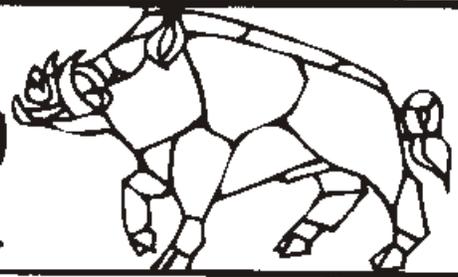


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The Easy-Melting King

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

The Richard III Society is a nonprofit, educational corporation. Dues, grants and contributions are tax-deductible to the extent allowed by law.

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Editorial License

Carole Rike

A month ago, your editor was throwing herself on the mercy of the Board and the ListServ, lamenting we had *nothing* for this issue. Thanks to a number of generous and diligent Ricardians, we go to press with an embarrassment of riches.

You will enjoy Geoffrey Wheeler's timely and unexpected article on Richard III at Madame Tussaud's — *The Easy-Melting King* beginning on page 5. It's also fun to see pictures with names you may know from the English Branch, and be able to put those names to a face (see page 8, figure 12. Geoffrey himself is lower center!

Brian Wainwright (*The Talbot Sisters*, page 10) is always an easy mark — he usually has something in his files, (although he claims to have destroyed most of his old writing). Many Ricardians are currently reading his *Under the Fetterlock*, which continues the story of Anya Senton's *Katherine*. I have yet to begin my copy, but the word among Ricardians is that it is a great read!

Thanks so much to Sandra Worth for her article on Richard, and her thought-provoking analysis of Richard as a modern man

After ten years of researching Richard's story, I finally fathomed the surprising facet that had escaped my notice for much of that time, and the answer is at once simple and confounding: It lies in Richard's modernity. In many ways, Richard conflicted with the age he lived in. This conflict ultimately contributed to his doom, but it is this conflict that binds us so closely to him. Sandra has written for the Register extensively, primarily on Richard's enemies.

Her Ricardian novel, *Love and War*, continues to garner laudatory reviews and rewards.

Dear Pam Butler seems to always be busy, always working, and she will be a great Membership Secretary (Pam has been nominated for the 2004 Elections). She has followed up last issue's extensive review of Witchcraft with *more* on witchcraft!

And Myrna — who would want this publication without her contribution? Not me!

As has been done many times before, this issue was fed to my print shop page by page, as each was ready. I had intended to include with the mailing an AGM flyer, but was unable to obtain complete information on how we are handling the funds — in Canadian or American. For this reason, we have a write-up on page 20 which is not in the Index. Please bear with me. An AGM mailing will be sent in July or August.

The Easy-Melting King

(Warwick: 'Henry VI. III' 2.1)

Geoffrey Wheeler

The history of Richard III at Madame Tussaud's.

For more than 200 years Madame Tussaud's Wax-work Exhibition has exuded a peculiar fascination with the British public and visitors to London — the capital's second most popular tourist attraction and Number One destination for tourists. Not even the Crown Jewels in the Tower can compete, and writers continue to speculate on the reasons for its enduring appeal. Is a wax work a work of art? Art Historian Edward Lucie-Smith proposed that such displays were "A secularization of something that has ancient religious origins. In funeral processions the Romans carried effigies of their ancestors and the custom continued in the Middle Ages and even later. Royal effigies of that type survive in the museum at Westminster Abbey." (*Illustrated London News* 1979)

On a more prosaic level, one of the firm's modellers advanced the opinion that "They provide, as television and still pictures cannot do quite so satisfactorily, a sense of proximity to the historical figure or celebrity." A view endorsed by Juliet Simpkins, Head of Publicity: "There's an obvious historical interest of course, in things like noting how much smaller Napoleon was than the Duke of Wellington," and with contemporaries "The visitor is in control of the situation — the opposite of what it would be if they met face to face in real life. The celebrity can't answer back, so visitors can stare and be as critical as they like. Being one-up on a celebrity is a unique experience." The educational aspect is also self-evident. Overseas visitors, in particular, often remark that they have "Learned more about British history in one day, than in a lifetime."

The story of how the young Marie began by modelling the French royal court, first from life, and then making their death-masks, during the Reign of Terror, is well known. She inherited her uncle's collection of life-size wax models in 1794 and in order to settle his outstanding debts, she shipped them to England seven years later. Royalty has always figured prominently in the displays from the earliest days, and the fortunes of the figure of Richard III and associated tableaux, seem to reflect contemporary opinion on his fluctuating reputation.

Pamela Pilbeam in her recent book on the institution *Madame Tussaud and the History of Waxworks* (Hambleton 2003) outlines its inception. "In 1856 a dedicated 'Hall of Kings' was inaugurated, where the Hanoverians dominated. Apart from isolated stars like Queen Elizabeth I and Mary, Queen of Scots, the earliest royal was George I. In 1861 a group was added that was

to be one of the most durable and popular: Henry VIII surrounded by all his wives, in a re-named 'Marriage Room.' Then, from 1859 to 1864 a massive expansion of historical royalty was added to complete the Grand Hall group. In quick succession Elizabeth I was joined by Mary, William I, Mathild (1859), William II, Henry I, Henry II, Stephen, King John, Richard II, Edward II, the Black Prince, Henry V, Edward IV (1861) and Henry IV, Henry VI and Richard III (1864).



