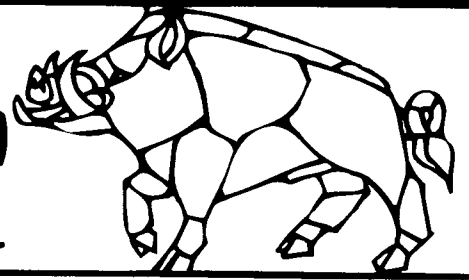


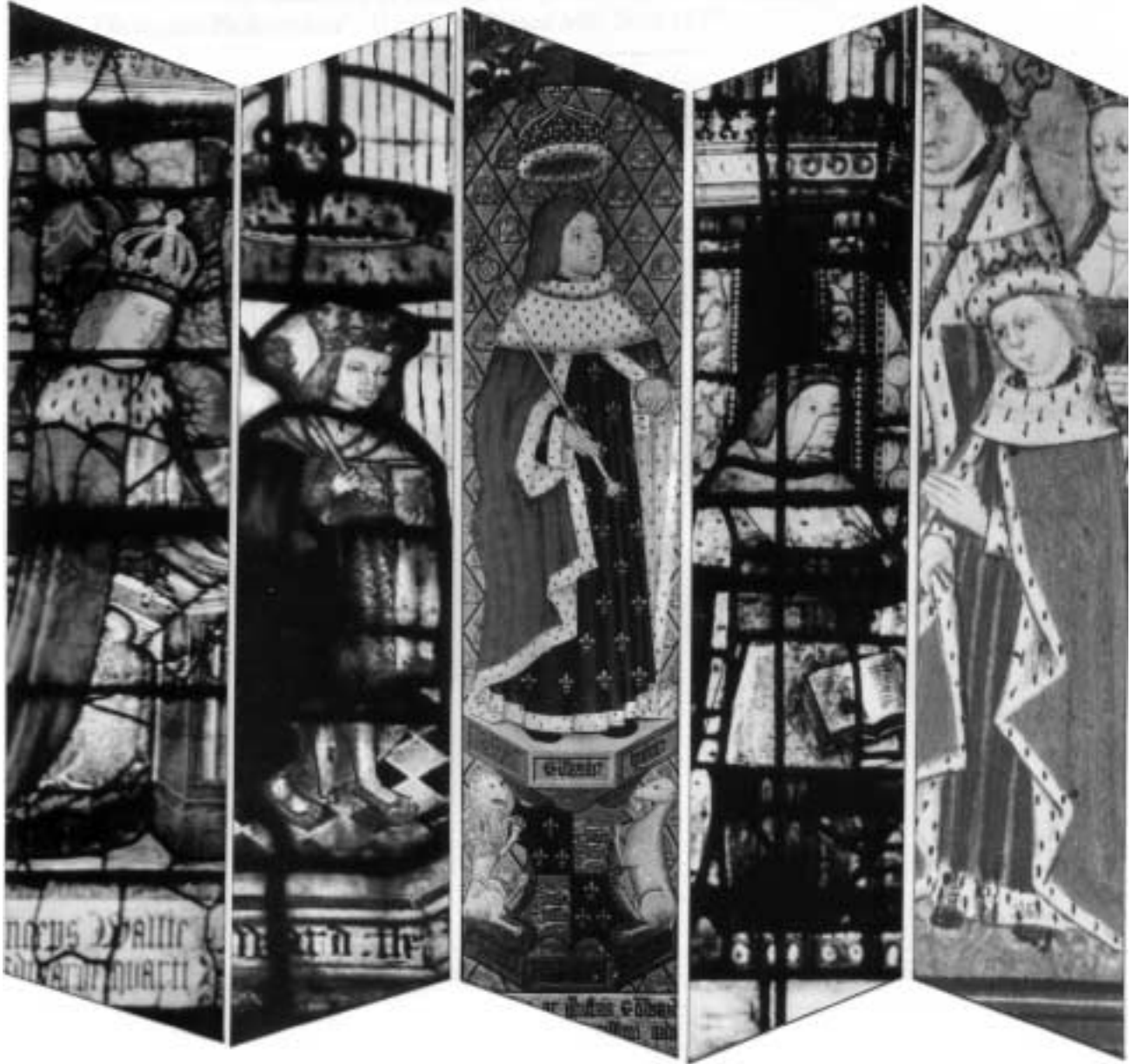
Ricardian REGISTER



Richard III Society, Inc.

Volume XXVIII No. 4

Winter, 2003



THE FIVE FACES OF EDWARD V

— Geoffrey Wheeler

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Carole Rike

Thanks so much to Ann Wroe, who was kind enough to write an article just for the *Register* in response to a question posed on the ListServe, and who expedited from London a beautiful glossy of the picture of Elizabeth of York in order to allow us to compare her visage with that of Warbeck. Be sure to check out her new book on Perkin Warbeck, *The Perfect Prince*.

Thanks also to Dr. Hancock, who has written for us previously on Bosworth, and to Theresa Eckford, who premieres with us. And to Geoffrey Wheeler for his usual great cover montage, along with Pam Benstead, who provides a communication conduit with England. Additionally, both Elizabeth Enstram and David Luitwiler provided AGM pictures.

As Myrna notes in her Reading column, 2004 will be the 50th anniversary of the publication of Paul Murray Kendall's biography of *Richard III*. It seems especially precipitous to hear from Mr. Kendall's daughter, Callie (see Post). We would very much like to have a 2004 issue, perhaps Spring, dedicated to Kendall. If you can help with that endeavor, please let us hear from you.

The Summer issue dedicated to Geoffrey Richardson appears to have been one of our more successful issues, and we would like to repeat that in scope and interest. As usual, we may not be number one, but we try very, very hard.

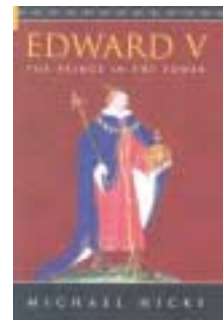
THE FIVE FACES OF EDWARD V

- Geoffrey Wheeler

Images of Edward, Prince of Wales, (Edward V) on front cover; left to right:

- Figure from the Royal Window c. 1482. Canterbury Cathedral. (Face renewed).
- Stained glass figure, St Matthew's Church, Coldridge, Devon.
- Posthumous painting on The Oliver King Chantry, c. 1493. St George's Chapel, Windsor.
- Figure in the East Window, Little Malvern Priory Church, c. 1481. Installed by Bishop Alcock.
- Detail from the miniature of Lord Rivers presenting his book to Edward IV and family, *The Dictes des Philosophes*. (Lambeth Palace MS. 263) 1477.

Edward V is the subject of Professor Michael Hicks' latest biography, *Edward V, the Prince in the Tower* (the first ever on this King, the elder of the two Princes in the Tower), was published in October, 2003.



'PERKIN WARBECK' AND ELIZABETH OF YORK: THE MEETING THAT NEVER WAS

Ann Wroe

Mysteries are sometimes best illuminated in small but telling scenes from a life. So it is with the young man who was known for several years, across Europe, as 'Richard, Duke of York', and is now usually dismissed as 'Perkin Warbeck.' The famous story of his 'kidnaping' in Ireland in 1491, for example, dissolves under close investigation, leaving the likelihood that he arrived there in some state, already in the character of the duke. And his treatment after his capture in the autumn of 1497 raises a host of intriguing questions — not only concerning who people thought he was, but who he may really have been.

From the first moments of his surrender to Henry at Taunton, in Somerset — defiantly dressed in cloth of gold, in the full character of the prince¹ — his treatment was extraordinary. He was not 'captured', according to contemporary accounts, or treated like a prisoner at all. Instead the king 'took him in his company,' like any lord encountered on the road, and they came to an 'arrangement' together². That 'arrangement' was the confession, already assembled in its essentials four years before³, and now agreed to in a series of pleasant conversations, according to the Milanese ambassador, rather than as a result of torture or intimidation⁴. In reality, Henry had no need for those. He had in his possession not only a young man with no more political hope, but also the two things most dear to the Pretender in the world, his wife and his infant son⁵. No other pressure was necessary.

At Taunton, the Pretender therefore accepted that he would henceforth be Perkin, or 'Piers Osbeck', and would make no more trouble. He agreed, in fact, to two versions of his name, both unknown in Tournai⁶ — a last attempt, perhaps, under cover of his usual exemplary courtesy, to cast confusion on the story.

Having obtained this agreement, Henry did almost nothing with it. He did not rub his prisoner's nose in the confession. Although Bernard André, Henry's poet laureate, said he had it printed and disseminated everywhere 'to strike fear into the people'⁷, no printed copies or originals survive, and Polydore Virgil makes no mention of it. We have no contemporary evidence that the Pretender read it aloud, or ever acknowledged himself to be Perkin. His habit, from the beginning of his custody and in the two years of life that were left to him, was merely to say he was 'not Richard'⁸. He said it again on the gallows⁹. In the adventure story he once told to Doctor Rodrigo Gonzales de Puebla, the Spanish ambassador in England, he described with some relish how Henry's officials had demanded his surrender from a Biscayan captain on the high seas: they asked for Perkin, but the sailors said they had never heard of him.¹⁰

In that spirit, then — outwardly compliant, but inwardly nursing a dangerous blend of humiliation, despair and defiance — the Pretender came to London in November 1497. There, his bizarre treatment continued. To city officials' astonishment, he entered Westminster Hall not as a prisoner but as a courtier, leading another courtier by the arm, almost dancing with him, as Henry followed¹¹. Settled at court, he was given his own tailor, besides two 'guards' who seemed, to one ambassador, to be in fact his servants¹². When the king changed palaces or went on progress he accompanied him, his horse fodder paid for out of Henry's privy purse.¹³

London chroniclers found the king's favours to 'Perkin' and his status 'in court at liberty' impossible to explain¹⁴. Nowadays, most historians maintain that Henry was expressing his contempt for him. It did not appear that way at the time. Contempt was what Henry had showed Lambert Simnel, making him his scullion and wine-boy. He kept 'Perkin' as if he were, perhaps, a prince. The occasional public displays of him, such as the rides through London in November, were soon over. And the most widely reported ride showed 'Perkin' not as Henry's captive, but as his co-operative ally, riding with escorts but without restraints from Westminster to the Tower to deliver a former servant to prison.¹⁵

In some ways, diplomatic imperatives made this soft treatment necessary. Letters that November from Maximilian, the King of the Romans, show him passionately eager to rescue his beloved 'cousin of York,' to get him back and safe. Henry should realise, he told his son Philip, that though he might claim that his prisoner was 'a counterfeit person,' 'the whole of Christendom' thought he was the prince.¹⁶ On the other hand, the Spanish sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella — with whom Henry was trying to conclude a vital marriage for Prince Arthur — were appalled that Henry, having established this boy as 'Periquin', could not then lock him up or, better, kill him. Instead, the king kept asking them what he should do with him. Cruelly, they did not answer.¹⁷

The fact of the matter is that Henry, for all his claims to know the young man's identity, was deeply worried that he might, in fact, be the prince. After all, he had no proof that the princes were dead, though he had tried hard to find it.¹⁸ At Taunton, he saw him first alone, and talked to him in private.¹⁹ The on-the-road expenses from those weeks, kept separately and in triplicate, include payments made directly to 'the Duke of York'²⁰: certainly not little Henry, then six years old and in London in the nursery, but someone else, who haunted the king in possibility even if, in the end, his claim was not true. Hence his gentleness towards him; hence the fact



Perkin Warbeck, left; Elizabeth of York, right — family resemblance?

that the Pretender was allowed to see his wife and that no mention was made of divorce, though a marriage under false pretences would have justified one in an instant; hence, too, the order that the young couple, still patently in love, should nevermore sleep together.²¹ Henry could not be certain — and remained uncertain even after James Tyrell's 'confession' to murdering the princes, which he never publicised — that his prisoner was not, in fact, Richard Plantagenet.

Anxious as he was, he kept him close. At court, the Pretender lived in the king's inner apartments, and was looked after by the men who tasted Henry's food and attended him in the privy.²² This almost hidden life, punctuated by occasional public performances on the clavicords²³, meant that he was seen relatively little by people who might have known the prince. There were several of those about the court: old servants of Edward IV's such as Oliver King, Edward's secretary, or Piers Courteys, the Keeper of the Wardrobe, who had actually been with the princes in sanctuary in Westminster. There were family members, too, such as the de la Poles. And above all there was Richard Duke of York's sister, Elizabeth, now Henry's queen.

No question is more pressing or more intriguing, in this bizarre period of the Pretender's life, than whether he met Elizabeth. The king and queen, of course, kept separate households, but at almost-daily High Mass and at festivals these naturally mingled. From a distance, therefore, she probably saw him. But we have no evidence at all that they came closer. Prudence (of which Henry had plenty) surely dictated that they should not. Too many people had already been persuaded to believe in this young man: persuaded, at least in part, by their ardent wish that a son of Edward IV's should still be alive. If Elizabeth shared that wish, as was natural, it was tempered by the political reality that there was no room for a

brother to re-emerge: that she was queen, her husband king, and their children the heirs of a new dynasty.

What little we know of Elizabeth's private life, in her world of wicker baskets and carefully mended gowns²⁴, does not suggest that she would ever cause disturbance. She was both obedient to her husband and affectionate towards him, as he was to her, and the king's formidable mother, Margaret Beaufort, kept a close eye on her health and behaviour.²⁵ When Henry armed himself to fight the Pretender in 1497, she showed solicitude for him, as a wife would.²⁶ She probably assumed, as almost everyone assumed²⁷, that her brothers were dead. And yet she may have wondered, too, as Henry did.

Now the man who had claimed to be her brother was under the same roof; with the added complication that Katherine Gordon, his wife, was now in Elizabeth's household, the fifth-ranking woman at court after the queen, the king's mother and the two small princesses. Henry's apparent belief that there was no danger in placing her with Elizabeth shows his confidence in his wife's indifference and perhaps in Katherine's placidity; but it seems a risky venture, all the same. Until June 1498, when 'Richard' escaped from the Palace of Westminster and was put in the Tower, Katherine continued to meet her husband, presumably under the gaze of chaperons; more pertinently, she seems to have continued to believe in him.²⁸ Their meetings, however, seem to have occurred in the king's part of the palace, rather than the queen's. In the queen's, surrounded by six gentlewomen-in-waiting who were also monitoring her²⁹, Katherine would have been foolish to say anything even vaguely in her husband's favour to the woman who may have been her sister-in-law. The subject, we have to assume, was publicly closed. We cannot read further, into minds and hearts.

For the reasons given earlier, Elizabeth would have had no interest in acknowledging him. Indeed, she could not have done so. Some sense of the difficulty can be

gathered from the Pretender's public surrender at Taunton, when he was asked whether he recognised the old companions of Prince Richard present in the room.³⁰ They included Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset, the little prince's half-brother.³¹ The Pretender said he did not know them; and Dorset, of course, as he valued his life, would never have claimed to have recognised him. Common sense and *Realpolitick* demanded it. Yet in 1503, by the time of the Yorkist conspiracy that starred Edmund de la Pole, Dorset (with his son) was back on the side of the White Rose, possibly influenced by emotions and loyalties he had not been able to show some years before.³² For what it is worth, de la Pole himself — Richard's cousin, who probably saw Henry's prisoner round the court — apparently accepted him as the prince, and regretted his fate.³³

But supposing that Elizabeth saw him, whatever her public reaction had to be, would she have recognised him? Richard Duke of York had disappeared from her life at the age of nine, in June 1483, when he had been conveyed to the Tower. The young man who reappeared in 1497 was 23 or 24. Between childhood and manhood, his face would have changed a good deal. The only person who was ever asked to compare the little prince with the resurrected Richard was Rui de Sousa, the former Portuguese ambassador to the court of Edward IV, who had seen the new-found prince in Portugal between 1487 and 1490. De Sousa said the young man did not look like the little prince he had seen in 1482, 'because the other one was very beautiful.'³⁴

On the other hand, the boy in Portugal was said to have marks that all who had known the Duke of York would have recognised, including a mark under his eye and an upper lip that was slightly prominent. Both these, as well as the strangely dull left eye that Richmond Herald noticed in 1497³⁵, can be seen quite clearly in the portrait that was done of him, in the character of the prince, in Brabant around 1494.

