is this legal powerhouse taking a break from celebrity cases to take on Richard III? Not surprisingly, the reasons are both compelling and complex.

"I've always been interested in English history," Fields explained in a recent telephone interview, adding that he has also read and seen all of Shakespeare, including *Richard III*. "It's fascinating, and very good theater," Fields says of *Richard III*, "but I was left with the feeling that the guy had been more or less

piled on. Some years ago, I read *The Daughter of Time*, and then somewhere along the line someone gave me a copy of Walpole's *Historic Doubts*." Besides winning cases for the rich and famous, Fields is a novelist — having written two novels, *The Sunset Bomber* (1986) and *The Lawyer's Tale* (1993), under the pseudonym D. Kincaid. After the publication of *The Lawyer's Tale*, Fields' 92-year-old father, a retired surgeon, challenged him by asking when was he going to do something worthwhile with his life. "My father is a man who honors scholarship," Fields explained. "In addition to being a surgeon, he has multiple interests and has published articles on other topics — like economics, for example." Responding to his father's challenge, Fields began work on *Royal Blood* the next day. What made him pick Richard III? "I can't think of anything more worthwhile than the search for the truth." Fields dedicated *Royal Blood* to his father, now 97, and his mother, 86.

Wall Street Journal reviewer Ned Crabb described *Royal Blood* as "a most fascinating book — a step-by-step lawyer's brief using 500-year-old evidence in an attempt to solve one of the great mysteries of Western history." Fields begins with an overview of the factors to be considered in an effort to determine guilt or innocence: motive, opportunity, means, and proclivity. In subsequent chapters, Fields weaves together a re-telling of the events of Richard's life and an analysis of the available evidence, in which he looks at these four factors as well as the reliability of the sources. "Many of the sources of information are highly suspect, if not completely unreliable. Moreover, we are faced not only with determining who committed the crime, but even whether a crime was committed. The princes disappeared; but it is by no means certain that they were killed by anyone," Fields warns us in Chapter II, "Solving a Murder."

Did Fields approach the research for this book — research that spanned four years and two continents — as counsel for the defense, or as an impartial observer? "I was committed to bringing out the truth," says Fields. "Although my gut told me that Richard was innocent, I intended to approach it like a law case, and to go where the evidence took me. If it pointed to Richard's guilt, *that* was the book I was going to write." Fields began his investigations unaware of the existence of the Richard III Society. "I think I read about the Society in the introduction to one of the books I read, early on — probably Charles Ross's biography," Fields recalls. He joined the Society in

1994 and was a regular user of our non-fiction library, sending couriers from his Century City law office to librarian Helen Maurer's home in Mission Viejo and back in his search for sources. "The Society library is a great resource, especially for articles, and Helen Maurer went out of her way to be helpful," Fields comments, adding that he and his wife Barbara have contributed to the research library fund.

Fields read widely to prepare himself to write *Royal Blood* ("I think I've probably read just about every book written about Richard III"), and made repeated trips to England to see some of the original source documents and to revisit key sites. Because he was emotionally drawn to the defense but still struggling to maintain objectivity, Fields refrained from contacting the Society in England. "I wanted to do this on my own," Fields explained. "I was also very surprised by my reception at libraries and at the sites I visited over there. I thought there would be some resentment of me as an American working on this, but everyone was very welcoming."

Pacing the Tower of London, Fields says, gave him a good feel for many of the issues involved in the traditional accounts of the murder of the Princes, especially what he called "the absurdity" of the notion that the Princes would have been buried under one staircase, dug up, and then re-buried under another staircase to bring them closer to the chapel. He visited the city of York and Middleham Castle years ago, while stationed in England during the Korean War. Emotionally, though, the key site for Fields was Bosworth. "Standing on top of that hill, thinking that the course of history was changed by what happened there, I had a feeling I can't describe. I tried to imagine what it must have been like, seeing the enemy approaching and knowing that any minute Northumberland could attack from the rear. It was a tremendously moving experience."

While in England, Fields' research also took him to the British Museum, the College of Arms, Windsor Castle, and the Society of Antiquaries. "The people at the Society of Antiquaries were just incredibly helpful," says Fields, "and went out of their way to bring portraits out of storage. They even volunteered that they had x-rays of the Broken Sword portrait, and dragged them out for me to look at."

Fields' letters on behalf of his clients have been described as "notoriously stinging." Echoes of this can be found in some of his comments about Alison Weir, whose 1992 book, *The Princes in the Tower*, raised U.S. Ricardian hackles when it was released here in 1994 and has annoyed us ever since. Fields' research predates his first reading of Weir's book, but her abuse of the sources clearly irks him. "Even the traditional historians, like Gairdner, try to be even-handed in describing Richard," he observed, "but Weir goes for the

pejorative every chance she gets. She had absolutely no basis for forming the conclusions she drew." Fields relentlessly demolishes Weir's arguments, which at one point he says "defy logic and common sense," along with her credibility, chapter by chapter and point by point.

Along the way to publication, Fields had the obligatory Ricardian author's manuscript setback. He placed pages of his hand-written manuscript on the top of his car and then drove to his office, with months of work fluttering away behind him. His wife decided to copy the technique employed by the police when they attempted to recover Lorena Bobbitt's husband's severed penis (they threw hot dogs out of the window of a police cruiser and searched the areas where they landed). She placed a pile of soggy newspapers on top of the car and re-drove the route, stopping and searching where papers blew off. In the case of the Fields manuscript, alas, it didn't work.

Where did Fields' four years of research and two years of writing bring him at the end? There is nothing new in Richard III being acquitted in a courtroom simulation, after all — there was a mock trial in England involving a former Lord Chancellor and two well-known solicitors in 1984, and two trials held before U.S. Chief Justice William Rehnquist in 1996 and 1997 — and Richard was acquitted in all three. Historians, on the other hand, have repeatedly pointed out that the standards of evidence in law and in history are significantly different. "We must assess Richard III's guilt on a balance of probabilities," Alison Weir said at a 1994 book-signing engagement. Unlike Weir — whose confident assertion that she has "solved" the mystery of the Princes strikes Fields as unjustified *hubris* — Fields gives us no solutions, only probabilities. But he's confident that, if Richard III were tried in an O.J. Simpson-style wrongful-death suit, where the standard is "a preponderance of evidence" (in other words, more likely than not) rather than "reasonable doubt," Richard would prevail.

Royal Blood has been a hit at the cash register, going into its fourth printing within three months of being issued. What's more, Fields reports, a number of people with no previous interest in the subject are reading the book and getting caught up in the controversy. The seeds of Fields' next project were sown by this one: Fields hints that he's taking a long look at the Shakespeare authorship question — from a strict perspective of lawyerly objectivity, of course.

But if Ricardians are very lucky, some of Fields' celebrity clients and friends may consider the possibility that the most effective defense of Richard III will not be in the courtroom, or even on the printed page, but on screen. And, if the most-feared man in Hollywood were to drop a hint or two in the ears of some of those clients, just imagine what might happen ...

NOTE: Some Ricardians have asked about the absence of footnotes in *Royal Blood*. Fields' original manuscript contained footnotes, which the publisher declined to publish. However, readers will note the following line on the copyright page: "Footnotes are available upon request. Please write to Regan Books, 10 E. 53rd Street, New York, NY 10022." Fields has also agreed to provide a copy of the footnotes for publication on the American Branch web site. The interesting blip on the end-paper genealogy chart which has Margaret Beaufort improbably marrying her own father, who died when she was an infant, is an uncorrected typesetting error.

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R E V I E W S O F R O Y A L B L O O D

Royal Blood has met with good reviews in the popular press and the book is selling well. But how will Ricardians react? We're accustomed, after all, to going over books about Richard III with a fine-toothed comb. What will we have to say about it?