Figure 1: Richard III Figure: official Mme. Tussaud's black and white postcard (different board on

Originally, the figures were arbitrarily arranged, by popularity, not chronologically, so Charles I and II stood next to Oliver Cromwell, opposite Richard III. The Tussauds were proud of this achievement and believed that the completed 'Hall of Kings' was the climax of their efforts to educate young Britons in their history, as the 1873 catalogue declares: 'The proprietors beg to

Easy-Melting King

example carved on the effigy of Joan Neville (Warwick's sister) wife of William Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel (d 1487) on their tomb in the Fitzalan chapel.

The catalogue entries for these years, c 1958 – 1960's, despite the publication of Kendall and subsequent 'revisionist' histories, display a regrettable negative attitude, in this era of enlightenment. We learn that "Richard was appointed protector by a servile parliament and after securing an act to declare the marriage of Edward IV to Elizabeth Woodville illegal, he confined Edward V and his infant brother to the Tower of London. When an attempt was made to release the two boys it was found that they were dead. It is generally believed that both the King and his brother had been smothered on Richard's instructions." Although Richard's biography concedes that he was a 'Strong proud man, a capable soldier and a wise and liberal ruler, (though he) has been held up to execration for generations as the murderer of his nephews, the Princes in the Tower.'



Figure 4: Mme. Tussaud's record photography of Richard III

At the time of my first visit to Tussaud's in 1961, some six years before becoming aware of the society, all such contentious views were as yet insignificant, as I was principally interested in the models for their apparently authentic costumes, thus with the 'no photography' rule still in effect, I succeeded in making a number of sketches of significant details. (Fig 3) By now, Richard had evidently undergone a complete 'make-over', and the costume suggested an indebtedness to the Society of Antiquaries portrait, though only in style and

pattern, not colour. This is evident from an unfortunately, rather indifferent, quality colour slide from Tussaud's own archives (Fig 4) as well as from my own notes. This time the figure wears a maroon doublet, with grey fur trim, over a patterned blue brocade under-tunic, and blue tights. Now the livery collar, in contrast to its earlier appearance, sports an impressive, though rather over-large boar, regrettably gold, not silver.

The 'Hall of Kings' was, by this time, arranged in approximate chronological order. The central section of Plantagenets ushered in by Richard II, resplendent in red velvet costume, decorated with silver hart badges and rising suns, and crowned monograms, holding a pink rose. Henry IV derived from the 'false' NPG portrait showing him in the familiar 'chaperon' hood. Henry V, in armour with a drawn sword, next to a surprisingly fashionable Henry VI, in purple and ermine robe (though it has only recently been established by biographers that his stated 'simple' dress is yet another myth). Then, somewhat disconcertingly, Margaret of Anjou, was depicted seated at a small table, admiring a model ship, which also engaged the attention of Edward V – an unlikely combination in historical reality! (Fig 5) Whilst in front of this group, stood Richard III.



Figure 5: Mme. Tussaud's figures of Edward V with Margaret of Anjou (foreground) and Edward IV (behind).

Photographed in 1958

In addition to these single effigies of royalty, politicians, entertainers etc. another notable feature of Tussaud's since the 1890's has been the Hall of Tableaux, which now incorporated the original figures modeled of the French court, supplemented by re-creations of familiar paintings such as W. F. Yeames' 'When did you last see your father?' and half a dozen notable scenes from history, the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots, the arrest of Guy Fawkes, the death of Nelson, and inevitably, given its notoriety, 'The Murder of the Little Princes in the Tower of London.'

As the 1970 guide observes: 'There is a positive function to the tableaux. They provide an opportunity to shed sentimental tears. It is no accident that the enduring tableaux are also the tragic ones.' And here also, in the earlier catalogues at least, was an opportunity to expand in greater depth of detail compared with the 'potted' biographies. So that in 1958, over a page is devoted to the traditional story of the Princes, as they admit "derived

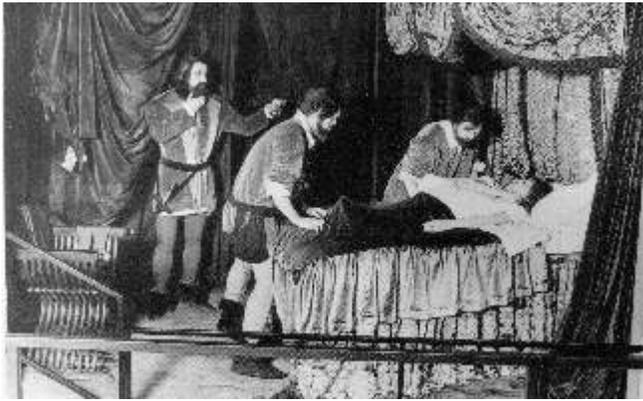


Figure 6: Mme. Tussaud's tableaux of the murder of the Princes in the Tower (removed in 1970's)

entirely from Sir Thomas More's story" though concluding in a more positive attitude: "From the 17th century this version has been bitterly attacked by certain historians. They argue that Richard had nothing to gain by the murders as the two children were by no means the only contenders for the throne. If he did in fact dispose of the two boys, there remained their five sisters and two cousins who were alive at supposed date of the crime and preceded him in the line of succession. Any of these had a stronger claim than Henry VII, Richard's successor, who they consider the more likely to have effected the deed. This argument is supported by the disappearance of these seven possible claimants very shortly after the commencement of Henry Tudor's reign! They claim that More was prejudiced and that his account was biased strongly in favour of the House of Tudor. He was only eight years old when Richard was killed at the battle of Bosworth and had been brought up in the household of John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, Richard's inveterate enemy and Henry VII's right-hand man. If Richard was innocent and Henry Tudor guilty, it would be incumbent on the Tudor propagandists to blacken Richard's character at every point. It is extremely unlikely that at this late date the true facts will ever emerge and so the murder of the little Princes must go down to posterity as the unsolved mystery of the Tower of London."