Besides this, of course — in the case of those, like Elizabeth, who really knew him well — there would have been countless other little tics and gestures that would either have identified him as the prince, or proved him false. Margaret of York, in a letter to Isabella of Spain in 1493, described how 'not one in ten, not one in 100, not one in 1,000' young men could have been found who had those marks of resemblance. She recognised him by the way he answered questions, but also by 'signs' that she was almost at a loss to describe.³⁶ Of course, this passionate stuff needs a strong pinch of salt; Margaret may well have been lying, or trying desperately to convince herself as well as Isabella. And in any case she had met the little prince on only one visit to England, in 1480. She hardly knew him at all.

But Elizabeth did. She would almost certainly have recognised him, if he were truly the prince; and he would have known her, even without the trappings of queenship. And that is why, in all probability, she never came near him. It was far safer for her, and for England,

if the dangerous possibility of sisterly and brotherly love was kept far away.

Footnotes

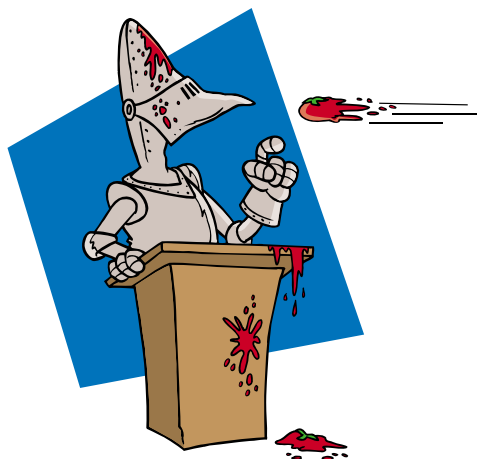
1. Archivo di Stato (Milan), AD Cartella 567 (Oct. 21st 1497); *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts existing in the archives and collections of Milan* (henceforth *CSPM*), ed. Allen B. Hinds (1912), vol. 1, p. 330.
2. 'in his company': *The Anglica Historia of Polydore Vergil*, ed. & tr. Denys Hay, Camden Series, vol 74 (1950), p. 111. Arrangement', etc: "The Grey Friars Chronicle", in *Monumenta Franciscana*, ed. Richard Howlett, Rolls Series 4, 2 vols (1858-82), vol. 2, p. 182; Charles Wriothesley, *A Chronicle of England during the Reign of the Tudors, from 1485 to 1559*, ed. William Douglas Hamilton, vol. 1, Camden Society 147-48 (1875), p. 3; *The Great Chronicle of London* (henceforth *GC*), ed. A. H. Thomas and I. D. Thornley (1938), p. 283.
3. *Letters of the Kings of England*, ed. James Orchard Halliwell Philipps, 2 vols, vol. 1, P. 172 (British Library MS Add. 46454, f. 6r); Frederick Madden, "Documents relating to Perkin Warbeck, with Remarks on his History", *Archaeologia*, vol. 27 (1838) p. 202 (BL Cotton Caligula D vi, f. 18v).
4. Sanuto, *Diarii*, vol. 1, col. 826
5. J.F. Böhmer, *Regesta Imperii XIV: Ausgewählte Regesten des Kaiserreiches unter Maximilian I*, compiled by Hermann Wiesflecker with others (Vienna/Cologne/Weimar, 1989-98), vol. 2, part i (*Maximilian, 1496-1498*), no. 5512; Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana (Venice) MSS Lat. XIV/99 (4278), f. 117r.
6. 'Piers Osbeck' and 'Pierrequin Wesbecque' (in the so-called 'letter to his mother' sent from Exeter). He apparently signed himself 'per Pero Osbek', in very large letters on copies of the confession: ASM AD Cartella 567 (Oct. 21st).
7. *The Historia Regis Henrici Septimi* of Bernard André, in *Memorials of Henry VII* (henceforth *HRHS*), ed. James Gairdner, Rolls Series 10 (1858), p. 73.
8. *CSPM*, p. 330; *La Política Internacional de Isabel la Católica* (henceforth *PI*), ed. Luis Suarez Fernandez, 5 vols. (Valladolid, 1965-72), vol. 5, pp. 297-98; *Calendar of Letters, Despatches & State Papers...preserved in the archives at Simancas and elsewhere* (henceforth *CSPS*), ed. G. A. Bergenroth et al., 13 vols. (1862-1954), vol. 1, *Henry VII, 1485-1509*, pp. 185-86.
9. *GC*, p. 291; *Chronicles of London* (Vitellius A XVI), ed. C. L. Kingsford (Oxford, 1905), pp. 227-28.
10. *PI*, vol. 5, pp. 297-98 (*CSPS*, p. 186).
11. *GC*, p. 283.

12. *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts relating to English Affairs existing in the archives of Venice and in other Libraries of Northern Italy (1202-1674* (henceforth *CSPV*), ed. Rawdon Brown, Bentinck et al., 38 vols (1864-1947), vol. 1, 1202-1509, p. 269.
13. *Excerpta Historica, or Illustrations of English History* (henceforth *EH*), ed. Samuel Bentley (1831), p. 117.
14. *LC*, p. 223; *GC*, p. 287.
15. *LC*, p. 281; *GC*, p. 284.
16. Innsbruck Urkunde I, 8225, 8226, 8265; Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Vienna, HHSa Maximiliana 7, f. 366r.
17. *PI*, vol. 5, p. 202 (*CSPS*, p. 198).
18. See, for example, searches of the castles of Middleham and Sheriff Hutton: Public Record Office (PRO) E 405/79, mem. 1v.
19. *HRHS*, pp. 72-73.
20. PRO E 36/126, f. 37r; EXT 6/140, 25th and 35th documents.
21. *I Diarii di Marino Sanuto*, 12 vols, vol. 1 (Venice, 1879), col. 842. Their love is mentioned in Skelton's 'Against a Comely Coystrowne', besides being implicit in Henry's display of them together.
22. *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Henry VII*, vol. 1, pp. 102, 406; Stephen Gunn, "The Courtiers of Henry VII", in *English Historical Review*, no. 108 (Jan. 1993), pp. 38, 41.
23. See Skelton's 'Against a Comely Coystrowne', almost certainly about him. Most of the contemporary evidence about the Pretender's childhood included years of musical training in Tournai.
24. Nicholas Harris Nicolas, *Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York...*(1830), pp. 1-106, *passim*.
25. *CSPS*, p. 210; Lorraine C. Atreed, "The Politics of Welcome", in *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*, ed. Barbara A. Hanawalt & Kathryn L. Reyerson (Minneapolis, 1994), p. 208.
26. *EH*, pp. 111-113.
27. See Margaret of York's letter to Isabella of Spain, August 25th, 1493: Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris) Fonds Espagnol 318, f. 83; A. Morel-Fatio, "Marguerite d'York et Perkin Warbeck", *Mélanges d'histoire offerts à Charles Bemont* (Paris, 1913), p. 414.
28. On the evidence, admittedly slight, of her will and her third husband's sympathies: see PRO probate 11/27, Dingley, Quire 10, and Wendy Moorhen, "Four Weddings and a Conspiracy: the Life, Times and Loves of Lady Katherine Gordon", part ii, *The Ricardian*, vol. xii, no. 157 (June 2002), p. 470.
29. PRO E 101/414/16, ff. 6v, 18v, 19r.
30. *CSPM*, p. 330.
31. PRO E 101/414/6, f. 90r.
32. W. E. Hampton, "The White Rose under the First Tudors", part ii, *The Ricardian*, vol. vii, no. 98 (Sept. 1987), *passim*.
33. *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III and Henry VII*, ed. James Gairdner, 2 vols, Rolls Series 24. Vol. 1, pp. 264-65.
34. *PI*, vol. 4, pp. 527-27.
35. *CSPM*, p. 323.
36. Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris) Fonds Espagnol 318, f. 83; A. Morel-Fatio, "Marguerite d'York et Perkin Warbeck", *Mélanges d'histoire offerts à Charles Bemont* (Paris, 1913), p. 415.
37. _____

Everything mentioned in this article, with the exception (alas!) of Elizabeth's reactions, is explored in more detail in my book, *The Perfect Prince*. I have therefore kept footnotes to a minimum. Anyone who, having read the book, still wishes to have better particulars is most welcome to contact me on annwroe@economist.com, or by post at *The Economist*, 25 St James's Street, London SW1A 1HG.

Ed. Note: Ann Wroe is the Special Features editor of The Economist and its deputy American editor. She has a doctorate in medieval history from Oxford University and is the author of four books, including a study of the Iran-contra affair and a biography of Pontius Pilate. She is married with three sons and lives in London.

Pam Butler, our ListServe manager, has gotten agreement from Ann to answer member questions on the ListServe. Thus far, her answers have been quite interesting. If you are not a member of the discussion group, check it out!



"... and this concludes my presentation on the rightful claim of the Tudor line"

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF A COMBATANT

P.A. Hancock

It may seem strange but it is crucial to begin an evaluation of Michael Jones (2002) recent text *Bosworth 1485: Psychology of a Battle* with the most prosaic and even puerile of comments – the book title is wrong! Although evidently battles per se, do not have any psychological content, it is the combatants who possess this attribute and Jones whole text is an interesting but necessarily restricted attempt to plumb the depths of the motivations of one specific combatant – Richard III and to a much lesser extent his primary enemy of that day — Henry Tudor. Those who have not fully read this work might well be unaware of this since much of the commentary and controversy has swirled around Jones’ polemical re-location of the Battle site itself. However, even a cursory reading shows that discussion of the actual Battle site itself does not begin until page 146 of 189 total pages. As much as commenting on what has emerged as the primary issue of location, I would like to examine the central pillars of Jones’ thesis, since he has clearly tried to re-evaluate our knowledge of the Battle in light of these wider concerns. So let us begin with these.

My first comments are appropriately positive. Jones has succeeded in providing a fresh and intellectually engaging perspective concerning Richard and has stirred reflections and response causing us to look at old evidence from a different perspective. Further, he has endeavored to uncover new sources to support his postulations and despite their problematic provenance he has opened a new window on the last act of the Ricardian reign. Having said this, I subsequently disagree with most of the conclusions he draws. Let me start with the exceptions; the points of agreement. I think his observations on the potential bastard status of Edward IV is an important concern which Jones has rightly brought to the fore. Not simply the accused calumny on his mother’s name by Richard, as indicated by subsequent Tudor commentators, Jones shows us how central this issue was in terms of both Yorkist family constitution and inevitably the right of succession. Too often, insufficient weight has been directed to this claim of Edward’s illegitimacy but Jones emphasis on the role of Cecily Neville, Duchess of York herself in promulgating the accusation shows what a crucial contemporary issue this was. Sparked initially by the ever problematic Woodville wedding, discussions of the physical disparities between the Duke of York and his son Edward was the subject of much comment. In the important discussion of the right of succession, this may well have been one of the central motivations in Richard’s subsequent actions in the summer of 1483. However, Jones builds his case around Richard’s adherence to the ethics of knightly honor and the manifest respect with which he held his father’s memory. This being so, we are left with two questions that Jones

fails to answer. First, if the rights of succession were so important to Richard, why did he not see to it that Clarence’s son, the next rightful heir did not inherit the throne. The attainder on Clarence’s family following his brother Edward’s death held no particular barrier and if Shaw’s sermon about ‘bastard slips’ referred to both Edward IV himself and his offspring, then Clarence’s son should have been designated heir and crowned accordingly. This did not happen. However, neither did Clarence’s son subsequently ‘disappear.’ As a result of these known events, Jones’s implication that Richard had the children of Edward IV (the Princes in the Tower) dispatched in some manner is inconsistent. Trying to distill the psychological characteristics of an individual now dead some five hundred years is difficult indeed but at some level, no matter how fundamentally flawed this process of speculation is, one has to adhere to certain internal principles such as consistency. The predominant alternative is to simply resign oneself to the fact that such inconsistency renders all of Richard’s actions psychologically impenetrable. If Edward’s ‘bastard’ sons were a threat then so was Clarence’s offspring; if he was not, they were not. It takes a convoluted logic to fracture this consistent proposition. Of course this is not to say that people do not behave in illogical ways!

Inherent Psychological Probability

In some of his observations, the late Geoffrey Richardson (see Richardson, 2001) was a keen advocate of Burne’s (1950) efforts to deduce an ‘inherent military probability’ in order to resolve many of the mysteries which surround the events, movements, and strategies of various medieval battles. Burne, an experienced militarist, evaluated the ground upon which various conflicts occurred and tried to reconcile known facts with probable military strategy, confined by the constraints of action placed on the armies of the day. In many ways, Jones is engaged in the same fundamental process with the addition that as well as the physical configuration (which is in part one of his reasons for ‘moving’ of the Battle), he is also looking to define an ‘*inherent psychological probability*.’ In so doing, he is seeking to distill information on the manners and motivations of Richard III, predicated upon what we understand of the evidence of his actions, his possessions, and the shared values that he would hold with members of his peer cohort around the turn of the sixteenth century. This is an exceptionally problematic process. Again, let me start with praise rather than criticism. In essaying this hazardous endeavor, I think Jones has reminded us of the depth of character, the complicated nature of society, the diversity of forces and the contemporary familial concerns which would have faced Richard. In so doing, he illustrates the fallacy of the relatively two-dimensional ‘hero’ and ‘villain’ characterization

that so besets Shakespeare's drama. This is laudable also in that actually he also plumbs Shakespeare for those rare glimpses of depth in Richard's character. In a factually impoverished historical context such as the Ricardian era, we must all be aware of the issue of social complexity and the influence of forces that revolve around such actions that remain unsuspected by those in a technologically-replete society some five centuries later.

Having said this, unfortunately the corollary is quite simple. We have essentially no way of knowing whether this psychological portrait that Jones (or indeed anyone) conjures is in anyway reflective of the late King. We often choose to use empathy, common sense, logic, or whatever label we give to our own prejudices, expectations or explanations but these are simply our assumptions and the imposition of our (often highly anachronistic) perspective on past events. Jones might rightly complain that this is true of all history and indeed this is so. However, the central thesis of his whole text relies upon this and whether one likes or hates his particular interpretation it in no way allows for any degree of testability.

Which Field?

Fortunately, with respect to the Battle site itself, Jones is not solely reliant upon psychological supposition. Rather, the most disputed aspect of his work actually revolves around a much more testable proposition namely, the location of the Battle. I have myself been interested in this question and I shall not rehearse all of the arguments about name and location since such cogitations are already available to the interested reader and if not readily available I would be glad to supply copies (Hancock, 2000; 2002). The dispute here concerns Jones' relocation to the 'Atherstone' site. Readers of this publication will be aware of the recent exchange between Jones and Foss (Jones & Foss, 2003) who has published, arguably, the definitive works to date (see Foss, 1987, 1988, 1991, 1990-1998). First, let me nail my colors to the mast. I think Foss' interpretation is currently the best one, although I have some reservations about his configuration since I believe for example, that Foss's proposed positioning of the armies would have allowed Richard to bring Northumberland's troops into the action as an insurance against the very form of attack that the Stanley's eventual made (and see Hancock, 2002). Further, I applaud Jones for his observation about people's sentimental attachment to the Ambion Hill location. It was only when he pointed to this that I realize how attached I personally had become to that location (for indeed it may be that we like to adhere to that with which we are familiar and which we first encounter, Bacon, 1620). However, there are two issues that need to be further aired, one general and one specific, in respect of the present contention.

In history, as in science, we are generally constrained to take the most likely explanation (where Occam's razor actually asks us to take the most parsimonious explanation) as representing the most probable from the

spectrum of the possible. For this accepted position to be toppled, any replacement is required to account for 'new' emerging evidence, to provide a more cohesive and satisfactory account of existing evidence and especially to account for contradictory evidence. Unfortunately, Jones case currently fails each of these three criteria. As the old saw has it, he has produced work that is reliable and original. Unfortunately, that which is reliable is not original and that which is original is not reliable. He makes much of Henry's largesse to the villages around Atherstone but nowhere does this documentation provide an unequivocal assertion of the Battle location. His new information (unfortunately still to be found in the original) is intriguing. The putative French soldier talks of Richard coming 'with all his division' being more than 15,000 men (see Jones, 2002, pg. 194). However, it is universally understood that numbers are extraordinarily unreliable in accounts of battles. The larger the number of enemies, the greater the honor in victory hence the more than touch of pride in the subsequent observation 'and in part we were the reason why the battle was won.' In this pride I see a reflection of the problem of citing the Battle. The (presumed cleric) of the Croyland Chronicle places the Battle near Merevale. Rous, a Warwickshire man places it on the Warwickshire/Leicestershire border. These descriptors are approximate representations made with reference to that which the individual commentator was familiar. What Jones does not provide is a thorough re-evaluation of the traditional site with detailed explanations as to why the accepted configuration would not be so. In this he does not achieve the depth of analysis that Foss has done in his text (Foss, 1998). However, in trying to emphasize the positive aspects of Jones work, there are two issues. First, I believe his primary concern lies with Richard's motivation for his actions and the actual site is, despite the focus of recent discussion, secondary to his contribution. Second, Jones advances some empirical propositions about sites for specific Battle actions. In the United States, we have been regaled with 'Baldrick' (Tony Robinson) of 'Time Team' scurrying about the countryside and digging at every indication of any sort of historical remnant. Could not these active fellows look to address this very conundrum. Although the reported length of the Battle would militate against finding many remains, what of the cache of weapons purportedly found around Sutton Cheney? Could original canon shot be found and dated? We now have several competing configurations and although 'absence of evidence is not evidence of absence,' surely some further solid evidence could be derived (Perhaps this has already occurred, since programming tends to lag across the Atlantic).