The members of the Society's e-mail discussion list had a list of specific questions and several people have sent away for the footnotes to see where Fields has gotten some of his information. Most of the online members who read it so far have quarreled with one point or another — few of us really thought the final what-if chapter was necessary. But, we largely enjoyed it for its unique perspective — that of a man, accustomed to taking any side in a dispute and arguing it successfully, stepping back and analyzing the evidence as dispassionately as he is able. (And, for some of us, it's delicious to see him reduce Alison Weir to a heap of dusty rubble.)

Ricardians who prefer the more nuanced readings of professional historians will find that Fields has occasionally reduced a complex issue to a misleading simplicity. That's a lawyer's job, after all. But, despite its occasional flaw, *Royal Blood* stands as a refreshing antidote to Desmond Seward (*Richard III: England's Black Legend*) and Alison Weir (*The Princes in the Tower*) — every bit as likely to engage the attention of the general reader, and a lot closer to the facts.

Certainly, Fields has entranced the reviewers. Here are some samples:

"ARE YOU WEARY of our modern political swamp, and the spectacle of Washington lawyers dancing on the head of an equivocation? I have a superb antidote. Return with me to the days when defending your political position meant strapping on a suit of steel, and, wielding a sword that could bisect a horse, slashing your way past a throng of chaps similarly tailored in steel and armed with hideous, eviscerating weapons. (And not a lawyer in sight. .. Return to the Yorkist Age, via *Royal Blood: Richard III and the Mystery of the Princes*, by Bertram Fields (a lawyer, oddly enough). Mr. Fields has

written a most fascinating book — a step by step lawyer's brief using 500-year-old evidence in an attempt to solve one of the great mysteries of Western history."—*The Wall Street Journal*

"Shakespeare (a Tudor playwright, after all) said Richard III did it. Contemporary mystery writers such as Josephine Tey and Elizabeth Peters would argue the reverse. And historians have weighed in on both sides. In another salvo in the bookish battle over whether or not Richard III killed his royal nephews in order to consolidate his power, Los Angeles entertainment attorney Fields offers a remarkably thorough and intricate history. After reading Fields' examination, readers will find themselves regarding British icons — Hastings, the Tudors, Dorset, etc. — with new appreciation. Fields sprinkles this erudite look at 15th-century England with enough informative asides to make the complexities of the Wars of the Roses a little less overwhelming ... It's easy to see why Fields is such a successful lawyer—his account is masterfully argued and expertly researched. It may be a little much for the casual reader, but then Ricardian revisionists rarely are casual readers."—*Publishers Weekly*

"Fields argues his case with the skill of a top litigator ... As we're drawn into the Case of the Two Princes, we embark on a medieval mystery with some of the allure of Umberto Eco's *The Name of the Rose* and dive also into the murky depths of conspiracy theory and political intrigue. Switch the time and setting, and *Royal Blood* reads like one of those labyrinthine, and endlessly gripping, Who-shot-JFK' chronicles....By molding his tale into a bated-breath whodunit, he serves up history the best way possible. Suspense, mood, anecdote—Fields employs a novelist's tools, as Norman Mailer did in examining the Gary Gilmore case, to give us the blood and spirit as well as the facts of the time."—Book

CHARLIE ROSE'S INTERVIEW WITH
BERTRAM FIELDS

Anne Easter Smith

Bertram Fields, the author of *Royal Blood: Richard III and the Mystery of the Princes*, was interviewed by Public Television's Charlie Rose on his show in mid-December. Fields was introduced as "a successful entertainment lawyer in Hollywood" who has represented every major studio as well as private clients such as Tom Cruise, Warren Beatty, Mike Nichols and Dustin Hoffman.

Rose explained that Fields had taken five years to complete the book, in which he applied 20th century legal techniques to the 15th century case of Richard III and the mystery of the princes in the Tower.

According to Fields, his father, who was 92 at the time, was the stimulus behind the book. Fields said, "My father asked me 'when will you do something serious with your life?' I thought, I have spent 40 years trying cases and have written two novels — wasn't that serious enough? That's exactly what he thought. 'You must contribute to the body of knowledge (to be serious)' was the older man's response.

"Why Richard III?" Rose asked. Fields replied that he had always been interested in English history, and "Richard III got a bad rap. The winners typically write the history ... the Tudors took over and had a terrific propaganda machine going. They created a monster — humpbacked, withered arms, limping across the stage, and none of it was true."

He went on to say that Richard could never have handled a charging horse in one hand and a lance in the other if he had a withered arm. He mentioned how portraits of Richard had been altered later to show him in a bad light as well.

"I approached it (the book) as I would a law case: We were trying Richard III. We look at motive, opportunity, proclivity to kill, other suspects. The conclusion: No jury in the world would convict this man based on the evidence. Can I prove he didn't do it? No," Fields said.

Rose turned the subject to Shakespeare's portrayal and asked Fields if Richard might have had a libel case against the poet. Fields replied: "If we didn't have the Constitution that we have here in the U.S., he could be guilty of libel. Shakespeare's version of Richard was clearly libelous, but he had only the Tudor historians to believe ... Unfortunately, he has given us this picture of Richard, but I don't blame him; I blame the Tudor historians. He was serving the King's [Ed. Note: *actually the Queen!*] interest. Henry VII had almost no claim to the throne, therefore he had to

create this myth that Richard was this terrible guy. Much easier in those days. Henry VIII and Elizabeth carried it on."

The discussion turned to whether Fields believes Shakespeare wrote all the plays and Fields explained his theory for believing Shakespeare was not the author. Rose showed a clip of a recent interview with Tom Stoppard (screenwriter for *Shakespeare in Love*) where Stoppard was adamant Shakespeare was indeed the author.

"You don't think of this as fiction, do you?" Rose enquired next, holding up *Royal Blood*, as if not sure.

Fields was indignant: "No, no, it's *not* fiction. It is hopefully an objective analysis of probably what happened."

"An analysis of a novel [Shakespeare's play] then, in a sense," Rose countered.

"Richard was a real character — all of them are real characters. It is a real-life mystery," Fields asserted.

Rose finally asked the burning question: "Who do you think killed the princes?"

"If they *were* killed," was Fields' quick response. "I am not even sure they were; they may have come back as adults." He went on to say that if he had to lay the blame of a murder at someone's door, "it would be the Duke of Buckingham. He was an unstable, mercurial man who wanted desperately to be king. He had the better motive than Richard; he had the opportunity as he stayed behind in London when Richard was away; he had the power and the proclivity. If they were killed, I would bet on Buckingham!"

The last part of the interview dealt with Fields' writing habits and what his next project was (who wrote the Shakespeare plays). He said he had been a little fearful that he would meet with resentment in England because of his topic when he was there to do research for *Royal Blood*, but he said "they were marvelous!"

Rose then asked Fields about the discovery of the boy skeletons in the Tower. Fields explained that the discovery made the Traditionalists certain that Thomas More was correct, because "they were found where More said they were buried. On the contrary, they were found where More said they were *not*, because he says in another sentence the bodies were moved from the staircase to no one knows where, because according to More, Richard did not want a king's sons buried there."

Sharon Michalov

This summer I had the opportunity to spend a week in Cambridge and much of my time was devoted to watching punts on the river, having tea, gallivanting to fifteenth-century wool towns and Jacobean houses, and visiting various colleges of historic interest. In this last pursuit, I was very anxious to visit Queens' College, which was founded in **1448** by Margaret of Anjou. Queens' is known for the famously misnamed Mathematical Bridge, the beauty of its "backs," Old Court which is an almost untouched example of late medieval brickwork, and the sundial that dates from 1733. Famous members of the college include Erasmus, Bishop John Fisher, and T. H. White. However, the college's heraldic symbol of the white boar is what will draw the interest of Ricardians.

