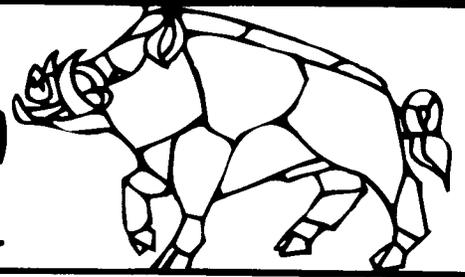


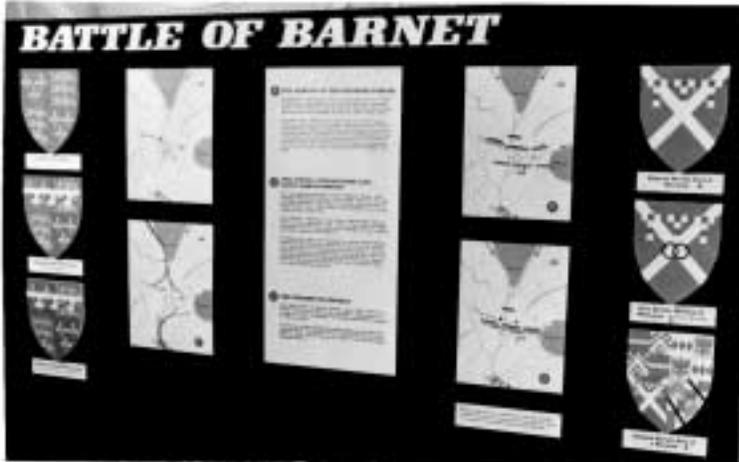
Richardian REGISTER



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BATTLE OF BARNET 1971 500th Anniversary Exhibition

— Photos and montage by Geoffrey Wheeler

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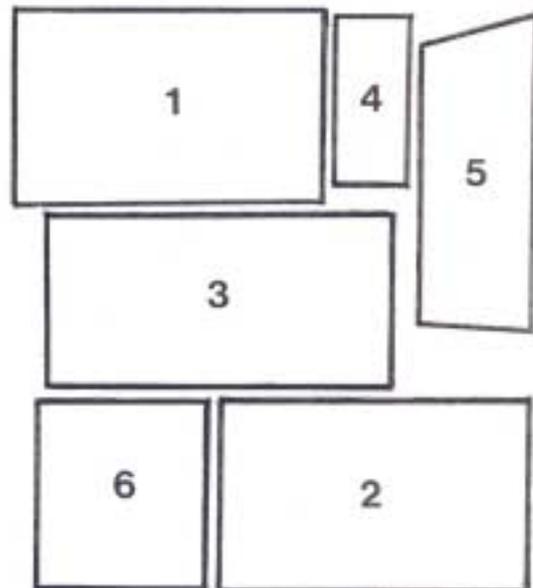
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COVER ILLUSTRATION

BATTLE OF BARNET 500TH ANNIVERSARY EXHIBITION TOWN HALL, BARNET. APRIL 1971.

- (1) (2) Information panels with heraldic shields of the leaders and maps showing battle formations and manoeuvres.
- (3) Scale model of battle, with formations marked by principal banners. Left to right: Gloucester, Exeter, Warwick, Edward IV, Clarence, Montagu.
- (4) The Warwick Signet ring. Gold, with engraved bear & ragged staff device, and the inscription *soulement une*. Round the hoop are engraved sprays between the legend: *be goddess faire foote*. Said to have been found, together with his seal, on the Kingmaker's body, after the battle.
- (5) Rubbing of the indent and remains of the monumental brass to Sir Humphrey Bourchier, killed fighting for Edward IV at the battle, from the original in Westminster Abbey.
- (6) Tiles bearing the Montagu shield of arms installed by Warwick's grandfather, John Montagu, Earl of Salisbury, in 1380 at his manor house of Salisbury Hall. Demolished by the victorious Yorkists in 1471 and rediscovered in the forecourt of the house in 1965.

Photos by Geoffrey Wheeler, London.



THE BATTLE OF BARNET

Martin Reboul

Editor's Note: The following is the conclusion of article which was published in our Winter, 2002 issue:

Where Was The Battle?

No contemporary maps are available to show exactly where the battle took place. Three accounts (*The Arrival*, Polydore Vergil and the *Chronicles of London*) vaguely mention that the battle was on a “plain” outside Barnet town, which must mean the high ground to the north, as Edward passed through Barnet on his way, marching up the Great North Road. Sir John Paston's letter also mentions the battle was half a mile from Barnet.

The encounter between Edward's scouts and Warwick's men by the ‘hedgesyde’ mentioned in *The Arrival* apparently also took place about half a mile to the north of Barnet (which is now known as High Barnet), providing another clue as to where the Lancastrian line was. That is about all that is available from contemporary sources, so detective work, examination of the ground and a little imagination are needed to find the exact spot and the dispositions of the two armies at the start.

As already mentioned, there has been a lot of confusion and debate over the years about this, but I hope the matter can be laid to rest at long last. To begin with, here are a few opinions from the past and the evidence they were probably based upon. Maps of the battle dispositions appear in most “Battlefields of Britain” and “Wars of the Roses” books.

In 1955, at the start of a period of intense interest in this period of history, P. M. Kendall wrote an excellent and well researched biography of Richard III. It includes a pair of maps which he states were “based on his own inspection of the ground . . . and examination of documentary accounts.”

Kendall referred to the famous military historian Colonel A. H. Burne, describing his 1950 account of the battle of Barnet as “stimulating and helpful.” though he obviously didn't absolutely agree with all of the Colonel's conclusions. Kendall was also a little uncertain in his own conclusions, because two years later in his 1957 book *Warwick the Kingmaker*, the map of the initial positions at Barnet had changed. Others followed in his footsteps, and most of those who have investigated the battle in detail appear to have been troubled by the same problem I initially encountered.

Playing ‘Table Top General’ with a large scale O.S. map and cardboard strips to represent the various possible sizes and configurations of the two forces at that scale, I had little trouble placing Warwick's force, as there is only one sensible place to choose. But the Yorkist army, in view of what we know happened in the early stages of the battle, is very difficult to place anywhere

near where they must have been — there just isn't enough high ground. The only accurate map placing Richard of Gloucester's force where it really was (apparently ignoring the topography) was in Colonel Burne's book. He admits that he cannot explain why Richard of Gloucester was stationed so far off the high ground, but the late Colonel, who lived near the spot and had access to archaeological evidence which has since vanished, seems to have known *where* he was but not *why*. If he was correct, all the contemporary accounts make sense and Edward's army fits neatly into place. This also makes it quite easy to see what must have happened later on in the battle.

The key to what has gone wrong lies can be found in an old map, copies of which were given away as ‘free gifts’ at local petrol stations a few years ago. This is the Roque map of 1754, the earliest topographical map of the battlefield area known to exist (though still only “half way there” in time — it was drawn some 280 years after the event).

Careful comparisons with the modern Ordnance Survey with regard to distances and directions show that in the worst case the two maps differ by less than 5% and are, on the whole, within 2% of each other. There is also an overall distortion which may be due to the curvature of the earth which explains many of these discrepancies, and it does not significantly affect the accuracy of Roque's map when considering small areas.

Roque produced his maps from mileometer readings and compass readings of prominent landmarks, compiled from his skilled personal observation of the terrain from high spots. What he saw from the church tower at Monken Hadley in the 1750's was rather different from the landscape we see today. He didn't use contours, marking steep slopes and high ground by shading, which is very clear and actually more helpful when giving an impression of the lie of the land than the modern O.S. contour system — if not quite so scientifically accurate.

As it happens, contour lines have actually been the cause of much inaccuracy and the reason for the bewilderment of many who have tried to draw a map of the battlefield in the past. The four hundred foot contour is usually used to define the edge of the ‘plateau’ on which the battle was fought, instead of the sharp drop away in gradient (which is more noticeable when walking the battlefield on foot). In addition to that, nobody seems to have considered the possibility that the terrain might actually have changed in the last five centuries. The Roque map shows very clearly that it has in fact altered quite dramatically.

Drainage, extensive building work to the southeast, new roads, the construction of a railway line and a vast movement of earth to build a ramp for the new, more

civilised main road up Barnet Hill, changed the terrain on the eastern side of the field. The ridge on which Richard of Gloucester was stationed before the battle has shrunk, some used as hardcore and ballast for modern building work and probably through natural erosion as well. The treacherous dip into which he advanced at dawn has been partially filled with material taken from the ridge, during a large-scale levelling operation to create playing fields.

On the western side of the field, the golf course and the construction of the new St. Albans road have probably also had an effect, though not as significantly, for most of the work was too far to the west to affect the battlefield itself.

Another interesting feature of the area, which is rather mysterious, is the place of legend known as “Dead Man’s Bottom.” The name perhaps conjures up an image of two small pink hills slightly squashed together to the less serious historian, but in fact it was a boggy depression, named following the dreadful slaughter of fleeing Lancastrians, who were slowed up by the mud as they tried to escape to the north.

Dead Man’s Bottom appears to move around to the convenience of map makers and theorists over the years. The first O.S. map, from the early 19th C, places it well north of the battlefield, about where it might be expected that exhaustion would be very likely to overcome men desperately trying to escape the fighting.

Map no. — shows the probable initial disposition of the two sides, taking into account the presence of the moated manor house at Old Fold, which existed in 1471 and probably helped to decide Warwick’s deployment (the moat is probably the only surviving landmark which was actually there in 1471). This map is based on the ground as represented and shown on the 1754 Roque map, in conjunction with a wonderful 1726 tithe map of the area west of the Great North Road, which is very detailed indeed, even showing the types of individual trees.

The creation of football and cricket pitches immediately to the east of Monken Hadley church involved partial filling in of the “bottom” into which Richard of Gloucester advanced as mentioned, and he and his men would certainly have been very glad if it had been done before 1471. The church itself was built over twenty years after the battle, and whatever structure it replaced (if any) wasn’t mentioned in any contemporary account of the battle.

What was the Great North Road in 1471 is only a footpath today, running past the clubhouse of Old Fold Golf Club. The current North Road is less than 200 years old and swings in a curve to the east, not straight like the old Roman road. Despite being only a footpath, the ‘Old Road’ is probably in better shape than it was in the 15th century, apart perhaps from the section to the North of the Highstone, which although officially the Queens Highway, appears to be little better than it was when Warwick marched down it in 1471. Drive a sports car with lowered suspension on it at your peril!

Map no. — shows what had probably happened after the initial confusion, though it is far more difficult to be accurate — only the letter of Margaret of Burgundy gives any hint as to the later positions of the two sides, i.e. the lines turned nearly ninety degrees after the initial confusion and the collapse of both rearward flanks, align almost north to south. In view of the chaotic reorganisation and the poor visibility at the time, the lines were unlikely to have been straight and must have surged back and forth like a snake as the battle developed.

Map no. — shows the probable position when Oxford returned from Barnet, assuming he followed the Great North Road and unexpectedly engaged Montagu’s flank instead of Edward’s rear. After the initial collapses and retreats and the reformation of the Lancastrian line, the Lancastrians have pushed the Yorkists back — exactly how far is impossible to tell, but not as far as the edge of the ridge.

APPENDIX 2

Where Are They Now ?

This appendix may seem unusual and perhaps a little macabre to some, but there are so few traces of the battle left, it is really the last connection with that day in 1471 — so far.

One thing is for certain, perhaps the only absolutely certain fact that can be stated about the battle of Barnet — everyone who fought that day is long dead. It is highly unlikely that any of them survived beyond the Reformation. Some of their graves do still exist however, and other traces of them or their achievements that can still be seen today are therefore listed here.

The Yorkists

Edward IV still resides in the chapel at Windsor castle, his magnificent tomb remaining undisturbed (apart from the little intrusion to see if he “measured up” around 100 years ago) since his burial.

Lord Hastings lies nearby, buried next to him at Windsor by Edward’s request — hopefully they continue to party on together in the next life.

Richard III, as he became, did not fare so well. His tomb was more modest than Edward’s, as so often happens after losing one’s last battle. During the Reformation he was tipped into the river Soar and his coffin used as a horse trough for some time afterwards. Unfortunately even that has not lasted, and was eventually broken up. Pieces of it are thought to be incorporated in the cellar steps of a nearby pub, which seems plausible — until the rather sinister connection with a flight of steps in the Tower, and the bodies of his little nephews is considered . . . but does it really matter now? If anybody took any relics from the river, they have long since been lost or buried. We will never know what he really looked like alas.

Clarence, perhaps undeservedly, was decently buried after his fatal dip in the wine barrel. His bones, mixed together with those of his wife, Isobel, are rather bizarrely parked in a transparent coffin, (though hidden

from public view}, in a vault under Tewkesbury Abbey. The intriguing possibility of discovering exactly what he and Warwick's beautiful daughter Isobel actually looked like remains then, especially fascinating since no real portrait of either of them survives.

Of the others, a few are buried in churches around London and the Home counties, and perhaps others farther afield. However, the vast majority of the Yorkist casualties are buried alongside their Lancastrian opponents, within a mile or two of the spot where they died in 1471.

The Lancastrians

As already mentioned, Warwick and his brother were also posthumous victims of the Reformation, as most of Bisham Abbey was destroyed by soldiers of Henry VIII. Their magnificent tomb was smashed, and any parts not used for local building work many centuries ago lie somewhere beneath the grounds of the National Centre for Physical Recreation. It is very unlikely that any trace of their bones or bodies will ever be found, five centuries after being scattered. Nobody seems to have kept any souvenirs either, at least none are known to have survived. It is not definitely known if they were even embalmed, not that it would make any difference, although the latest DNA fingerprinting techniques offer a forlorn hope that maybe they could be positively identified one day.

The fragmented stone effigies of them and their Neville relatives may still be buried somewhere at Bisham, but it seems unlikely any dig will discover them in the foreseeable future. Sadly, it is probable that no effigies of them were made anyway, since the Warwick inheritance was taken by Richard and Clarence, and such items are not cheap. No records of funeral expenses have survived.

The Duke of Exeter was killed a few years after his escape from the battlefield, in somewhat mysterious circumstances during a sea voyage, when he was forcibly thrown overboard and drowned mid-Channel. Agents of Charles the Bold are said to have been responsible, acting on a request from Edward IV, who obviously wished to avoid any possible further trouble from that particular source.

Oxford's monument outlasted most of the others — until the Civil War. He had a fine stone effigy on his tomb, but unfortunately it failed to survive the ravages of Puritan vandalism and only a crude line drawing of it survives. What happened to his body is unknown, but it may hopefully still be safe in a quiet vault somewhere.

Other prominent Lancastrians fared little better. The Pastons vanished along with their graves, as did most people from the 15th century. It was, after all, a very long time ago.

It may seem that is the end — all gone, all said. That is not quite so however, for one thing about the battle of Barnet makes it different from virtually any other important battle in England. The ground has never been ploughed, being common land and not particularly

suitable for agriculture anyway. The chantry chapel that was erected by Edward to “service” the souls of the dead for eternity was also a victim of the Reformation, and did not even last a century after it was built.

Although there is a vague reference to Edward stopping off there to pray during a journey North some years after the battle, and there are details of maintenance and repair costs in the St. Albans Abbey records up until the Reformation, nothing is mentioned after that. It fell into disuse at that point and crumbled away. By 1728 it had all but vanished, although a number of footpaths possibly once leading to it do show even so. The name of Pimlico Field may have been derived from the chapel once within it, outlasting the bricks and mortar of the building itself. Pimlico House was the first building to be constructed in that area, sometime in the early 18th century, and the reason for that may well be that materials, if not actual foundations, were already present to give the builders a good start.