I cannot leave Jones' interpretation without one further geographical question. If we take Jones' account, the cessation of fighting occurs somewhere in the vicinity of Fenny Drayton. This being so, why does Henry Tudor not proceed either directly to Coventry, or travel directly along Watling Street toward that which surely

must have been the prize – London. We have indications that Henry was in Leicester shortly after the Battle but given this ‘new’ location – why? Why would Henry turn north and proceed clearly off his line of progress to London? While Jones has a number of suggestions as to why Dadlington is so associated with the burial of the dead from the Battle, he provides no reason for Henry’s unwarranted diversion in this direction at all. As is evident to the reader from even modern maps, at the fork of the two Roman roads outside Fenny Drayton, why take the northern route at all? Watling Street – presumably the larger thoroughfare beckons toward the capital. With great respect, the bright lights of Leicester seem much less appealing for a new King so shaky on a throne only one day old. However, I’m sure some post hoc ‘explanation’ can be conjured.

Summary

Michael Jones new book is an engaging read and is one which will find itself not out of place on the shelf of Ricardian scholarship and indeed late medieval history. He has accomplished two crucial goals – re-evaluation and revitalization. Further, he explores the depths of character and asks questions we must all reconcile as we seek to build a coherent picture of the last Plantagenet monarch. If he does not succeed to the extent that is universally convincing enough to generate a ‘paradigm shift’ in respect of the Battle this represents a disappointment. However, there is much of interest and value and I look forward to his further contributions on this topic.

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DID RICHARD III REALLY KILL THE PRINCES IN THE TOWER?

Teresa Basinski Eckford

Most children have heard of Richard III, the evil, hunchbacked uncle who killed his nephews, the Princes in the Tower. But did he really do it? Throw this question out to a group of historians and you're likely to receive one of two answers: "Yes, of course he did." or "No, he's completely innocent." Having spent years doing research on this topic, I've come to the conclusion that the answer lies somewhere in between. Though I do not believe that he took a pillow himself and smothered them, or even that he ordered someone to do so, I do feel he was at least partially responsible for their deaths.

My first introduction to the whole controversy was Sharon Kay Penman's novel *The Sunne In Splendor*. In it she shifts the blame from Richard to his cousin, Henry, Duke of Buckingham. I then read Josephine Tey's classic *The Daughter of Time*, in which a bed-ridden police detective sets out to prove Richard was not a killer and that the Princes lived into the reign of Henry Tudor. Using novels to learn history, you say? Well, not exactly. The two abovementioned authors did a lot of research and are valuable as introductions to the controversy surrounding what has come to be known as The Mystery of The Princes in the Tower.

In my third year of university I took a course in English history and had the chance to write an essay about Richard III, which I subtitled *Loyauté me Lie* (Loyalty Binds Me). I used this as the basis of my thesis statement, that he was too restricted by family ties, and the oath of loyalty he took to his brother, Edward IV, father of the Princes, to kill them.

Looking back on that essay now, I see just how naive I was, but the essence of what I said remains true. I do not believe he ordered Edward and Richard killed. But they were his responsibility and by leaving London on progress and not taking them with him (the only way he could be sure they were safe) he indirectly contributed to their mysterious deaths sometime that summer. His relationship with the younger of the two princes is also important. As the young Duke of York's godfather, he had a duty to protect him. Richard was known to be a pious man and would have taken his role as godfather very seriously.

Now most historians who come down on the "Richard as murderer" side will point out that it was politically expedient for him to murder them. I disagree. As it was, though no-one outright rebelled when he took the throne, there were murmurs of discontent throughout the country. Why would a king who was already having problems with public opinion do something that would so obviously make him even less popular? The real threat to his throne remained Henry Tudor, not two small boys, one of whom, young Edward (who had briefly been proclaimed as Edward V), was known to be sickly.

And, if he had murdered them, why did he not say they died from an illness and produce the bodies, instead of allowing rumors to destroy his reputation? It would not have been difficult to believe that some fever had carried both him and his younger brother off to their graves. This, I believe, is one of the most compelling arguments in Richard's favour. He had no reason to keep the deaths a secret, especially after the rumors began to circulate. Though some might not have believed the deaths an accident, it is doubtful more than a select few would have openly challenged him, since nothing could be proven.

In her book, *The Princes in the Tower*, Alison Weir states: "When, on 8th September, he walked hand in hand with his son and his wife into York Minster for Edward's investiture as Prince of Wales, the King did so in the belief that he had removed the last dynastic threat to his throne and put an end once and for all to the conspiracies that had overshadowed his reign." [Weir, Alison. *The Princes in the Tower*. London. (Pimlico, 1993) p. 162] This, I find, very hard to accept. The most important "dynastic threat" and conspiracy to overshadow his reign was that represented by Henry Tudor, the Lancastrian heir. Though officially barred from the throne because of his Beaufort ancestry, Tudor had likely been plotting to take it from Richard since April of that year. His mother, Margaret Beaufort Stanley, Countess of Richmond wanted nothing more than to remove Richard from the throne and replace him with her beloved son.

Murdering the Princes would by no means secure Richard the throne. In order to do that he would have to eliminate Henry Tudor, who remained in exile in Brittany.

And why, if he had murdered her sons, did Elizabeth Wydeville come out of sanctuary the following year and allow her daughters to live at court with their uncle? Again, those who believe in Richard's guilt say he forced her to come out of Sanctuary by threatening her. Alison Weir quotes from various chronicles of the period to support this theory [Weir, p.194], but I'm not entirely certain how any of these chroniclers can know for certain what was said when Richard's representatives spoke with Edward IV's widow. They were only reporting on what they heard and rumors are notoriously bad sources of information. Because the Princes had disappeared and Richard could not prove he did not murder them, his public image was tarnished. Many people were willing to believe that he would also threaten Elizabeth Wydeville.



Weir hinges her argument on the fact that the Dowager Queen made the king take a public oath to protect her children before she would agree to turn them over to her sons' murderer. But if Richard was a cold-blooded murderer then it is unlikely he would feel himself bound by a public oath. After all, had not Richard taken an oath as Protector and then supposedly forsworn it when he allegedly killed young Edward? Why would this oath be any different? So no, I don't buy that reasoning.

I believe it is more likely Elizabeth Wydeville emerged from Sanctuary and allowed her daughters to live at Richard's court because she could not be certain what had happened to her sons. Yes, he had ordered the execution of her younger son from her first marriage, Lord Richard Grey, but that was done openly, if not wisely. Though it is doubtful she ever forgave him for that act, it appears she had enough faith in him not to arrange for the convenient deaths of her remaining children.

So, if Richard did not kill the Princes, then who did? After much research, I have come to the conclusion that it was Henry, Duke of Buckingham. A descendant of Edward III's youngest son, he was a Prince of the Blood and had a reputation for not letting anyone forget that. [Clive, Mary. *This Sun of York: A Biography of Edward IV*. (London: Cardinal, 1974) p. 218] He bore no love for the Wydeville family, having been forced into a marriage with one of Elizabeth's sisters at age eleven - she was several years his senior and a commoner. [Mancini in Dockray, Keith, *Richard III: A Sourcebook* (Thrupp, Stroud, Gloucestershire, 1997) p.43] A Lancastrian by birth, his mother was a Beaufort (cousin to Henry VII's mother), he resented Edward IV for denying him half of the Bohun inheritance and the Wydevilles taking power in Wales (where he owned land) he thought was rightfully his. [Ross, Charles, *Richard III* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, California, 1983) p. 41] Though he and Richard knew each other, it is doubtful they were close before the events of April and May 1483, when Buckingham supported Richard in his role as Protector and later as King. He had both motive and opportunity.

Why did he kill the Princes? I believe that all along he had entertained ambitions of taking the throne for himself. What better way than to support Richard in his claim for the throne, then discredit him by murdering the Princes and claiming Richard had done it? So why did he join the rebellion to put Henry Tudor on the throne? All we know is that he conspired with those who would put Henry on the throne, but my feeling is he was rebelling in the hopes of taking the crown for himself. Richard had rewarded him well for supporting him, yet he turned his back on him and rebelled. He had to have a good reason for doing so.

Now had Buckingham's character been different, I might have believed he returned to the Lancastrian fold because he was disgusted by the murder of the Princes. But, by all accounts, even those of anti-Richard historians, [Weir, pp. 22, 68-69] he was proud, ambitious, ruthless and jealous by nature. Here is what Sir Thomas

More has to say about him: "Very truth it is, the Duke was a proud-minded man and evilly could bear the glory of another, so that I have heard, of some that said they saw it, that the Duke at such times as the crown was first set upon the Protector's head, his eye could not abide the sight thereof, but he twisted his head another way." [Kendall, Paul Murray (Ed.). *Richard III: The Great Debate*. (New York, NY, 1965) p.109] Hardly the type to be bothered by the murder of two young boys.

He also had the opportunity to kill when he remained in London in late July, 1483 after King Richard and Queen Anne departed on progress, at least according to Paul Kendall. A note in Charles Ross's biography says that Buckingham was on progress with Richard, [Ross, p. 148] but Reading was well within a day's ride of London, so he could have returned there easily, then rejoined the royal retinue, especially as it was in Reading for two days. [Edwards, Rhoda, *The Itinerary of King Richard III 1483-1485* (London, 1983) p. 5] As Constable of England he had access to the Tower and the Princes. Some might say he murdered the Princes on the king's orders, but it would be unlikely he would then turn around and rebel.

It is possible he murdered the Princes in hopes of furthering ingratiating himself with Richard, only to rebel after Richard was horrified by what he had done. This is an extreme hypothesis, but there can be little doubt that Henry Stafford had just as much motive and opportunity to kill the Princes as did Richard.

Some might say I have fallen victim to the romanticized image of Richard created by the revisionist historians. That may have been true at one point, but as a historian, rather than a novelist, I have managed to put aside my romantic notions and look at the facts.

Richard of Gloucester has also been accused of the murders of Henry VI and Edward of Lancaster, Prince of Wales. While it is quite likely Richard was present at the death of Henry VI, it was as part of a larger group and there is no evidence that he wielded the knife. Similarly, there is no evidence he slew Henry's heir after the Battle of Tewkesbury. Croyland reported that "... Prince Edward himself (King Henry's only son), the duke of Somerset, the Earl of Devon,...met their deaths on the battlefield or afterwards at the hands of certain of their enemies." [Hallam, Elizabeth (Ed.). *The Chronicles of the Wars of the Roses*. (Markham, 1988) p. 262] He names no names, though, and it is possible that any number of Yorkist soldiers might have killed the young prince and his supporters had they found him, in retaliation for his mother's army's pillaging, looting and raping rampage after the Battle of Wakefield in 1461.

In the matter of the death of his brother, George, Duke of Clarence, it comes as no surprise that Richard supported Edward instead. Though he and George had been close as children, the latter's penchant for turning his coat at opportune moments during the years 1469-71, followed by their quarrel over the shared inheritance of their wives had soured the relationship.

Over and over, Clarence had proven himself to be unreliable and no friend to his brother, the King. The final straw came when, after the Edward had condemned two members of George's household to death for practicing black magic, he began spreading rumors that the King was illegitimate and his marriage to Elizabeth null and void. He sealed his own fate by declaring the King's justice unfair and proclaiming his former servants innocent.

Richard III remains one of the most well-known figures in English history, alongside his great-nephew Henry VIII and great-great-niece, Elizabeth I. Thanks to dedicated scholars, many of whom are members of the Richard III Society, his reputation is slowly being redeemed. Their aim is not necessarily to make him a saint, rather to demonstrate how circumstantial evidence has been twisted to condemn him of a crime someone else could have committed. Unfortunately, in some works of fiction (and non-fiction) he is still often portrayed as the sly, scheming murderer associated with Shakespeare's famous play. Maybe one day this will change for good and the more balanced views of him will become the norm.

It is unlikely we will ever know who did kill the Princes. Richard cannot escape all blame as they were in his custody when they disappeared. But the evidence of his complicity is all circumstantial, and, though many would like to believe he had the most to gain by murdering them, history proved that he lost as a result of their deaths. His reputation sullied by that incident, it later became necessary for him to deny rumors he intended to marry their sister, Elizabeth, after the death of his wife, Queen Anne. Had the Princes not disappeared I think it unlikely anyone would have given credence to such innuendo concerning the king and his niece. Some Ricardians argue that the key to the mystery lies in the testing of the bones found under the Tower, yet, to my mind, even should they prove not to be those of the Princes there are people who will still believe Richard had them murdered. And even if they ARE the bones of the Princes that will hardly seal his guilt. The bones alone would by no means prove anything other than that they were likely murdered at the Tower, but not who did the murdering.

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Notes: Solid biography of Edward IV.
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Notes: Documentary evidence relating to life, reign and death of Richard III. Valuable asset for the researcher.
- Edwards, Rhoda. *The Itinerary of King Richard III 1483-1485*. London: Richard III Society, 1983
Notes: Extremely useful source for knowing where Richard traveled throughout his reign.
- Fields, Bertram. *Royal Blood*. New York: Regan Books, 1998
Notes: An interesting revisionist study of Richard and

they mystery surrounding the princes. Fields refutes Weir.

- Hallam, Elizabeth. *Chronicles of the Wars of the Roses*. Markham: Penguin Books Canada, 1988
Notes: For those who can't read Latin, this collection of primary documents in translation is quite useful. Also includes mini-essays on a variety of topics to do with the period.
- Jenkins, Elizabeth. *The Princes in the Tower*. London: Phoenix Press, 2002
Notes: An older work, but well-researched. Not sympathetic to Richard, but nor does the author perpetuate the "evil hunchback" myth.
- Kendall, Paul Murray. *Richard III*. New York: WW Norton & Company, 1956
Notes: Kendall is one of Richard III's biggest supporters. His work is well referenced, with a complete bibliography and detailed index.
- Kendall, Paul Murray. *Richard III: The Great Debate, More's History of Richard III & Walpole's Historic Doubts*. New York: WW Norton & Company, 1992
Notes: Brings together one of RIII's greatest detractors and one of his biggest supporters. Important reading.
- Pollard, A.J. *Richard III and the Princes in the Tower*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995
Notes: Though not entirely sympathetic to Richard, Pollard's scholarship is sound and well-referenced. A key work for understanding the debate surrounding the disappearance of the Princes and Richard III's role therein.
- Ross, Charles. *Richard III*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 1983
Notes: A solid biography of Richard. Though he is not sympathetic to Richard, he does not vilify him either. I might not agree with all his conclusions, but I respect his scholarship.
- Weir, Alison. *The Princes in the Tower*. London: Pimlico, 1993
Notes: Weir's scholarship is flawed. She takes great leaps of logic and seems determined to use only sources that will support her thesis. Worst of all, her book is not well referenced at all. There are no footnotes which makes it difficult to know from where she is drawing her support for certain statements.
- Williamson, A. *The Mystery of the Princes*. Stroud, Gloucester: Sutton Publishing, 1981
Notes: An older, but still valuable discussion about the deaths of the Princes in the Tower.
- About the Author: A history junkie and writer, Teresa Basinski Eckford lives in Ottawa, Canada with her husband Sean (whom she met in a History class at Queens University) and their two cats, Scotty and George. At the aforesaid Queens, she earned both a BA and MA in History before striking out into the real world.*
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ADVANCING OUR STANDARD THE 2003 AGM

Pamela J. Butler

Partially Based on Program Material provided by Laura Blanchard

“Advance Our Standard” was the theme of the 42nd Annual General Meeting of Richard III Society, American Branch, on October 3-5, 2003 at the Phoenix Airport Hilton in Phoenix, Arizona. Author Michael K. Jones, whose recently-published book *Bosworth 1485: Psychology of a Battle*, proposed a new locale near Atherstone for the Battle of Bosworth, was the featured guest speaker.