The official name of the college is The Queen's College of Saint Margaret and Saint Bernard and the inspiration behind the founding of the college was from Andrew Dokett, who was granted a charter of incorporation in 1446, for a college to be built between the present Queens Lane and Trumpington Street.

This college was to be fairly small, the society consisting of a president and four fellows. Dokett and his fellows decided that the proposed site was too small and asked for a revocation of the charter in 1447, a new site was obtained and a second charter was issued on August 21, 1447.

Margaret of Anjou now enters the story. Possibly with the encouragement of Cardinal Beaufort, the queen decided to take an interest in Dokett's new foundation and became the patroness of the new college, which was now named The Queen's College of Saint Margaret and Saint Bernard. In order to do this, the second charter was revoked and Margaret was given a license on March 30, 1448 to issue her own charter for foundation, which she did on April 15, 1448. The first stone of the college was laid on that day by the Queen's Chamberlain, Sir John Wenlock. Dokett was fortunate enough to be favored by both the Lancastrians and the Yorkists and so, when Edward IV married Elizabeth Woodville in 1464, she became the new patroness of the college in 1465. The first statutes of the college were presented by Elizabeth in 1475.

What is particular interesting to members of the society about Queens', however, is not the associations of Margaret of Anjou and Elizabeth Woodville

with the college, but with the patronage of Richard III and Anne Neville. Richard and Anne

endowed the college with the rents of the lands confiscated from the earl of Oxford and gave the college vestments for use in the chapel as well as the right to use the white boar as one of the symbols of the college.

Since the earl of Oxford's lands were returned to him after the accession of Henry VII, the only remaining visible symbols of the interest that Richard and Anne took in Queens' College are the vestments and the boar, which is still one of the heraldic symbols used by the college today.

Other colleges at Cambridge are certainly worth seeing and Christ's and St. John's have strong associations with Margaret Beaufort. However: if your Ricardian travels take you to East Anglia, a visit to Queens' College will be most rewarding.

NEW AT [HTTP://WWW.R3.ORG/](http://www.r3.org/)

Laura Blanchard

Here are some brief updates on the American Branch web site:

Parent Society now online. Use the link from our homepage, or go directly to <http://www.richardiii.net/> — check out the information on Society programs and activities in England.

History in the Comic Mode. The online proceedings of the May 1998 symposium in honor of Charles T. Wood. Text of most of the papers, photos, RealAudio (hear A. J. Pollard poke a little fun at some of our most cherished beliefs about Middleham Castle). <http://www.r3.org/wood/>

Middleham Castle. A virtual tour, history, more, linked from our travel section <http://www.r3.org/travel/>

Titulus Regius. The text of this important Act of Parliament, linked from our online library: <http://www.r3.org/bookcase/>

Coming soon. Online editions of Holinshed, deCommynes' memoirs, the Cely papers. Also in the works: George Buck's *History* and William Cornwallis's *Encomium* (but these will take some time).

Continued popularity. The site continues to receive 3,500-4,000 file requests from 350-400 people every day and is an important source of new members.

1999 AGM in New Orleans Friday, October 1 - Sunday, October 3, 1999

(feel free to come early and stay late if your schedule allows and if you wish to see the sights of New Orleans at leisure)

Hotel: Doubletree Hotel Lakeside, 3838 N. Causeway Blvd., Metairie LA 70002, (504) 836-5253. Please mention the Richard III Society AGM to obtain the conference rate.

Conference Rates: \$109 per night, single or double; \$149 per night suite; plus applicable room taxes, currently 11.75%.

More details **as they become available!**



RICARDIAN PROFILE: DIANNE G. BATCH

Dianne G. Batch, our recently elected American Branch Secretary, leads a busy and interesting life. She has been a Ricardian since 1980 and attended each AGM since Los Angeles in 1991. When Michigan formed a Chapter in 1990, Dianne became very active. She served as Moderator of the Chapter for two years (1996-1997) and chaired the AGM in 1994 when it was held at the Dearborn Inn. She currently serves the Michigan Area Chapter as Membership Chairman and creator of the traveling library exhibit. She has prepared and delivered programs for the Chapter meetings and contends that the program presenter enjoys it more (and may learn more) than the audience.

Dianne is retired from employment now but was a Hospital Clinical Dietician for many years, in Virginia and in Michigan. She terms herself a "single senior," having divorced after 37 years of marriage in 1994. She has a son and a daughter who are both married, with children. Her son, Gibson, is employed with 3M and lives in St. Paul, MN.

Daughter Virginia is living in W. Lafayette, Indiana, where her husband is with the ROTC program at Purdue University.

Dianne has many interests besides Medieval History. She is a member of AAUW, where she is currently the Publicity Chairman. She belongs to an investor's group, two gourmet groups, the Needle Arts group ("everything legal with a needle"), and is on the

Board of Directors for the Islanders Theatre Club. She has directed, produced and acted in many of their plays. She is directing *The Dining Room* for a May 1999 production.

In her spare time, Dianne likes to read, and as you may guess, her choice of reading matter is wide and varied.

Classic British mystery writers vie with Napoleonic War novels and Anne McCaffery fantasy for a spot on her nightstand. She collects Waterford crystal in pairs and has about 90 patterns (at last count). She supports many animal rights groups, probably due to the influence of her four cats with whom she shares her condominium on Grosse Ile, just south of Detroit.

Dianne confesses her computer skills are still at the beginner level. She loves to send and receive e-mail and is getting up the nerve to get on the Ricardian e-mail List. Her new opportunity as a Board member should have her expanding her computer competence in a hurry. She can't wait to hear more about other Ricardian members and learn how their interests coincide.

Janet Trimboth





RICARDIAN POST

November, 1998

I attach information about the new second and updated edition of Dr. Peter Foss's *The Field of Redemore*, originally published in 1990. This is by far the most comprehensive and detailed study of all the available evidence relating to the Battle of Bosworth, 1485, and includes possibly the most informed and authoritative attempt to locate the exact place of death of King Richard III.

I also attach information about a commemoration to be held at Dadlington this year, on the anniversary of the battle. If any of your members are in England on 22nd August and intend to visit Bosworth Field, they would be most welcome to join Dr. Foss and other Ricardians for this exploration of the evidence for the battle.

With all good wishes,
Tim Parry

Dear Carole,

After an initial jolt of fear about what it might be, I greeted the big white envelope with joy — the long overdue *Fall Register*, at last. (I understand production problems, and would not have mentioned it, but you did in your Letter from the Editor, so it seems OK). I got home late, from a really unusual one-day temp assignment, and was very tired, but I read it from cover to cover before succumbing to the need to sleep. Geoffrey Richardson's article on Towton was superb, but I expected nothing less. Everyone else who contributed did a great job, also.

One item really piqued my epistolary urge, however, and that is why I am writing this. The item was Siobhan Burke's review of *A Vision of Light* and *In Pursuit of the Green Lion*. What follows is basically "My Early Encounter with a (Potential) Real Author." I would like to mention, however, that Ms. Judith Riley's middle (maiden) name is "Merkle," with an "e," not "Markle," with an "a."

I first met the then Ms. Merkle when we were incoming freshmen at the University of California at Berkeley in the Fall semester, 1958. She had the misfortune of sitting next to me in some dreary course, which was one of the items where one is basically instructed to "choose one from Column A or two from Column B," which were core requirements for eventual matriculation

(which I ultimately did not accomplish). I noticed the rather ordinary-looking young lady, and after a few sessions of watching her sketch horses (a passion of mine — she was much better at it than I was at any time) instead of taking notes, I struck up a conversation.