The gravepits of the common soldiers are also probably nearby, identified by soil disturbances and ‘crop’ marks which are visible at certain times of the year. If so, they have remained undisturbed since the battle, narrowly missed by drains, roads, buildings and sewers through sheer chance. They may hopefully soon prove a very valuable source of information about the men who fought that day, and how they lived and died in the 15th century. We shall see.

Aftermath

The fighting was over by late morning. After ‘booking the dead’ and congratulating those who had survived, Edward returned to London, stopping for a quick drink in Barnet on the way. He interrupted the Easter service at St. Paul's cathedral to give thanks, and ordered a victory Te Deum to be sung. The hard won Lancastrian banners were presented at the altar in gratitude, and the bodies of Warwick and Montagu were delivered later to be exhibited the next day, as already mentioned.

Not usually being one to miss an excuse for a party, Edward's celebrations seem to have been very low key. He had lost many good friends, perhaps a thousand or more of his best men and the job was still only half done, for he was certainly not securely seated on the throne yet. With a large number of his most loyal followers injured and killed, he had little cause for joy. The death of his cousins seems to have saddened Edward too, particularly John Neville, whom he had treated so off-handedly in return for his many years of faithful service. Also, whatever Warwick might have done to undermine him in recent years, memories of his loyal friendship and unswerving support in earlier days probably caused Edward to reflect. He had treated the man who had effectively put him on the throne carelessly and with a distinct lack of gratitude.

He may also have considered who was to blame for his recent downfall and exile, and thought darkly about why everything had gone so sour lately. There could only

really be one answer. Looking at his smug cold Queen and her creeping relatives around him once again, Edward must have regretted many of his recent choices and actions, and asked himself who his real friends had been. He probably realised correctly that it was mostly his own fault he had ended up in such a sad mess. Clarence no doubt (sensibly for once) kept a very low profile while his brother brooded so.

Throughout England and Wales, those who had hesitated and wavered during the last few anxious weeks had a much easier choice to make now, with the best part of the Lancastrian forces defeated. Messages of congratulation and support, along with a mass of apologies and excuses for 'non-attendance' started to arrive as news of the Yorkist victory spread. Even so, solid military support was rather slow to arrive, and when Edward marched west to finish off the remaining Lancastrians a fortnight later, he had a significantly smaller army than he fielded at Barnet.

Requests for pardons flooded in too, and were granted in large numbers without much fuss, perhaps another indication of Edward's regrets. He allowed the bodies of Warwick and Montagu to be interred in the family grave at Bisham Abbey after a couple of days on view — long enough for the population to see that they really were dead and forestall rumours or rebellions by those tempted to claim otherwise. Once again, this may indicate a twinge of guilt on Edward's part, or at least the abatement of his fury, as it was quite normal to send bits and pieces of such fallen foes to be exhibited in troublesome towns and cities throughout the realm, to remind potential troublemakers of the terrible fate awaiting unsuccessful rebels and traitors.

Not Quite a "Perfite Victory"

The list of important people killed at Barnet clearly shows what a hard-fought affair it was, and casts yet more doubt on the accuracy of 'The Arrivall'. Many high ranking Yorkists such as Lord Cromwell, Viscount Bourchier and Sir Humphrey Bourchier (all members of the same family), Lord Saye and Sele, Sir John Lisle and Sir Thomas Parry, were killed in the fighting — rather unusual and significant. Many men of high rank were killed during the Wars of the Roses, but only normally when they were on the losing side. It was unusual for such men to die on the winning side, even in fierce fighting, being well protected by heavy armour and bodyguards. Even then, most were taken alive and executed soon after the battle.

The noblemen who died on Edward's side at Barnet must have been in the thick of the action and were overrun. It was obviously a very close affair, and at some point the Yorkists found themselves very hard pressed indeed. As well as the deaths of these men of note, many were wounded on both sides. Richard of Gloucester was slightly injured, and John Howard (later to become Richard's loyal supporter as the Duke of Norfolk) was severely hurt.

Fewer men of rank were killed on the Lancastrian side, apart from Warwick and Montagu. John Paston was wounded in the arm by an arrow, mentioned in a rather desperate letter he sent home urgently requesting cash. This shows that 'private medicine' was very expensive in the 15th century, so little seems to have changed there.

Henry Holland was left for dead as mentioned, and still lay unconscious on the field in the late afternoon when one of his servants found him. He was taken to a surgeon and apparently made a full recovery. Whether that was a good thing from the point of view of the fiery Duke of Exeter is questionable.

Many injuries were extremely nasty and almost certainly mortal. Von Wesel's letter indicates that he was quite shocked to see dreadful facial injuries "... noses missing ...", and a large number of serious leg wounds, which tends to confirm that many men sacrificed leg protection in the interests of mobility and risked fighting with their visors open in order to see and breathe more easily. Obviously there was a heavy price to pay for those who were unlucky.

Such badly wounded men would have had little chance of survival, and hundreds probably died very unpleasantly during the next few days. Even so, recent archaeological evidence from Towton shows that some recovered from shocking battlefield injuries and lived to fight again.

Clearing the battlefield would have got underway quickly in view of the warm weather, and most of the dead were probably buried within a week. The carnage on the field would have been a truly appalling sight. Estimates of the number killed vary greatly, as with most 15th century battles. John Paston rather ambiguously wrote "... thousand on both sides ..." which could indicate either 1,000 or 2,000 dead. That estimate is the lowest, others mention 10,000 and more.

The actual figure was probably between 2,000 and 3,000. John Paston is unlikely to have seen the full scale of the slaughter, as he probably left the field long before the fog and smoke cleared. He may have heard rumours and gossip however, for his letter was written in London some days later. Other contemporary sources tend to support the lower figure. The *Arrivall* mentions the "discomfiture of 30,000 men", though gives no number of Lancastrian dead. Neither does it mention Yorkist losses, which were certainly very heavy and might well have accounted for more than half of the total in view of what happened.

The figure of 10,000 probably stems from confusion over an early account, but it has been tediously repeated in many more over the centuries. Polydore Vergil, writing his history of England some 50 years later (to suit the tastes of Henry VII), mentions it. It may be derived from a mention of some 10,000 arrows that were apparently collected on the field afterwards.

Whatever the figure, the aftermath would have been truly ghastly to see. One gruesome detail, seldom

Battle of Barnet

considered, is the probability that some five to ten thousand pints of blood probably drenched the dead and the field, in a fairly confined area. Anybody who has seen the mess that a fraction of a pint of blood can make will appreciate the full horror of that. Stories of rivers and streams running red with blood for days after battles are no fanciful exaggeration — this phenomenon was seen in the American Civil War, and is mentioned in accounts of other battles during the Wars of the Roses, notably Towton. You can be sure that the dew ponds on Gladsmuir Heath were a grim sight for many weeks afterwards.

Most of the dead were buried in gravepits on the field, although some of noble birth and a few of the better off were taken away to be buried with more dignity in family tombs, mostly in London and the Home Counties. Unfortunately, the Reformation, the Great Fire, official vandalism and the Luftwaffe have destroyed nearly all of them.

Edward financed the construction and upkeep of a chantry chapel, where prayers were 'professionally' said for the souls of those who died, to ease their passage into Heaven, or at least to cut down their stretch in Purgatory. Apparently the chapel was built either above or near to the grave pits. The exact position was never recorded, but it was occasionally mentioned during the following century in the St. Albans Abbey records, mainly concerning repairs and maintenance.

The chapel was abandoned after the Reformation, and part of it may be incorporated into a house which still exists. Whatever happened, any sign of a 15th century chapel has long since vanished, and it isn't even marked on the 1754 Roque map, or even the superbly detailed 1728 tithe map, although it contains clues which show where it probably was. The ruins and those who rest nearby, still await 'official' discovery (though not 'unofficial' - see Appendix).

There are no known records of the gravepits being cleared (or even found) during the past five centuries, so they probably remain undisturbed — a most intriguing treasure for archaeologists, if a little grim. The church at Monken Hadley is sometimes mentioned as a likely spot, but it was built in 1484 (marked by a mason over the door), which rules it out. It is a purpose built church anyway, not a chantry chapel. (More detailed discussion of this matter in the Appendix).

More Bloodshed to Come.....

As for as the survivors, some had a very grim ordeal ahead of them. Poor Henry (once again the ex-VI) took the last positive action of his unhappy life. After being compelled to watch his supporters lose yet again, the gentle Henry, who abhorred bloodshed and violence (yet had to watch more battles than almost any other English King and see his side lose nearly all of them), gave his escort the slip during the confusion at the end of the battle. He rode north, and did pretty well considering he was over fifty and no great horseman. After a long pursuit he was overtaken on the St. Albans road, then led

back once again to the Tower. That was to be his last taste of freedom.

The Earl of Oxford headed for Scotland, in dire straits it seems. Only a few men traveled with him, and he found himself a wanted man with no cash. A desperate 'veiled' request for equipment and money, probably written by Oxford himself, exists amongst the Paston letters. He managed to reach Scotland, but was not really safe until he escaped to the Continent as a penniless exile. Many years of failed ventures and dreary imprisonment lay ahead of him, yet John De Vere was destined to outlive all the other commanders at Barnet. Almost unbelievably, he came out on top in the end, though he would never have foreseen such a rosy future ahead as he fled for his life that day.

Epilogue

On May 4th, less than three weeks after Barnet, Edward finally caught up with the remaining Lancastrian forces following an exhausting chase across the West Country. At Tewkesbury, during a somewhat smaller and shorter battle, the final hopes of Henry VI and Queen Margaret were dashed forever. Their son Edward, the great hope of the Lancastrian cause, was killed on the field (said to have been appealing to Clarence for mercy as he died — a waste of breath if ever there was!), along with nearly all the few remaining Lancastrian supporters of any consequence.

Edward was once again in ruthless form, dragging the Duke of Somerset and others from sanctuary in Tewkesbury Abbey on a technicality, then summarily executing them. Margaret of Anjou was captured and led back to London in triumph, her great spirit finally broken as she grieved for her beloved son.

London had withstood a very serious rebellion of Kent and Essex men while Edward was away. Led by the Bastard of Fauconberg (Warwick's illegitimate cousin) and some 30,000 strong with a powerful fleet in support, it very nearly succeeded and seriously threatened to bushwhack Edward on his triumphant return, for he had disbanded most of his army. But brave and determined though they were, the rebels lacked leadership and organization, and were cleverly foiled by Anthony Woodville, largely through bluff.

Fragmented, the rebels had melted away by the time the victorious Yorkists returned, and the Bastard surrendered on being offered pardon. A bad move on his part, for it wasn't long before his head appeared on the City gates, looking permanently towards Kent but no longer attached to his body. Another example of how important it was to carefully read the small print on King Edward IV's Royal Pardons.

Exeter made a slow recovery and managed to get into sanctuary, later escaping to the continent. His fighting days were over however, as was his welcome in Burgundy. Although no longer a serious threat, he died violently a few years after the battle, killed either by Edward or Burgundy's hit-men, who threw him overboard during a voyage in the English Channel.

Oxford made a futile attempt to invade a few years later, hoping to stir up traditional Lancastrian supporters in the West Country and Wales. He managed to capture St. Michael's Mount, a small island fortress off the Cornish coast, but after a long and bloodless siege his men were talked into surrendering, and Oxford subsequently spent many long years imprisoned in Hammes fortress, near Calais. The Paston letters mention his daring but hopeless escape attempts over the years, showing the dogged determination of the man. He was finally released by a sympathetic guardian shortly after Edward IV died. John DeVere's great spirit and steadfast loyalty were never broken, as we shall see.

After Tewkesbury, ex-King Henry (locked in the Tower yet again), was apparently mortally affected by hearing the disastrous news of the death of his young son. The tragic ex-King passed away "from pure displeasure and melancholy," according to the official account.

This malaise had a rather remarkable effect, the only case ever known to medical science where "melancholia" caused the back of the skull to collapse, as was discovered when his skeleton was examined early in the 20th Century. It appears he was struck a heavy blow from behind, legend has it whilst kneeling at prayer at a chapel in the Tower. His body bled on the pavement where it was exhibited to the public, and rumours of foul play circulated at the time, even mentioning Richard of Gloucester in person as the assassin (Phillipe de Commines). It was certainly done on Edward's order, suggestion, or instigation — whoever struck the fatal blow is really immaterial.

However, quite why Richard of Gloucester should have been specifically mentioned as the culprit is a mystery, as he hadn't yet offended anyone on the continent as far as is known. Whatever the truth, it was an ominous start to Richard's career, and the fact that he had Henry's remains reburied in a more fitting tomb (at his own expense) many years later may perhaps reveal a twinge of guilt?

The unusual way in which Henry's nose bled whilst 'lying in state' may also indicate that his head injury was not immediately fatal, and he lingered for a while in a deep coma . . . a macabre possibility.

The death of Henry, his son and virtually all Lancastrian Lords of any consequence, meant that Edward was secure at last. Although plagued by tiresome rebellions from time to time, the rest of his reign passed relatively peacefully, his brother Richard (not very comfortable at the Woodville-dominated Court) dutifully looking after the North and doing the job well.

George Neville soon ran into trouble, being accused of plotting with Clarence against King Edward. His vast wealth was confiscated and he spent most of the rest of his life in prison.

George Duke of Clarence, predictably enough, eventually overstepped the mark in 1478, his inept attempts to undermine Edward and take the Crown never ceasing despite being given numerous warnings and countless

'last chances.' The Woodvilles (having never forgotten Clarence's eager participation in the killing of their father and brother), finally forced Edward to act — the death sentence was passed. After hesitating and dithering for a while, Edward is said to have offered his treacherous brother the choice of how he was to die, and he chose to be drowned in a butt of his favourite Malmesey wine.

As for the other Yorkist commanders, Anthony Woodville and Lord Hastings prospered during Edward's reign. Favourites at Court, Hastings eagerly joined in the King's feasting and womanizing, while Earl Rivers (Anthony's new title) postured elegantly in magnificent costumes and translated classical works during his time off, some of the first books ever printed in England. Both must have looked forward to a pretty relaxed and easy retirement, now the Yorkist dynasty seemed unchallenged and secure.

Edward produced two fine sons, Edward Jr. and Richard, and the future did indeed look rosy. He invaded France and was handsomely paid off by the wily Louis XI, with a substantial yearly pension. This ensured few financial worries for Edward and relief from tiresome English invasions on Louis's part. King Edward IV grew plump then obese as he feasted and drank, despite reviving the old bulemic Roman idea of the 'vomitorium' in order to enjoy a second round of over indulgence at the table.

Whether his lifestyle weakened his constitution or not, it seems a little odd that he died suddenly at only 40, from a "cold caught on a fishing trip" — the sort of illness that usually only seems to be fatal to past Presidents of the Soviet Union. Knowing his number was up, Edward had little time to arrange the succession, and his last thoughts must have been anxious ones — of the hatred between his brother Richard and the Woodvilles, and other problems at court. They did make a show of kissing and making up for the dying King's benefit, but it seems unlikely he was convinced after a lifetime of giving and receiving such promises himself.