Again, as with the individual figures, some refurbishment and re-organization of the tableaux had been



Figure 7: Heads from Richard III (center) and Edward V (2nd row right). Figures in storage at Mme. Tussaud's store rooms, Wookey Hole, Well, Somerset

undertaken over the years, as can be seen by comparing the early photograph (Fig 6) with that on the cover. Unfortunately, the short entry describing the scene in the 1964 catalogue undoes most of the good work quoted above. Headed 'Murder of the Little Princes in the Tower of London, 1483' it runs: 'Richard III, the reputed wicked uncle, is held by many authorities to be responsible for the disappearance of the two young Princes. This tableau is based on the account of the tragedy by Sir Thomas More. In this scene, Miles Forrest, one of the Prince's attendants, and John Dighton, a servant of Sir James Tirell (sic), acting on Richard's orders, are about to murder the two children.'

Although surviving well into the sixties, it was inevitable that in due course such displays would be per-



Figure 8: Mme. Tussaud's tableau "The Princes in the Tower" — after the painting by Paul Delaroche

ceived to be dated, and out of fashion, given the ever-increasing rise of popular culture, to which Tussaud's responded by introducing 'The Entertainers' and 'Heroes Live!' though one concession to British history was the 'sound and fury' of the Battle of Trafalgar (1966).



Figure 9: The Princes in the Tower (Les Enfants D'Edouard), Paul Delaroche (1831)



Figure 10: Detail of Mme. Toussaud's figure of Richard III, installed in 1985

Eventually the old 'Hall of Kings' was dismantled and its figures removed, though contrary to popular belief and anecdote, the wax heads and limbs are not usually melted down, but carefully preserved, along with the original models and casts, at what was to become another tourist attraction, the storerooms at Wookey Hole, in Somerset, described as the exhibitions' 'limbo'. Here, among the serried ranks of disembodied heads, the features of Richard III and Edward V, can be identified in this enlargement from a contemporary magazine photograph (Fig 7).

A much reduced 'Hall of Tableaux' survived, and in 1979 new figures, by Allan Moss, of the 'Princes in the Tower' were introduced (Fig 8 and Cover) but this time from a less contentious source, being based on the 1813 painting by Paul Delaroche, of which the original is in the Louvre, with a smaller copy in the Wallace



Figure 11: HRH Prince Richard, Duke of Gloucester, patron of the Richard III Society, scrutinizes the newly installed figure of the king at Mme. Toussaud's,

Collection, London (Fig 9). As a sign of their dedication to greater authenticity in their models and costumes, on this occasion the noted stage and film costume designer, Julia Trevelyan Oman, was brought in as costume consultant. Her influence can be seen in the renovations made to the Mary, Queen of Scots execution scene, as well as the Yeames' 'Cavalier' painting, where by comparing catalogue illustrations over the years, it can be



Figure 12: "My committee and I: . . ." 1985 Committee of the Richard III Society around the newly installed figure of the King at Mme. Toussaud's
From top, left, Anne Sutton, Phil Stone, Peter Hammond, Carolyn Hammond, Elizabeth Nokes. Right of figure, Eric Thompson, Mrs. R. Boustred, Jim Hughes, the late Enid Hughes, (behind) Richard Broustred. Front row: Joan Saunders, Geoffrey Wheeler, Kitty Bristow. Missing from photograph are Isolde Wigram, the late Chairman, Jeremy Potter, and the late Joyce Melhuish.

appreciated that it now looks closer to the original it inspired.

For a time a rather depleted selection of earlier monarchs was displayed, Henry VIII and wives, Elizabeth I, Charles II, the Hanoverians and Victoria. Then with admirable foresight, given the approach of the Bosworth Quincentenary in 1985, it was decided that Richard III ought to be re-instated. This time every effort was made to get a more accurate version and authenticity in face and costume, though experts may still debate if the black velvet outer doublet should really be ankle-length, or shorter, as in the previous recreations. The Tudor-dated panel portrait in the Royal Collection, Windsor, was chosen as the preferred reference on which the features were to be based, and the familiar care-worn expression has been successfully achieved in the wax



Figure 13: Louis Tussaud's tableau vivants - Stratford Upon Avon, Model of Lawrence Olivier as Richard III.



replica (Fig 10 and Cover). Unveiled with appropriate publicity on 22nd August 1985, the society's secretary, Elizabeth Nokes, was interviewed at a very early hour on BBC TV's 'Breakfast Time' and numerous accounts of the event appeared in the daily and local newspapers. Later in the year, the society's patron, the Duke of Gloucester, paid a visit to the exhibition (Fig 11) and the occasion provided a rare 'photo-opportunity' to capture the society's committee at that time, together, for a group photograph (Fig 12).