Horrors! I learned that, not only was she better at drawing horses than I, she was also vastly more intelligent than I. She told me that her father was a professor at the University's Livermore Laboratory (where the first atom had recently been split into its component parts), and that she was a faculty brat. Well, I didn't mind that. We sat out the whole dreary semester, and never had another class together for the remainder of my spotty academic career. Occasionally, I would see her on campus, and we would exchange pleasantries. I probably never would have given her a second thought in later life, had she not told me an anecdote of the sort that tends to stick in my memory, and may strike a resonant chord with some of our members who dwell in the rarified atmosphere of academe.

As a faculty brat, she was naturally invited to a number of functions that were not open to the children of ordinary folks. At one such function, she was introduced to an older professor, of the absent-minded variety. The gentleman was on his best behavior, of course, and he started the conversation by saying, "So ... you're Merkle's boy." Over the years, of course, I would think of that story and say to myself, "I wonder whatever became of Judy Merkle." She eventually assumed the dignity of the name Judith; I myself never grew up sufficiently to make that transition, although I use the name on official documents.

About 30 years later, I got my answer. I was working in San Francisco, and visited my favorite discount bookstore, on the ground level of my office building. I was gazing at the new fiction shelf, when the name "Judith Merkle Riley" leapt out at me from a hardcover book. I thought "No, couldn't be! But, what if ...?" That book, of course, was *A Vision of Light*. I picked it up off the shelf and turned it over, there was a picture. It was the face I remembered, slightly older. The bone structure had matured nicely, the hair was styled, she had slimmed down a bit — in short, she was beautiful, but still recognizable as my long-ago classmate! I was so proud: I read the capsule biography, and learned that she was a professor of English at one of the prestigious

private universities in Southern California. I had expected her to have become a scientist, but English is OK.

I didn't buy the book in hardcover, but I did purchase it a year or two later, when it was out in paperback. I found the subject matter and treatment a bit "fey," as I understood the term — just a little bit other-worldly, to have been written by the very earnest young woman I remembered, but we all change over time. I bore little physical resemblance to the person I was in 1958 — I had mellowed out quite a bit, myself. When I finished the book, I sent it to my daughter; I made a point of letting my daughter know that I had actually met the author. A few years later, when my daughter was home again, we found the second book, *In Pursuit of the Green Lion*, in paperback, at a chain bookstore. We bought it immediately and fought over who was going to read it first. I won.

Some years later yet, when the Northern California Chapter was charged with the responsibility of hosting the 1998 AGM, I happened to look at the coming events listing in the book section of the local newspaper. The name "Merkle Riley" jumped out at me one more time. Ms. Merkle Riley was doing the usual tour for her third book, and was appearing at a store in Livermore, her native turf. I wrote a letter to Ms. Merkle Riley in care of the bookstore. I reminded her of our earlier brief acquaintance and suggested that she just might like to be the guest speaker at the 1998 AGM.

Much to my surprise, she responded, by personal letter. I have the letter still. It is usually pinned to the bulletin board in my hobby room, next to my extra copy of the NPG portrait poster of Richard (the unframed one). She said that she just might be interested. "Actually, I keep circling around Richard III's time ... I'd love to come and speak to your group. There's some wonderful stuff from the 15th Century. And besides, it would be great fun! Let me know a long time ahead ..."

Ms. Merkle Riley could be available as an AGM speaker, if anyone is interested in pursuing this lead. She has written at least one more book since then, but I have not read it, unfortunately.

Keep up the good work on the *Register* — it is getting better and better all the time.

Judy Pimental, CA

Dear Carole:

I found this in Dear Abby and thought we might use it in the *Register*.

This is in response to the woman who wanted to name her son "the third," even though his name won't be

identical to his father's or grandfather's. She told you "English kings do it all the time."

Abby, please inform that woman that the number after a king's name is a historical designation only. It's not part of his name and is not used during his lifetime. The king known as Henry VIII was called "King Henry" in his time. Although he was the son of King Henry VII, he wasn't even related to kings Henry I through VI. He would have had to be the eighth Henry in his family to carry the number VIII after his name.

Unless the mother plans to crown her son king (in which case he would be the first, not the third), she must use her husband's and father-in-law's exact name in order to call her son a III.

Jacqueline Bloomquist, CA

Letters to Membership Chair:

I read with some interest your article in the *Ricardian Register* about the theater in Monmouth, Maine. For a number of years the American Savoyards performed Gilbert and Sullivan operettas there and I don't think [my wife and I] missed a one.

I wanted to reply to your query regarding the history of performances of *Richard III* which changed the time setting. I don't know whether you are familiar with a book which was published in 1992 entitled *Richard's Himself Again - A Stage History of Richard III*. It was written by one of my former students, Scott Colley. Scott was most recently dean and provost at Hampden-Sydney College and has now gone to Georgia to become a college president. I think his title pretty well describes the book.

Specifically, without rereading the entire book, I noted that in 1973 Al Pacino played the role with the Theater Company of Boston and I will quote a few sentences from Scott's book. "The opening was presented as a cocktail party, and Richard appeared at the edge of this gathering to deliver his lines. Richard and Buckingham exchanged microphones to address the crowd which arrives with the Lord Mayor. The costuming was in harmony with the unusual staging: King Edward IV wore a double-breasted pinstripe suit, Buckingham neat gray flannels, Queen Elizabeth a side-split evening dress. Yet one character, for some reason, appeared in a dashiki. Richard himself wore a heavy turtleneck sweater."



Lois Griffiths at the Monmouth Theatre

In a later production in New York (1979), again with Al Pacino, in the latter part of the play Richard appeared in a "rakish black beret." Other costumes "ranged from corduroy suits to pullover sweaters."

*Sincerely,
George B. Oliver*

***On the same subject as George Oliver's letter,
an e-mail from Bill Shapiro:***

Some years ago, the English Shakespeare Company presented a cycle of Richard and Henry plays on consecutive nights in Chicago under the collective title of "The Wars of the Roses." All were performed in nontraditional settings. I saw Henry V and Richard III. At the R3 performance, "I survived the Wars of the Roses" T-shirts were on sale.

Henry V was set in roughly the Vietnam War era. Henry wore army fatigues and gave the "Once more into the breach" speech while standing on a tank.

Michael Pennington played Henry as a cynical, war weary veteran rather than an exuberant young conqueror. In fact, they stood the Bard on his head by making *Henry V* into an antiwar play.

R3 was even stranger. The play was set in the prohibition era, and Richard was a gangster. (I don't remember who played the role, but he was excellent.) Richard and his henchman wore pin striped suits, black shirts, fedoras and shoulder holsters. However, the play reverted to medieval times for the fight between Richard and Henry. The stage suddenly went dark, and when it lit up again, two armored knights were dueling with broadswords. The duel was conducted in slow motion with the Barber "Adagio for Strings" as background music. As weird as this may seem, it was very effective.

Whatever its esthetic merits, I have a far more vivid memory of this Richard than of several recent and comparatively tame traditional performances.

Bill Shapiro

***In response to A&E production, "Tales From
the Bloody Tower," which was produced by
Edward Windsor***

November 15, 1998

It seems from our on-line discussion that Edward Windsor, the royal formerly known as Prince, is going to try to rehabilitate the 2nd Duke of Buckingham.

Without going into the whole family background of the Staffords, I thought this information might be helpful to those who wonder about the Duke. He and his brother Humphrey were wards of Edward IV and given in care to his sister Anne, the Duchess of Exeter.

Edward granted a sum of 500 marks per annum for the care of the boys. The Duke was little heard of during the remainder of Edward's reign but was instrumental in elevating Richard, Duke of Gloucester, to the throne. Richard then made the Duke a knight of the Garter and constable of England. He was promised the inheritance of the Bohuns, Earl of Hereford. When the promise was not forthcoming, the Duke went into a conspiracy to place the (so-called) Earl of Richmond on the throne (do we detect Morton's hand in this?). The Duke mounted a campaign, known as Buckingham's Rebellion, but his associates, among them the Courtneys, who were to back the Duke up were unable to do this and he found himself alone and fleeing. He sought asylum in the home of an old servant, Humphrey Banaster. Banaster betrayed the duke but was not rewarded by King Richard, who declared "he, who could be untrue to a good master, would be false to all others." The Duke was married to Katherine Woodville, sister of Queen Elizabeth. They had four surviving children, of whom Edward was his successor.