The Bitter End

The subsequent interactions between the men who commanded at Barnet are tragic and bizarre. Richard seized the throne, probably with reluctance and only to save his own skin as the Woodvilles attempted to undermine his Protectorship (young Edward V, being a minority king, ruled only in name until he was of age or crowned). In the confusion of betrayals and alliances that sprang up from day to day, Richard lashed out in a rather heavy handed way, and had Hastings and Rivers (Anthony Woodville) summarily executed. Inevitably, the uncrowned Prince Edward and his brother Richard were imprisoned, to become forever 'The Little Princes in the Tower.' When clumsy legal attempts to discredit and disinherit them failed to convince the public, it seems likely they were murdered and their bodies hidden, probably on their uncle's orders, though many disagree to this day.

Battle of Barnet

King Richard III had a very short reign, marred by tragedy and treachery. His wife Anne died (probably from T.B. or cancer, though poison is inevitably mentioned), shortly after the death of their little son — yet another ill fated Prince Edward. Anne was the younger daughter of Warwick the Kingmaker. Her older sister Isobel had married Clarence, but died long before her husband's execution. Neither girl reached thirty years of age. Richard was thus left with no wife or heir, highly vulnerable to usurpation.

In 1485 he finally locked horns with his opposite commander at Barnet. It was the last action between the last two surviving Barnet commanders, which took place near Ambion hill at the battle of Bosworth. The Earl of Oxford led the army of Henry Tudor to victory and finally took his revenge, being rewarded with a place of honour and comfort for the rest of his life. He was the only commander at Barnet who did not meet a suspicious, violent or bloody end.

At Bosworth another 'legacy' of Barnet may have contributed to the terrible death of the last Yorkist King and the last surviving 'Son of York.' Could it be the lingering memory of Edward's desperate, bold, reckless last attack, which turned the tide and broke the wavering Lancastrians at Barnet, be responsible for Richard's heedless charge down Ambion hill to his death?

Sensing treachery and treason all around him once again, perhaps Richard remembered his brother's greatest moment, and hoped to repeat his sudden reversal of

fortune? His last furious, despairing shouts as he was surrounded and hacked down were said to have been "Treason! Treason!" — the very same word which had broken the Lancastrians at Barnet. Like so many other things from that fascinating age, we shall never know.

About the Author, in his own words

"I became curious about the battle (and subsequently medieval history), a few years ago when I lived quite near the battlefield.

"I have no relevant historical qualifications, I'm an engineer and a scientist by nature, but once hooked I tried to find out as much as I could about the times and the people involved, which led me to many wonderful, delightful and intriguing things and places. I tend to look at things more as a detective than a historian, but am in the enviable position of having no academic reputation to worry about, and no problems with questioning tradition. In other words, I look at things from unusual perspective and like to suggest, explore and discuss controversial subjects . . . I wonder if I'm right about the gravepits?"

Reboul welcomes comment and discussion on this article, either via e-mail to martin.reboul@virgin.net or on the newsgroup soc.history.medieval.

Ed. Note: Since Mr. Reboul's bibliography is not yet included, the reader is referred to P.W. Hammond, The Battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury, Alan Sutton Publishing, 1990, and to the references contained therein. We have attempted to identify the Maps referred to in the text, but do not as yet have a response.

IN MEMORIAM FOR MARY DONERMAYER

Mary (McGowan) Donermeyer of Springfield, Mass., died on February 19, 2003, at the age of 68. She is survived by her husband, Don, nine children, and eighteen grandchildren. Mary was a founding member and Treasurer of the revived New England Chapter, attended several AGMs, helped organize the 1990 New England AGM, and took a Ricardian tour. Our shared Ricardian interests quickly developed into friendship.

Mary had been an only child and had always wanted a large family--and she certainly got her wish. She and Don lovingly raised nine children. Every time we saw Mary, we jokingly quizzed her as to how many grandchildren she had--this month! Her children and grandchildren--the lights of her life--were indeed blessed to have had her as their mother and grandmother. She put her very large heart into caring for her family, and she still had much love left over for her friends.

Mary's curiosity was wide-ranging. Whenever Mary spoke about 15th-century figures (and her memory for interesting details was prodigious), it was as though she were discussing the exploits and foibles of a family member. She had a way of making history come alive. Besides her interest in Richard III, she had an abiding interest in researching her genealogy, in Native American and pre-Columbian cultures, and in basketball.

Don and Mary did much traveling, especially in the past decade. They visited five continents (Australia and Antarctica were the only continents not graced with their presence). Their adventures took them to Peru, Mexico, Africa (on safari), Turkey, Greece, Egypt, and most of western Europe. The month before Mary's death, they were in India, spending their 43rd wedding anniversary at the Taj Mahal--quite a romantic place for any anniversary.

It seems fitting that Mary died gently and contentedly, surrounded by beloved family members who were reading poetry to her. To Don, their children and grandchildren, and other family members, we extend our deepest sympathies.

Because of her personal modesty, Mary would perhaps be surprised at how much we all loved her. We will miss her friendship, her sweet and loving nature, her intellectual enthusiasm, and her zest for adventure. We are glad she came into our lives, but we are sorry that she left us too soon.

Mary and Tom Bearor, Barbara Magruder, Larry McCarthy, Linda McLatchie, Linda and Brendan Shanahan

PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG WOMAN

Elizabeth Dorsey Hatle

The Painting

This painting of an unidentified woman was acquired by the Minneapolis Institute of Arts from the Bodenham family in England. It is stated in the museum file that the sitter could possibly be a member of the Bodenham family. The Bodenham family is historically recorded as being involved in Henry VIII's court. Dendrochronological tests done on the painting date the painting's age to between 1535-45. Dendrochronology, the process of establishing the age of a painting, is done by dating the growth rings of the tree making up the panel (the 'canvas'). By having a dendrochronological test done, it narrows the time frame considerably of who the person in the portrait is and who may have painted her, and cannot be ignored as concrete evidence. Because of the documented, physical age of the portrait and where it was acquired from, the subject and painter had to be alive and in England between 1535-1545.

This time period is further verified in details that can be observed in the painting itself. The dress of the lady is characteristic of the age. The woman in the portrait also wears a St. Cecilia brooch. The jewelry on the subject strikes an identifying blow to what the first name of the subject may be. Catholics are traditionally named after saints and even today, Catholics wear jewelry depicting the saint that they are named after. A wearer of a St. Cecilia brooch will most likely be named Cecila. *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, states Cecily is the same name as Cecilia. A Cecily Bodenham was alive during the time frame of 1535-1545. I believe that the woman in the painting is this same Cecily Bodenham. I hope to support this with what follows in the rest of this report.

England under Henry VIII

England, in the 1530's and 1540's, was under the rule of Henry VIII. It was an unsettled period in England's history. Traditionally a Catholic country, a religious change was sweeping England because of Henry VIII's need of a son. The king wanted to dismantle the Catholic church's hold on England. As time evolved, that religious need turned into an economic one as well. The church's wealth soon became the crown's. To do this, ridding England of its monasteries and abbeys was an important step and Cromwell was the man to do this for his king. These events relate to the sitter in the painting. Cecily Bodenham was Wilton Abbey's last abbess. This was a woman who most likely was very active in what was historically happening in England at that time.

The woman in the painting has the appearance of an abbess. She isn't elderly though. But why should she be? A woman's average life span during this time period was thirty. Fourteen, fifteen, was the average age for females to join religious orders. The material in dresses worn by



School of Hans Holbein Title: Portrait of a Young Woman Date: about 1540 - 1545 Medium: oil on panel Dimensions: H.30-1/8 x W.22-11/16 in. Credit Line: Anonymous Gift

— Minneapolis Institute of Art

other ladies of this era recorded in paintings were usually very elaborate and colorful. Raised patterns, depiction of animals, fruits, etc. The dress worn by the sitter is black but with elaborate trimmings, possibly faded in color due to the age of the painting. Easily seen though, is that the dress is rich in quality, but its colors keep within the discretion of someone who was in the religious orders. Tasteful damask, but sumptuous in quality, suiting a person of importance, which Cecily Bodenham as the abbess of wealthy religious order was.

"The nuns in the large houses were much more aristocratic than the monks, and in days when marriages could only be arranged with satisfactory dowries a convent was the natural for a superfluous daughter, so that little maidens of twelve were often professed without any regard for their vocation. The more ordinary convent was full of highly respectable ladies of formal but not conspicuous piety." Having one's portrait painted was most probably a common activity engaged in by the more affluent and sophisticated segment of the religious population. Due to their upper class family connections and church money, some nuns, and abbesses, most probably had easy access to the artists of their age.¹

Portrait of a Young Woman

England during Henry VIII's reign was an unstable time. You needed to be well connected, political and intelligent to survive and prosper under Henry VIII. "Many, but by no means all, of these girls probably found the religious life a satisfying alternative career to an arranged marriage. For those women who sought power, the life of an abbess was clearly preferable even to that of an aristocratic wife."² I believe Abbess Bodenham was one of these type of women who preferred power to the birthing bed.

At this time also, there was vigorous drive for female education. This a result of the influential English Humanist educators in England like Sir Thomas More who said, "I do not see why learning...may not equally agree with both sexes." As a result of this, there appeared for a short time, women who were as expert as men in classical grammar, arts and language. This period when a learned education was given to aristocratic women did not last much longer than forty years, from about 1520-1560. Miss Bodenham most probably benefitted from what was the norm then, and was probably very well educated.

Cecily Bodenham

In the book, *The House of Commons 1509-1558* by S.T. Bindoff, is a section (Exhibit B) about Cecily Bodenham. Professor Lehmborg from the University of Minnesota sent me a copy of this information. Here it states that Cecily Bodenham was the abbess of Wilton. "She was elected its abbess in 1534, which she was to surrender in 1539 in return for 100 a year and a mansion at nearby Fovant."³ Wilton Abbey was the fourth richest abbey in England at this time, immense in size "The elaborate denunciation of Luther was prompted, at least in part, by the embarrassing accuracy of his criticisms. The English church, like the German, was a highly imperfect vehicle of belief. Some clerics were pious and self-sacrificing, but many others disgraced their offices."⁴ Abbess Bodenham had access to what even today would be considered quite a bit of money, and some of the clergy in England were venial in how they handled their church finances. When it came time for Abbess Bodenham to hand over the Abbey to the King's commissioners she stated that they were in debt. When Wilton Abbey surrendered to the crown all the nuns received pensions of varying amounts, but Cecily Bodenham's was by far the largest. Abbess Bodenham may have worked out an arrangement, of benefit to her, and benefit of someone else.

Most nuns in England didn't give a great deal of trouble to the government when they were disbanded, but some did. The abbess of Amesbury was quite adamant in her refusal to do the government's bidding to disband her abbey. Our Abbess Bodenham though was very cooperative with the government. "The dissolution of the Abbess of Amesbury house was delayed by her efforts. The dissolution of the house was delayed for eight months, scant respite perhaps, but no doubt her nuns were thus enabled to make more leisurely arrangements

for their retirement. She herself resigned, leaving her house to be surrendered by her successor, and received no pension."⁵

The abbess of Wilton (Cecily Bodenham) was rather more cooperative, but she had already made her preparations and with a pension of 100 and a house at Fovant with orchards, gardens, and three acres of meadow and pasture, and a weekly load of wood, she was assured of being able to continue in the comfort to which she had been accustomed. Her thirty-two sisters were granted pensions of a 172 a year between them."

Cecily Bodenham was nominated by Cromwell to her position. "The Prioress of Wilton wrote to Cromwell complaining that since the death of Agnes Jordan no new abbess had been appointed. She was harassed by the Ordinary, Dr. Hilley, who called on her nuns to observe laws they had never heard of, and had appointed as seneschal, although he had been dismissed by the Abbess Cecilia Willoughby and not reinstated by her successor. Cromwell was sympathetic. He nominated Cecily Bodenham as abbess and she surrendered the house."⁶ Abbess Bodenham had friends in high places and when the time came later, didn't bite the hand who fed her!

Wilton Abbey is now Wilton Estate, open to tourists and known as Wilton House, built on the site of the 9th century abbey. The estate's director's name is R.W. Stedman. I contacted him for information. I wanted to know if they had any information in their files about the last abbess of Wilton. He informed me that the abbey burned down in 1647 and little of the house's previous history was saved. Mr. Stedman made contact with a couple in Wilton who are Wilton's best historians and they had some information on Cecily Bodenham to pass on to me. Again, Abbess Bodenham, seemed to know how 'to work the system' as the following shows: "At the least moment the commissioners had second thoughts about their generosity when they found the abbess had recently granted loaf leases of land at Fovant, South Newton, Chalke and Wasbourned to her relatives and friends, but eventually she was allowed to retain her pension, house and perquisites on the rather dubious grounds that she was without father, brother or any assured friend."⁷ Maybe the reason why the painting left the family and is unidentified, is that Abbess Bodenham may have not been very likable, and no one cared to keep track of her!

Little seems to be known about her life in retirement. A will is mentioned for her dated 1543. At that time England was suffering from one of its recurring bouts of the 'sweating sickness' and since that usually claimed a lot of victims, and quite quickly, when these bouts of plague occurred, that might very well be what killed her. I did check with the Mormon Genealogical Society for burial records in Fovant for the years 1541-1942. I couldn't find her name listed. If she did die of the plague, burials of those victims weren't always conducted in the traditional manner and done hurriedly. The painter

Holbein also died during this period. His death was due to the 'sweating sickness' which as was stated previously was making an appearance at this time "The familiar faces at court were growing fewer and this made Henry feel his age. Wyatt and Holbein died within a few days of each other in the autumn of 1543."⁸ Cecily Bodenham and the painter Holbein disappear from history's stage at roughly the same time.

The Artist

No artist has been definitely tied with this painting. Physical evidence shows the painting was done at the latest, 1545. The possible artists listed in the museum's files speculate it could be John Bettes, William Scrots and Gerlach Flicke. These were the dominant artists at Court after Holbein. The problem with this is that these three artists don't fit in with the dendrochronological evidence in the file citing the painting is dated between 1540-1545. Two of the three painters weren't even in England previous to 1545.

"Guillim Scrots is most closely identified with being a painter of Edward VI's court."⁹ This places him *after* the time frame, 1540-1545, which the painting has been dated for. Guillim Scrots also left England when a Catholic ruler came to the throne, Mary I. He didn't come to Henry VIII's court until after 1545. Previously, he had been the official artist to Mary of Hungary, Regent of the Netherlands. Scrots was a Protestant. Protestants and Catholics didn't mix very well back then. Scrots also seemed to stay pretty much in the London area while he was in England. "The most important artist of these years was the Netherlander Guillim (William) Scrots who became Henry VIII's Painter at the enormous salary of 62 10s per annum."¹⁰

Gerlach Flicke settled in England in 1545. "His art flourished between the years 1547 to 1558. He is identified as a painter of Edward VI's court. His year of death is 1558."¹¹ He was a German artist and another Protestant. Only three of his signed paintings survive. Until Henry VIII's death, and until Edward VI's rule, Protestants had to wait, to surface politically into jobs and roles at court. He died in prison in 1558, during the reign of Mary I, a Catholic queen. Though the reason for his imprisonment isn't a matter of record, he was in prison "recorded in his rediscovered miniature self-portrait with a fellow prisoner."¹² Considering he died in prison, during Mary I's reign, he was most probably there because he was Protestant. "There were prisoners in the Tower, at the Fleet and elsewhere demonstrably guilty of transgressing the queen's religious laws, and critics of the government were quick to point out that to allow these notorious offenders to go unpunished encouraged all Protestants in their eagerness to undermine the established authority."¹³ So the artist was Protestant and not in England until several years after Cecily's death.