The fun began on Friday evening, October 3, with the welcome reception and cash bar. Old friends and new mixed and mingled amidst the sumptuous food offerings. By mischance, the “Movies till Midnight” could not be shown, but Ricardian Dave Luitweiler spontaneously saved the day by showing slides of the American Ricardian Tour of July 2003. The slides provided views of the castles of Middleham, Barnard, Raby, Kenilworth, and others, as well as the Birds of Prey Centre in Yorkshire, Bosworth Battlefield and Sutton Cheney, Rievaulx and Jervaulx Abbeys, York Minster, Crowland Abbey, the church at Fotheringhay, and Minster Lovell.

On Saturday Morning, October 4, a continental breakfast of coffee, various pastries, juices, yogurt, and fruits was offered prior to the beginning of the workshops, which began at 9 am. During this time, the sales tables of the Society and of the Arizona Chapter remained busy. The Arizona chapter sold murray-colored polo shirts with the AGM logo as a fund-raiser; proceeds from chapter sales will be sent to help support the church of St. James, Dadlington, as well as those from the Banner Raffle and the sales of two copies of *Desire the Kingdom*, George Zabka’s contribution.

The first workshop, called “Advance Our Standard,” was a hands-on demonstration on making silk banners. Pamela Fitzgerald, who had created the replica of a Richard III banner (which was raffled off by the Arizona chapter), demonstrated the techniques and materials in making a silk banner with the assistance of SCA (Society for Creative Anachronism) friends from the “Kingdom of Atenveldt.”

The second workshop, “A Good Letter, Fairly Writ,” was taught by Laura Blanchard, and covered the fundamentals in learning how to decipher and transcribe 15th-century handwritten documents. It was a sneak peak into Lesson One of the “Paleography by Post” course which is offered by the parent society.

The third and last workshop of the morning was “Dance Dance Renaissance,” as the previously-mentioned SCA members demonstrated dance steps and encouraged “volunteers” from the audience to join them in some practice sessions.

Saturday buffet luncheon featured our keynote speaker, Michael K. Jones, who has taught history at Glasgow University and Winchester College and now works as a freelance writer and presenter. In 1992, he published a biography about Margaret Beaufort, The Queen’s Mother (Cambridge University Press). Dr. Jones discussed his book *Bosworth 1485: Psychology of a Battle*, without notes; his presentation lasted for two fascinating hours. This was followed by the fastest annual business meeting on record.

The Dickon Award went to Wayne Ingalls and Eileen Prinsen. Normally, one is awarded per year, but two were awarded this year, as none were given out last year. (*see recipients on page 24 this issue*)

Charlie Jordan then conducted the raffle drawing. Prize winners include:

Peggy Allen and Mollyanne Dersham: Each won a free copy of Michael K. Jones book, *Bosworth 1485: Psychology of a Battle*, donated by the Arizona Chapter. To be eligible, registrants had to beat the August 22 “early bird” deadline. Mollyanne also won a “Bayeux Tapestry” purse.

Virginia Poch won the Sharon Kay Penman book, *Dragon’s Lair* and will be writing a review in the near future. She also received a book, *Kings and Queens of England*, and miscellaneous small prizes. Dave Luitweiler won a book called *Kings, Queens, Bastards*. Janet Trimbath won Ricardian note cards; Jonathan Hayes, a sword letter opener from Salisbury, England. Diane Hoffman won several prizes, including the Sean Cunningham book, *Richard III, A Royal Enigma* and the Middleham Jewel book. Several other prizes were also given away.

In a separate raffle, Elizabeth York Enstam of Texas won the beautiful Richard III silk banner.

After the business meeting was concluded, SCA members of the Household of SIBOD demonstrated, wearing heavy armor, the theories of Richard’s last battle as advocated in Michael Jones’ book. Pamela Fitzgerald, longtime Ricardian and SCA member, was one of those fighting in armor. She has a lifelong interest in Shakespeare; she also has a Ph.D. in history and teaches at a Phoenix college;

The Saturday evening AGM Banquet entree choices were prime rib, Chilean sea bass, or a vegetarian meal. About half the participants dressed in rich medieval garb and flashbulbs went off continuously as Ricardian photographers preserved the memories.

Volunteer Ricardian Revelers performed two of the York Mystery Plays under the direction of Dianne Batch and Janet Trimbath, both of the Michigan Chapter. The

York Cycle of Mystery Plays is a series of short plays, or pageants, showing the Christian view of the history of the world from its creation by God until its ending at the Day of Judgment.

Dianne and Janet presented everyone with a handout explaining the plays, as well as a map of York depicting the route which was used to present them. Members of craft guilds, traveling along the route in specially-designed wagons, would present their plays at 12-16 prearranged stations. Watching the entire series from any station could easily require five hours. The guilds were known as “mysteries,” since their members had been initiated into the trade secrets of their particular craft.

The first play presented was *The Flight into Egypt*, which in medieval York would have been played by the Marshal’s Guild. Laura Blanchard played the angel Gabriel, Ed Maurer played Joseph, and Virginia Chanda played Mary.

The second play, *The Flood*, would have been produced in York by the Fishers and Mariners Guild. At the AGM, Jonathan Hayes played Noah, Mary Jane Battaglia played his contentious wife, and the 3 sons and 3 daughters were played by Bonnie Battaglia, Diane Hoffman, Mollyanne Dersham, Rosalyn Rossignol, Pamela Butler, and Helen Maurer. The sea waves of the flood were worked by Judy Pimental and Elizabeth York Enstam.

On Sunday, October 5, the featured speaker for the Maxwell Anderson Scholarship Fund Breakfast was Helen Maurer, longtime member of the American

Branch, and author of *Margaret of Anjou, Queenship and Power in Late Medieval England* (Boydell and Brewer, 2003.) She titled her talk “Richard Made Me Do It.” Helen, a onetime Schallek Award recipient, received her Ph.D. from the University of California, Irvine, researching Margaret of Anjou as her dissertation topic. She served the American Branch of the Society for many years as the research librarian until she turned it over to Jean Kvam this year. Helen likes exploring the outdoors by hiking and by driving an old Jeep that has 200,000 miles on it.

Special thanks are extended to raffle donors Elizabeth (Libby) Haynes, Joan Marshall, Pamela Butler, Linda Treybig, Jonathan Hayes, Allan Bamford, George Zabka, Beverly Weston, and publisher G.P. Putnam’s Sons for the copy of Sharon Kay Penman’s latest book, *Dragon’s Lair*.

Again we thank the Arizona Chapter for helping to host the convention; Pamela Fitzgerald and her SCA assistants from the “Kingdom of Atenveldt,” House of Sibod, for conducting the banner-making and dance workshops, and for reenacting the Atherstone scenario; Laura Blanchard for making the AGM arrangements, printing out the program, and conducting the paleography workshop; Michael K. Jones for his keynote speech and for his availability to discuss Bosworth issues; Helen Maurer for her presentation on Margaret of Anjou, and Dianne Batch & Janet Trimbath for overseeing the York Mystery Plays.



Amber McVey



Unidentified Damsel



Rosalyn Rossignol

ADVANCING OUR STANDARD



Bonnie Battaglia



Ricardian Actors



Joan Marshall (left) and fellow attendees



Richard III



Mollyanne Dersham & Laird



*Unknown medieval ladies
enjoy food & drink*



The Maurers



Banner-Making Workshop Examples



Workshop in Progress



Charlie Jordan (left), Joan Marshall (third from left), Pamela Fitzgerald (fifth from left)



Helen Maurer



Rosalyn Rossignol, Ed Maurer, Janice Trimbath

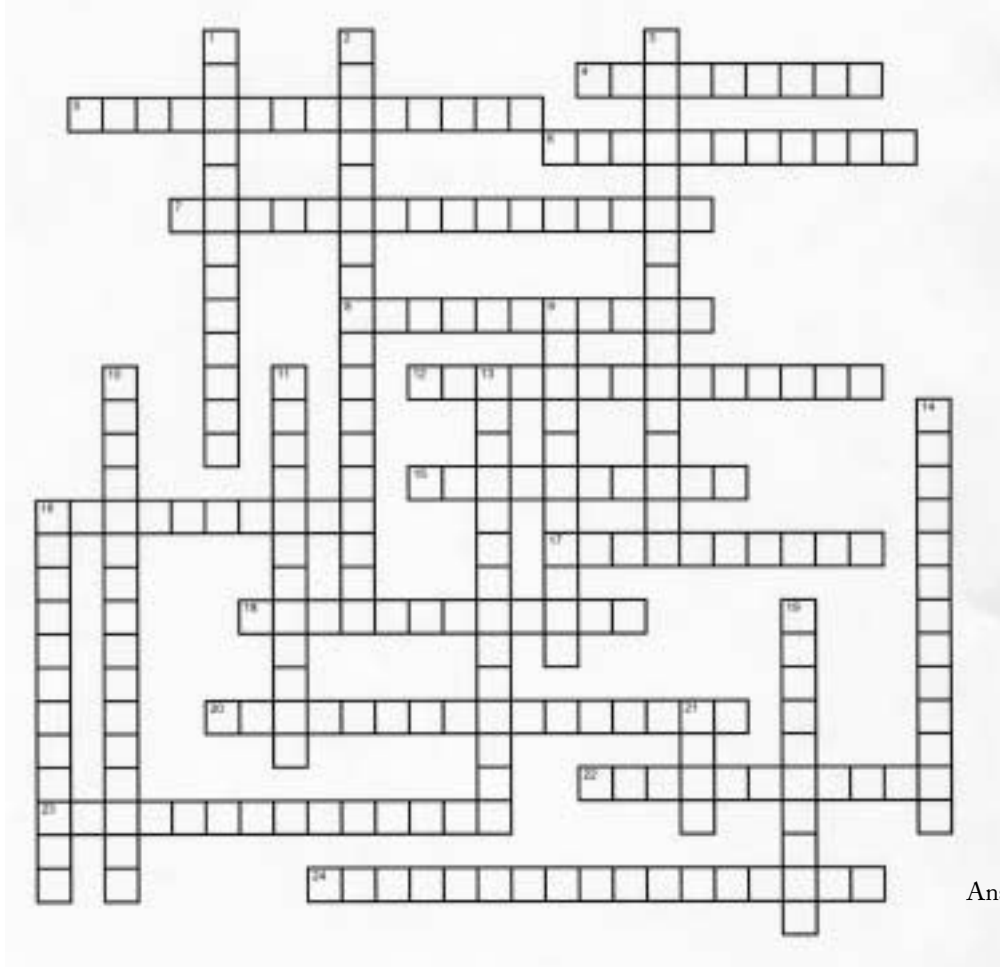


Pamela Fitzgerald (right)

RICHARD AND FRIENDS

This puzzle includes contemporary and modern-day supporters and friends of Richard's.

The Ricardian Puzzlers are Charlie Jordan, 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 for themes and feedback about the puzzles are welcomed; please send comments



Answers: Page 29

Across

4. Louis of Bruges, Lord _____, Governor of Holland who assisted Edward during the Readeption. PMK spelling.
5. Richard's sister; Charles's wife.
6. Befriends Richard while both at Middleham; controller of Richard's household and died at Bosworth. Distant kinsman to the more famous of that surname.
7. The "rat" of Colyngbourne's doggerel.
8. Appointed vice-constable of the realm by Richard during Buckingham's revolt "for this time," he died with Richard. Kendall spells it with an extra "s" and an "e."
12. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Speaker of Commons; executed by Henry Tudor after Bosworth.
15. Family name of supporters involved in dispute with Stanleys over Hornby castle. Robert and James are noted in the "Ballad of Bosworth" as fighting with Richard.
16. First Duke of Norfolk; killed at Bosworth fighting for Richard.
17. First to use Croyland Chronicles in history of Richard. Kendall called his History of the Life and Reign of Richard III "desultory and uncritical."
18. Earl of Lincoln; Richard may have marked him as heir.
20. Living in Middleham made her one of Richard's staunchest biographers; buried at church at Middleham.
22. Richard's secretary; charged down Ambion Hill with Richard.

23. No relation to Henry Stafford, fought with Richard at Bosworth and later failed to rally Worcestershire against Henry Tudor; Horrox refers to him as Richard's esquire.

24. His biography marked a new and benevolent view of Richard for modern readers.

Down

1. Longtime FoR; disappeared after Stoke.
2. This late Yorkshireman wrote several popular histories of the Wars of the Roses including The Deceivers.
3. Patron to the Richard III Society.
9. Bishop whose information fomented the pre-contract issue.
10. Of Grafton. Older brother of 23 Across; not related to Duke of Buckingham. According to Ross, he blocked Buckingham's escape routes across the upper Severn during Buckingham's revolt.
11. Created Earl of Surrey in 1483; son of Duke of Norfolk. He fought with Richard and was attainted and imprisoned by Tudor.
13. From Philadelphia, spins the world of Ricardian matters into a web.
14. Influenced by Enlightenment reliance on reason, his *Historic Doubts* analyzed skeptically the charges against Richard.
16. Author of *Daughter of Time*.
19. Initially a supporter of Richard's, he later became the "most untrue character."
21. Friend most intimate with Richard.



RICARDIAN POST

Paul Murray Kendall

To the Editor

Elizabeth Nokes, the Secretary of the RIII Society in England, forwarded your email regarding news on the American Branch website. I am really touched that you put a tribute to my father on the Home page, and even included a photograph. It was so thoughtful of you, and a meaningful way to mark the 30th anniversary of his death. Reprinting Compton Reeves' article was a grand idea, too. I had not read it before and it brought forth memories I had not looked at in years!

On Friday the 21st November, I took the day off work to travel up to Leicestershire and lay a dozen white roses (of course!) for Paul at Richard's Standard on the top of Ambion Hill (where Paul's ashes are scattered). I must tell you the most amazing thing that happened. There was a pea soup fog, and as I walked away from the public path towards the Standard (flagpole), I suddenly became aware that the Wardens had raised the flag for me – normally it is not flown after October, except possibly at weekends if there is some event on at the Battlefield Centre. I had written to let them know I was coming, as one is not really supposed to leave the path and approach the Standard. The flag is a 27-foot banner, and when I got out to it, it reached down to my nose as it hung limply against the flagpole.

I stood there, looking round at the 360-degree view, which was mostly fog with a few trees showing vaguely through it. There was not a breath of air. I put the roses at the base of the Standard, then had a few words with Paul, as it were. I suddenly became aware that the flag had begun to move, despite the fact there was no breeze at all, and it slowly unfurled further and wider until it stretched right out high above my head so I could see the White Rose of York and the White Boar. I stood and looked up at it, and thought if I had ever needed confirmation that Paul was happy to spend eternity on Ambion Hill, then this was it. As I moved away from the Standard, the flag slowly dropped and returned to its limp state, and I walked back to the path.

Thank you again for commemorating Paul Murray Kendall's life. It is hard to believe we have been 30 years without him. As he died the day before Thanksgiving, this day has become very important to the Kendall family. We always look to find something to be thankful for, even when things look as bad as they can possibly be.

hope you all have a lovely day on Thursday — I am taking off work here in England and serving turkey and pumpkin pie on Thanksgiving Day.

P. S. It may seem odd that I refer to my father as 'Paul'. For some reason our parents wanted us to use their first names, so my father was always 'Paul', at least until I started high school, when I began calling him 'Pop', which he loved (from the old Archie and Jughead comic where Archie calls his father Pop). He called me 'Kate'.

And yes, we ARE one big family in a strange way. In late September I journeyed up to Bosworth Field... in a courtesy hire car of all things, as I had a slight prang (car accident) earlier in the week. I treated myself to lunch at The Royal Arms Hotel in Sutton Cheney, the nearest village to Ambion Hill. It was a very hot day, and I elected to eat lunch in the cool of the bar, rather than at a table outside where a rather jolly wedding reception was underway. I was seated at one of two tables next to the window. While I was eating, a family of three arrived and sat at the other window table. We exchanged a few pleasantries, as one does in such a situation, and they found out that my father had been Richard III's biographer (when I explained I had come up to keep an eye on his ashes, scattered on the top of Ambion Hill). They asked his name, and when I said, they gasped in unison, 'We're Ricardians!'. I have become friends with them, and it was Jean, the wife/mother, who met me at Ambion Hill in the fog when I went to lay the roses. We are planning an outing to a medieval exhibition at the Victoria & Albert Museum in London in December when my son aries.