Finally, as the latest biographer of the Tussaud family records, there was also a Louis Tussaud's exhibition in Stratford upon Avon from 1971 - 1983. Situated in Henley Street, near to the Birthplace, this featured tableaux of scenes from Shakespeare's plays and films, though in a number of cases illustrating actors in roles for which they were not associated. Thus Peter Ustinov had never played Falstaff or Peter O'Toole, Oberon. But with Richard III, they were on surer ground, as the undoubted highlight and inevitable crowd-puller, being situated in the window, was an early example of an 'animated' figure where King Richard, played by Sir Laurence Olivier, ostentatiously crowned himself (Fig 13) (contrary to history and the 1955 film!) Supported by Lady Anne (Claire Bloom, as in the film) and Eric Porter as Buckingham, a role he played to the Richard of Christopher Plummer at Stratford in 1961.

With grateful thanks to Pam Benstead, Richard Boustred and Elizabeth Nokes for assistance with this article.



Three members of the museum staff give the model of Richard III a final check, checking every detail very closely from photographs taken of the original model.

Although the caption to this photograph states that it shows a figure of Richard III, it appears to be Edward V in reality!

The Talbot Sisters

Brian Wainwright

This is not so much an article — more a set of tidied-up research notes, part of the work underpinning the Ricardian novel I am currently trying to write. Straight from the start I must acknowledge an immense debt to the series of seminal articles by John Ashdown-Hill in the *Ricardian* on Eleanor Talbot and her circle. These have provided the main basis for what follows and I strongly recommend them to anyone interested in the subject. In addition, Lorraine Pickering, Rania Melhem and the late, great Geoffrey Richardson helped me when I was throwing ideas at them.

Eleanor Talbot died in 1468 at Whitefriars Priory in Norwich where she was a benefactress and ‘conversa’ [lay member]. Her date of birth was approx. Feb/March 1436 and place of birth was probably Blakemere manor, Whitchurch in Salop, one of her father’s properties.

Her father was Sir John Talbot, 1st Earl of Shrewsbury, a notable warrior and at times a notable oppressor of his unfortunate tenantry. Her mother Margaret Beauchamp, the earl’s second wife and the Countess of Warwick’s half-sister, died 14 June 1467. Margaret was every bit as formidable as her husband and spent most of her life feuding with her Berkeley cousins or her Talbot step sons.

Eleanor outlived her mother by only a year and 2 weeks and was 32 when she died. Her death appears to have been unexpected — her younger sister Elizabeth (born approx. 1443) was out of the country at the time, attending on Margaret of York at her wedding. Eleanor also had brothers: her elder brother John, Lord Lisle (b. 1425), Louis (b. 1428 approx.) and Humphrey (b. approx. 1434, who received a general pardon from Edward 28 Jan 1469). She certainly had relatives living in the summer of 1483.

Eleanor was married to Thomas Butler, heir to Ralph, Lord Sudeley, a Lancastrian, when she was approx. 14 years old. However he died in 1461. Thomas Butler’s stepmother was Alice Deincourt, Lady Lovel. This Alice, who was Francis Lovel’s grandmother, was governess to Edward (Lancastrian) Prince of Wales. She petitioned to be released from the job in 1460 because he was old enough to be ruled by men and due to her own infirmities.

Eleanor quite possibly caught Edward’s eye when she petitioned him about her inheritance (Edward was in Norwich in May and October. of 1461), though the Butler family were acquainted already with him since Lord Sudeley’s sister, Elizabeth Butler, Lady Say, was his godmother.

Lady Saye’s eldest son, Sir John Montgomery, was executed in February 1462 for his part in Oxford’s conspiracy, allegedly a plot to kill Edward IV. Her next son Thomas was however a faithful servant of both Edward

IV and Richard III (and eventually Henry VII). This Sir Thomas was one of those, like Elizabeth Talbot, who went to Burgundy with Margaret of York. His sister-in-law Anne, a Darcy by birth, widow of his executed brother, was apparently one of the “Yorkist ladies” who retired to the Minories post 1485 under the patronage of Elizabeth Talbot, Eleanor’s sister.

Elizabeth, while young had married the Mowbray heir and become Countess of Warenne. By now she was Duchess of Norfolk, and served as Executrix of Eleanor’s will. (The will, unfortunately has not survived, but Eleanor’s modest lands went back to her father-in-law so it would probably have contained provision for her soul and bequests of personal items.). As well as the Norwich Whitefriars, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge also benefitted from Eleanor’s patronage. She gave money for the building of 10 of 16 buttresses inside the Old Court and was closely associated with the College for over 30 years. Some 28 years after Eleanor’s death, Thomas Cosin, the College’s Master, set up a benefaction as a memorial at Elizabeth’s request to her ‘famous and devout’ sister and Thomas Butler. The benefaction was a Fellowship, an institution that still continues today.

On Elizabeth [Talbot]’s return from Burgundy that summer, her retainers John Poynings and Richard Alford, were arrested. They were apparently suspected of involvement in a conspiracy with the exiled Duke of Somerset, their lady’s first cousin. Whatever the truth of the matter, the two men were found guilty and executed in November 1468. It is even *possible* that Elizabeth herself was imprisoned, because these sort of temporary immurements were done on the authority of a privy seal writ, the records of which (to the great convenience of fiction writers if not historians) are nearly all long since destroyed.