Following Holbein's death — probably of the plague — in London 1543, Henry VIII's court had need of a new portrait painter. It is presumed that Holbein had

used and therefore trained some local assistants, but firm evidence on this is lacking. One likely candidate is John Bettes in whose portrait of an 'Unknown Man,' dated 1545 the influence of Holbein is clear. Less sophisticated is the 'John' who had portrayed Princess Mary the previous year."¹⁴ John Bettes death is listed as 1570, in London. "Bettes work flourished between the years 1545-1559."¹⁵ Before Bettes came to Henry VIII's court, he was previously employed by Henry VIII's yet to be sixth wife. "Catherine had her own consort of viols, consisting of Albert and Vincent, both from Venice, and Alexander and Ambrose, both from Milan, and she paid them ea. 8d. a day. She also employed the artist John Bettes, who had earlier undertaken heraldic paintings at Whitehall, to limn royal portraits engraved in stone and to make miniatures."¹⁶ This places Bettes in northern England with Catherine Parr. Bettes physically wasn't near where Abbess Bohenham lived. Bettes first came to the attention of Henry VIII upon marriage to his sixth wife, Catherine, again after Cecily's death.

I asked Jane Satkowski at the Minneapolis Institute of Art if the artist could possibly have been Holbein. She told me that an art expert had told the museum that without question the artist wasn't Holbein. But the three painters they do suggest don't make sense either, especially considering the time frames involved.

Historically, Holbein as the painter, matches up the best with Cecily Bodenham's life and with the dendrochronological evidence provided by the painting. Plus, these two people's lives could have crossed paths. There was opportunity to do so here. Both were firm protégés of Thomas Cromwell's. Holbein was taken up by Cromwell, who appreciated his genius and wanted it for service of the King. For artists it was easy to gain access to people and there seems to be good evidence that Holbein acted as a spy for Cromwell. There seems to me to be enough circumstantial evidence not to exclude Holbein as the painter, even if the art experts dispute it. Holbein was a human being, and he had to work to support himself. Maybe every painting he did, wasn't always his best work, or maybe only partially his work; but this was a busy artist who was also politically active in the events of his time.

"When Holbein returned to England in 1532, his friend More had already resigned the chancellorship. Within the year he had designed a pageant arch for Anne Bolyen's coronation procession and soon afterwards painted his portrait of Cromwell. It was Cromwell, the architect of the royal supremacy, who singled out Holbein, now permanently settled in England, as the man capable of giving visual imagery to the new monarchy."¹⁷ Cromwell is the man who appointed Cecily Bodenham as Abbess of Wilton. Maybe she wanted her portrait painted and Cromwell suggested or provided Holbein's services to her. It would have been good politics for Cromwell to obtain the good will of the people he needed to smooth the path for dissolution of the monasteries and abbeys. A portrait by a competent artist

Portrait of a Young Woman

was probably a relatively simple favor to grant a nun's whose cooperation he needed.

When Holbein arrived back in England, after an absence abroad, his earlier clients had either died or fallen from power. Holbein needed work. Cromwell helped him get it. ¹⁸ "Few had actually seen very much of Anne of Cleve's charms, for she was always well swatched in cumbersome clothing when she appeared in public, and such occasions were rare. Yet Cromwell had good reason to exaggerate, this match had been his idea from the first, and it was vitally important to him that it should be successfully concluded. It would not be an exaggeration to say that his whole future depended upon that, nor is it beyond the bounds of reason to suppose that Cromwell sent Hans Holbein off with instructions to make the lady look as attractive as possible in her portrait." Holbein was an artist, but he was also a man of his times who had to make a living. Cromwell provided him work. ¹⁹ "Holbein's second English period falls into three distinct phases. It opens with initial employment by the merchants of the German Steelyard, it continues with his assimilation into the circle of Thomas Cromwell, and culminates in his work for Henry VIII and his court until his death in 1543."

The background of the unidentified sitter in the painting is very plain. Holbein's style is noted as being simpler in some of his paintings by some experts. ²⁰ "However, the later portraits of the merchants of the German Steelyard tend to be simpler; the mood one of restraint and quiet dignity. This tendency towards simplicity, and the elimination of all accessories, is characteristic of his late portraits. After 1535 the sitters are usually shown in the full light, focused against a background of blue or green, and very often in simple frontal poses. Holbein was, through a reduction of means, seeking a more abstract beauty of form. There is a quality of stillness and remoteness in the late portraits." The portrait in the Minneapolis Institute of Art has a green background and the sitter is posed in a frontal position. The brooch that the woman is wearing is commented on in the museum's files. It is quite detailed in the painting and is a very rare painted example. ²¹ "Holbein's work for the English court did not stop at portraits; he also produced expert designs for court dress, necklaces, jewelry, hat-badges and brooches." Jewelry was an interest of Holbein's. He would have made note of the St. Cecilia brooch and it is a centerpiece in the painting of Abbess Bodenham.

Besides the coincidence of Cecily Bodenham and Holbein sharing the same patron, there is location. Many of paintings known to be Holbein's work, are of people who lived where Cecily Bodenham lived, which was in Wiltshire. Henry VIII's court did a lot of moving around because Henry VIII was deathly scared of catching the sweating sickness and he enjoyed hunting. Cromwell being the consummate politician would have accompanied his king. And Holbein most likely would have been there also; because that's where his clients

would have been. One of Henry's wives came from the same area where Wilton Abbey is located. Jane Seymour's, Henry VIII's third wife, family home Wulf Hall is located on the edge of Savernake Forest. It was never part of the Abbey's property, but was close to Wilton Abbey, twenty to thirty miles away. ²¹² "By horse then, 4-5 miles could be covered in a day." Possibly, a trip from Wulfhall to Wilton Abbey would take probably less than a week. ²²³ "Since the time of King Alfred and before, the town of Wilton had been the capital of the shire. Not only did the sheriff hold his court there, not only had there been a mint in the town since Saxon times, but above all it had been a thriving market, well situated at the junction of two busy rivers." Another mode of travel accessible to the abbess, Jane Seymour and her family, or anyone in Henry VIII's court.

Jane Seymour's father was an important man in Wiltshire and alive the same time as Cecily. ²³⁴ "He had been Sheriff of Wiltshire since 1508, and Sheriff of Dorset and Somerset since 1518. He was also a Justice of the Peace for Wiltshire and an extensive landowner in that county." Wilton Abbey was located in the county of Wiltshire. Henry VIII spent a lot of time in Wiltshire. Those of his court, Cromwell, and possibly Holbein, would have been with the king during these many visits to escape the plague in London or to hunt, then later, there for the visits that were made to see Jane Seymour. ²⁵⁵ "In order that the King, Cromwell, and the more important courtiers might be as comfortable as possible the family vacated the house. Edward and Anne moved into the large barn, which had been converted into a temporary dwelling; Dame Margery and the Seymour children, removed herself to Tottenham Lodge, and if there were other members of the family at Wulfhall at the time they would have accompanied her."

A lot of work verified as being Holbein's, was of people who were from Wiltshire, examples being Mistress Jak, Jane Seymour, Jane Seymour's sister Elizabeth, the wife of Gregory Cromwell, Mary Zouche, etc. All from Wiltshire Country, all verified by reliable sources as Holbein's work, all from the same area where Cecily Bodenham lived, during that same time period. It is not outside the realm of possibility that Holbein and Cecily Bodenham had physical access to each other either through location or acquaintances (the Cromwells, possibly the Seymours) at one time or another.

Conclusion

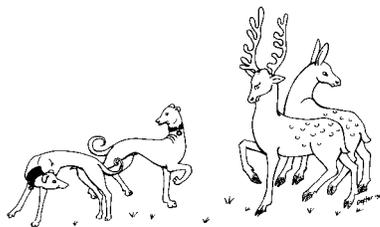
Cecily Bodenham's abbey had a great deal of wealth. Cromwell, the most powerful political figure during the dissolution of the monasteries and abbeys, appointed Cecily Bodenham to her position. Cromwell was also Holbein's patron and good friend. The abbess could possibly also have been friends of the Seymours because of geographic proximity. Henry VIII is known to have been a frequent guest of the Seymours, his third wife's family, thus placing many famous people in Wiltshire where Abbess Bodenham lived and worked.

Portrait of a Young Woman

Cecily Bodenham could have been acquainted with Jane Seymour, both women being roughly of the same age and status. Jane was upset by the monasteries and abbeys being disbanded.²⁶ “Jane aimed to use her talents and her growing power to persuade the King to return to the fold of Rome and restore the Lady Mary to her rightful place in the succession.” Since Wilton Abbey was the largest religious organization near her home, who’s to say she didn’t visit there occasionally being of a religious frame of mind.²⁷ “The more ordinary convent was full of highly respectable ladies of formal but not conspicuous piety. Many of the larger convents took in paying guests.” Jane is also the only one of Henry VIII’s queens, whose portraits has been verified as Holbein’s work. So another possible connection for Abbess Bohenham to Holbein. I believe Holbein and the Abbess were in the same area frequently. The amount of work he did of people from Wiltshire proves his familiarity at least with the area where Abbess Bodenham resided.

Whether Holbein is the artist of this particular painting can only be decided by the art experts. I believe the identity of the woman in the painting is Cecily Bodenham. It seems more than just a coincidence that there was a Cecily Bodenham who lived at the same time the painting is physically dated for and the painting came from the Bodenham family. Abbess Bodenham knowing Holbein, or having some kind of contact with him seems likely also. Though research, a picture emerges of a worldly nun. A woman who knew Cromwell, the man who was Holbein’s dominant employer during the 1530s. She also lived in the same area as one of Henry VIII’s queens, Jane Seymour. Another possible avenue connecting painter and sitter.

Cecily Bodenham seems to have been a woman who knew how to get what she wanted out of life and did. Having her portrait painted would have been perfectly in character for a woman like Abbess Bodenham. She had the education, wealth and ego to do something like this, and possibly the connections to have it done by someone who was more gifted than the average painter. There is enough tantalizing evidence, that can be supported, that lays a strong foundation that the woman in this portrait was Cecily Bodenham. A powerful woman, with access to important people, who wanted to be remembered having her portrait done by the finest painter of her time.



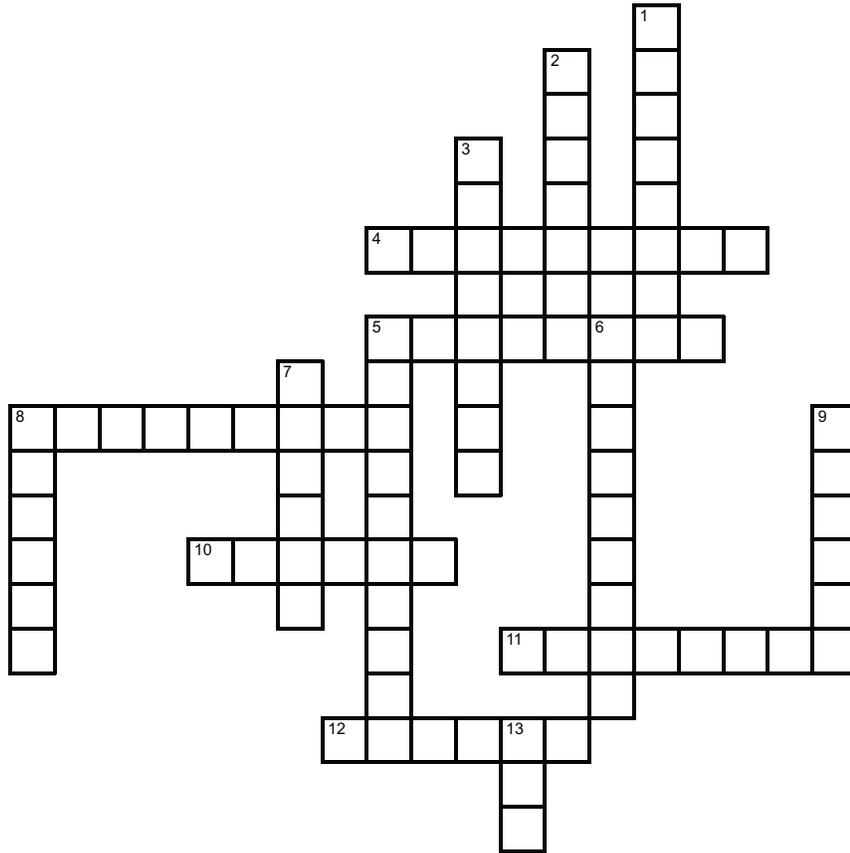
Notes

- 1 *Henry VIII and the Reformation* by H. Maynard Smith D.D. Oxon. page 96
- 2 *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800* by Lawrence Stone page 42-42
- 3 *The House of Commons 1509-1558* by S.T. Bindoff, ed. page 454
- 4 *Bloody Mary* by Carolly Erickson page 48-49
- 5 *The Dissolution of the Monasteries* by Joyce Youings page 80-81
- 6 *Henry VIII and the Reformation* by H. Maynard Smith D.D. Oxon. page 94
- 7 *The Suppression of the Monasteries in the West Country States* by Professor J. Bettey
- 8 *Dynasties: Paintings in Tudor and Jacobean England 1530-1560* by Hearn, Karen page 27
- 9 *Dynasties: Paintings in Tudor and Jacobean England 1530-1560* by Hearn, Karen page 27
- 10 *Dynasties: Paintings in Tudor and Jacobean England 1530-1560* by Hearn, Karen page 45
- 11 *Dynasties: Paintings in Tudor and Jacobean England 1530-1560* by Hearn, Karen page 48
- 12 *Dynasties: Paintings in Tudor and Jacobean England 1530-1560* by Hearn, Karen page 45
- 13 *Bloody Mary* by Carolly Erickson page 398-400
- 14 *Dynasties: Paintings in Tudor and Jacobean England* by Hearn, Karen page 46
- 15 *Dictionary of Art* Grove Publications
- 16 *Henry VIII and His Court* by Neville Williams page 234
- 17 *Henry VIII and His Court* by Neville Williams page 162
- 18 *The Six Wives of Henry VIII* by Alison Weir page 387
- 19 *Holbein* by Roy Strong, Director of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London page 4
- 20 *Holbein* by Roy Strong, Director of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London page 11
- 21 *Holbein* by Roy Strong, Director of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London page 11
- 22 *Ordeal by Ambition-An English Family in the shadow of the Tudors* by W. Seymour page 80
- 23 *Sarum* by Edward Rutherford
- 24 *The Six Wives of Henry VIII* by Alison Weir page 286
- 25 *Ordeal by Ambition-An English Family in the Shadows of the Tudors* by W. Seymour page 134-135
- 26 *The Six Wives of Henry VIII* by Alison Weir page 292
- 27 *Henry VIII and the Reformation* by H. Maynard Smith, D.D. Oxon. page 96

RICARDIAN CLOTHING

The Ricardian Puzzlers are Charlie Jordan, Jeanne White, Lorraine Pickering, and Nancy Northcott. The Ricardian crossword puzzles are intended as a fun method of learning about Richard and his life and times. Each puzzle will have a theme and clues are drawn from widely available sources. Suggestions are welcomed; please send comments to Charlie at cjordansprint1@earthlink.net.

This puzzle has probably been the most challenging; in the sources, different terms sometimes refer to similar items of clothing and many pieces of clothing are difficult to describe (for me, if not the other Puzzlers.) I hope you enjoy the puzzle, but if stumped, please do check the answer. As always, please let the team know what you think. Thanks much.