So.....being a Ricardian can definitely bring unlooked-for rewards.

Callie (Kendall)

Editor's Note: We really do hope to feature Paul Murray Kendall in a 2004 issue of the Register. If you can help, please let us hear from you.

Bosworth Field by any means

Dear Carole:

Has anyone tried to get to Bosworth from a narrowboat? Funnily enough, my daughter joined my sister's narrowboat at Atherstone during the summer — unfortunately, by the time I fetched her again, they had gone quite a distance further so I didn't get anywhere near Bosworth myself.

The canal — my sister called it the Leicestershire Loop — gets as close as Atherstone.

Best wishes
Christine Headley

Accommodation near Bosworth Battlefield

The previous *Ricardian Register* contained an article about reaching Bosworth Battlefield by public transportation. Linda Treybig, who conducts the American Ricardian Tour each summer, has this to add:

Regarding places to stay within walking distance of Bosworth Battlefield, the following information about nearby accommodations should be helpful:

Royal Arms Hotel and Public House, Main Street, Sutton Cheney, Nr. Market Bosworth, Warwickshire CV13 0AG Phone: (1455) 290 263, E-mail: info@royalarms.co.uk

(Recently built motel-style annex of 6-7 ensuite double/twin rooms with TV and beverage trays. All rooms non-smoking. Rate: 55-65.00 pounds per night.

Breakfast extra @ 5.00 pounds per person. Full bar and restaurant menu. Cost of dinners average from 10.00 to 16.00 pounds. Rated 4-Diamond by English Tourism Council.)

Ambion Court Hotel, The Green, Dadlington, Nr. Nuneaton, Warwickshire CV13 6JB Phone: (1455) 212 292. E-mail: stay@ambionhotel.co.uk

(Charming, friendly small country-style hotel with 7 ensuite rooms of various sizes and full amenities. Establishment non-smoking except in bar. Rate: Single - 40-48.00 pounds, Double - 60.00. Prices include full breakfast.

Dinner Monday-Saturday by reservation only. No lunches. Rated 4-Diamond by the Automobile Association.)

Both offer at least 1 four-poster room for about 10.00 pounds extra.

A few private homes and farmhouses in this area also provide bed and breakfast for those seeking more inexpensive accommodation. Information available from the Tourist Information Centre in Leicester. Phone: (0116) 299 8888. E-mail: tic@leicesterpromotions.org.uk

The rates quoted were those listed on their websites and may not be up to date; they should be reconfirmed before booking.

I have seen the exterior of the Royal Arms annex (and sneaked a peek into one of the windows) and they look decent. Several years ago, our group stopped at the Ambion Court Hotel for refreshments in the bar area when we visited the church in Dadlington. Though I haven't seen any of the bedrooms, I have seen a couple of photos. They are beamed and attractively furnished in a country style. We all thought it looked like a very pleasant place to stay.

Linda Treybig

P. S. I noted that one visitor seemed to have difficulty finding the entrance to the battlefield. Maybe it's worth mentioning that it is now well-marked from the A47, the nearest main highway.

Bosworth Charms Us All . . .

Dear Carole,

I enjoyed the Ricardian Pilgrims article in the *Fall Register*, where people shared their experiences at Bosworth. I felt better knowing I'm not the only one who cried there. My second pilgrimage to the field in 1999 was at dusk, and I was very disappointed that Sutton Cheney church was locked. Would it be possible to find out who holds the key, so we can call ahead of time, to be let in after hours?

I also thought the bumper sticker seen at the parking lot in Stow-on-the-Wold (So Few Richards, Too Many Dicks) was very clever. Only a Ricardian could recognize that as an obscure reference to Taffy Harry. I'd like to see some for sale in York Minster's gift shop!

*Sincerely,
Diana Rubino*

and further

Dear Carole and Myrna,

My first visit to Bosworth was with the Ricardian group on the anniversary of the battle, 1992. The tea under the tent with my fellow Ricardians was delightful and comforting, but for a few days afterwards, the memory of my pilgrimage to the field lingered.

I'd just started writing a novel with Richard as a central character, and read Kendall's stark description of his last moments, but I hadn't yet written about his death. So, as strange as this sounds, he was still alive to me up till then, with visits to York, Warwick Castle, all his favorite places. But standing on the spot where he'd fallen smacked me with finality — this really was once a living, breathing man who'd lost his kingdom and his life to an undeserving foreigner.

As I slogged through the mud on that chilly, rainy day, the gloom of my surroundings contributed to my increasing sadness. I felt the same grief as if I'd lost a friend. Walking the same ground where he'd charged with his army and taken his last breath gave me a strong link to him, because I felt a charge of energy in the air and coming out of the earth. I just knew that some spirits were still lurking.

I'm convinced that Bosworth isn't an empty field--it's still very much alive. (and I'm very glad to hear that others felt the same way!)

Diana Rubino

A Banner of Bosworth?

Greetings.

Earlier, I wrote to you about receiving some further information on the story about Marta Chrisjansen's visit to the Jewry Museum in Leicester and her remembrance of a cloth said to be from Richard's battle banner, quoted below

. . . and the city museum. One of my uncles must have ratted me out because a curator approached me while I was examining the Roman relics and offered me a look inside the metal box he was carrying. Within was a

scrap of faded, rotting red silk. According to family legend of the people who had donated it, the silk was a shred of the banner Richard had ridden under at Bosworth. The curator ruefully admitted that there was no real provenance for it, but it was nice to think that piece of silk had once flown above Richard's head. I think that curator must have been a closeted Ricardian.

As far as I know, it still belongs to the museum. I excavated my copy of *Ricardian Britain* and checked to see if at least the museum was named. It was: it's the Jewry Wall Museum at Leicester, and there's a dagger as well as the piece of silk. Here's what *RB* says:

The museum includes a plan of the battle, weapons picked up on the field, illustrations of people and places connected with the battle, and a small piece of cloth said to be from a standard carried at Bosworth.

I could have sworn the curator said it was supposed to be a part of Richard's banner, but it's 13 years later and perhaps it was/it is wishful thinking on my part. Obviously it made a big impression on me.

An acquaintance of mine did some sleuthing and found this information which you may find of interest:

I dashed into the museum. I'd taken my 1984 copy of *Ricardian Britain* with me which helped no end in trying to explain what I was looking for, though I thought I'd be in for a hard time when after reading the *RB* entry she asked me which battle it was connected with — but then I am so used to Bosworth being the only possible battle when it comes to such things that I'm probably being a bit harsh on her.

The display is no longer there. Her best guess is that it was dismantled in 1991 when the museum was re-vamped. She has no idea where it is now — she thought it might be at Bosworth, or it might be in storage. (If it is in storage then it could be in either the county or the city.)

Prior to 1997 we had Leicestershire County Council that looked after such things as education . . . the museums and archaeology services. Each area then had a local council that looked after such delights as rubbish collections etc....inside the city limits . . . that was Leicester City Council. How they had decided which council was responsible for which services I do not know. Anyway, in April 1997 Leicester City went it alone and took over running everything in the city. The County Council no longer had any jurisdiction over what happened in the city. I understand it out in the county things stayed the same with everywhere having two councils.

The problem for us is that all the museums, and their collections, had to be divided up between city and county. The buildings were easy enough, but as you can imagine their contents were another matter. In late 1996/early 1997 I took two one day courses....one of the senior

archaeologists...told us how difficult the division was. So, you can see, where the display, or more importantly the 'small piece of cloth' ended up is anyone's guess. ... but realistically how likely is it that the piece of cloth really is from a Bosworth banner?

With this in mind I've just been to have a look in the incredibly useful appendix of archaeological finds in the Peter Foss book (the one arguing that the battle took place near Daddlington). As I thought, the few weapons finds have been mostly discounted as they aren't old enough but I came across the two following entries -

+ Silk material fragment (154'1933) 'Supposed to be carried by Richard III at Bosworth Field'. Donated by J.C. Band, Coventry (via Coventry Museum). Doubtful but unproven.

+ Silk material fragment 2 (547'1966) 4 1/3" by 1 1/2". Red painted silk. This has a complicated history. It is said to have been found in 1911 in a bureau at the George and Dragon Inn, Newbold Verdon, after the death of the proprietor's wife, Mrs. Hargrave. Examined by D. King of the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1966, it could be of the age ascribed to it. Apart from that, inconclusive. See *Coalville Times* 17 March 1967; P. Tudor-Craig, *Richard III Catalogue* (London, 1973), 72. (3)<

Hmm, interesting eh?

Finally, as I was looking on the web for the opening times of the Jewry Wall I found out that it is the biggest free standing Roman 'building' in the UK. As it is a hefty piece of masonry it didn't surprise me, but I hadn't known that it was. St Nicholas Church, directly behind the wall, is a church whose present building dates from the ninth century. It's builders used an awful lot of stone 'robbed' from the Jewry Wall site. The Jewry Wall site is/was the Roman public baths.

*Virginia Poch
Florida*

From the ListServe:

Just a short comment on Michael Jones presentation at the AGM. It was outstanding.

When he was fielding questions from the floor I asked him about the significance of the meeting held at Baynard's Castle on May 7, 1483 and the decision not to execute Edward IV's will. The meeting was held at Cecily's residence and the Archbishop of Canterbury was present. As a result of this meeting, "goods that he (Edward) had wished to pass on to chosen beneficiaries were now confiscated on the authority of the Archbishop." Michael believes that such a decision, under the authority of the Archbishop, would not have been made had there not been "compelling evidence" presented that Edward was illegitimate. (Refer p. 85, *Bosworth 1485*)

Michael stated that the importance of the meeting of May 7th has been traditionally ignored by historians.

The two issues -- Edward's illegitimacy and the precontract issue -- are separate and not mutually exclusive. Stillington, many believe, first came forward on June 8th with the pre-contract issue. The lords and clerics may well have had direct evidence on both issues and chose, for whatever reason, to go public with only the pre-contract.

I believe I am quoting Michael accurately when I state that he believes it was probably at this time that Cecily made a (written?) deposition concerning the issue of Edward's birth, and this was the issue Thomas Cromwell was referring to in 1535 when he admitted to an Imperial emissary that Cecily had made such a deposition. (Refer p. 91)

He also made note of the strange circumstances involving the christening of first Edward, and then Edmund. Edward's was a low key event in a private chapel. Edmund's was an "extraordinary elaborate christening ceremony" in the Rouen Cathedral. He also sets forth an analysis of the date of Edward's birth versus the proposed time of conception and finds credible evidence to believe Richard of York may not have been the father. (Both issues are covered in p. 67-71)

He did graciously allow me a follow-up question concerning the apparent absence of Cecily from Richard's coronation. It was his opinion that the answer may be that she was under emotional strain from having come forth with the truth concerning the birth of Edward and did not want to attend such a public event.

I set these forth only because these issues did receive comments in the past few months on this board. I found his arguments very compelling, especially when he qualified them by stating these are his theories and were not presented as absolute certainties.

The AGM was a great event and all who were involved in the planning and execution are deserving of congratulations. I hope I have accurately recounted his comments on these issues and I am certain that if I have not, others will jump in.

It was a great AGM and Michael Jones is a great guy.
Dave Luitweiler

Membership Chair Correspondence:

On receipt of her renewal from Mollyanne Dershem, I asked this question::

"Is there a story behind your E-mail address (dreadliege@attbi.com)? If there is would you care to share it without membership?"

To which, Molly made the following return:

Dear Eileen,

Actually, there is a little story about that. I teach Senior English Advanced Placement at Mesquite High School. Every year we begin with several selections from Shakespeare, including *Richard III* and *Henry V*. I run through the Wars of the Roses history and the "

Sacred Blood of Edward III" chart so the students can see how confusing, but necessary to all the history plays, succession is.

When they read *Richard III*, with some excerpts from More's *Historie*, they begin putting the idea of propaganda together—a very interesting event to witness. Because we are dealing not only with Shakespeare, but the ideas behind why he wrote the way he did about certain people while we are also studying Machiavelli's *The Prince*, many of the students, especially after their first paper and *Henry V* began calling me dread sovereign, dread teacher, dread queen, any words they could put together in that style. I thought it was sweet, really; then the next year, the new students already knew the nickname, and it stuck. I guess it is not so little of a story after all.

When I set up my email, all the addresses with my initials or versions of my name were taken, and I lost my patience and just typed in dreadliege and it took it right off.

On another note, if I were interested in writing a type of historical fiction work on Anne Neville, what would good sources be to learn more about her life? I think it would be neat to research her, but I keep coming up empty.

Thank you for your interest. I spend the first 6 weeks of every school year clearing Richard's reputation.

Mollyanne Dershem

Pam Butler, Publicity Chairman Correspondence:

Hope you are well and happy and have recovered from the AGM!

You deserve a big "thank you" for the thorough research you did in order to provide members with directions on how to find and get to Bosworth.

I know of a lovely small hotel right in Dadlington and a new motel-style annex to one of the pubs right in Sutton Cheyney where visitors to the battlefield can stay overnight. If you would like to include this information in a follow-up in the Register, I'll be happy to send you that information.

Pam, I do need to correct a small misunderstanding you have about admissions to Bosworth. The Great British Heritage Pass doesn't cover admissions here, so I think that needs to be corrected in the next Register. The individual admission you reported is correct, but I think it must apply to the Battlefield Centre exhibition only and anyone can freely access the battlefield trail at any time. Groups (and I assume individuals as well) are charged a fixed fee for a guided battlefield tour. If I remember correctly, it was 15 pounds for our group. Then, afterwards, I paid 3 pounds per person for those who wanted to go through the exhibition. Of course, the shop is free!

Dare I hope you are considering next year's tour? I'd love to have you along again! Take care and stay well.

Linda Treybig

SPOTLIGHT: EILEEN PRINSEN

Judy Pimental

Eileen Prinsen has been Membership Chair of The Richard III Society since October 2000. She is one of the few U.S. Richard III Society members to have been born in England. Eileen was born at Charing Cross Hospital in London, just a little too far from the “sound of the Bow Bells” to be able to claim “true Cockneyship.” She was born some few years preceding the start of World War II, but she did not volunteer the actual date, and I was too polite to ask, having myself been born “around” that time.

Eileen attended St. Andrew’s Parochial School (Church of England) at Hatton Garden in the Borough of Holborn. Not far from St. Andrews, if one is observant, one will find “just down the street” a small passage-way leading past The Mitre (which Eileen describes as “an attractive old pub”) and into Ely Place, all that remains of the vast property of the Bishops of Ely, “just a step or so away” from the medieval St. Ethelreda’s Church where the Requiem Mass for Queen Anne is said each year.

While attending St. Andrew’s, Eileen learned some very interesting and useful facts garnered from her social studies texts:

King Alfred let the widow’s cakes burn

A disembodied arm caught King Arthur’s sword “Excalibur” after it was thrown into the Lake - there was even a picture of the scene.

And, most importantly,

King Richard III by his own hand smothered two little velvet-clad princes in the Tower of London.

She held this last particular belief for many years, along with most of her contemporaries.

During a goodly part of that era, there was a War going on. In 1939, Eileen was evacuated from London along with many other children and spent nearly four years in Croxley Green, Hertfordshire, about 22 miles from London. Eileen returned to London in August 1942, to live with her own parents once more. During the next two years, the family spent many days and nights in the apartment building’s communal air-raid shelters. Being a courageous young lady, Eileen looks back on this time as having been “not ‘arf bad.”

When peace was restored, Eileen attended Pitman’s Secretarial College, following which she worked with various newspapers, including the then-rather-conservative *Daily Express*. The offices of the *Express* were located on Fleet Street. The location put her within easy distance of St. Paul’s Cathedral, the Temple Church (associated with the Knights Templar), the Law Courts, and some very “olde” and picturesque “pubs” known to Charles Dickens.



Eileen emigrated to Montreal, Canada in 1953. She was recruited by the US Air Force to work in Greenland. In 1955, she received a visa to enter the United States, and subsequently lived in Boston MA, Baltimore MD., and Fort Lauderdale, FL. In sunny Florida, in 1957 she met and married Hans Prinsen who had emigrated from The Netherlands in 1956. Their two daughters were born in Florida.