After the Duke's death his fortunes were forfeited to the Crown. The family fortunes were restored upon the death of King Richard. Henry VII restored all titles, which had belonged to his father and passed them onto Edward, who became the 3rd and last Duke of Buckingham. Edward served Henry well but had the misfortune to run up against Cardinal Woley. The 3rd Duke was arrested on a slim charge of treason, found guilty and sentenced to die on Tower Hill on May 17, 1521. A bill of attainder followed the execution of the Duke and, like his father before him, all his honors were forfeited to the Crown. The Staffords continued on until Roger Stafford, who died circa 1640, and the male line became extinct.

In his book *The Deceivers*, Geoffrey Richardson makes a strong case for the 2nd Duke being the murderer of the Princes in the Tower.

I wonder if Edward Windsor has mistaken the Stafford Buckinghams for the Villiers family, also Dukes of Buckingham and great favorites of the Stuart Clan. George Villiers is a villain of sorts in *Forever Amber*. Perhaps Edward should look into his character; he could use rehabilitation.

-Jacqueline Bloomquist, CA

***"Proof" / Historical methodology
on the online list***

Dear All,

In the past few days a major controversy has brewed between members about a new hypothesis put forward by a fellow member, and a new debate seems to have arisen over the very validity of the worth of proof for theories. I am not a professional Historian,

nor even a talented amateur, as most members seem to be. I have not finished my degree yet, but I have taken a course in Historical Methodology — it was a requirement for matriculating to History.

In the course, a great deal of emphasis was placed on producing some *evidence* for a hypothesis. The sources that were presented were graded as to their reliability. Primary sources were best, as well as archeological evidence. Secondary sources and tertiary sources were less desirable. All contemporary sources were to be scrutinized, to try to discern their reliability. I was told by a Professor, who was a much older, wiser man than myself, that a good Historian had a bit of the attributes of a good detective about him, and that we should try to present the evidence for a theory as much as possible.

Before I was a member, I had a great deal of respect for this Society. The professors I have studied

Medieval history under — even the traditionalists — accorded this society some measure of respect. Professional Historians require some evidence to be presented for a hypothesis to be taken seriously. We, as a society, ought to hold the same standards to ourselves if we wish to be given some measure of respect from the Academic community.

Many people pass us off as a bunch of crackpots already. How does that help Richard, or his reputation? Evidence does not have to be as extensive as Geoffrey thinks (although that would be nice !:-), and if we didn't have Faith, we wouldn't belong to this society — so there is obviously a place for faith in ones theories (otherwise you would never stick to them when your detractors are picking them apart! :-).

*LML,
Bob Reed*

Presenting a special tour:

A Royal Enigma ENGLAND'S KING RICHARD III

June 21-July 1, 1999

Was Shakespeare's evil, hunchbacked monster the real Richard III? Or was the last Plantagenet king a renowned warrior, a man loyal to his brother and friends, an affectionate husband and father, an able and just statesman? Who was this man whose ill fate it was to reign over a nation weary of wars between the houses of York and Lancaster and hovering on the brink of the 'Renaissance'? You are invited to join us in a search for some of the answers, as we travel back in time to 15th century England and discover some startling facts about this much-maligned king.

Our delightfully specialized tour is perfect for those with a keen interest in Richard III and Britain's medieval period in general. Sites we will visit having direct associations with Richard III include such great castles as Warwick, Ludlow, Richmond, Co&burgh, Middleham and more; Gt. & Little Malvern priories; the historical abbeys at **Crowland & Tewkesbury**; Sutton Cheney & Middleham churches; and Old Gainborough Hall, a fine medieval merchant's home. Enjoy walking tours of the ancient cities of York and Cambridge; and an excellent guided tour of Bosworth Battlefield, where the Plantagenet reign came to an end with the death of Richard III. We will share pleasant times with

friends from the English Richard III Society, both informal chats and interesting talks on the subject of Richard III. Plus a surprise or two!

Also included in the itinerary will be one of England's finest medieval stately homes, Haddon Hall; Selby & Battle abbeys; the glorious cathedrals of **Canterbury, Ely & York**; Roman Colchester, and Stamford, the finest Georgian town in England, fairy-tale Bodiam Castle; time in the quaint fishing port of Rye, and a leisurely tour through the lovely Cotswolds.

We will travel by comfortable mid-size coach and stay in charming smaller hotels and inns, all having a full range of amenities. There will be 11 great days of touring, with all admissions, accommodations, breakfasts and evening meals included in the very affordable price. Your tour manager/escort will be Linda Treybig, member of the Richard III Society since 1979 and escort of 8 previous Ricardian tours. Our groups is limited to 15 persons and we'd like you to be one! Really experience historical England travelling at a leisurely pace through beautiful countryside and charming old-world villages, with a small, friendly group who share your interests. Do join us for a truly memorable tour!

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1-800-896-5978; fax (440) 243-2236 or Linda Treybig (440) 239-0645.***

STATES OF FERVOR - PART TWO:

FAMILY FERVOR

Peggy Allen, Membership Chairman

First, a correction to the last sentence of Part One, published in the Fall, 1998 *Ricardian Register*: The last sentence read, "If it inspires anyone to give a gift membership to someone in Alaska, Arkansas, Hawaii, Nevada, or South Dakota, I'd be eternally grateful." It should have read, "... Alabama, Arkansas, Hawaii, Nevada, or South Dakota ..." as I'm sure many readers could tell from the tables. Please accept the author's mea culpa.

This part of the demographic study covers Family Fervor — how many Ricardians share households with fellow members.

The Society offers two types of membership: individual and "family." "Family" is in quotes because it's somewhat of a misnomer. Why?

An individual membership brings the owner thereof a quarterly mailing of the Society publications, and the rights to vote in the annual elections of Society officers, to borrow from the Society's libraries, to join the on-line discussion list, among others.

Currently, an individual membership costs \$30 per year. "Family" memberships are available for just \$5 per year to additional adults at the same mailing address as an individual member. A "family" member enjoys all the rights and privileges of an individual member, except that only one set of the quarterly publications is sent to the mailing address.

The family membership was created at the reduced price to reflect the lower cost of providing the Society publications to two or more people at the same address — not to specifically require that they be related. Most of our "family" members are spouses, but many are parents, adult children, Significant Others, or siblings.

TABLE 1 shows the basic data of state, number of members in the state, and a new item — the number of mailing list entries in the state. When there are fewer mailing list entries than members for a state, that means that some of the members are those "family" members. (From now on, I'll skip the quotes around the word family.) In fact the number of family members is the number of members minus the number of mailing list entries. So, for example, Alaska has 5 members, but only 4 mailing list entries, so one of those members is a family member.

The last column of TABLE 1 is called "Family Fervor." It is the number of family members divided by the number of mailing list entries, a rough measure of how many households containing one Ricardian also contain at least one more Ricardian.^{(1) & (2)}

At the bottom, the totals show that 13.3% are in that category, in the U.S.A. membership.

TABLE 2 shows the Family Fervor data ranked by state, dropping out the five states where there are no members at all. At the bottom, the mean value is shown (the sum of the Family Fervor column divided by 46, the number of entries.) The mean value of Family Fervor for a state, **12.9%**, is close to, but not the same as the overall value for the U.S.A. membership.