Answers on page 24

Across

4. Outer covering worn by either men or women; lengths could vary according to fashion (OED, Compact); often seen as tunic with long skirt and long arms; sometimes spelled with 2 "p"s.
5. Leg wrappings worn by rural peasant men.
8. Rivers allegedly wore one; "allegedly" because it would not have been obvious and probably was very uncomfortable.
10. Richard took this from a nobleman to give to Von Poppeleau.
11. Long extension from hood or hat worn wrapped around shoulder or loose hanging in front; worn by men
12. Richard's blue Parliament Robe was made of this type of fabric.

Down

1. Coat-like item for men often worn over full suit of clothing; cut very short in length - perhaps to the lap area; generally cut with full length sleeves
2. Edward & Edmund thanked their father for sending them these; with 2 "n"s.
3. Type of shoe with long toe-piece; Edward IV attempted to restrict the length of the toe-piece to no more than 2 inches; aka "poleyn."
5. Worn by men and women; on women, often cut as long, slim "dresses" shaped to hug the hips and worn full-length; men tended to wear this cut short with long sleeves
6. Type of laws introduced by Edward 4th to curb fashion excesses.
7. Jane Shore wore this when doing her penance; with an "i" not "y;" aka petticoat or shift.
8. Often a high cone-shaped hat worn by women, the shape could vary; could be covered by light gauze-like material to form a "butterfly;" aka cornet.
9. Headdress worn by women to cover hair, chin, and ears; often worn by nuns.
13. Term of measurement of length; approximately 45 modern English inches. (OED, Compact); not eel.

THE BATTLE OF MEREVALE

Keith Stenner
Chairman of the Gloucester Branch
and Bristol Group of the Richard III Society

As guests of the Tewkesbury Battlefield Society several Branch members joined Dr Michael Jones on a field visit to view his alternative “Bosworth” site. Essentially, the visit extended an opportunity for Michael to expand views expressed in his recent book *Bosworth 1485 The Psychology of a Battle*. Initial trepidation at undertaking a jaunt outside of the campaigning season was rapidly dispelled as the weather remained perfect for a late Sunday in January and concluded with an impressive and atmospheric sunset over the ‘battlefield’.

In deference to the “Ricardian” contingent the first stop was for lunch at the King’s Head in Atherstone. The “king”, of course, was old weasel features himself, Henry VII, who glared down at us from the pub sign as we hastily left the coach and hurried into the hostelry. Despite the evil portent the lunch proved excellent although truncated by the pressure of the schedule imposed by the short winter’s day. It was a brave man who passed the bitter news “the puddings are off” as the coach, engine running, waited in the car park.

First stop was Merevale Abbey where we were joined by the local historian John Austin. John has studied the area extensively and is currently helping Michael Jones develop his theories on the battle siting. The Gate Chapel of the Abbey has a superb collection of medieval stained glass and Michael was keen for us to concentrate on two particular items. The first was a reinserted section showing the figure of St Armel, a particular devotion of Henry VII. Apparently, Henry, threatened by shipwreck off the Brittany coast, had prayed for St Armel’s intercession and received deliverance. Michael maintained Henry, staying at Merevale before the battle, would probably have considered his predicament no less precarious, offered up another plea to the Saint who had helped him previously. Presumably, the figure formed part of a larger commemorative window funded from the gift given by Henry when he returned to the Abbey in 1503 (see page 152 *Bosworth 1485 Psychology of a Battle*). Recent study of the large quantity of stored fragmented glass had enabled John Austin to reconstruct a small section, approximately 100mm square, which depicted a battle scene. The glass has been dated to circa 1600 and John claimed the view probably depicted Bosworth Field and was a further piece of evidence the battle had been fought in the immediate area. However, careful study of the small and somewhat faded view appears to depict an Elizabethan army in marching formation. Although we cannot discount this is an earlier battle scene depicted in contemporary dress (cf. Paolo Uccello’s *Rout at San Romano* etc.) I think it is altogether more likely the episode represents a scene nearer

the 1600 date when the glass was produced. I say this on the basis that the dissolved Abbey and its site passed into the hands of the Devereux family and the Devereuxs, of course, would hardly wish to patronize work recording an event at which their recent ancestor died fighting on the “wrong” side. I think it is much more likely the scene represents an event from the distinguished military career of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex (1567 – 1601) — possibly the army muster at Tilbury in 1588 when he was General of the Horse? — who enjoyed great, initial military success prior to a fall from grace and eventual execution for treason at the hands of Elizabeth I. Anyway, the Church had a host of interesting features including a wonderful alabaster table altar attributed to William, Lord Ferrers of Chartley and his wife Elizabeth Belknap. Given the challenging programme for the day we had too little time to fully appreciate this gem of a building — perhaps we can organize a separate Branch visit in the near future? Little else remains of the Abbey itself — we visited the remnants of the south aisle before we were off to see Michael’s “alternative” battle site.

Hythe Farm stands, on gently sloping ground, less than a mile north of Atherstone. It is here Michael and John suggest Richard drew up his army to confront Henry and his troops positioned on the plain below. At the bottom of the slope is the intriguingly named “King Dick’s Hole”, a pool in the confluence of the Sence River where Richard is reputed to have bathed before the battle (what is the significance of “Royal Meadow” and “Bloody Bank” place names which Michael stated also occur in the immediate vicinity?) Substantiation for this site is largely based on terrain probability hinged with the content of two grants made by Henry VII in November and December, 1485. The first grant provides money to recompense villagers for crop damage “at oure late victorious feld” — the villages named are Atherston (Atherstone), Widerby (Witherley), Aterton (Atterton), Fenydrayton (Fenny Drayton) and Manseter (Mancetter). The second grant relates specifically to Merevale Abbey and records the monastery had “susteigned right gret hurtes, charges, and lossis, by occasioun of the gret repayre and resorte that oure people commyng toward oure late feld made . . . as in going over his (i.e. the abbot’s) ground, to the destruccioun of his cornes and pastures”. By implication the grants suggest damage occurred during the army’s overnight/s stay at Merevale Abbey and its immediate environs and, again, in the villages mentioned, during the battle itself. The latter grant, of course, has always been taken to refer to damage inflicted by Tudor’s army en-route to Bosworth. In addition to this evidence Michael and John cited the presence of two tumuli in the area.

The Battle of Merevale

In isolation, the presented evidence might prove persuasive. However, a number of questions immediately spring to mind. Firstly, given the two armies are said to have approached each other along two converging Roman roads, (Henry moving West-East on Watling Street and Richard moving East-West on the Roman road from Leicester) the Yorkist army would have to undertake a five or six mile cross-country detour to find the Hythe Farm position (this, of course, on the assumption the army camped the previous evening on Ambion Hill). More problematic are the previously accepted accounts which state the Lancastrian army camped the night before the battle at Whitemoors. If this latter claim can be proven the entire basis of Michael's contention is lost as this site lies some five miles to the east of Hythe Farm and directly below and confronting what is traditionally accepted as Richard's overnight position. If this latter concept can be established the battle site must, by direct confrontational positioning, be the plain below Ambion Hill.

The tumuli also present inconclusive evidence. The nearest is some way to the east of the proposed battle site and is almost certainly of Bronze Age origin.

(Michael himself now accepts this). The second lies further away again to the east (making the battle area surely far too large) and is of unknown origin. Unless the mound is excavated and found to contain the remains of late medieval soldiers this piece of evidence must remain very doubtful. Additionally, the whole area contains many tumuli and attributing any to a specific period remains difficult.

Possibly the strongest aspect of Michael's contention rests with the statement in the first grant mentioned above. The location of the battle seems clearly specified but, again, we should consider another issue. In the late middle ages the area would be very remote – the only physical feature of any significance in Henry's recollection would be Merevale Abbey. This being the case it would be quite natural to retain this as the last focal point of reference prior to the battle occurring.

I must admit the foregoing is very much an initial reaction to the day and really requires much deeper thinking and research on my part. To fully explore the now voluminous theories on the various "Bosworth" sites is beyond the scope of this visit report. However, I do think the conventional siting at the base of Ambion Hill and the plain below still has much to commend it. The Ambion site has long associations with the battle and has produced many pieces of gunstone shot by way of archaeological evidence. In the context of contemporary evidence we have the signet warrant of Henry VIII in 1511 approving the use of alms "for and towards the biolding of a chapell of sainte James standing upon a parcell of the grounde where Bosworth' feld, otherwise called Dadlyngton' feld . . . was done". The chapel was "principally for the soules of all suche persons as were slayn in the said feld" and who were buried in the churchyard. Michael painted a graphic picture of the dead being boiled to

reduce their bodies to skeletal form before being conveyed some distance to final burial. All this seems difficult to accept. Surely, after such an exhausting cross country march, followed by a hard fought battle, the survivors would not wish to extend their endeavours to bury the dead, common soldiery beyond the provision of an "on the spot" communal grave pit? Only the very lucky few might "enjoy" conveyance to the nearest churchyard.

Additionally, if it is accepted bodies were buried at Dadlington, this is some four miles from Michael's proposed battle site. Why were the dead not conveyed to nearer consecrated ground such as Merevale Abbey, the Austin Friars at Atherstone or other local churches? More problematical is the projected flight path of the broken Yorkist army. Referring to Michael's diagram of the battle (see page 198) this would entail the Yorkists passing through the ranks of the Lancastrian army before breaking eastwards. If we accept Sir William Stanley's attack came from the position shown then the natural route of flight would either be back towards the Yorkist start position (west) or north.

The evidence for the conventional "Field" is well known and long debated but this, in no way, detracts from what was a thoroughly engaging and very thought provoking day. Michael and John proved excellent hosts, took time to explain their theories and responded fully to all questions. In fairness, Michael continually stressed his theories were just that and emphasized the importance of further research. He concluded the day by underlining his whole intent was purely to open a debate and encourage a development in thinking to challenge the previous "two site" contention. I think he certainly achieved this! Having said all this, Michael's book "Bosworth 1485 The Psychology of a Battle" can be thoroughly recommended as a refreshing reading experience.

Ken Wright (author of "The Field of Bosworth") travelled with us on the day and has undertaken to guide another group around his more "conventional" version of events. This is scheduled for the Spring and should provide an interesting comparative exercise. I, for one, would welcome a return visit – I am still entitled to the pudding waiting for me at the King's Head!

Given the extent of recent, revitalized interest in Bosworth I think it is high time to mount a complete re-assessment of the battle and its location. Accounts of the conflict, dating back over centuries, have been constantly repeated and progressively incorporated into subsequent accounts and much information is now accepted as "given". Later assertions have now also taken on this "accepted" status. Much of this "accepted" fact has little or no substantiation. A complete and total reappraisal, supported by archaeological surveys and local investigation, is now called for. Michael Jones has begun this process with a highly original and very thought provoking book.

My comments above are very much an impromptu reaction and only touch on a very few of the issues. A whole raft of other considerations and possible theories persist. What are your views?

AMERICAN/CANADIAN BRANCHES MEET IN STRATFORD, ONTARIO

Barbara Vassar-Gray

The 50th Anniversary of the Stratford Festival of Canada (2002) was the setting this past August for a meeting of twelve Michigan Area Chapter members of the American Branch of the Richard III Society, and eight Toronto members of the Canadian Branch. The very first season of Stratford was held in 1953 and the playbill included *Richard III*. The 25th season in 1977 featured Brian Bedford in the same title role. Tom McCamus headlined the production in this 2002 production on the Festival's 50th anniversary.

Our week-end trip was coordinated by Michigan Chapter member Barbara Underwood. She arranged for our group to take over Alison's Brunswick Bed and Breakfast, a charming and comfortable establishment within walking distance of downtown Stratford. The Saturday morning breakfast was especially tasty: coffee/tea/orange juice, French toast garnished with



*Back row: Dianne Batch, Canadian member, Maggie Garza, Doug (Canadian member), Sandy Bartkowiak, Ed Nowos
Front row: Barbara Underwood, Canadian member, Claudia Nowos, Janet Trimbath, Sofia Malynowskyj*



*Standing: Sofia Malynowskyj, Ed Nowos, Claudia Nowos, Canadian member, Janet Trimbath, Lorna (Canadian member), Barbara Vassar-Gray, Dianne Batch, Doug (Canadian member), Maggie Garza
Kneeling: Sandy Bartkowiak, (3 Canadian members), Ellie Pierce*



Ellie Pierce, Sofia Malynowskyj, Barbara Underwood, Sandy Bartkowiak



Ed Nowos, Dianne Batch, Linda Zadduk, Maggie Garza

banana, kiwi and orange slices, strawberries and blueberries. Friday and Saturday nights our chapter members occupied the same row of seats in the top tier in the Tom Patterson Theatre which gave us a marvelous view of *Henry VI*. The three *Henry VI* plays had been successfully combined into two plays: *Henry VI: Revenge in France*, and *Henry VI: Revolt in England*. *Richard III*, which we saw at the Sunday matinee in the Avon Theatre, was subtitled *Reign of Terror*.

The two *Richard III* Branch's members met on Sunday morning, August 25th for socializing and enjoying a fabulous brunch at the Queen's Hotel, Stratford. Afterwards there was picture taking with the hotel as the backdrop. A nice surprise was the lone Stratford, Ontario Ricardian, who joined us briefly before we left for the 2 o'clock performance of *Richard III*.

Hopefully next year the Canadians and the Michiganders can meet again—perhaps a weekend in Toronto which is only a five (?) hour drive from Detroit.

RICARDIAN SPOTLIGHT

MARY JANE BATTAGLIA

Judy Pimental

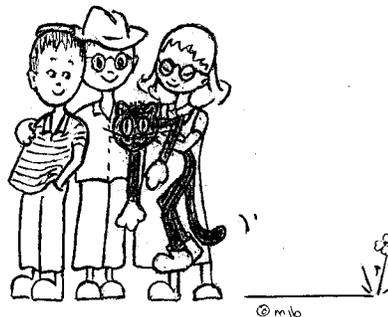
Mary-Jane (Dean) Battaglia is a long-time Ricardian who has been the delight of countless AGMs and Chapter meetings. She and her daughter Bonnie make up a dynamic duo of Ricardians. Supporting this team are a couple of more-or-less-reluctant Ricardians — her husband Angelo (affectionately known as “Batt”) and her “other” daughter, Beverly, who cheerfully permit The Duo to sweep them along in a wide wake, which includes Ricardian activities and even a “few” other interests.

Mary Jane’s paid and volunteer work experience is so impressive that it would bring tears (of jealousy and frustration due to lack of like performance) to the jealous eyes of some more recent female role models. It includes a stint in the military, and paid and unpaid administrative roles in governmental agencies and NGOs from national to county levels (too numerous to mention here).

Batt worked mainly in procurement, with Aerojet in Sacramento, and retired from Bechtel Corporation in San Francisco. He sometimes wishes he could “retire from his retirement,” which consists of cutting, splitting and chopping wood for the fireplace, weed-eating (using a motorized cutter, not dining on them) on the family acreage in Placerville, taking care of the cattle (six head) and other chores around the farm. He also fixes “antique cars” (which is how Mary Jane describes their transport). He accompanies Mary Jane to Elderhostels and, in his spare time, reads. Needless to say, but I will anyway, he also tolerates (and to all appearances cheerfully puts up with) Mary Jane’s and Bonnie’s Ricardian activities.

Beverly is a history teacher, and lives on the island of Tinian (between Saipan and Guam) with her husband and child. She is knowledgeable about Richard and is interested in his “period of history”, but does not get involved with the Society other than by giving Mary Jane and Bonnie moral support.