Hans, a former officer with the Holland America Line, was employed with Ford Motor Credit Company for over 25 years. Among his many activities since his retirement over ten years ago, he counts of great importance his twice a week deliveries for the City of Dearborn’s “Meals on Wheels” program. When they are in Dearborn, Eileen and Hans take turns with the household chores. Not a fan of the TV, one of Hans’ favorite pastimes is reading the *New York Times* almost from front to back every day — Eileen gets the “Fine Arts” page and the crossword.

Both Eileen and Hans have many relatives living in various parts of England, France, The Netherlands and Germany, so they are more or less “compelled” to travel to “Old Europe” almost every year (we should all be so burdened)! Their violinist daughter lives in Germany, and once a year invites some German friends for an American-style Thanksgiving dinner. However, the 2002 Thanksgiving guests were Eileen and Hans!

The family moved to Michigan in 1961. At some forgotten date in the following 10 years, Eileen joined a “Mystery Book Club”. For her membership fee, she received six “classical mysteries”, including — you guessed it — *The Daughter of Time*. Eileen says, “Like Alan Grant, I had an epiphany!” She first learned of the American Branch of The Richard III Society through an

editorial in the *New York Times* regarding the Society's annual "in memoriam" notice. But Eileen really took note of the Society in 1991, when she saw a front-page, center-spot article in *The Wall Street Journal*, which mentioned the Michigan Chapter. Eileen has been associated with the Michigan Chapter ever since, in various capacities including "ordinary" member, moderator, member-at-large. She credits the Michigan Chapter with being very active due to its enthusiastic, hard-working and extremely talented membership.


Eileen has been the Society's Membership chairperson for the last three years. She says that she has been and is enjoying "every minute of it." She credits Peggy Allen with contributing greatly to her pleasure in the job by having designed a wonderful computer program. "I can't pretend to know exactly how it works, but it has many great features which supply me with the means to carry out the (many and: /del) varied functions associated with contacting our members and maintaining accurate and informative records."

Shortly after assuming her responsibilities, Eileen learned that she could not spread herself too thin and be a good ["great" - *jp*] Membership Chair so temporarily abandoned certain other important pursuits, although she has remained very active in her second "center of interest" the Dearborn Branch of the AAUW. She will shortly return to her attempts to gain a working knowledge of Latin and pick up the work on the Wills Translation Project. Eileen intends to resume her studies in the Masters' program at the University of Michigan at Dearborn in August 2004.

For the Society, this is akin to having one's child get married — we won't "lose" a child; rather, we will gain one.

"Way to go, Eileen!"

***The Plantagenet
Connection***



The Planta Genista
(Sprig of the Broom Plant)

We bring genealogical data to life by exploring HISTORY THROUGH GENEALOGY. We are a unique and thought-provoking journal for historians, genealogists and students of royalty. USA subscriptions are \$24 per year for 2 issues of about 200 pages. Add \$8 per year for foreign air. Single copies are \$12. Issues began in 1993. FREE BROCHURES on contents and other publications. MC/VISA accepted. Fax or call to use your card. QUOTE THIS REFERENCE AND YOUR FIRST COPY IS FREE. RR.

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AWARD CERTIFICATES

Background: The board together with Bonnie Battaglia, Chairman, have decided on the following members who have given generously of their time and services in furtherance of the Society's goals during the past Ricardian year and at the 2003 AGM, as follows:

LAURA BLANCHARD, "for her dedicated service as Webmaster/work with Shallek Memorial."

JACQUELINE BLOOMQUIST, "for her service as Chairman of the 2003 Dickon Committee and her work on the AGM 2003."

PAMELA J. BUTLER, "for her work on the Dickon Committee 2003 and her on line member services and public relations."

SUSAN DEXTER, "for her graphic design services."

PAM FITZGERALD, "for her boar standard workshop, AGM 2003 Phoenix."

JEANNE FAUBELL, "for her long and faithful service as outgoing Fiction Librarian."

W. WAYNE INGALLS, "for his outstanding work as outgoing Treasurer of the Society."

W. WAYNE INGALLS, "for his faithful service he is awarded this years Dickon Award."

MICHAEL JONES, "Keynote speaker and featured guest AGM 2003 Phoenix."

CHARLIE JORDAN, "for his continuing contributions to the Register and for his dedicated service at the AGM 2003 Phoenix."

JEROME H. KLEIN, "for his continued support of the Richard III Society."

JEAN M. KVAM, "in appreciation of her services as new Research Librarian."

DR. HELEN MAURER, "in appreciation of her services as outgoing Research Librarian."

DR. SHARON MICHALOVE, "in appreciation for continued service as Research Officer."

ROXANE C. MURPH, "in appreciation for once again arranging to have the beautiful Dickon Plaque(s) made for us."

ANANAIA O'LEARY, "for her services as the new Fiction Librarian 2003."

VIRGINIA POCH, "for carrying the Ricardian message to the Renaissance Faires."

PHOENIX CHAPTER, "for hosting the AGM 2003 in Phoenix, AZ."

EILEEN C. PRINSEN, "for her outstanding work with the Society, this year's Dickon Award."

EILEEN C. PRINSEN, "for her work and dedication as outgoing Membership Chairman."

GEOFFREY RICHARDSON, "our late Special Correspondent - Yorkshire."

CAROLE RIKE, "editor of the *Ricardian Register*, for her tribute issue Summer 2003."

YVONNE SADLER, "for her continuing work as Audio/visual librarian 1995 to present."

MYRNA SMITH, "for her continuing work as Ricardian Reading Editor."

DONATIONS, 7/01/2003 - 10/31/2003

Honorary Middleham Level
\$180-299
Carol Jackson & Joanne Aarseth
Bonnie Battaglia & Family
Sally Keil

Honorary Fotheringay Level
\$75-179
Peggy Allen
Pamela J. Butler
Dale L. D'Angelo
Steve Ellis
Pamela S. Johnson
Margaret M. Mayce
John B. Ottiker
Judith A. Pimental
Jane-Vett Rogers
Elizabeth A. Root
Molly J. Slack

Stephen H. Smith
Generous Ricardians
Becky Aderman
Terry L. Adkins
Elizabeth Bowman
Angela P. Braunfeld
Jeanne Carlson
Matthew J. Catania
Nell Corkin
George B. Crofut
Barbara J. Dunlap
Gary Fortune
Sarah S. Foulkrod
Marion Harris
W. Wayne Ingalls
Margaret R. Kiever
Marilyn F. Koncen
Dana-Jean S. LaHaie

Edward P. Leland
Joan Marshall
Myra Morales
Susan M. Morris
Roxane C. Murph
Janet T. O'Keefe
Betsy Osgood
Suzanne Pontius
Eileen C. & Hans Prinsen
Andrea Rich
Joan L. Robic
Richard Tracey
Diana Waggoner
Cara L. Warren
Daniel C. Warren
Patricia Watson
Janice L. Weiner

RICARDIAN HONOR ROLL - 2003

1968 35 - Year Members

Mrs. Audrey K. Anderson
Miss Myra Morales
Dr. A. Compton Reeves

1973 30 - Year Members

Carole M. Rike

1978 25 - Year Members

Jeanne Carlson
Dr. John F. & Gail D. Erath
Mrs. Marlene Hejnal
Mr. John B. Ottiker
Ms. Linda N. Treybig
198320 - Year Members
Mrs. Janet D. Andersen
Gary A. & Laura M. Bailey
Mr. & Mrs. Anthony C. Collins
Jane C. Harper
Mrs. Haynie M. Hensel
Mr. Stephen R. Kovarcik
Mr. Edward P. Leland
Ms. Ruth McDaniel
Dr. James A. Moore
John P. & Roberta Moosmiller
Jennifer Rowe
Mr. Frederick J. Simmonds
Mrs. Dale Summers

1988 15 - Year Members

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Laura V. & Roy H. Blanchard
Mrs. Laura Albrecht Davis
Kathie Maxwell
Dr. Jon M. Suter
Miss Martha H. Vogel
199310 - Year Members
Mr. David J. Burnett
Mrs. Margarete A. Cantrall
Andrew J. Cleland

Mr. Ned Crabb
Ms. Nancy M. Griggs
Mrs. Nellie L. Henry
Mrs. Joan Marshall
Roberta D. & Charles P. Mitchell
Ms. Cheryl Rothwell
Ms. Maureen Smith
19985 - Year Members
Mr. Parto Barkhordari
Mr. & Mrs. Roger & Sandra
Bartkowiak
Mrs. Nancy E. Bauer
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Mr. Samuel Carranza
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Ms. Elizabeth C. Denton
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Ms Elizabeth York Enstam
Mr. T. Dean Flowers
Mr. William Heuer
Gregory & Christine Huber
Mr. Daniel C. Jones
Mr. Charlie Jordan
Ms. Michele M. Killian
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Mr. Robin Mailey
Mrs. Nanette M. Martin
Mrs. Margaret M. Mayce
Mr. William McClintic
Mr. Andrew J. Novotney
Mrs. Madeleine S. Parsons
Ms. Mary Reighney
Mr. Scott Burdine Richmond
Mr. George W. Rouse
Richard E. & Cindy L Seckla
Ms. Molly J. Slack
Ms. Barbara J. Underwood

ANNUAL TOUR FOR THE RICHARD III SOCIETY, AMERICAN BRANCH

The Ricardian Rover

Travels with King Richard III

June 19 – 30, 2004

IT'S NOT TOO LATE to join our friendly little band of travelers for a really special touring experience as we explore the England of Richard III! This delightful tour is just perfect for those with a keen interest in Richard III and England's medieval period in general — whether you are longing to revisit Ricardian England or are a newer member who has never had an opportunity to visit this wonderful country. Sites we will visit that have associations with Richard III include among others: Middleham, Pickering, Skipton, Ashby-de-la-Zouch and Corfe castles; the parish churches at Middleham, Pickering, Sutton Cheyney, Bere Regis, and Saxton (with presentation on the Battle of Towton); Tewkesbury Abbey, and glorious Wells Cathedral. We will enjoy a day and two nights at leisure in the ancient city of York and an excellent guided tour of Bosworth Battlefield, where Richard lost his crown and life. At several sites, we will be warmly received and accompanied on our sightseeing by Ricardian friends from various English branches and groups — always special occasions for all of us!

Our itinerary also includes some of England's finest manor houses and stately homes, including Berkeley Castle, Castle Howard ("Brideshead Revisited"), Hardwick Hall, Lytes Cary Manor, Cothele (an unique late medieval knight's dwelling), and magnificent Hampton Court Palace. Also featured are such intriguing sites as Jane Austen's home, legendary Glastonbury Abbey and historic Winchester Cathedral. An added bonus: in the course of our travels, we'll become acquainted with some of England's most appealing scenery, including the beautiful Yorkshire Dales, fabulous Dartmoor, picturesque villages and impressive coastline!

You will enjoy twelve days of leisurely touring in a comfortable mid-size coach. Our accommodation, located mainly in attractive market towns or villages, will be in charming smaller hotels and coaching inns with an excellent rating, where you'll be met with a cordial welcome, a comfortable bed and delicious meals. Most of our lunches will be at unspoiled country pubs recommended for their food. Your enthusiastic tour coordinator/escort will be Linda Treybig (member of the Richard III Society since 1979 and specialist on travel in Great Britain), who has led 14 previous Ricardian tours. **Note: Tour registration deadline is February 10th, and group size is limited to a maximum of 12.** This year's congenial group is adding new members on a regular basis, so please request your brochure and full details right away!

A Final Word: Our unique tour, a happy alternative to large, impersonal package tours and the hassle of traveling on your own, features many choice Ricardian sites, as well as other marvelous attractions you won't want to miss! Touring through England's lovely countryside and villages with a small group of friendly people who share your interest in Richard III, enriching your knowledge of this enigmatic and frequently misunderstood king and his times, exploring places off the beaten track, discovering the best of both medieval and contemporary England — a truly serendipitous experience! Won't you join us?

Please contact:

LINDA TREYBIG

340 Sprague Rd., # 303, Berea, OH 44017

Phone: (440) 239-0645; E-mail: treybig@worldnetoh.com

RICARDIAN REGISTER ONLINE

Back issues of the *Ricardian Register* are now available at www.r3.org/members in the highly readable Adobe Acrobat format, and more are being added as this issue goes to press.

The members-only section is password protected — to receive a password, richard3-owner@plantagenet.com.

MINUTES AND ANNUAL OFFICER AND COMMITTEE REPORTS

The business reports of the American Branch are all archived online <http://www.r3.org/members/minutes/>. Consult the Membership Chair for password details. For members without internet access, copies are available upon request from the Recording Secretary.

FOURTH QUARTER LISTSERV REPORT

Pamela J. Butler

A total of 1064 messages were posted, probably a record number! Discounting the listserv moderator, the most frequent posters, in decreasing order, were Laura Blanchard, Ananaia O'Leary, Will Lewis, Judy Pimental, Maria Torres, Eric Moles, Dave Luitweiler, Sheilah O'Conner, Kim Malo, Lorraine Pickering, Paul Trevor Bale, Lorilee McDowell, Carole Rike, and Helen Maurer. There are 95 members on the regular listserv and 18 who receive it in digest form.

The single most popular topic covered, in all its incarnations, was the pre-contract between Lady Eleanor Butler and Edward IV; this includes references to Helmholtz. Also covered were various works of Ricardian fiction (especially medieval mysteries), the AGM countdown, "women in power" such as Cecily Neville, Margaret Beaufort, and Elizabeth Woodville. "Late Blooming Parents" covered the issue of long periods of time between marriage dates and the birth of the first child: examples discussed Cecily Neville and the Duke of York, and Margaret of Anjou and Henry VI. Rounding out the list of most-covered topics were Margaret de la Pole (Clarence's daughter), Sir Thomas Malory, formation of a new chapter in Minnesota, and an "In Memoriam" to acknowledge the 30th anniversary of the death of author Paul Murray Kendall.

Beginning in January, and continuing through early April, we will be conducting a group discussion with Ann Wroe, author of *The Perfect Prince: The Mystery of Perkin Warbeck and His Quest for the Throne of England*. Everyone is encouraged to read the book prior to this discussion to maximize the opportunities for participation.

The listserv is a free service open to all Society members worldwide. To join, send an email from the email address you want to use to richard3-subscribe@plantagenet.com. To subscribe to the digest only, send an email to richard3-digest-subscribe@plantagenet.com. If you have any difficulty, email question 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.

MINNESOTA CHAPTER LAUNCHED!

Rod Hale

On behalf of the other Minnesota Ricardians, I am pleased to announce the official formation of the Minnesota chapter of the Richard III Society, American Branch.

Bylaws were signed this past week in the Great Hall of Koster Castle, Edina, MN, whilst members were sipping sweet Mead and eating Gloucester cheese.

WANTED One or More California Chapters of The Richard III Society, Inc.

Rewards Offered for Joining the California
"Reformation"

Judy Pimental

Two prior California Chapters have become defunct — The Northern California Chapter in 1996, and The Southern California Chapter in about 2001. California is now chapter-less! A few members of said defunct chapters have indicated interest in re-forming and/or re-grouping.

In 2002, the last President of the Northern California Chapter, Judy Pimental, expressed an interest in trying to revive the Northern California chapter. As the board is unable, for privacy reasons, to disseminate member names and address, permission has been asked and granted to place this notice/solicitation in the communication that all U.S. members receive!

Judy asks that interested California members of the Richard III Society, U.S. Branch, contact her with respect to forming a chapter in California. Under consideration are ordinary "meetings" face-to-face or "meetings by conference call or internet chat-room", Judy admits to being a techno-dummy who does not know how to set up a "chat room": she will welcome any help or suggestions along these lines.

Judy would appreciate it if any Society members in California who might be interested in forming a Not-Quite-All-West-Coast Chapter — logistics to be worked out later. Please e-mail her at pimja@aol.com, or call (510) 521-0487 (normal and voice-mail), or use snail-mail: 1248 Regent Street, Alameda, CA 94501-5333.

Oh, and the rewards: the opportunities to have more immediate contact with like-minded people, with the possibilities of occasional actual meetings "somewhere in the middle" (Monterey or San Luis Obispo, perhaps Reno and other exciting locations) or in the great tourist areas such as Los Angeles/Orange Counties/San Francisco, etc., etc., more than once a year. And lots of good fellowship!

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.

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.