“However, Duke Charles would always keep a soft spot in his heart for the self-styled Duke of Somerset and he continued, secretly, to pay him a pension, while overtly supporting the Yorkist cause. Despite his exclusion from the general festivities, Somerset was able to make good use of his benefactor’s wedding celebrations, through clandestine contact with Lancastrian sympathisers among the many English hangers-on attending. By this means, messages were exchanged with persons highly placed in England, who still looked for the restoration of Henry VI to the throne of his fathers, when fate smiled once more on Lancaster’s cause.” (Quote from Geoffrey Richardson)

Elizabeth received a pardon before 7 December 1468, and another one subsequently in connection with a land-grab. Interestingly, Edward IV refused at that time to resolve the long-running Berkeley Inheritance dispute in which Elizabeth was involved. Colin

Richmond in *The Paston Family in the Fifteenth Century* mentions that Elizabeth's social circle in the 1470s included Margaret Beaufort, Morton, and Lady Anne Paston, the sister of the exiled (and later executed) Somerset. Since her half-brother Shrewsbury was lining up with Clarence and Warwick in 1468-1469, it's perhaps not that surprising that Edward was suspicious of her. It may be that it was as well for this particular Talbot sister that her husband was so vital to the Yorkist cause.

Anne Crawford's article *The Mowbray Inheritance* in *Richard III Crown and People* states that in May 1476 William Berkeley agreed to make over his reversionary rights to the Mowbray estates (rights that would of course only arise in the event of Anne Mowbray's death without children) to Richard of York and his heirs male. In return Edward agreed to pay off Berkeley's debts "to the Talbots" in the sum of £34000. Let's say that again. Thirty four thousand pounds. That's getting on for fourteen million sterling in modern values.

Now who exactly among "the Talbots" got this money is not clear, but presumably if Ned got around the posting the cheque the money could have spread itself around the family.

From the same article:

"Edward also persuaded [sic] Anne's mother, the widowed Duchess of Norfolk, to forgo her own dower and jointure in order to augment her daughter's dower. In return she received a much smaller [my emphasis] grant of manors, all of which were to revert on her death to Richard of York for his lifetime."

The subsequent marriage of Elizabeth Talbot's daughter to young Richard of York, with all its onerous conditions as far as the Mowbrays were concerned, may be seen in this light as a combination of threat and bribe. "You keep quiet and your daughter gets to be Duchess of York, perhaps even Queen. Step out of line and you're as much the loser as we are. More so. We've already forced you to give up some of your dower. We can have the rest any time it suits."

It seems pretty clear to me that Elizabeth Talbot certainly had no great cause to love Edward IV, and maybe she did indeed spill the beans about sister Eleanor once Edward was out of the way. It would have been an excellent way to extract the Mowbray lands from Richard of York and get herself and John Howard a fair deal.

It has been suggested that Eleanor's family may have approached Richard about the pre-contract and that Richard got Stillington in to confirm. Indeed, Buck suggests she told her mother and Elizabeth of the pre-contract as she was upset at Edward's treatment of her. However, he also suggests her father tried to do something about it, but this *cannot* be true as Shrewsbury was long dead.

John Ashdown-Hill in his December 1997 article in the *Ricardian* points out that, according to Comynes, Stillington claims to have witnessed the pre-contract,



Holy Trinity Church in Long Melford stained glass. Left: Elizabeth Talbot, Duchess of Norfolk. It is said that the artist, John Tenniel, used her as the model for the Duchess in Alice in Wonderland.

though a witness wasn't necessary — just a promise of marriage followed by sexual intercourse, and that it was up to Eleanor herself, as the 'wronged party', to put the case to a Church court, so Stillington had no obligation to speak out against the pre-contract if she hadn't done so. Stillington spoke up only when the first 'wrong' looked like it was going to be compounded by the enthronement of a bastard.

Ashdown-Hill goes on to say that once the allegation had been made (in 1483), the onus of bringing the case before an ecclesiastical court properly belonged to one of the parties in the dispute, i.e. Elizabeth Woodville and her children - not Richard, who was not directly involved in any way in the point of canon law which was at issue.

It was *Richard* not Edward who treated Elizabeth Mowbray kindly when King. Richard referred to her as his 'kinswoman' (she was Anne's full cousin), and he granted her land and property which she was 'to hold by the service of a red [sic] rose at midsummer'.

You may think that if Edward had the sense to 'renew' his marriage vows with Elizabeth Woodville, then Edward V could very well have been legitimate, as

could his younger brother and his sisters Katherine and Bridget.

Professor R.M. Helmholz deals with this very point in *Richard III Loyalty Lordship and Law* (ed. P.W. Hammond) page 93-94. I quote: 'Under medieval canon law, adultery, when coupled with a present contract of marriage, was an impediment to the subsequent marriage of the adulterous partners. It was not simply a matter of having entered into an invalid contract. The parties to it rendered themselves incapable of marrying at any time in the future, because under canon law one was forbidden to marry a person he (sic) had "polluted" by adultery where the adultery was coupled with either a present contract of marriage or "machination" in the death of the first spouse. Thus...if Sempronius being validly married to Bertha, purported to marry Titia and consummated this second, purported marriage, Sempronius and Titia would not only have entered into an invalid union and committed adultery, they would also have incurred a perpetual impediment to marrying after Bertha's death. This is precisely the situation (it was alleged) of Edward IV and Elizabeth Woodville.'