Mary Jane purports to be the first in the family to have “found Richard” (by default, as it were, since Bonnie and Beverly had not yet put in an appearance). Mary Jane “found” Richard in the last few years leading to WWII, as a result of a college drama assignment having something to do with Shakespeare. As “propaganda” was prominent in the nation’s vocabulary at the time, Mary Jane selected Richard III as the Bard’s “propaganda victim.” She did a “bit of” research as to “why” and “who benefitted” (was she thinking way ahead of her time?). She was pleased with the result of her efforts, and thinks her essay may yet be extant “around here somewhere.” Let us hope that she finds it! What a



Family sketch, done by Mary Jane for her granddaughter.

feather in the cap of the American Branch Library that would be!

Mary Jane credits Bonnie with being the first to actually find the Society. They share reading material and had both been reading Josephine Tey. Bonnie checked in her library reference materials and lo! History was made!

Mary Jane attended (with Bonnie) her first AGM in New York in 1979. She thinks it was at National Geographic Hall (“or something like that”). What she most clearly remembers is a stuffed polar bear in the hall (“not the only thing that was stuffed!”). The meeting fascinated her for its “organizational methods.” Batt attended an AGM with Mary Jane when she was elected Secretary in 1985. She has attended “only a few” AGMs since, not remembering the years: San Francisco, Cleveland, Los Angeles, Cincinnati, New Orleans (twice) and Seattle.

Mary Jane disclaims Bonnie’s assertion that a family connection to Yorkshire might have influenced their interest in Richard. However, she became interested in genealogy as a “small nosey kid” sitting at Grandma’s knee under the quilting frame, listening to family gossip. When she “grew up,” she checked up on some of the family legends, and still finds it awesome to have had forebears who were patriots during the Revolutionary War, or sailed up the Hudson with the Dutch in 1623, or came over from England with Penn, or was a Steward of the Court, or head of London’s Hospital in Henry VIII’s time and survived to be Mayor of Wycombe in Queen Mary’s reign! And, she says, “That’s just one line!” She never seems to have time to follow up on every clue! I cannot imagine why!

Editor’s Note: Mary Jane was elected Secretary for the Society in 1985.



RICARDIAN POST

12 January 2003

Dear Sir:

M.K. Jones offers valuable insights into King Richard the Third's reign and his battle plan at Bosworth Field. However his rationale for siting the battle near Atherstone is faulty and may damage his main argument.

He dismisses the traditional site for the battle — Ambion Hill. But the traditional version of the battle, originating with the book by William Hutton (1788), has already been subject to detailed criticism by Colin Richmond and Peter Foss. Jones impatiently ignores their arguments connecting the battle with the nearby village of Dadlington.

Richard may have planned a decisive cavalry battle like the Spanish battle of Toro (1476). If so, this is no reason to disregard the site suggested by Peter Foss, on the plain west of Ambion Hill and Dadlington. A cavalry skirmish was fought over Bosworth Field in 1644, during the English Civil War.

Jones quotes a French soldier in Henry Tudor's army. He claims the Frenchman tells us that "the king rode forward with his 'whole division', in a well-planned and large-scale assault on Henry's position". This goes beyond the original quote. It is taken by Jones from an article in French by Alfred Spont (1897). The translated fragment is left with no context: its full meaning cannot be taken for granted. In Jones's book, *Bosworth 1485*, the quote simply says that King Richard "came with all his bataille". It may mean only that the king arrived at the battlefield with his whole army (estimated at 15,000 men). We need the full account to see if Jones's interpretation is correct.

Jones tries to deal with the known burial place connected with the battle at Dadlington, near Market Bosworth, by suggesting that "Henry Tudor chose to move the slain of his army en masse to consecrated ground". But why have this "deliberate act of remembrance" at Dadlington? There were churches with grave-yards in the villages on either side of his proposed battle-site, at Ratcliffe Culey and Witherley, and near the place he suggests for Richard's death, at Fenny Drayton. Witherley was a manor belonging to Duchy of Lancaster — burial there would have made an immediate Lancastrian connection. The parson of Witherley, John Fox, was one of two men trusted with the reparation monies paid by Henry Tudor to compensate Atherstone and the nearby townships of Mancetter, Witherley, Atterton and Fenny Drayton.

According to Jones, "Henry's grant delineates a clash taking place on the open fields" near Atherstone. This grant can be interpreted in a different way: as showing where the Tudor and Stanley forces foraged and had their encampments on the night before the battle. The grant of compensation is vital evidence but it cannot be taken as fixing the battle close to Atherstone.

The reference in the Spanish letter to Ferdinand and Isabella to the battle being near Coventry can be explained. Ambion Hill and Dadlington are at almost equal distances from Leicester and Coventry. Spaniards merchants visiting English markets would have associated the battle with the more important town. Coventry was a large cathedral city, unlike Leicester, and one of the richest towns in England.

Jones cites the *Crowland Chronicle*. This refers to the fight as the battle "of Merevale", naming it after the nearby Abbey, close to Atherstone. However Jones misreads this source. It does refer to Richard's having camped near to Merevale Abbey. But it also says that Richard's army marched from Leicester and made its camp "eight miles from that town". These miles were not statute miles of 1,760 yards (an Elizabethan invention), but longer, traditional units of measure that were used into the late 17th century. A table of distances printed in the 1650s gives the distance from Leicester to Bosworth as 8 miles. Celia Fiennes, recording her visit in the 1690s, quotes the same mileage.

The direction (towards Merevale Abbey) and distance (8 country miles from Leicester) point to Richard's camp being near Ambion Hill. The quotation that Jones wants to use to support a new site for the battlefield, near Atherstone, works against him. It helps maintain the idea that battle was fought near Bosworth and Dadlington.

Yours faithfully

Mr A. D. White
38 Maple Avenue
LEICESTER, UK LE3 3FH

12th March, 2003

Dear Carole,

Please pardon the informality but I still consider fellow Ricardians to be friends, plus I am an informal person anyway.

As usual when a member writes to a Secretary I am looking for assistance. What I have been doing is trying unsuccessfully to contact Paul Murray Kendall's daughter Gillian, through the American publisher, and wonder if you have her address that you could please let me have.

Is she a member? All that it has in her father's book "Richard the Third", to which she contributed the Introduction to the latest paperback edition, is "Smith College".

Wished to contact her, as you probably are aware this year is the thirtieth anniversary of P.M.K.'s death so I was wondering if she would be "coming over" as she tells us that she watched his ashes being scattered on Bosworth Field. This I take to be Ambion Hill, but of course in the intervening years we have had a few alternate sites, culminating last year in both Dr. Michael Jones & Mr. Ken Wright's (sp?) books being published. Michael is very actively promoting his works over here.

Also, I wished to ask Gillian if there was anything further in her father's notes on Bishop Stillingham's imprisonment by Henry Tudor at Windsor. The castle's archivist was unable to help.

Thank you for your time taken, if you have read this far. From experience I know that you must be a most busy person, so your time taken is much appreciated.

Sorry but I am decidedly not in the twenty-first century, so do not have access to any of the IT skills, (must do something about it though) so have included a couple of vouchers, which I trust will cover postage, if not I will naturally send you the balance.

Looking forward to hearing from you at your convenience.

All best wishes,

Doug Weeks
41, Hill View, Off Heathfield Road,
Ashford, Kent, England TN24 8YZ

Does anyone know how to contact Gillian?

From the Listserv:

January 21, 2003

I was fortunate to be able to go with Michael K. Jones and a coachload of others to Atherstone on Sunday, to look at where he says the battle of Bosworth was fought. The area is still undeveloped grass land, so plenty of room for a battlefield centre and trail! Access to the main area is through a housing estate, but other viewpoints are reached down narrow lanes like the traditional site.

The local names of Royal Meadow, King Dick's Hole (or Hold — meaning where he camped), Bloody Bank (where the dead were buried), Derby Spinney, and a newly discovered King Dick's Yard, all fit the scenario. Most telling are the compensation grants given by Henry VII to the villages surrounding the battle area, for damage caused by the battle.

The ground is flatter and more open than the other sites, so that from Derby Spinney, where Richard died, you can look back across the whole area and see Merevale Hall on the skyline, which is close to the abbey where Henry stayed. Only ruins now remain, in a farmyard, but the gate chapel of the abbey, now the Church of Our Lady, is still intact. Inside is the glass to St

Armel probably installed by Henry VII in 1503 in thanks for his victory.

No I don't know why he waited so long, or chose that year to make the donation of glass, though his wife had died earlier in the year.

As we left the site of Derby Spinney we were only a short distance away from the traditional site. You must all read Michael's book and see what you think! *Bosworth 1485: Psychology of a Battle* is now out in paperback at 18.99 pounds.

Have a look at some photos at www.richardiiiworcs.co.uk/atherstonethumbnails.html

Pam Bernstead

P.S. For years the village of Meriden has been accepted as the geographical centre of England. Margaret Collings of the Adelaide Branch (Inc) of the Richard III Society experimented last year and concluded that Bosworth Battlefield was the centre. Now Geoffrey Wheeler reports that the latest scientific calculations place the centre in a field near Fenny Drayton. And where did Michael K. Jones locate the end of the battle of Bosworth? That's right - in a field near Fenny Drayton! Derby Spinney to be exact.

Coincidence or what?

Best wishes from Pam

February 5, 2003

Greetings,

I am new to the list and have been lurking for a brief while. Had an experience today that tickled me so much that I thought I would take this occasion to "decloak" and introduce myself to the list. But first a wee bit of background, by way of introduction

Twenty-years ago, when working at the Indiana University library, I was paid to preview the newly arrived video tapes of the BBC Shakespeare series. Among the plays included were Jane Howell's productions of the four War of the Roses plays (*Henry VI, pts. 1-3* & *Richard III*, of course). I was riveted by these productions particularly *Henry VI, pt 3* & *Richard III*. I found Ron Cook to be brilliant in the role of Shakespeare's Richard and despite the villainous script, he captured my imagination and thus began my interest in Richard's story ...

Before I could delve very deeply into this area of study, life intervened (as it so often does ;-). Having traveled many diverse, unknown paths in the interim, at Yuletide I found myself to be the delighted owner of the recently released DVD versions of these plays, which acquisition has plunged me full-tilt into my exploration of all things Richardian.

At present I am indulging in the decadent excess of reading as many works of fiction relating to Richard as I can :-). In the pursuit of this goal, I have spent many late nights on the Internet reserving books at the library ... which leads me to today's funny story ...

I arrived at the library to claim my books "on hold" and was handed Alice Hardwood's *Merchant of the Ruby* ... I opened to the title page to try to remember why I had reserved this particular book (probably at 4 o'clock some

bleary morning) and found these words neatly hand written by a Ricardian library patron:

"Based on Tudor 'propaganda' -- Sir Thomas Moore's hearsay 'history.' Richard III did not murder the two little princes -- Henry VII, the first Tudor, did."

Although the Society does not include "adding personal editorials to library books of particularly repugnant nature" in its Speak Up! Speak Out! section of the webpage, I couldn't help but chuckle and applaud the passion of the author of these words (although I don't necessarily agree with her/his conclusion). And although my librarian mother impressed me with a deep aversion to writing in books, I understand that Richard had no such compunction (writing liberally, as I understand it, in the margins of his books) ... so perhaps this notation upholds a time-honored tradition ...

All of this is a long-winded way of expressing how delighted I am to be sharing space with people who share a passion & enthusiasm for Richard. Thanks!

*Blessings,
Ananaia O'Leary*

Hi, all--

Just a quick note of interest. I was browsing through "The Original London Walks" site online (www.walks.com) and noticed that one tour called "Ghosts, Gaslight, and Guinness" featured "Richard III" as a tour guide. This particular tour meets on Wednesdays at 7:30 pm at the Holborn tube station and is described thus:

This is the most haunted city on earth, unutterably old, built over a fen of undisclosed horrors, believed to contain occult lines of geometry. A city where the very mist is like a sigh from a graveyard. Now I don't want to weird you out, but where we're going tonight time past and time present can fuse...especially when the daylight bleeds away. If in a dark window you see an even darker silhouette staring back, or if the branches of a tree suddenly shiver like a spider's web that's caught something, or if you follow a stranger into a churchyard or a pub where everything isn't as it seems...you could well be wayfaring to the rebecks of eternity. Fancy a pint?

Written by a frustrated novelist/suspense writer? I guess Shakespeare's Richard III will continue to be "unutterably" imbedded in the collective conscious as not only evil, but downright terrifying. Just want to pass along this interesting little bit. It makes me want to watch the old 1939 movie of Emily Bronte's Wuthering Heights.

*LML,
Pam Butler*

February 21, 2003

I have just finished reading Michael Jones new book on Bosworth, and in fact I have started to read it again, so much have I enjoyed it. So much in it that there is to admire.

In view of my trepidation it will perhaps come as a surprise to some that I find myself unable NOT to recommend this book highly.

Of course there are some things I don't agree with, mainly the fate of those "bastards in the Tower," but this Richard is a man to love, serve, follow, and, if necessary, to die for, secure in the knowledge that your loyalty will be generously rewarded and particularly humanly appreciated.

For more than anything else in this portrait of my king there is the man he undoubtedly was in his times, flaws on show, as well as his undoubted talents.

And the scenario of the battle itself is convincing from many different aspects, chiefly for me, the military tactical one. All that previously published nonsense about Ambien Hill disappears with the repetition of what so many writers forget, that Richard was an accomplished and experienced soldier, acknowledged as such by all his contemporaries, and feared as such by his enemies, as well as the dedicated and confident heir of his house and family legacy. No fighter with Richard's experience would have chosen to fight the battle he without out doubt planned, on such a constricting and defensive position as the hill at Ambien.

But for me, Michael Jones' scenario works better than any other I have read, and I will not be surprised when proof of this theory and positioning comes to light.

The scenario works well from many aspects, but chiefly and particularly, and this is important to remember, from a Ricardian point of view.

Not from any Society view, not from a modern military view, not from any romantic hero view, certainly not from the "swansong of English chivalry" point of view.

Not from any view in fact except that of the medieval warrior Richard and his followers were.

I even, for the first time ever, 'get' what Henry Tudor was going through, and understand why he reacted afterwards in the ways that he did. I almost felt some sympathy for the man. ALMOST!!!!

Paul T. Bale



*St Armel, stained glass, Church of Our Lady, Merevale
See this issue, page 17. Photo by Pam Bernstead.*

DONATIONS - 10/01/2002
THROUGH 12/31/2002

Honorary Middleham Members

Barbara Baker Barillas

Duane Downey

Honorary Fotheringhay Members

Samuel Carranza

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Nancy L. Harris

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Paul E. Gemmill

Edith M. Hopkins

Marilyn F. Koncen

Deirdre C. and Joan Melvin

Nancy Northcott

Lois H. Trinkle

Our apologies to Susan F. Baker, who was inadvertently omitted from the list of donors in the last *Ricardian Register*.

FEEL FREE TO
PAY IN ADVANCE!

Paying in advance saves both the Society and the member some postage costs, plus time and effort. If you would like to do this, no special procedures are needed — our database can handle it!

Simply make out your check for as many years' dues as you wish and write a note on the renewal card to the effect that you wish to pay for that many years in advance.