You can also see that the median value is somewhere between the **9.1%** of Georgia, Minnesota, and North Carolina, and the 10.0% of Massachusetts and Oregon. That is, half (23) of the 46 states shown are at or over 10% and half are at or under 9.1%. A statistician would average the two and say that the median is $(10.0 + 9.1)/2$ or 9.55%.

TABLE 1- BASIC DATA

State		# Members	# Mailing List Entries	Family Fervor
AL	Alabama	0	0	n.a.
AK	Alaska	5	4	25.0%
AZ	Arizona	17	14	21.4%
AR	Arkansas	0	0	n.a.
CA	California	112	98	14.3%
CO	Colorado	16	14	14.3%
CN	Connecticut	8	7	14.3%
DE	Delaware	8	7	14.3%
DC	District of Columbia	3	3	0.0%
FL	Florida	35	28	25.0%
GA	Georgia	12	11	9.1%
HI	Hawaii	0	0	n.a.
ID	Idaho	3	2	50.0%
IL	Illinois	38	33	15.2%
IN	Indiana	6	5	20.0%
IA	Iowa	2	2	0.0%
KS	Kansas	2	2	0.0%
KY	Kentucky	6	5	20.0%
LA	Louisiana	14	11	27.3%
ME	Maine	13	12	8.3%
MD	Maryland	18	17	5.9%
MA	Massachusetts	33	30	10.0%
MI	Michigan	32	31	3.2%
MN	Minnesota	12	11	9.1%
MS	Mississippi	4	3	33.3%
MO	Missouri	5	5	0.0%
MT	Montana	1	0	0.0%
NE	Nebraska	2	2	0.0%
NV	Nevada	0	0	n.a.
NH	New Hampshire	13	9	44.4%
NJ	New Jersey	38	32	18.8%
NM	New Mexico	2	2	0.0%
NY	New York	64	59	8.5%
NC	North Carolina	12	11	9.1%
ND	North Dakota			0.0%
OH	Ohio	30	25	20.0%
OK	Oklahoma	3	2	50.0%
OR	Oregon	11	10	10.0%
PA	Pennsylvania	37	30	23.3%
RI	Rhode Island	4	4	0.0%
SC	South Carolina	8	7	14.3%
SD	South Dakota	0	0	n.a.
TN	Tennessee	4	4	0.0%
TX	Texas	35	31	12.9%
UT	Utah	1	1	0.0%
VT	Vermont	4	3	33.3%
VA	Virginia	31	29	6.9%
WA	Washington	25	25	0.0%
WV	West Virginia	2	2	0.0%
WI	Wisconsin	6	6	0.0%
WY	Wyoming	1		0.0%
Totals:		739	652	13.3%

TABLE 2 - RANKED BY STATE

State	# Members	# Mailing List Records	Family Fervor
ID	3	2	50.0%
OK	3	2	50.0%
NH	13	9	44.4%
MS	4	3	33.3%
VT	4	3	33.3%
LA	14	11	27.3%
AK	5	4	25.0%
FL	35	28	25.0%
PA	37	30	23.3%
AZ	17	14	21.4%
IN	6	5	20.0%
KY	6	5	20.0%
OH	30	25	20.0%
NJ	38	32	18.8%
IL	38	33	15.2%
CA	112	98	14.3%
CN	8	7	14.3%
CO	16	14	14.3%
DE	8	7	14.3%
SC	8	7	14.3%
TX	35	31	12.9%
MA	33	30	10.0%
OR	11	10	10.0%
GA	12	11	9.1%
MN	12	11	9.1%
NC	12	11	9.1%
NY	64	59	8.5%
ME	13	12	8.3%
VA	31	29	6.9%
MD	18	17	5.9%
MI	32	31	3.2%
DC	3	3	0.0%
IA	2	2	0.0%
KS	2	2	0.0%
MO	5	5	0.0%
MT	1	1	0.0%
ND	1	1	0.0%
NE	2	2	0.0%
NM	2	2	0.0%
RI	4	4	0.0%
TN	4	4	0.0%
UT	1	1	0.0%
WA	25	25	0.0%
WI	6	6	0.0%
WV	2	2	0.0%
WY	1	1	0.0%
MEAN:			12.9%

ENDNOTES:

(1) It's not strictly precise, because a few Ricardian households include more than two members – notably, the Battaglia's, with four members-but it's a good enough measure for purposes of this report.

(2) Nor, in truth, does it measure the commitment of all family members to the Ricardian cause. A new member recently joined and enrolled her spouse, adding a note to their application, "I love this, and my husband, too, will learn!" And, one is reminded of the prominent member who perennially refers to her family-member husband as "The Reluctant Ricardian."



R I C A R D I A N R E A D I N G

Myrna Smith

Our reviewers have really come up with an impressive display of erudition this quarter. It has occurred to me that we ought to follow the lead of Isaac Asimov's fictional Black Widowers and award ourselves honorary doctorates, simply by virtue of belonging to the Richard III Society. (The honor could be extended, by courtesy, to Ricardian spouses.) This would enable some of us, like some of Asimov's Widowers, to call ourselves Doctor Doctor, or even Doctor Doctor Doctor. To start with, I hereby confer the following degrees on the following contributors:

DD - Doctor of Divinity

 ***Sacred Trust: The Medieval Church as an Economic Firm* - Robert B. Ekelund, Jr., et al; Oxford University Press, 1996**

Most students of medieval history can quickly produce a one- or two-sentence summary of the medieval Church's economic position, like "the Church was the largest single landowner in Europe" or "the Church was the single wealthiest entity in Europe". This book will take the reader far beyond such generalities.

But beware! All ye who seek to read this book, prepare

Item 1: Prepare for an analysis of the medieval Roman Catholic Church from an unfamiliar angle. As the subtitle implies, some aspects of the Church's organizational structure and her activities are examined under a special framework, which assumes that the Church was (or acted as if it were) an economic firm: seeking to maintain and increase its revenue, market share, and ultimately its profits and wealth. Of course, this is a simplification to facilitate the study at hand: the medieval church was formed, guided, and represented by many people over long centuries. Some of these people were idealistic, some sought aggrandizement for the Church, some sought self-aggrandizement.

The authors note at the outset that the medieval Church's macroeconomic effects have been debated over the past century. The question of whether her practices encouraged the rise of capitalism and all the attendant social and economic structures that have made the West rich occupied Max Weber on the negative side and Joseph Schumpeter on the positive side. But the authors' stated purpose for this book is to examine the Church as a microeconomic entity, an individual economic firm in a competitive environment, defending against rivals for temporal power — nobles

and kings — and rivals for spiritual dominance — heretics, Islam, and later, Protestants.

Item 2: Prepare to wish you stood a little closer to those obligatory secondary or undergraduate economics courses. The authors, presumably writing for an audience of their economist peers, are not shy about using technical terms — without including definitions.

By a happy accident, I read this book immediately after reading David Friedman's *Hidden Order: The Economics Of Everyday Life*, which provided a useful preparatory review. But concepts like "X-inefficiency" and "Tiebout effects" and the ever-present "rent-seeking" still left me wishing for a good economics dictionary, or a glossary in this book. In fact, just about the only technical term defined (in a chapter end-note) was "credence goods" — supposedly what the Church as an economic firm was selling. "A credence good is one for which 'quality' is not easily determined before or after purchase. Reputation of the supplier is the primary assurance of quality." (Think of your life insurance policy — how will you ever know that the company paid your beneficiaries promptly and in full?) The credence good the Church marketed was knowledge and advice about how to achieve favorable outcomes in the afterlife. As the authors point out, the Church was unable to rely on such things as testimonials from previous customers.

The chapter of most immediate interest to Ricardians is likely to be "How the Church Pre-empted the Marriage Market." Living in times when marriages, not to mention engagements, are almost casually dissolved, we may well wonder that a throne could depend on something called a "pre-contract". Though Edward IV's case is not mentioned and this book gives no definite answer to the question of the seriousness of a pre-contract, there is much evidence to reflect upon.