Helmholz goes on to point out that if Elizabeth Woodville was unaware of the marriage to Eleanor Butler, *then* a marriage contracted after Eleanor's death *would* have been valid.

So — on the point of Lady Eleanor — it seems that if Elizabeth Woodville knew about Eleanor, then any re-marriage after 1468 would have been automatically invalid. Unfortunately we cannot possibly establish what Elizabeth did or did not know.

A further issue is that neither the original Edward-Elizabeth Woodville marriage nor any subsequent marriage that may have taken place between the was celebrated *in facie ecclesie*. Such marriages were contrary to the rules of the Church and thus raised a presumption of bad faith. According to Helmholz, in the

Silent Auction Deadline Extended

Most of the silent auction books listed in the Spring, 2004 of the *Ricardian Register* are still available. The silent auction deadline will be extended to August 11. Please refer to that volume for bidding instructions.

The following books have been sold:

- S.B. Chrimes, *The Arms of England*;
- (2) Story, R. L., *The Reign of Henry VII*;
- (3) Tudor-Craig, Pamela, *Richard, III*, National Portrait Gallery;
- (4) Hibbert, Christopher, *Tower of London*; (5) Sutton, Anne F., and Visser-Fuchs, Livia, *The Religious Life of Richard III*.

Contact Research Librarian Jean Kvam (see page 3).

case of of Edward and Elizabeth, who went out of their way not to have banns read and so on, this would 'in most circumstances render the children of the union illegitimate' even though (as I understand it) the marriage itself might be regarded as valid.

About the Author:

Brian Wainwright has had a deep interest in the middle ages for most of his life. He cannot explain this satisfactorily, although a fair bit of his childhood was spent climbing over castles in Wales, and he always loved Robin Hood, El Cid, Ivanhoe and similar tales.



In his teens he developed a particular fascination with the era of Richard II, another king he believes history has sadly misjudged. There were few novels about that period and Brian eventually came across White Boar by Marian Palmer which started him off on his fascination with the Third Richard. The 14th and 15th centuries remain his favourites and his main focus remains with the House of York throughout its existence.

Much of his early writing work has been destroyed, due to his dissatisfaction with it, although there are a number of articles in obscure places such as Semper Fidelis (magazine of the Greater Manchester Branch.) His first published novel, The Adventures of Alianore Audley, was produced by way of light relief during a lull in the long task of researching and writing about Constance of York (daughter of the first Duke, Edmund of Langley) in Within the Fetterlock, a novel published by Trivium in the USA in 2004.

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.

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Richard III: A Thoroughly Modern Man?

Sandra Worth

If Helen's beauty launched a thousand ships, Richard III's charisma can be said to have launched an armada of books. My own interest in Richard III began one rainy afternoon in London when I encountered his portrait at the National Portrait Gallery. Like Josephine Tey's Inspector Grant in *Daughter of Time*, I found myself intrigued by the gentle face that belied any hint of villainy. That day marked the beginning of my odyssey in search of the real Richard III and at the end of the road, after what has proven to be a long, and in many ways a remarkable journey of discovery, what I have found most fascinating is Richard's ability to connect with a wide variety of diverse modern Ricardians half a millennium removed from his world. His ability to resonate with our innermost being and our reality, so that we actually feel we know him as a person, as a friend, as someone we can relate to, not just some awesome historical figure half-hidden by the thick mists of Time is a truly remarkable phenomena that bears closer examination.

We are all familiar with the fascinating elements of Richard's life: From the mystery of the Princes in the Tower, to his Romeo and Juliet love story with Anne Neville, to the Cain and Abel aspect of his relationship with his brother George, his story is imbued with myth. In discussing his classic, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*, the late Professor Joseph Campbell said:

Myths are stories of our search through the ages for truth, for meaning, for significance, and what we human beings have in common is revealed in myths. We all need to tell our story, and to understand our story. We all need to understand death and cope with death, and we all need help in our passages from birth to life, and then to death. We need for life to signify, to touch the eternal, and to understand the mysterious.¹

In this sense Richard's appeal is clear. His story is one of suffering, of striving, of living, and of noble self-sacrifice. We can all relate to that, but the way we relate to Richard as a human being transcends time and space, and is remarkably personal. How is this possible with an historical figure that lived in such a totally different time, who thought so differently from us, and who spoke in such a way that we moderns might barely recognize his language as our own today? After ten years of researching Richard's story, I finally fathomed the surprising facet that had escaped my notice for much of that time, and the answer is at once simple and confounding: It lies in Richard's modernity. In many ways, Richard conflicted with the age he lived in. This conflict ultimately contributed to his doom, but it is this conflict that binds us so closely to him.

The feudal age was in itself a time of contradictions. In this tumultuous period of war and uncertainty, betrayal and treason had become commonplace, yet men also revered the idealism and lofty values of King Arthur's court. It was Richard's era that presided over the birth of Sir Thomas Mallory's *Morte d'Arthur*, in no small measure because the age itself reflected, in many ways, the good and the bad of King Arthur's colorful time. Throughout history mythical heroes have stirred man's imagination and yearning for a kinder world, and inspired by such heroes as Homer's Hector, Mallory's Arthur, and Tolkien's Aragorn, real men have shaped our world by the force of their own blood. Like King Arthur, King Richard fought the darkness of his world by serving the cause of justice and using his strength to help the weak.