Eva Arnott, happily spending her retirement years reading, attending symphony concerts, church and traveling, says she was drawn to the Society because: "I've been interested in how history is constantly being reinterpreted as the culture in which the historian lives evolves in its assumptions. I'm also fascinated by modern spin control in politics, and think of Richard III as an early victim of intentionally biased political myth-making." Tel: 781-729-2137 or 781-883-3449. Email: earnott@aol.com

Thomas Cerny of Cobden, Illinois, combines his occupation as a Pharmacist with work on the family farm. Through his interest in History (especially British) he began a subscription to British Heritage while in college during which time the magazine was running articles on the 500th anniversary of the Battle of Bosworth. He goes on to say: "My interest lay fallow for a number of years while I finished school and started a career. Costain's 4 volume history and Tey's *Daughter of Time* served to renew my interest. And here I am.

Among his leisure interests Thomas lists reading, which encompasses World history, Church History, Historical Fiction and Mysteries! A Roman Catholic, he is also active in his parish as a High School Catechist, and is in charge of Adult Education and the Parish Library. And in addition to all that he has been a member for several years of the International Churchill Society. E-mail: tcerny@siu.edu.

E. Ellen Harrington of Aurora, Colorado, a Civilian Pay Technician for the US Department of Defense, lists her leisure interests as: writing (fiction and poetry), gardening, crocheting, historical and metaphysical studies, and "negotiating feline territorial disputes." Ellen's response to the question as to how she became interested in and found the Richard III Society consists of three paragraphs, as follows:

Perhaps it is ironic, but my religion helped pave the way. As a non-Christian, I'm constantly dealing with the reputation other people have tried to make for me. Even as a teenager, I realized that the victors write history as they see it. Sometimes, however, the losers are not only alive and kicking—we're also steadily chipping away at the mountain of lies around us." However, from a strictly Ricardian viewpoint, my first introduction was

nearly 25 years ago when I found a copy of Josephine Tey's *The Daughter of Time*. My background was in medical research and I knew very little about "that play" and the story of the original wicked uncle. When it came to history, I was more interested in the ancient and prehistoric times. But since I appreciate "alternate history" fiction, I liked the concept behind Tey's work, even if I didn't understand all the issues. Still, while it was interesting, I had other interests and placed the subject on a mental backburner for several years until I read *The Dragon Waiting* by John M. Ford (another novel based on an alternate history). Another small mental "click," another "Hmm, that's interesting" without pursuing the subject.

During the mid-to-late 1990's, I had the pleasure to visit London and Paris several times. After a co-worker suggested my travels could form the basis of a novel, I expanded my studies. No matter where I turned, I kept returning to the late 15th Century (in spirit if not body). Inevitably I discovered Richard. This time the "click" was more of a "whack!" and I was hooked. As is also inevitable, I found references to the Richard III Society. Even though I tend to be quiet and antisocial, I thought I could share my skills and decided to join. E-mail: eharring@pobox.com

Ann Lamont has been a lover of medieval history for quite a few years, and so has, on occasions, come across books on Richard and the Princes in the Tower. She says: "To be honest, I can't remember exactly what sparked my interest in Richard, but once I found S. K. Penman's book *The Sunne In Splendor* and the Society's web page, I was hooked." An English major undergraduate student, with a minor in medieval studies, Ann goes on to say: "If there was a class on Richard III I'd sign up for it in a second, but since that particular wish hasn't come true, I'll have to settle for getting a good background in medieval history, which comes in handy when reading about Richard."

Carolyn Salter says: "I became seriously interested in Richard when I came across a copy of *The Mystery of the Princes* by Audrey Williamson at a local library book sale. I had, of course, read *The Daughter of Time* many years before, and it had become a favorite story, but fiction it remained until I read the Williamson book. I was intrigued by the depth and breadth of the serious scholarship that existed, and started my own research. The anti-Richard scholarship was fascinating (and annoying) and in turn led to the Ricardian, the Society, and the website. It was on the website that I first noticed that Richard and I share the same

— continued, page 29

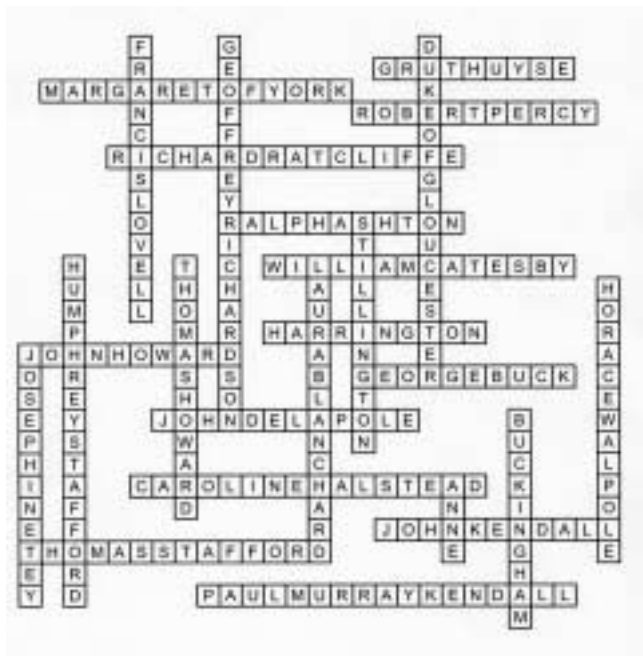
Two Year Profiles (continued)

birthday, October 2; only a mere 507 years intervene. Tel: 425-672-1861. E-mail: Bellepoire@yahoo.com

Dale Brady-Wilson—writer, director, producer (theatre and film), from Bryson City, N.C.—says that when she was quite young she discovered that she shared a birthday with Richard, King of England. Once she'd sorted out that it was Richard III she says she never again believed that he was guilty. "Then" she says, "I found Josephine Tey's book and the rest is history." She came across the Richard III Society when she started doing on-line searches for Richard..

Dale adds: "Also — without sounding like a crank — Richard was a Libra and would have been torn by seeing both sides of any issue. He also shares his birthday with Ghandi, the very next day Jimmy Carter, and then St. Francis of Assisi. So he can't be all bad! Incidentally, I am of course, like several other members, writing a screen play of the life of Richard." E-mail: sherriffhutton@msn.com.

RICHARD & FRIENDS — ANSWERS



LET US HEAR FROM YOU!

Our Reading Editor and the Register Editor are both seeking contributions. Please keep us in mind. We would like reviews, articles, letters, pictures, accounts of your visits to England . . . whatever our fellow Ricardians may find of interest.

2004 AGM SCHEDULED FOR OCTOBER 1-3 TORONTO, CANADA



Seely Hall, University of Toronto

Plans are being coordinated with the Canada Branch of the Society. At this time, they have a good quote on a hotel in downtown Toronto (right by the University of Toronto campus) and are negotiating with Trinity College in the University of Toronto for Seeley Hall — a gothic style hall — for a medieval themed dinner.

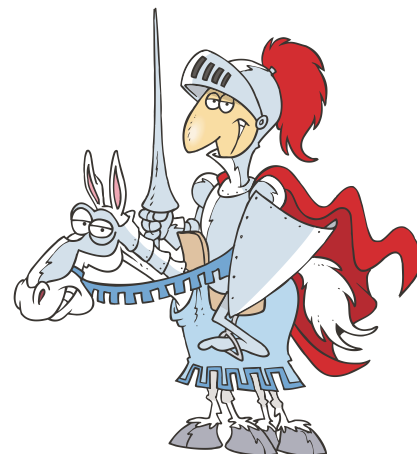
Canadian Ricardians have further entered discussions with the PLS (Poculi Ludique Societas) for possible entertainment that evening.

As a possible speaker, we have a professor who has been greatly involved with the internationally recognized REED project — Records of Early English Drama — although there are several other possible speakers.

The AGM falls on Richard's birthday, October 2, so perhaps we can have a real birthday party.

A couple of places on campus have some medieval books — perhaps something can be worked out there.

Many great and enthusiastic plans are underway, so stay tuned, and you may wish to obtain your airline tickets early.





RICARDIAN READING

Myrna Smith


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

Rambling rose, rambling rose...

Your Reading Editor took a short winter vacation recently, but ever mindful of her obligations to the Gentle Readers, she borrowed a computer to write the following column. Unfortunately, due to a glitch in hardware, software, or (most likely) wetware, the entire thing was erased, and had to be recreated from notes. I hadn't even printed a copy. Any omissions or errors can be chalked up to that, while I take full credit for anything I got right!

On a more positive note, I believe I can now open attachments, so you can send your reviews and other communications either that way or by cut and paste. All contributions gratefully received.

The Red Rose and the White....

 **ELIZABETH WOODVILLE**, *Mother of the Princes in the Tower* - David Baldwin, Sutton Publishing, Stroud, U.K., 2002

This is the first biography of Elizabeth Woodville since 1938, and the author announces that it is his intention to make it "a life rather than a life and times," though inevitably it comes to be something of both, and to avoid speculation, though some creeps in nonetheless. He hopes that Elizabeth "would recognize herself in these pages.." Well, she might, but she probably wouldn't like it much.

Baldwin clears his subject of the charges most commonly made against her: arrogance ("no more than protocol required") and greed ("Warwick, Hastings and Gloucester never themselves refused a grant or declined an opportunity.") As for her family "it is possible that if Elizabeth had had fewer siblings there would have been little or no objection to them." But when it comes to her relationships with Richard III and Henry VII, he has more difficulty in depicting the character of this woman.

It has been suggested that Elizabeth never would have come to terms with Richard knowing that he had killed the two princes (what mother could have done so?) and that her doing so implies either that she had discovered they were still living or that someone other than the King had ordered their deaths. But she had certainly reached her agreement with Richard in the knowledge that he had ordered the judicial murders of her brother and the younger son of her first marriage.

This, however testifies as much to Elizabeth's pragmatism as to Richard's guilt. Elizabeth may have been placed in a situation there she had no choice but to leave Sanctuary, but

it was certainly "somewhat cynical" of her to proceed to pimp her daughter to a man she supposed to be a murderer. Since she was plotting at the same time with Henry Tudor, and would plot against him when he was King, indicating that her agreement with one or both was made in bad faith, it casts a reasonable doubt over Baldwin's contention that she and the rest of the Woodvilles were not plotting against Richard as Protector. That Elizabeth had no alternative but to come to an accommodation with Richard, since she was 15 years his senior and "there was unlikely to be another king in her lifetime" leaves unanswered the question of why she was not so philosophical when it came to Henry, who was 20 years younger than she and did outlive her.

The best reason her biographer can come up with for her puzzling actions in re Lambert Simnel is that she resented the influence of Margaret Beaufort! He speculates that once the King and his mother were out of the way, the younger Elizabeth could be married to her cousin Warwick. "The young Prince Arthur was a problem, but recent events had shown how easily a claim could be superseded, and she could anticipate that another, more 'legitimate' grandson would soon replace him." A doting grandmother indeed! Far more likely that she proposed crowning Arthur, who was also Edward's grandson, than the son of the hated Clarence.

Only in Appendix 6 (of 7) does he consider an alternative explanation: Buckingham as murderer.

Although (Richard) presumably explained the situation to Elizabeth Woodville, he could not excuse himself more publicly without implying that he was not his own man. Similarly, Henry Tudor's reluctance to inquire into the matter - and end the speculation once and for all - could have stemmed from the fact that although the Duke had committed the crime to further his own ambitions, the revised aim of Buckingham's rebellion had been to depose Richard in favour of Henry. A formal investigation would have found it difficult to avoid the conclusion that Buckingham had killed the boys on behalf of Henry (and therefore presumably with his agreement), and so Henry, like Richard, preferred to say as little about the matter as possible.

If Elizabeth came to accept this view, or if she truly believed that at least one of her sons was still alive, her actions become explicable — for a normal human being. At least, though he relegates it to an appendix, Baldwin does consider this a possibility.

One of the other virtues of this biography is the attention given to Elizabeth's distinguished ancestors (Charlemagne and Simon de Monfort, no less) and to her descendants, including Lady Jane Grey, who "... breathed the rarefied air of a young intellectual who found it difficult to believe she was ever wrong or that others did not share her opinions; and it was her conviction that God meant her to be Queen (if He had not, He would not have placed her in this situation) which led her to become a willing, and to some extent active, participant in Northumberland's plans." Spot on!

If the reader takes a middle line, between the saint in a niche and the gargoyle who could contemplate the destruction of her grandchild, this can be a worthwhile addition to one's Ricardian library.

Tudor rose...

 **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 a delightful, 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's point of view, the story portrays a "fairy child darting here and there . . . with ebony hair flowing loose" who grows up into a musically talented, intelligent young woman with beautiful, expressive eyes. Throughout the novel, Dunn maintains the illusion that Sir Thomas Wyatt is speaking and confiding his secrets directly to us. This powerful credibility derives 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 both the joys and the sorrows of living in this era. 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. For me, it was what it meant to be female. Middle-class or high-born, in England, Italy, or France, to be female was to be a helpless pawn of men, at the mercy of whims, dislikes and desires that would ultimately seal one's 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 has done her research, and though she makes a flawed reference to Edward IV as Edward V, it does not detract from this charming and intelligent book. *Dear Heart, How Like You This?* is superbly written, and one of the two best

books I've come across in the past two years. A must-read for lovers of history.

— Sandra Worth, TX


The Dragon and the Rose... or rather,

 **The Dragon and The Fair Maid Of Kent - Gordon R. Dickson, Tom Doherty Associates, NY, 2002**

One of a series of Dragon Knight novels by a recognized master of the science fiction genre, though this is more fantasy than sci-fi. Jim Eckert, the hero, is a full-time knight, part-time dragon, and apprentice magician. He was a mathematician until he was somehow transported to the 14th century in a parallel universe, slightly but significantly different from ours. Coffee, for instance, is not available, but tea is, and hobgoblins and other creatures that are folklore in our world are very real in theirs. Jim needs all of his magical and mathematical powers: "... the Dragon Knight must confront the three disasters that lie in wait for any visitor to the English Middle Ages: war, plague, and Plantagenets."

The Plantagenets in question are Edward III and his son the Black Prince, and the Fair Maid is bigamously married to two men and traveling around the countryside with a third, the B. P., who will be her third, or second, husband, depending on how you count, in both worlds, as Dickson points out in an afterword.

A most entertaining read.

 **The Dragon Waiting - John M. Ford**
What if?

It's at the heart of why we still talk and debate about Richard III and his world. John M. Ford's epic fantasy/alternate history takes that world and turns it upside down to provide some new what-ifs, along with interesting answers to old questions. What if the Byzantine Empire was still alive and flourishing, stretching its fingers out to England — last barrier to dominating the West. What if *that* was a driving force behind some of the Lancastrian plots, to keep England divided. What if magic worked and vampires existed, loathed and feared, but also offering an undead alternative to dying of wounds or disease. What if *this* treachery was why Hastings had to die and *that* childhood misunderstanding was why Richard distrusted Rivers personally. What if Edward IV's death wasn't natural either, but actually keyed to set off the confusion that followed. What if... what if... what if...

What if there was another answer to the most controversial what-if of all — why the princes disappeared. What if it involved a very real reason that the princes could never be shown, dead or alive. And what if that reason made their disappearance necessary, rather than any intent to seize the throne?

This isn't the book for traditionalists looking for a strictly factual extrapolation. It's an epic tale, but not Richard's epic. He doesn't even appear until halfway through the book, stomping travel-stained into Cecily's London home with an engaging "Good evening,

Mother! Time for rejoicing; despite the roads and London, the younger son is — ” until he spies her elegant dinner guests with an entirely human “oh shit.” Those guests — a wizard, a vampire, a doctor, and a mercenary — are the real protagonists of the story, brought together from across Europe by their opposition to the Byzantine Empire. They meet on the road in a storm-bound inn, where they are brought further together through trying to solve a murder mystery that seems to involve another guest, obviously a vampire. Mystery apparently solved, the four of them band together to at least try to stop the Empire. With so little unoccupied Europe left, independent England is the logical place for a stand. Getting there takes them through Byzantine France, where Margaret of Anjou is apparently involved in a plot of magic and treachery to stir things up through Clarence. Arriving in England sweeps them all up into the familiar events of Richard’s life, fighting Scots on the borders and assorted enemies elsewhere, until Edward IV dies and the world changes. Richard gets control of his nephew from Rivers, along with some unwelcome news about the boy’s health, turning his world upside down anew. Subsequent events largely follow the snowballing spiral downward all too familiar to Ricardians. Magic and treachery are everywhere until the appearance of Henry Tydder brings things to a head at Bosworth, with the Empire ranged behind him and a dragon at his head.