From the 11th-century on, the Church pursued and almost constantly redefined Church-sanctioned marriage, as a product only the Church could provide. We learn that "A contract to marry was typically upheld by the Church if the consent was a present rather than a future promise to marry." This chapter also describes how and why the Church gradually came to discourage and heavily penalize clandestine marriage, even punishing the priests and witnesses who attended such marriages.


One jarring note, and the only serious problem I had with the book, is that the data given for clandestine marriage court cases in England comes from the 1600s, without any discussion of the Roman Catholic Church's dramatic loss of dominance by that time.

A book whose subject matter comprises the two emotional lightning rods of money and religion could easily become a polemic. *Sacred Trust* avoids this outcome. In the cases they study, the authors analyze whether and to what extent Church activities and doctrinal innovations supported the overt spiritual aims of the church ("public goods") vs supporting the "private good" of enriching the Church as an economic firm. They do this dispassionately, as befits good economists.

This book is more consistent and coherent than any effort by a committee of five deserves to be. Because of its short length (under 200 pages, excluding the index) and few subjects — 7 main chapters — it leaves much ground for further exploration along these lines. A graduate student with a serious interest in both economics and medieval history who was looking for a fruitful research area could find it in this book.

— Peggy Allen, LA

PhD- Doctor of Philosophy

 *Plantagenet Ancestry of Seventeenth-Century Colonists* - David Faris, Genealogical Publishing Co, Inc., Baltimore, MD, 1996

When 15th-century nobles called one another "cousin" it was not just a social convention. Most of them with little effort could trace their relationship to one or more great-grandparent(s) that they shared.

If you are the sort of reader who occasionally reads a couple of pages of the dictionary for the sheer joy of finding interesting bits of information in the derivations and definitions, this is a book for you.

Like Burke's *Peerage*, it is full of names, dates, and places, with frequent notes of activities and relationships. You find yourself saying "so that's his connection" and "that's where she fits." Because it deals with family histories of American colonists it is not a straight-forward list of eldest sons, and it often breaks off into descent from a third daughter, etc. For instance, eight generations of Percies are hidden under the name Kempe and the great-granddaughter of Clarence under Somerset. The book contains one of the best cross-references to the families of spouses I have ever seen. There are frequent 15th-century spellings of personal and place-names as they appear in wills, which hint at the likely pronunciation. That has always fascinated me.


Of special interest are the family trees of Richard of York and Cecily Neville. All their children and


many of their grandchildren, along with their spouses, are listed and sometimes commented on. Like Sir John Neville, the author wears the colors of York under his scholarly armor. Here is part of his entry for Edward V Plantagenet:

"... was deposed by his uncle Richard, Duke of Gloucester, 2.5 June 1483, before he had been crowned, said to have died in the Tower with his brother Richard, but appears to have been living at the accession of King Henry VII; if murdered, then at the direction of that King rather than by King Richard III."

My copy was a gift from a very perceptive daughter-in-law. Lacking one, probably the best place to look for this gift would be in the genealogy section of your library.

— Margaret Drake, FL

 *The Wars of The Roses Through The Lives of Five Men and Women of The Fifteenth Century* - Desmond Seward, Viking, \$26.95

 *The Wars of The Roses - Alison Weir, Ballantine Books, \$24.00*

The wars of the roses has attracted a great deal of attention in the last few years, both from scholars and popularizers of history. Desmond Seward, who falls into the latter category, has written books on a variety of periods and characters, including Eleanor of Aquitaine, the Hundred Years War, Henry V, Richard III, Napoleon, and Metternich. In *The Wars of The Roses*, he attempts to show the period through the eyes of five significant figures who lived through that unsettled time. The effort falls short of success.

The five people through whose eyes we are meant to see the conflict are William Hastings, friend and chamberlain to Edward IV, John de Vere, the Lancastrian Earl of Oxford; Margaret Beaufort, Henry VII's mother; John Morton, Bishop of Ely; and Jane Shore, Edward IV's 'Merry Mistress.' Although Seward gives some biographical information, he fails to bring them to life, and they remain shadowy stick figures. Unfortunately, documentary evidence of a personal nature is scarce, but Seward compensates for this by leaping from conjecture to speculation to make up in color what the narrative lacks in accuracy.

Seward's treatment of Jane Shore illustrates his approach. What little is known of her comes from Thomas More's *History of King Richard the Third*, which was written, but never completed, long after the events described. More's Jane is an appealing figure indeed, with little basis in historical fact. Almost

nothing is known of her background except that she was probably the wife of William Shore, a mercer. Seward has provided her with a father, John Lambert, alderman and sheriff of London, basing his claim on a 1972 article in *Etoniana*, a source that seems to have escaped the notice of scholars. As soon as he is introduced, Lambert overshadows his putative daughter, and we see through his eyes rather than Jane's.

When Seward discusses Richard III, whom he called 'England's Black Legend' in an earlier book, all pretense of evenhanded scholarship is abandoned, and *The Wars of The Roses* changes from a straightforward, if inept, narrative into a nearly hysterical polemic. Like many writers of popular history and historical fiction, Steward chooses those facts which support his thesis and ignores those which undermine it. Although this tendency is most obvious when he is writing about Richard III, it applies as well to all of the people he discusses. Seward's virtually uncritical acceptance of Tudor sources is surprising, since he has also consulted the works of distinguished scholars like Charles Ross, Michael Hicks, and Paul Murray Kendall, most of who take writers of the Tudor period with more than a grain of salt. Despite its many flaws, the book, which is well illustrated in both black and white and color, is a good read, although a careful editor would have caught the many repetitions, contradictions and grammatical lapses. Notes, a bibliography, and an index are included.

Alison Weir, another popularizer, wrote *The Wars of The Roses* as a prequel to her earlier work, *The Princes In The Tower*, in which she claimed to have solved the 500-year-old mystery of the deaths of the sons of Edward IV. She makes no such grandiose claims for her current work, which covers the period between the accession of Richard II in 1377 and the end of what she terms the first Wars of the Roses in 1471. Her intent is to show how the murder of Richard II by Henry IV led to the Wars of the Roses and the murder of Henry VI by the victorious Yorkists. Although it was written for both general and academic readers, there are no notes, and many of her quotes are unattributed, so it is unlikely that any historian, academic or amateur, will take the work seriously.


Although Weir has a certain narrative skill which drives the story, and is generally even-handed in her treatment of both Lancastrians and Yorkists, she relies too heavily and uncritically on non-English and later sources. More than a few errors mar the work, and Weir's attempts to analyze the factors which led to the wars are amateurish and superficial. The book is poorly organized, the many irrelevant digressions and flashbacks are confusing, and there are several howlers, such as her reference to 'a renowned but anonymous French painter.' The book is illustrated

with black and white plates of indifferent quality and includes a bibliography and an index.

— Roxane Murph, TX

(The above review appeared in slightly different form in the Fort Worth Star-Telegram.)

MD - Doctor of Medicine

 **The Black Death - Philip Ziegler, Alan Sutton Publishing, Stroud, Glos., 1991, reprinted 1993, 1994, and 1995**

Plague! The Black Death! Nothing more fearsome in mid-14th-century Europe! The bubonic plague, a viral infection spread by rats and fleas, traveled westward from Asia to the ports of Italy in 1347 as inhabitants there sought to escape the devastation in their own lands. From Italy the plague spread throughout Europe. In the three years 1347-50, one-third of the population, some 45 million people, died, over 1000 villages were depopulated and some completely destroyed. Cemeteries could not handle all the corpses, food was scarce, travel became dangerous, persecution of the Jews began in earnest, there was a shortage of workers and those who were available demanded higher wages, the manorial system disintegrated and in 1381 the Peasant Revolt occurred. Society was forever changed.