In Richard's time inequality was considered ordained by God. The poor were seen as non-persons—in other words, they were invisible. While charity has existed as long as Man and charitable folk in that period tried their best to alleviate the misery of the poor around them, most people were concerned mainly with their own survival. Those on the higher rung of the social ladder who could best afford to be generous tended to look upward, to where more power and riches lay, rather than downward, to the pit of hunger and human misery. In this, the feudal age shares obvious similarities with our own. The Woodvilles who provide a blazing example of lawless greed and ambition in the fifteenth century compare vividly to modern corporate leaders such as those of Enron, World Com and Global Crossing who exemplify the greed and corruption representing the worst of today. But in our modern world, we have a system of laws for dealing with such flagrant abuse of power. Violators do get stopped and eventually punished. In the fifteenth century, no limitations were placed on those in power, except by the king. Since abuse of the law was tolerated, law alone could not be used to serve justice. Abuse by the powerful could only be checked by the more powerful.

In the fifteenth century, the Woodvilles were checkmated by Richard III. We can relate to him as he dealt with the Woodvilles because he represents our entire modern system of laws—he was judge, jury, and executioner on behalf of justice in a feudal age. If we had only this to cheer from our modern stalls, in all likelihood Richard would not claim our hearts and imagination as completely as he does. A stronger bond binds Richard the feudal lord to us, the democratic modern thinker—this feudal king saw his world with modern eyes and acted as a catalyst of change on his age.

In sharp contrast to feudalism, democracy sees everyone as equal in the eyes of God, and therefore equal before the law. On the day Richard accepted the Crown, he

summoned before him all his lawyers and judges and ordered that justice be dispensed without regard to a man's position in society. Everyone, no matter how lowly, was to be seen as equal in the eyes of the law. With a wave of the scepter, Richard III proclaimed in essence that justice should be blind, thus setting the feudal age firmly on its course to modern western democracy and altering man's vision of his place in the universe.

During the two brief years of his reign, Richard fine-tuned his legacy. When he took the throne, juries were packed with itinerants and verdicts were routinely bought and sold. The outcome of any jury deliberation was therefore determined by a man's power and wealth. Richard curtailed much of the corruption by enacting statutes against bribery and tainted verdicts and demanding that all members of a jury be of good repute. At great cost to himself, he took power from the nobles, and gave it to the common man. Though the poor could do nothing for him, he cared enough to do what he could for them and he knowingly compromised his base of political support to bring them justice. On that first day of his reign, Richard III leapt forward three hundred years in time to hand a critical precept to the Founding Fathers, and from America the legal concepts

that underpin our democratic system eventually spread across the entire civilized world.

Law is not the only area in which we find ourselves sharing similar values with Richard. Even in his personal life he broke the feudal norm to unite with us moderns. In the fifteenth century noblewomen maintained their own households and children were sent away at an early age to be educated in other noble households. Yet Richard's mother-in-law lived with him at Middleham Castle, as did all three of his children. Some will argue that Anne Beauchamp, Countess of Warwick, could afford no other option since Richard's brother George, Duke of Clarence, had stolen her wealth and turned her into a pauper. No doubt if Richard had not wished her to live with them—had the countess proven as onerous a burden on him as some modern mother-in-laws are known to be on their families—he would have found another castle for her far away and paid to keep her there. The fact that he didn't means that financial need did not dictate their living arrangement, and that it came about as a mutually amiable agreement.

1. Campbell, Joseph, ed. Bill Moyers; *The Power of Myth*; Broadway Books, New York, 2001, p. 5
Sandra now has a message board at www.sandraworoth.com. Readers who would like to

Listserv Report Second Quarter, 2004

Pamela Butler

In mid-March, 2004, the listserv address changed as we found a more economical provider. Those who were already listserv members were automatically switched over, thanks to the efforts of Peggy Allen. See information below for signing up.

Excluding the moderator, the most-frequent posters were, in descending order, Laura Blanchard, Karen Ladniuk of Brazil, Will Lewis, Maria Torres, Dave Luitweiler, Brian Wainwright, Charlene Conlon, Jane E. Ward, Peggy Allen, Jacqueline Bloomquist, Lee Gilliland, Jean Kvam, Sheilah O'Connor, Cheryl Rothwell, Carole Rike, Fiona Manning, Charlie Jordan, and Teresa Basinski Eckford.

Some of the more popular topics discussed were the summer travel plans of members to visit the U.K, France, and other areas, pets, Yorkist vs. Lancastrian tombs at Canterbury Cathedral, and the effort to locate a drawing of the Kingmaker said to be made while he was lying on display soon after the Battle of Barnet.

Sharon Michalove shared information about the Fifteenth-Century Conference she was organizing for early May. The next AGM (annual general meeting), which is a joint Canadian-American meeting, generated some queries. This will take place in Toronto in October, 2004 and is open to all members.

We covered such diverse topics as unicorn tapestries, Troy and Trojan foundation myths, strawberries in June, Michael Hicks' new book about Richard III, and

Shakespearean plays available on DVD. "What are we reading?" brought up responses such as *The Perfect Prince* by Ann Wroe, *The Houses of York and Lancaster* by Gairdner, and *The March King's Daughter* by the English author Elizabeth Chadwick. Biographies were also popular, including those of Leonardo da Vinci, Margaret de la Pole (Countess of Salisbury), Charles of Orleans, Aelred of Rievaulx, and about Richard III (of course!) and his religious life. Works by Buck, Walpole, and Sir Thomas More continue to receive mention.