AMERICAN BRANCH MEMBERS WHO
JOINED BETWEEN DECEMBER 1, 2002
AND FEBRUARY 28, 2003

Elizabeth Brock

Hewlett Byrd

Shaun R. Cherewich

Louise Rodriguez Connal

Bonita Cron

Joan Croy

Devon Dawson

Chrystine Dimitry

Nancy Flynn

Judith Grondalski

Pamela Harrell-Savukoski

Elaine L. Kehoe

Mary-Anne King

Amber Klekamp

William R. Lewis

Jeanette Lugo

David and Judy Luitweiler

Mary L. Mattson

Kenneth Mayall

Susan McCallie

Deirdre C. and Joan Melvin

Sarah A. Million

Richard Mishaga

Katherine M Moriarty

Margaret Morton

Ananaia R. O'Leary

Carole Orlando

Joy Owen

John F. Payne

Joe C. Peel

Margot Roby-McGowan

Karen Rubin

Martin Sanders

Donald B. Slusher, Jr.

Dora Smith

Marisa SorBello

Nancy Spies

Glenda Jean Tremewan

Patricia L. Vanore

Dawn Vazuka

Jane E. Ward

Regan De Williams

PUBLICITY REPORT

Pamela Butler

As the new publicity chair, I'm seeking input from the membership about every possible avenue we can pursue in order to publicize the Richard III Society at a national level. Laura Blanchard arranged an attention-getting story in the *Wall Street Journal* a dozen years ago which brought in a large number of members. We need to once again increase the public awareness of our existence.

Basing the publicity on a particular theme would probably be the most effective approach. A theme of justice vs. injustice in the judgment of history is one possibility. Comparisons of warfare then and now, lifestyles then and now are other considerations. Anniversary dates of various Wars of the Roses events might be a starting point.

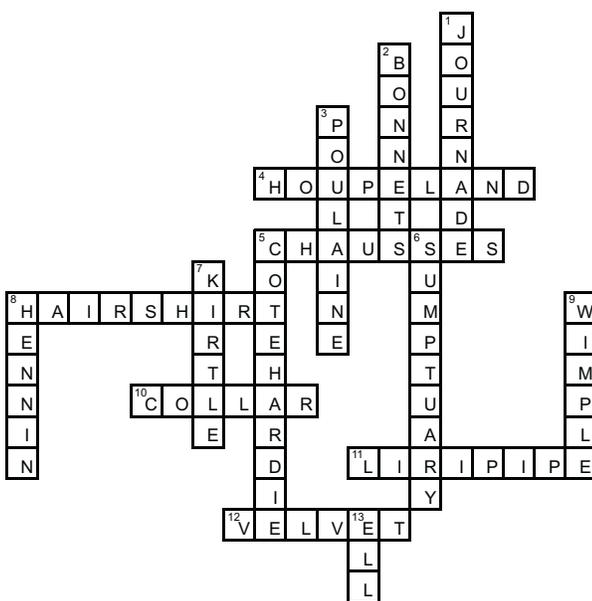
As more members show an interest in promoting the society at a local level, I'd like to suggest creating a ready-made publicity kit using items which are readily available.

1. A folding table, a long one if possible, but even a card table could be used if there are space constraints. Virginia Poch, who has been promoting our society at Florida Renfaires, adds, "If portability is an issue, two similarly sized card tables fit together, or apart with different exhibits on them, would work well. Our tents were ten feet by ten feet."
2. Pictures attract attention. Most visitors only have time for a quick glance. Virginia says, "A large poster sized

picture of Richard is very good. Ours received a lot of looks. Richard kind of sells himself. Maybe we could get permission from the museums in trade for some publicity for them. The same for T-shirts and for pictures of the battle fields." On an upright display board one might have a map of England showing the battle sites, paintings of battles/photos of reenactments, pictures of Edward IV, Elizabeth Woodville, etc. "The Banners of Bosworth" which appear in the members-only section might also be used as a template to make large banners to call attention to the display booth. "Also, thumbnails with the highlights of Richard's life and Yorkist history would draw attention, if time allows," notes Virginia.

3. One can display several Ricardians/Ricardian Registers, as well as any books about the Wars of the Roses or Richard. "and a list of books for sale by the Society and those available at your local library."
4. Takeaway/giveaway items that lead back to our excellent www.r3.org website will work well. The bookmarks created by Peggy and Laura are available at this website and can be printed out on regular paper or cardboard stock. "People like getting them," Virginia tells us. A pre-printed brochure (expensive) or a list of FAQ's to hand out at public events is a feasible option. Virginia observes, "Another item might be some copies or facsimiles on parchment-like paper of important Ricardian documents. They give a visual reference to Richard as ruler."

Answers to Ricardian Clothing



MOVING OR TEMPORARILY AWAY?

Your quarterly Ricardian publications are mailed with the request to the U.S. Post Office to notify the Society of changes of address and forwarding addresses. This service costs the Society extra money, but we think it's worth it to ensure that as many members as possible receive the publications to which they are entitled.

Please, please, if you are moving, let us know your new address as soon as possible. If you will be away temporarily, please ask your Post Office to hold your mail for you.

Mail that is returned to us as "Temporarily Away" or "No Forwarding Address" costs the Society \$2.97 for the return, plus approximately \$2.53 to mail it to you a second time. Donations to cover these extra costs are, of course, welcomed.

Your change of address notices should go directly to the Membership Chair: Eileen Prinsen, 16151 Longmeadow, Dearborn MI, 48120, or e-mail address changes to membership@r3.org. Please don't forget to include other changes that help us contact you, such as new telephone number, new e-mail address, or name changes.

FICTION LIBRARIAN VOLUNTEER SOUGHT

Jeanne Faubell

We are seeking someone to take over the position of Fiction Librarian.

I have enjoyed holding the position for the past 6 years but am not in a position to continue (I have gone back to work full time and have difficulty getting to the post office to mail the books; also we need to reclaim the shelf space in our rather small house for a home office).

A Society member who really enjoys having access at any time to a pretty comprehensive collection of Ricardian fiction, or who enjoys writing book reviews for the *Register* would particularly enjoy the position. I keep out on the open shelves one copy of each hardback title, of each paperback title, and of each play. You will need approximately 22 linear feet of shelf space (the duplicates I kept in boxes under the guest bed). Over the past 6 years I did retrospective collecting and added a number of new titles, and I will be happy to tell you my sources and strategies. Any librarians out there who would like to take over a library? I think it is time, as the former non-fiction librarian Helen Mauer put it when she advertised for a replacement, to pass the baton to someone with a renewed vision and fresh enthusiasm.

Please respond to me by email at jeannetf@earthlink.net.

Editor's Note: As re-location of the libraries is a heavy expense for the Society, we need someone who feels they can handle this position for several years. If you are interested or need more information, contact Jeanne or any of the board members listed in the masthead.

LISTSERV REPORT

Pamela Butler

First, I'd like to thank Muriel Williamson for her long tenure as the listserv owner. I would also like to thank her for providing basic instructions on running a listserv, which is a new field to me, and for providing the data in this report.

There were 258 postings in the first quarter, with 45 members posting. The most frequent posters were Laura Blanchard, with 41 postings, followed by Pamela Butler with 36. The first poster was Kim Malo, continuing a thread on travel spam.

There were 74 message threads, the most popular thread being "Any Plantagenets There?" This discussion centered on whether any of the Plantagenet male line survived and who those descendants might be. There were 13 different threads on Bosworth and/or Michael Jones, author of a recently-published book, *Bosworth 1485: Psychology of a Battle*. Jones has sited the Battle of Bosworth about 8 miles west of the traditional Bosworth, near Atherstone, and controversy continues over several possible sites where it might have actually occurred.

The regular listserv currently has 95 members, an increase of three during the quarter. The digest subscribers number 15, up by two. The listserv is a free service open to all Society members worldwide.

To join, send an email to richard3-subscribe@plantagenet.com. Or, to subscribe to the digest only, send an email to richard3-digest-subscribe@plantagenet.com. If you have any difficulty, email questions to richard3-owner@plantagenet.com. You may also join via the website at www.r3.org/members. Click on the Members-Only Electronic Discussion List; once membership is confirmed, your name will be added to the list.

MEMBERSHIP DUES TO INCREASE

Wayne Ingalls

In October 2002, the executive board unanimously approved a dues increase to \$35 for individual memberships to become effective with memberships expiring on or after October 2, 2003. At the most recent board meeting in March 2003, the board confirmed this decision. It has been over ten years since the last dues increase, and every effort is made to minimize costs. Meanwhile, the cost of mailing a first class letter within the United States has increased 27 percent. We must also pay overseas postage for the parent society publications, and this cost has increased dramatically. The parent society increased dues in 2002 from 12£ to 15£ as a measure to pay for increased expenses. When one factors in the increased printing costs both here and in the UK, as well as (approximately) a 7% decline in our membership numbers, it is easy to see why I project that overall costs will exceed income by nearly \$4,000 this year. These figures and projections prompted the board to examine and weigh the options, and ultimately determine the need for a membership rate increase.



RICARDIAN READING

Myrna Smith

Most books reviewed here can be purchased at www.r3.org/sales.

One of the joys of living in a small town, especially the one in which you grew up, is that you know the librarians, or soon get to know them, and they often take a personal interest in the books you check out or request via interlibrary loans. While they hardly think that someone who reads murder mysteries is going to murder someone, anything along practical lines may invite comment. Get a book on interior decoration, for example, and someone will ask if you are planning to remodel. (No, just dreaming.) Consequently, when getting some of the books reviewed below, I felt compelled to explain that I am not going to take up embalming, either as a career or an avocation. If some Gentle Readers are so moved, however, we feature the following selection of “how-to” titles.

How To Take Care of Your Bones

 *London Bodies: The changing shape of Londoners from prehistoric times to the present day – Compiled by Alex Werner, published by the Museum of London, 1998*

Surprisingly, one can learn much about how people lived from how they died. This collection of essays by specialists in different periods of London history should disabuse the reader at least from the notion that medieval men and women were much shorter than their modern counterparts. The range of height was the same, as it has always been, and the average was only 1.5 inches less for men and less than an inch for women. Before the 20th century, Londoners were shortest during the Victorian era, tallest during Saxon times. Shapes really haven’t changed that much.

Our ancestors (assuming “we” are at least partly of British descent) got osteoarthritis, as we do, as well as rickets, which we thankfully rarely do. Farming communities were especially prone to back problems. Earlier Englishmen were less prone to dental caries, however. But they did get corns, bunions, hammertoes, and similar foot problems. We know this not only from skeleton feet but also from shoes that have survived on or near the bodies. This leads to a discussion of other clothes found in graveyards, and fashion from an unusual point of view.

Not all diseases showed up in skeletons, of course. How old were Londoners of previous centuries when they died? What did they die of? What did they eat? While forensic anthropology may not give definite answers, it can provide educated guesses. And sometimes they do find clear evidence of foul play.

Of interest to Ricardians is a photo feature on the nine-year-old Anne Mowbray, Duchess of York, which

simply states that her young husband “disappeared during the reign of Richard III.”

Somewhat along similar lines is *THE MUMMY CONGRESS* (Heather Pringle, Hyperion, NY, 2001.) The subjects covered are listed as ‘1. Mummies. 2. Human remains (Archeology) 3. Forensic anthropology. 4. Physical anthropology. 5. Body, Human – Social aspects.’ That should cover it!

The dust jacket shows a photograph of mummies stored in a museum cellar. Child and adult size, they are leaned against the walls, looking like nothing so much as tired travelers in a train or bus station. (I know the feeling!) Ms. Pringle shares her fascination not only with mummies throughout the world, but also with the scientists who study them, men and women who love their mummies. It takes a special kind of person. And bugs — the well-named assassin bug that spreads *T. cruzi*, which has been found not only in Latin American mummies, but also in modern-day blood banks. This may be a *little* more than you want to know about mummies.

In Ms. Pringle’s book, we make the acquaintance of Dave, which is expanded in *The Mummies of Urumchi* (Elizabeth Wayland Barber, W.W. Norton & Co, NY and London, 1999) “Dave” is a 3000-year-old mummy from northwestern China. Tall (6’2”), long-nosed, red-haired, he was given that name by an American researcher because he so resembled his brother Dave, and indeed he looks like he could get up, stretch, and walk away. Nor is he the only out-of-place Caucasian in that area, only the best preserved. One of his “lady friends,” buried in the same grave, was over 6’.

While a serious scholar, Ms. Barber is also a collector and purveyor of fascinating if trivial tidbits, such as a possible scientific origin for vampire legends, the discovery of a long-lost 200-mile section of the Great Wall (“How can you loose something 200 miles long?”) and where Romans carried their money, since there are no pockets in a toga. No, they didn’t carry purses.

How To Protect Yourself Against Practical Jokes

The Museum of Hoaxes – A Collection of Pranks, Stunts, Deceptions, and Other Wonderful Stories Contrived for the Public From the Middle Ages to the New Millennium – Alex Boese, Curator – Dutton, NY – 2002

What the title doesn’t say, the chapter headings do: “Female Popes and Vegetable Lambs,” “Australian Icebergs and Cockroach Pills.” You’ll met some of the

Ricardian Reading

great professional hoaxers — Barnum, Hugh Troy, Alan Abel, Dan DeQuille (a contemporary of Mark Twain), and some who were better known in other lines; H.L. Menken, Benjamin Franklin, and Twain himself. Or could Marco Polo have been one of the greatest hoaxers of all time?

There are plenty of references and cross references, and a test to take to see how gullible you are. If you fail it, don't despair. Such as Arthur Conan Doyle and the Queen of England have fallen for expert (and sometimes amateur) hoaxes.

How To Cook Over An Open Fire

The Magic of Fire – William Rubel, Ten Speed Press, P.O. Box 7123, Berkeley, CA 94707, 2002

When I was growing up in the Rio Grande Valley of Texas, I had seen fireplaces — we even had one, with a gas log — and I had seen open fires at cookouts, barbecues, etc. But I had college-age children before I ever saw a log fire burning in an indoor fireplace. Having spent some years in North Texas, up there near the Arctic Circle, I can now appreciate the usefulness of a book like this. It's written by a 'specialist in traditional cooking methods.' Indeed, this was how everybody cooked during the Middle Ages and before, and for centuries after, and many people still prefer the flavor of foods cooked in this way. Mr. Rubel includes a number of recipes, even the names of which sound delicious: Brisket Baked under Ashes, English Muffins and Crumpets, etc. He discusses various techniques for hearth cooking, such as ash baking, ember roasting, Dutch ovens, spit roasting, etc, so you can adapt your own recipes.

This would have been useful during the Great Millennial Ice Storm, when we were completely without power, but had plenty of wood — all over the place. Now that I'm back in more a southerly area again (the two facts are not unrelated) and live in an apartment, it's less so, but still a handsome book to look at, decorate the coffee table, dip into for fun, and plan the next picnic with. It's much too elegant, and a bit too large, to actually put on the kitchen counter. I suggest copying the recipes and other pertinent information out on index cards.

The author can be contacted at his website, www.williamrubel.com, and the address of the publisher is given above.

How To Handle A Mother-In-Law (And Her Daughter)

The Baron of Grogzwig – Charles Dickens, edited by Shirley Greenway, ill by Rowan Barnes-Murphy, Whispering Coyote Press, Inc, Danvers, MA, 1994

This short story, adapted for a charming children's book, is from a chapter of *Nicholas Nickleby*, which, admit it, you have never read or have forgotten if you have. The stranded passengers of a broken-down stagecoach entertain themselves with 'hot punch and ghost stories,' of which this is a comic sample. It is the story of Baron Von Koeldwethout of Grogzwig in Germany, his 24 men in Lincoln green, his wife, and his 13 children! Perhaps

Dickens, who had a large family himself, identified with the Baron, except that this was written in 1839, before he had such a humongous family. He should have paid heed. The main interest for adults would be in the story's foreshadowing of "A Christmas Carol." Interesting, if you like Dickens, and even if you don't.