Prior to the onslaught of the Black Death (a name that was not applied until the 18th Century), there had been a soaring population, and then devastating climatic conditions which caused farming disasters: famines occurred frequently as glaciers advanced. The population increased without the means to sustain itself. Malnutrition certainly became a factor in the high death rate.

Author Ziegler traces the advance of the Black Death from Asia to Italy, to France, to Germany, and finally to England. Most of his book concerns the effects in the British Isles, a given since he is a Londoner educated at Eton and New College. He takes individual sections of the country and shows the variations between villages and cities, and how it affected social and economic matters. The book is filled with figures; it's amazing that sufficient statistics were kept at the time to enable this compilation. The reader gets a rather full picture of medieval life, a fitting background to the next century's War of the Roses.


There was good news about the Black Death. Because of the decimation of the clergy and the need to educate more clergy, several colleges were founded, among them Corpus Christi and Merton at Oxford. Medieval men who survived thought of the Black Death as punishment from God for their sinfulness. But those who survived apparently bequeathed to their descendants the ability to resist infection by the AIDS virus, modern history's most lethal disease.

This is according to a molecular biologist at the National Cancer Institute. Although the origin of the mutation which confers protection is obscure, it appears to have suddenly become common among Europeans about 700 years ago, the time of the Black Death.

Mr. Ziegler states that his book is not for the professional historian but rather for the general reader. There are many illustrations from the period, and the text is comfortable to read, all notes appearing at the end of the book.

— Constant Hopkins, AZ

LLD • Doctor of Laws

 **Royal Blood: Richard III and The Mystery of The Princes - Bertram Fields,** ReganBooks, Special Markets Department, HarperCollins Publishers, Inc., 10 E. 53rd St, NY, NY, 1998, \$25.00



Academic historians are going to trash this book, just as they trashed Paul Murray Kendall's *Richard III*— and he was an academic with impeccable credentials, just not in the field of history. Mr. Fields is not only a lawyer, but a show-biz lawyer, with an impressive list of clients in the entertainment industry. His dust-jacket portrait looks more like the stereotype of a professor than that of a show-biz lawyer, whatever that may be. In fact, as Josephine Tey had one of her characters say about a well-known person, he looks more like a judge than either, and that is the role he has chosen to fulfill in this book: neither the defense nor the prosecution, trying to free/condemn the client by any means possible, but the fair, even-handed judge, calling down either side when they get out of line. (He is especially rough on Alison Weir, but no more so than she deserves.) Still, he is quick to point out Ricardian lapses in logic, as well.

Mr. Fields is not only a logician, but a mathematician by inclination, if not by education. In fact, few people are educated in anything beyond the basics. (For a quick and enjoyable course in probability, statistics, et. al., try *A Mathematician Reads The Newspaper*, by John Allen Paulos, BasicBooks, 1995) Fields points out, for instance, how the difference in the population of London (around 50,000) and York (c. 12,000) made it difficult for Richard to raise a force from the latter that would intimidate the citizens of London. He even calculates the odds of Richard's guilt or innocence on a mathematical basis. Not that this is dry and difficult to read, or that the author doesn't indulge in the occasional flight of fancy. For

instance, his last chapter is entitled "What If?," and posits an alternative history in which Edward V does rule. Both Richard Plantagenet and Henry Tudor come to sticky ends, though not on the battlefield. However, things turn out much happier for most of us — no World Wars, no Bomb. His view is maybe a little too rosy: there have been many more points in history when things could have gone either way, and it's all moot anyway. But it is interesting to speculate on.

His middle-of-the-road fairness seems to slip a little in his chapter on the pretenders. At least he gives "Perkin Warbeck as Richard of York" more convincing arguments than any other possibility, nor does he mention all the possibilities: e.g. that "Perkin" might have been an illegitimate son of Margaret of York or (more likely) Edward IV. He does speculate that he might have been Sir Edward Brampton's son, but not really seriously. An intriguing thought, though.

There are a number of illustrations, most of them in color, but the proof-reading slips a little now and then. For instance, he refers to the Ricardian Society, not the Richard III Society, and to an article appearing in the *Ricardian* (presumably the *Bulletin*) with no indication by typography or punctuation that this is a periodical. (These must be proofreaders' errors, since he acknowledges the help of the Society's Helen Maurer.) He also repeats the common belief of many that people were shorter in the 15th-century, as shown by the surviving suits of armor. It never occurs to them that the surviving suits belonged to adolescent boys who outgrew them, or to undersized 4Fs. More seriously, although there is a bibliography, there are no notes. (A publisher's note says that these are available on request, but this note can be easily overlooked.) Even the casual reader wants to know, now and then, the source for certain statements. This is often given in the context, but not consistently.

These few minor faults aside, this is an excellent consideration of the subject of his subtitle, and should give Ricardians, and others, food for thought. I hope that a number of you read it, and send me your opinions. I promise to incorporate them all. For those who won't read anything that isn't pro-Richard, I will add that this is, for the most part.

— m.s.

D Litt • Doctor of Literature

Some pretty deep stuff in this column. We need something a little lighter for afters, namely a mystery. *A Stolen Tongue* by Sheri Holman, (Atlantic Monthly Press, NY, 1997) is set during Richard III's reign, but he is mentioned not at all, and England only in passing. The story is that of Friar Felii Fabri and his pilgrimage from Ulm to the Holy Land. It seems that, just as nuns became figurative "brides of Christ," friars and monks would

choose a female saint for a spiritual mate. Friar Felix has chosen St. Katherine of Alexandria, and he is determined to visit as many shrines containing her relics as he can on his journey. Imagine his dismay when these start to disappear, an eyelid here, a tongue there (hence the title). Not only that, but live, whole people start to disappear, supposedly dead people to reappear, and Friar Felix finds himself breaking some of his vows (not the Big One, however). In her debut, Ms. Holman writes in the persona of someone we might not, from our 20th-century perspective, find very admirable, but still makes him sympathetic. That's a skill not every experienced novelist could handle so well.

In spite of this, the most interesting part of the book, at least to me, was the travelogue, written by Felix for his brothers in religion back in Ulm. We find out how perishables (bodies among them) could be preserved on shipboard, for instance. He gives a list (the good friar is one of those compulsive list-makers) of reasons that Mass could not be said on board ship - I'm sure you can think of at least one — and many other Tips for Travelers.

In the category of Romance, Dale Summers sends us a review of *Garland Of The Realm*, by Janet Kilbourne (Robert Hale, London, 1972), which was written when the author was only 14, calling it “a blend of unexpected

insight and undisciplined melodrama.” Dale adds: “The relationship between Richard and Anne is what we all hope it was ... warm, constant, committed and loving. .. Edward's death plunges him into an abyss from which he never emerges. The crown is pushed upon him. His friends betray him. He loses his legitimate son and then his beloved wife. We are forced to endure every aspect of his pain ...” Dale speaks of Kilbourne's “morbid fascination with the decline of Richard's character,” but also of her precocious “understanding of the comfort derived from sexual intimacy in marriage,” and wonders how she gained such insight. A fuller review follows, when we have more space.

That's all for now. Next time, the latest Sister Fevrise, a Renaissance Horatio Alger story, and more. I'm depending on you for the “more”. Please don't think that you have to review a serious book to see your offering in print. For those of you who want suggestions for lighter fare, there are all sorts of Medieval and Renaissance mysteries out there, and countless bodice-rippers.

I have a D.TL reserved for reviewers of the latter — Doctor of TrashLitt. Thanks to all you Gentle Readers who answered the call. Keep them coming, and allow me to sign Ph.D. after my name. The initials will indicate, in this case, that I am Phully Delighted with **your response!**

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