The author admits to inventing and altering events, while providing his own interpretations of character — “especially that most re-interpreted of English kings.” However, with some willing suspension of disbelief, it works as a believable story. The sweeping epic style and often lyrical writing make that willing suspension easy, creating a vivid and memorable world of depth and color, populated with living, breathing characters you care about. Even when they aren’t always the characters you think you know. Richard is consistent with most other portrayals that avoid the lunatic fringes of sainthood or capering evil: fierce, intelligent, loyal, and a natural leader. Rivers takes on a new character, and one more in sympathy with Richard than with his own sister the queen, had misunderstandings not come between them. Clarence’s inconstancy and weakness are there in all their glory, but he is also made sympathetic enough to be believable as the frustrating but beloved brother for whom excuses will keep getting made. Argentine, Morton, Mancini, all have key roles to play. Morton is a wizard in this version of the tale, meeting a highly unpleasant end before he has a chance to provide More with the basis for his History.

The story ranges widely. Along with places and historical characters outside the usual canon — e.g. the Duke of Albany, Lorenzo di Medici, Savaronola, Villon - it blends in elements of Roman and Celtic mythology (Christianity is just another marginal cult), Arthurian romance, Mithraism, vampire lore, Byzantine and Italian history. The resulting richness helps make this a story to lose yourself in, but may well be the despair of Ricardians

looking for a book that is primarily a discussion of the path to Bosworth.

This isn’t always quick reading, with some dense, evocative prose and references that can be annoyingly elliptical. But there is a broad sweep of rousing good storytelling spiced with wit and emotion and insight. It’s more fantasy than history, but even Ricardians who don’t care for fantasy can read it for enjoyment of a different approach to the same old issues and the light that this very different approach may shine on some well-worn ideas. There’s also a great deal of satisfaction in what happens to some of the known characters, even if it only happens in this alternative world. - Kim Malo

Moonlight and Roses... or rather,

Moonlight and Shadow - Isolde Martyn

In a masterful follow-up to her debut novel, *The Maiden and The Unicorn*, Australian author Isolde Martyn weaves a tale of intrigue and romance. Set during the final months of Edward IV’s reign and the turbulent months that followed his death, it recreates the period brilliantly.

Heloise Ballaster is a young lady-in-waiting to the Duchess of Gloucester who hides a secret or two: her silver-coloured hair and clairvoyance, both of which she strives to keep hidden, knowing they could mark her as a witch. Summoned home to care for her pregnant stepmother, Heloise is disappointed to leave Middleham Castle, where she had found a measure of independence and freedom from her father. Escorted south by Richard and Margery Huddleston (the hero and heroine from *The Maiden and The Unicorn*), she arrives home just as her father’s feud with the Rushdens has reached a critical point.

Sir Miles Rushden, right-hand-man to the Duke of Buckingham, has also received a summons home to aid his father in reclaiming the family holding of Bramley Castle from Sir Dudley Ballaster. Miles arrives to discover Ballaster has challenged his father to combat, only to have his father order him to fight in his stead. When he unseats his challenger with ease, he is horrified to discover a young boy, rather than a man full-grown.

Forced to uphold the family honour when her father’s champion is too hung over and her father too cowardly to fight, Heloise is shocked as yet another of her visions comes true. When Miles is ambushed, she is horrified when her father forces him to marry her, granting Bramley to the Rushdens as her dowry. But when Miles escapes without consummating the marriage, her father gives her no choice but to follow her husband into Wales. Though she plots to run away, her plans are changed when Margery Huddleston visits her, hears of her dilemma and suggests the king and the Duke of Gloucester would welcome the opportunity to have someone in the Duke of Buckingham’s household. Though not sent specifically as a spy, Heloise carries with her a unicorn badge which she is to wear if she is in trouble.

Thus starts the adventure of her life. Arriving in Wales she takes on another's identity, as governess to the Duke's young son. Miles is furious to find her in residence, but reluctant to expose her, lest she take him down too. Soon they are both caught up in the events following Edward's death, even as their feelings for each other begin to change. When Buckingham turns against Richard, they find themselves in mortal danger, caught between their love for each other and loyalty to those they serve.

The setting is so well rendered, from the opening Yuletide scene at Middleham to the final scenes of Buckingham's Rebellion, that the reader is transported to the past. Places and people come vibrantly alive.

Heloise and Miles both have much to learn and their romance is realistic. They are far from the stereotypical romance protagonists, neither of them perfect. Miles is especially flawed, yet he is true to his time, and his treatment of Heloise is well motivated. And when he does finally admit to his feelings for her, the transformation from reluctant to devoted husband feels genuine. Heloise is a heroine to whom the reader can truly relate as she searches deep within herself for the strength to defy her father, confront her husband, and fulfill her role as a member of the Gloucester household.

The supporting cast is equally impressive, with every character, no matter how minor, fleshed out with a deft touch. The historical characters come off well, Buckingham most notably. Though the villain, he is also human. Ricardians will truly appreciate Ms. Martyn's portrayal of Richard and Anne as real people facing difficult decisions.

Ms. Martyn, former Chair of the Australian Chapter of the Richard III Society, is a skilled historical novelist and knows the period intimately. Though Heloise and Miles are fictional, they interact with historical figures so well it is hard to believe they did not actually exist.

This book is a most welcome addition to the Ricardian canon. Sad, then, that no American publisher chose to pick up her next novel set during the French Revolution, available early next year from PanMacMillian Australia.

— Teresa Babinski Eckford, Canada

The Dragon and the Rose



Dragon's Lair - Sharon K. Penman Marian Wood Book/G.P. Putnam's Sons Published October 13, 2003 ISBN: 0 399 15077 3 \$23.95

Author of historical novels; *The Sunne In Splendor* (1982), the series about King Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine, *When Christ and His Angels Slept*, *Time and Chance* and the planned *The Devil's Brood*, the Welsh histories, *Here Be Dragons* (also about Llewelyn ab Iorwerth and Prince John), *Falls The Shadow* and *The Reckoning*, and three medieval mysteries; *The Queen's Man*, *Cruel as the Grave* and *Dragon's Lair*. A fourth mystery is underway.

July of 1193 AD. The Lionheart is captive, seized returning from the Crusades, and held for ransom by Holy Roman Emperor Heinrich VI in a German fortress.

With this vivid scene, Sharon Kay Penman opens her latest mystery novel.

This puts John in direct competition with his mother, the great Eleanor, Dowager Queen of England, Duchess of Aquitaine and former French Queen, who is shaking the British Isles and her duchy for every coin she can raise, amounting to a quarter of every income that year. She aims to meet the 100,000 silver mark ransom price.

If you've read about this period in history, you already know what this family can do to each other. Royal chess at its most daring, full of intrigue, cross and double cross, the principals maneuver living bishops, knights and pawns to take the prize. That prize is the British Isles and a goodly piece of modern day France.

It's not only the Norman English who sport these skills. Wales is embraced in its own fratricidal dance with power, even as it courts and fends off its giant voracious neighbor.

This is the parquet arena on which have played the familiar Robin Hood tales, but the game Ms. Penman selects in *Dragon's Lair* is a fictional conundrum of murder and thievery most foul. Most foul indeed, because such effrontery imperils the Queen's great mission, to free her favorite son.

Enter the man to take up the challenge, Justin de Quincy, Queen's agent and solver of mysteries. Justin must puzzle out the riddle of the missing ransom goods and money said to have been waylaid by rebel and rival Prince Llewelyn ab Iorwerth. So is it reported to her grace by the current Welsh prince, a vassal ally to the throne of England.

Justin de Quincy has recently learned of his own history as the unrecognized natural son of the Bishop of Chester, Aubrey de Quincy and the little known mother who died giving him birth. "Neither fish nor fowl" a "foundling" he was not however entirely abandoned. At the proper time, he was lifted from his orphaned existence and made squire to Marcher Lord and Sheriff of Shropshire, Baron William Fitz Alan, as a favor to his friend the Bishop of Chester. Justin was dismissed from his duties as squire but soon lands on his feet in the employ of the dowager Queen. Is it better to be lucky or clever? That question is posed by one of the characters. Seemingly, Justin is blessed with both.

Having no family allegiances and being fluent in Norman French, Saxon English and a smattering of Welsh, able to read Latin, Justin is uniquely gifted to search the labyrinths of this "case" as surely the Queen recognizes.

At the same time, Justin must face his own fatherhood as he escorts his pregnant lover to the nunnery at Godstow on the way to Chester. There she will birth the child away from the prying eyes and disgrace of the court and family. Claudine de Loudun, in service to the Queen and discovered spy for John, is the consort Justin can neither trust nor abandon, bound as he is to the mother of his child.

Justin, at the Queen's directive, journeys back home. With the Queen's authority and a cursory letter from

the Welsh Prince, Justin introduces himself to the Earl of Chester, a Marcher lord. First he has an uneasy interview with his father. All are preparatory to his journey to Rhuddlan Castle in Gwynedd, Wales.

Unlooked for is the assigned company of the Earl's vassal knight. Justin prefers to work alone. Easy and free with camaraderie as well as fluent in Welsh, Sir Thomas de Caldecott, as the Earl's emissary, is Justin's entrée to Prince Davydd's court.

A pleasant introduction is Sir Thomas' Welsh fiancée, the vivacious and savvy Angharad, handmaid to Davydd's Angevin wife and consort, the Lady Emma.

Not so cheery is his welcome from the Welsh Prince himself, Davydd.

Twenty years on the throne of Gwynedd, Davydd with his brother Rhodri seized it from his Uncle Hywel, then he dispossessed Rhodri. Now he faces the same threat from his nephew. And the Queen's undoubted displeasure in losing the treasure he was responsible to see safely to Chester, complicates that.

Ah, the crime...there remains the evidence, two burnt hulks of hay-wains that once were filled with the precious Cistercian wool and other valuables. That plan is of Davydd's doing. This folly places him at the center of the Queen's wrath and he is desperate for redemption, not to mention the elimination of a rival.

There is occasionally a modern feel, especially within the intimate relations between some characters. Dialogue between historical characters is a challenge, as it must balance what is reasonably likely in those forms of usage against what readers will accept. In the interaction of real persons amongst themselves and with fictional characters, the dialogue has to be created. What would people say and do privately and publicly faced with the pressures of an ancient and strict social and religious behavioral code?

There is nothing egregious here, no glaring anachronisms, and Ms. Penman is known for her faithfulness to the historical reality. Its just a sense of something there; perhaps it is my own taste.

After some dramatic introductions, the mystery develops at a careful pace. This allows time to familiarize readers with the extensive cast, aided with brief summaries and repetitions sufficient clarify personalities and motives. It also allows the dramatic paths to emerge.

Diverting adventures, encounters and complications maintain interest as the various elements are moved in place for the main mysteries to unfold. While the deductive minded might detect certain plot solutions, Ms. Penman serves enough surprises to keep any mystery fan's eyes ever forward. And it all comes to a satisfying conclusion, the byways neatly and logically converging and hinting at future possibilities.

The characters and their interactions are vivid, involving, and realistic. The historical personalities are given brief, dramatic, appearances in the plot and give it frame. The fictional counterparts are well integrated

with them. They all feel about right. Certain figures even seem to linger in the mind like phantoms.

As for the historical reliability, I leave that to experts, but it rings true and Ms. Penman discusses her intentions in an author's afterward.

Ms. Penman, in her notes, revisits the question of the reshaping of history through literature and an author's responsibility for accuracy. She writes that she initially addressed this subject in the Winter 1997-98 *Ricardian Register* (see r3.org/penman) where she put forth her personal guidelines such as; restricting the invention to a "filling in the blanks" and "reconcile(ing) conflicting images" with details not available from historical sources, while trying to remain "true to the historical counterparts" and "build(ing) a strong factual foundation." *She alerted readers to the deviations in an authors note section.*


Mysteries, she notes, require a different approach. Historical elements are based on what is known while the imagination governs the fictional characters and plot.

Ms. Penman writes that it initially was unsettling taking so much more liberty. This was particularly so regarding her creative portrayal of the historical Emma given the so few facts available. But, even the little that is known about Emma, may be undergoing reevaluation in some quarters, as Ms. Penman relates her a deadline pressing encounter with a web discussion of a possible case of identity confusion. She notes that history is not static, with new discoveries changing the accepted lore. That is something Ricardians can certainly appreciate. Therefore, as this Emma is a fiction, Ms. Penman concludes her only obligation is to create a believable person, to judged by her readers.

The author has more commentary, such as the fictional nature of the Bishop of Chester, the historical reality of Llewelyn, and other characters and events that to discuss might engender plot spoilers. And there is certainly much for the reader to enjoy.

*Virginia Poch
Howey in the Hills, Florida*

My Wild Irish Rose....


 *The Irish 100: A Ranking of the Most Influential Irish Men and Women of All Time - Peter Costello, Kensington Publishing Corp, NY, NY, 2001*

In the past *The Scots 100* has been reviewed in this column, and it's only fair to give equal time to their Irish cousins. As a overstated generalization, with a great deal of overlap both ways, the Scots are better at doing things, discovering things, or inventing things, while the Irish excel at talking: talking about religion, (Sts. Patrick and Columcille, and a whole convocation of cardinals and lesser clergy), about politics (JFK, Eamon de Valera, Joe McCarthy), about revolution (Parnell, O'Connell, Maud Gonne), and just telling stories (Yeats, Joyce, Shaw, Swift.) Of course, if you are partly Irish and partly Scots, as I am, you are good at talking about what you are going to do!

The subjects nearest to our period are Brian Boru and Grace O'Malley, the Pirate Queen. The book is full

of fascinating characters from all periods, and contains a treasure-trove of trivial but delightful information. Did you know that the Australian bandit Ned Kelly was a distant cousin of America's Buffalo Bill Cody?

. . . a faded rose from days gone by. . .

 *The Known World* - Edward P. Jones, Harper/Collins, 2003

Since most Ricardians are omnivorous readers, and/or have relatives and friends who are, I make no apology for occasionally bringing in a book that has nothing to with Richard III or the Middle Ages, but that I feel shouldn't be missed. *The Known World* is one of these.

The story opens in 1855, in Virginia, at the deathbed and funeral of Henry Townsend, planter, former slave, slave owner, beloved husband. From there it ranges into the past and into the future, as far distant as the 1990s. It is meticulously researched: "In 1855 in Manchester County, Virginia, there were 34 free black families . . . and eight of these free families owned slaves, and all eight know one another's business." All the characters, white, black, Indian and mixed are deftly characterized, even those who play only minor parts, like the Dutch prostitute who unknowingly brings smallpox to the community; those who are only mentioned in passing, like the planter's daughter, "freckle-faced Laura, who played the piano so well;" even those who are not even named, like the sailor, married to one of the supporting characters, who saw a couple of his shipmates simply disappear in front of his eyes. Sometimes the characters are followed through to the end of the story and the end of their lives, however distant. Sometimes they seem to simply wander on and off. The mixed group, white, black, Hispanic and oriental, that one character meets while wandering in Texas remain a mystery to him and thus to the reader as well. This is not so much an epic or

a saga as a tapestry, in which every strand, no matter how thin, has a part to play.

The n-word is pretty frequently used, simply as a matter of course, and there is much tragedy, but overall the mood is hopeful. Though it might not sound like it from the description, this is a surprisingly easy read, told in gentle Southern rhythm. Unforgettable and highly recommended.

Everything's coming up roses....

. . . or will be in our next issue. Diana Rubino has reminded me that 2004 will be the 50th anniversary of the publication of Paul Murray Kendall's biography of Richard III. She has suggested that we do a sort of symposium or round-table on Kendall, with contributions from the members about their reactions to his work. This might cover such things as the circumstances under which you first read the book, how old you were, how you were introduced to it, by whom, etc. — all of these or none of these. Make it as short or as long as you wish. Sandra Worth, for example, tells me that "It was Kendall who inspired me to write three novels on Richard's life."

Even if you have not been inspired to anything so ambitious, please let us have your input. And if you haven't read the book, by all means do so, and then let us know your impressions. And also do keep the reviews coming, thus earning a metaphoric bouquet of roses from your somewhat thorny (at present) Reading Editor.

*Walter D. Kennedy, in *Myths of American Slavery*, (Pelican Publishing Co., Gretna, LA, 2003) points out that though black slave owners were always in the minority, it is not true, in most cases, that they "owned" only their own families. Though Kennedy is being perhaps deliberately polemic and provocative, he has evidence for this, and Henry Townsend fits this pattern. He buys and frees his own parents, but also owns men, women and children unrelated to him.



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