How To Write A Murder Mystery

Corpse Candle – A Medieval Mystery Featuring Hugh Corbett – P.C. Doherty, St Martin's Press, NY, 2001

The formula is simple: take one locked room and several disposable characters, to be murdered. Add a spice of the supernatural, or seemingly supernatural, which will be explained rationally (mostly). Sex is optional. How you get into and out of the locked room, and how you explain the seemingly supernatural, is up to you. Mr. Doherty is a master of this formula, and employs it well in this story of murder in a monastery. Of course, Corbett uncovers a number of secrets in these seemingly serene surroundings — but how serene can they be when people are getting bumped off at the rate of one per chapter? (Seems that way, anyhow.) Plenty of action on hand here, and it's always interesting to see how Doherty sets up and 'solves' his locked-room puzzles.

Another story involving the seemingly supernatural is Kate Sedley's *The Saint John's Fern* (St Martin's Minotaur, NY, 2002, (published in the UK in 1999). Has a murderer become invisible from ingesting the herb of the title? Roger the Chapman turns his analytical mind and impressive musculature to solving the mystery. Roger is still a young man, and should have many good years of detection left. Sedley, however, is a 'veteran' author, which means she has been around for a while, under this name and that of Brenda Honeyman. From a purely selfish viewpoint, I wish her good health, to go on writing these cozy mysteries for as long as possible.

 *Death On A Silver Tray* – Rosemary Stevens, Berkeley/ Penguin Putnam, NY 2000

Another way of writing a mystery is to take a real-life person and make him into your featured detective. Ms Stevens has chosen Beau Brummell, which might seem an odd choice, but he makes a charming hero. If the real Beau was anything like this, it's easy to see how he became a Leader of Society and Legend in His Own Time. He narrates the story, and lets us in on the ins and outs of high society in 1805, as well as confiding his requited, but unfulfilled, love for the Duchess of York. The author even manages to hint at some of the causes of Brummell's eventual downfall, without letting it overshadow one's enjoyment of the story. For information on the other books in the series, check out. (Someone has said that there are only two kind of mysteries — with and without cats. This, as well as several other books reviewed here, is with.)

In Kasey Michaels' *Maggie Needs An Alibi* (Kensington Publishing Co, NY, 2002) a Brummell-like character (right down to the quizzing-glass) comes to life, complicating life greatly for his creator, mystery

author Maggie Kelly. What's more, he brings a comic sidekick with him. Good thing Ms. Kelly's books bring in enough for her to afford a good-sized apartment, and several Platinum cards, for, since she has made her character intelligent, he quickly masters the use of credit. It's not his fault when Maggie is suspected of murder; in fact he does his best to clear her. He needs help, though.

There are so many similarities between the Viscount St. Just and Beau Brummell that I wonder if one of these authors should sue the other? Or are they the same person? Or is it just that both owe a debt of inspiration to Dorothy Sayers' Lord Peter?

 *The Queene's Cure* – Karen Harper, Random House, 2002 (hardcover)

Elizabeth I makes a welcome return in her fourth outing as amateur detective. This time the crimes she and her Privy Plot Council investigate strike close to home when Elizabeth finds in her own coach an effigy of herself with scratched-on pox marks, symbolic of the disease Elizabeth so dreads. Later, a real body with much the same marks, this time made by being bled to death by leeches, another thing Elizabeth abhors, is found in her private garden. Unnerved by these attacks in areas where she should be safe, Elizabeth suspects many people, including two of the foremost doctors in England and her Stewart and Grey cousins.

The title refers to the tradition of the reigning monarch to touch the head and make the sign of the cross on the forehead of those struck with scrofula (or the King's/Queen's Evil, as it was known) in the belief that through the touch, God would heal those so affected. Even in there, there is great danger to Elizabeth.

I really enjoy this series and look forward to more. I am glad that Elizabeth, temporarily at least, seems to be over her infatuation with Robert Dudley that so permeated the third book, *The Twylyght Tower*, the only one I didn't like much.

— Anne Marie Gazzolo

 *Cruel As The Grave* – Sharon Kay Penman – Henry Holt & Co, NY, 1998

Penman is something of a controversial writer. Some readers like her style and others think her books are poorly written. I have enjoyed her books on people who lived: Edward IV and Richard III, Simon de Monfort and Llewellyn of Wales, and Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine. With the turning of public favor from historical fiction, she has turned to medieval mysteries. This is her second. I have not read the first and I think they are probably better read in sequence. However, I did find it a pleasant read.

Penman's detective is a young man, Justin de Quincy, illegitimate son of a nervous bishop, and an agent of Queen Eleanor, regent in the captivity of Richard I. Justin performs life-threatening tasks for the queen, and investigates the poignant murder of a young Welsh girl. At the same time, he is conducting a liaison with a young woman he can neither resist nor trust.

The mystery is well researched and the atmosphere charged with the tension between Eleanor and her ambitious son, John. The details of court and common life are accurate and realistic. Eleanor and John are finely drawn, like people Penman knows intimately. Justin and his cohorts are slightly less real than the royals. But the dead girl is surprisingly alive and the most sympathetic character in the book. The sympathy is satisfying, although the true murderer pays only in money.

The book ends with the enticing phrase to Justin: "The queen wants you." No doubt the third book in the series has begun.

— Dale Summers.

 *Much Ado About Murder* – Simon Hawke, Tom Doherty Associates, NY, 2002

Another "real-life" detective, William Shakespeare, and his fictional sidekick, Symington (Tuck) Smythe — or is it the other way round? It's not so much the detection or the plot that's important here, but the depiction of backstage life, low life (our boys meet Moll Cutpurse and her gang), and above all, the Odd Couple relationship of the main characters. If you have ever wondered where W.S. came up with the inspiration for his most famous quotations, you will find out here! Even without this the dialogue is witty, especially when Shakespeare & Smythe's theatrical chums are on the scene. A sample:

(Will is trying to explain the code duello to the assembled actors.) "...*there would be no opportunity for them to fight a duel the very next morning. Seconds would have to be found first, and then second, those seconds would need to meet and appoint a time and place, and thirdly, weapons would need to be chosen, and so forth.*"

"*They would need to choose weapons fourth?*" said Pope. "*Why not chose weapons first?*"

Shakespeare shook his head. "*Nay, they would need to chose weapons and so forth...*"

I suppose there is no reason why they could not choose weapons first."

"*Well, if they chose weapons first, then what would they choose fourth?*" persisted Pope.

"*He said that they would choose weapons thirdly,*" said Phillips.

"*He just said that they would choose them first!*"

"*Nay, he said they would choose them fourth,*" said Bryan.

"*I said they needed to choose weapons and ...so...forth*" said Shakespeare.

"*So fourth what?*" asked Pope. "*They would meet?*"

"*Nay, they needed to meet first,*" replied Phillips.

"*I thought they needed to meet second,*" Pope said, frowning.

"*First, the seconds need to be appointed,*" Shakespeare explained, patiently. "*Second, the seconds have to meet.*"

Ricardian Reading

"Aye, 'tis why they call them seconds, you buffoon," said Phillips, tossing a lump of bread at Pope

"Oh, for heavens sake! Said Shakespeare. 'They do not call them seconds because they must meet second, they call them seconds because they are seconds.'"

"So then who is called first?" asked Pope.

(and so on and so – er – forth, until☺)

"So the seconds duel second, and the duelists duel first? ... So then, who comes third?"

"Nobody comes third..."

"And so nobody is fourth, then?"

"Right. You have it, Pope. Nobody is fourth."

"So then when do they choose the weapons?"

"Whenever they bloody well want to."

Now, I wonder where Hawke came up with the inspiration for that?

How Not To Write A Murder Mystery

 *Much Ado About Murder* – Anne Perry, Ed., Berkley, NY, 2002

It's not often that one gets the opportunity to review two books with the same name back to back, although there is no reason why it shouldn't happen. A title can't be copyrighted. This one is a collection of short mystery stories based on Shakespeare's plays, written by some of the best known names in the genre: beside the editor's own contribution, there are stories by P.C. Doherty, Margaret Frazer, Simon Brett, Edward Hoch, and many others. And for the most part, they do justice both to the bard and their own reputations. One exception is Brendan DuBois' "Richard's Children," inspired by the play. All I am going to say is this: this is the conspiracy theory to end all conspiracy theories. I'm not a Knoxian purist, but I consider that cheating.

How To Write A Romance

 *The Dark Knight* – Tori Phillips, Harlequin, Toronto, NY 2002

One good way is to invent a high-society family (with royal connections if possible) and follow their lives and loves through several generations. That's what Mary Schaller/Tori Phillips has done with her Cavendish family. They are now down into the third generation and the reign of Edward VI, and the author turns her attention to a daughter of the family – and it's about time! Of course, there has to be an obstacle in the way of True Love, and in this case it's racial prejudice. Her main squeeze is a gypsy. The Cavendishes are a broad-minded lot and wouldn't object so much, but his family does. Oh yes, there's just one other little detail. He has been sent by Edward Seymour to murder our heroine, the only reason being, apparently, her religion. I really doubt, though, that any church, English or Roman, would allow a young woman in her 20's to set up her own abbey, with herself as abbess. Actually, there is a good reason for the animosity of the Tudors toward Tonia

Cavendish. Although it's not mentioned here, they are descendants of Edward IV.

Finally, everything is worked out satisfactorily in the end — with a little bit of help from fate and the accession of Mary Tudor. Lots of romance, lots of action, hairsbreadth escapes, hairsbreadth near-escapes, lots of fun, and not to be taken seriously for a minute.

How To Be A Muse

– And Marry A Confirmed Widower

 *Dear Heart, How Like You This?* – Wendy Dunn, Metropolis Ink, USA and Australia, 2002

From a fragment of poetry and a suggestion in history comes an engaging novel by Wendy Dunn woven around the poet Sir Thomas Wyatt's love for Anne Boleyn, the second of Henry VIII's six wives.

Told in the first person from Sir Thomas Wyatt's point of view, the story unfolds a "fair child darting here and there...with ebony hair flowing loose" who captures the romantic heart of a poet, grows up into a musically talented, intelligent young woman with beautiful, expressive eyes, and weds a king. Throughout the novel, Dunn maintains the illusion that Sir Thomas is speaking himself and confiding his secrets directly to us. This powerful credibility comes from Dunn's lyrical prose which makes us feel we are reading poetry in motion, as when Wyatt says "Eros' arrows struck me early in my life: when I was a boy of five and she was an even smaller girl of two, in a sun-drenched corridor where music hung in the air unheard."

Dear Heart captures the joys, as well as the sorrows, of living in this era. An evocative novel, it is peopled with wonderful portraits of flesh and blood characters who lived out their short lives in a politically dangerous time, when life was precarious and most died young. Everyone will take away something different from the book as they follow Sir Thomas's development from boyhood into an important civil servant, diplomat, and poet of the Tudor Age. For me it was what it meant to be female. Middle-class or high-born, in England, Italy or France, to be female in this era was to be a helpless pawn of men, at the mercy of whims, dislikes, and desires that would ultimately seal their fate.

Even though the Wyatt family came to prominence by supporting Henry Tudor, and Sir Thomas believed that Richard killed the princes, it is hard to hold that against them as they come to realize what it means to live under a dynasty of tyrants. The author makes a flawed reference to Edward IV as Edward V, but it does not detract from this charming and intelligent book. *Dear Heart* is a must-read for lovers of history.

—Sandra Worth

I've just received a copy of Michael K. Jones' *Bosworth 1485: Psychology Of A Battle*, which looks promising. Look for this in the next issue. I also hope to get something from a reviewer on *The Seventh Son*, by Reay Tannahill. The rest is up to you Gentle Readers.

TWO-YEAR MEMBER PROFILES

(Compiled by Eileen Prinsen)

Richard III reigned for only a little over two years. In commemoration of that fact, this regular feature in the Ricardian Register profiles people who have renewed their membership for the second year (which does not, of course, mean that they may not stay longer than two years!). We thank the members below who shared their information with us — it's a pleasure to get to know you better.

Brandy Barton is employed as an Information Technology Trainer. She is a resident of Roundrock, Texas, and, along with movies and kick boxing, she lists reading and history as her leisure activities. Her response to the question as to how she became interested in the Society was: "I read *The Sunne in Splendour* and was intrigued by Penman's presentation of Richard. Upon doing my own research, I was surprised to learn that Shakespeare's version is quite inaccurate." She goes on to say: "I love all things medieval, and love the challenge of educating others about the real Richard!" Tel: 512-773-0778. Email: bartonbrat@yahoo.com.

Frances Davilla, whose leisure interests include Celtic and British History, and Travel, makes her home in New Orleans. Frances also became interested in Richard III through Sharon Kay Penman's *Sunne in Splendour*, with the result that while she was searching for information about him on the web, she found the Society. E-mail: ecamlan@yahoo.com

Floyd and Patricia Durham, whose leisure interests include mysteries and travel, became interested in the Richard III Society through the combined efforts of Roxanne Murph and Josephine Tey! They make their home in Fort Worth, Texas, where Floyd is Professor Emeritus of Economics (B.A., M.A. and Ph.D) at Texas Christian University. He also has an interest in Ranch Management Economics, American Economic History, et al, and is author of *The Trinity River Paradox: Flood or Famine*.

Patricia (aka Patty) is former manager of Delta D Ranch — an Arabian horse ranch — in Aledo, Texas. She has degrees in Library Science and Ranch

Management. Tel: 817-294-2165. E-mail: durham8@charter.net

Marsha Jenkins says that her introduction to the Richard III Society was "quite embarrassing." She was attending a luncheon in England, where the speaker was a Beefeater from the Tower of London. She, having recently read Josephine Tey's *The Daughter of Time*, "quietly shook her head" when the speaker came to the part of Richard killing the princes in the tower. He stopped his lecture, pointed at her and asked "Are you a White Boar?" Not knowing the significance of the white boar to Richard, she thought he was asking if she was a boring Caucasian! But apparently he was a "Beefeater with the right stuff" for she continues: "After the lecture he took me aside and told me about the society and gave me a list of books supporting Richard."

Marsha continues: "It took me many years and a new computer to find the Richard III Society. I discovered the website and attended the AGM in Fort Worth. I knew no one and didn't know what to expect. I found the fellow-believers delightful, intelligent and very welcoming."

A resident of Austin, Texas, she is particularly enthusiastic about the Society's publications. She reads them "from cover to cover and often take(s) them to places where people might ask about them, always hoping to recruit another Ricardian in Austin." E-mail: marshagjensen@aol.com

Kurt Wissbrun from Summit, NJ is a retired Chemist whose interests range from opera, to golf and travel. Kurt says he gained his initial interest from Josephine Tey, then Kendall (Paul Murray). He continues: "Interest lapsed until 2000, visiting King's College, Cambridge, and noting a plaque to Dr. John Argentine. Intrigued by his being physician to the princes and then to Henry VII." As with many of our members, Kurt found the Society on the internet. Tel: 908-273-9605. E-mail: k.wissbrun@aya.yale.edu



*Royal Meadow
— site of the battle of Bosworth??*

*Photo by Pam Bernstead,
Worcester Branch*

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