Members are reading books written by other members, such as *Margaret of Anjou, Queenship and Power in Late Medieval England*, by Helen Maurer, and *Within the Fetterlock*, by Brian Wainwright. The latter, while classified as a novel, is about the life of Constance of York, the great aunt of Richard III who led a tumultuous life and who took some extraordinary risks. We hope to have listserv discussions about these books in the near future.

Many listserv members are working to publish their first books.

There are 122 subscribers to the listserv and the listserv digest. During the quarter, 62 of those made at least one posting. The number of messages posted for the quarter totaled 801. Members may subscribe by going to http://r3.org/mailman/listinfo/richard3_r3.org and filling out the request form.

A Miscellany of Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Witchcraft

Pamela Butler

In October, 1419, King Henry V prosecuted his stepmother, Joanna of Navarre, widow of Henry IV, for trying to kill him with witchcraft. It was set forth in Parliament “on confession given of the king as well as by relation and confession of John Randolf, of the Order of the Friars Minors, as by other credible evidences” that she had “compassed and imagined the death and destruction of our lord the king in the most horrible manner that one could devise.” The Archbishop of Canterbury ordered public prayers for the King’s safety. Was it coincidental that when Henry V needed money for his French campaigns, a plot was “discovered” whereby his stepmother Joanna was planning to cause him harm? All Joanna’s possessions were confiscated, as well as all her estates, rents, and dower. She was imprisoned for about three years in Pevensey Castle in Sussex, England in the custody of Sir John Pelham. Joan won the return of her dower in 1422 before the death of Henry V, received it in 1423, then lived quietly until her death in 1437.

Randolf, who confessed his guilt of sorcery and necromancy, was imprisoned for life or the king’s pleasure. In 1429, a mad priest known as “the Parson of the Tower,” who regarded Friar Randolf to be a servant of the devil, bashed his head with a stone, killed him with a hatchet, and hid the body under sand and dung.

After the death of his brother Henry V, Humphrey of Gloucester became Lord Protector of England. He married Jacqueline of Hainault and made an unsuccessful attempt to regain overseas lands which she claimed, but their marriage turned out to be a mistake, both personally and politically. Jacqueline’s lady-in-waiting, Eleanor Cobham, became Humphrey’s mistress in 1425, living openly with him while his divorce from Jacqueline was still in process. Most people viewed with suspicion women who attached themselves to royal men in such a manner; normally, these men would have arranged marriages with great political or financial benefits to themselves. It was widely believed that Eleanor had deceptively influenced the Duke to marry her through the use of some kind of love philter made by a witch. Humphrey’s brother, the Duke of Bedford, died in 1435, and Humphrey became the next heir to the crown in case of King Henry VI’s decease without offspring.

One of Humphrey’s chief political enemies was his uncle Henry Beaufort, also a great-uncle to the king, and Cardinal of Winchester. A point of vulnerability for Humphrey was discovered in the actions of his wife, Eleanor Cobham, the Duchess of Gloucester. She had apparent ambitions to be queen, and consulted secretly with Margery Jourdemayne, commonly called the Witch of Eye (Eye-next-Westminster), Roger Bolingbroke, an

astrologer and magician, Thomas Southwell, Canon of St Stephen’s, and one John Hume, or Hun, a priest.

In 1441, a charge of witchcraft was brought against her. She had again met with her secret advisors on Sunday, 25 July, and said a mass, with Roger arrayed in his customary apparel and with the instruments of his craft. Exactly how these gatherings were discovered is not clear, but shortly after discovering Bolingbroke’s arrest, the Duchess of Gloucester fled by night to the sanctuary at Westminster. Bolingbroke was brought forth before the king’s council to give evidence against her. Certain articles of treason were examined, and he said that he performed necromancy at the bidding of Dame Eleanor to learn what should befall of her and to what estate she should come. They had made an image of wax which was slowly consumed before a fire, expecting that as the image gradually wasted away, so would the life of the King Henry VI. Bolingbroke and Southwell were charged as principals, and the Duchess of Gloucester was charged as an accessory. Margery Jourdemayne was arraigned at the same time.

Eleanor was consequently committed to custody in the castle of Leeds, near Maidstone, to await her trial in the month of October. A commission was directed to the lord treasurer, several noblemen, including the earls Huntingdon, Stafford, and Suffolk, and certain judges of both benches, to inquire into all manner of treasons, sorceries, and other things that might be hurtful to the king’s person.

On Saturday 20, October Eleanor appeared before the council of bishops and clerics and articles sorcery and necromancy were read against her of, “whereof some she denied and some she granted.” When instruments of Roger’s necromancy were displayed in court, Eleanor claimed the images of wax, silver and other metals were meant for her to conceive a child by her lord and not to harm the king. The next day she appeared again and witnesses were brought forward; she was convicted and ordered to appear before the Archbishop of Canterbury on Thursday, 9 November for her penance. In the meantime Thomas Southwell died in the Tower of London.

The archbishop sentenced the Duchess to do penance on three separate days, and each time she was to make an offering with a meek and demure countenance. “On Monday the 13th of November, she came from Westminster by water, and landed at the Temple bridge, from whence with a taper of waxe of two pound in her hand, she went through Fleete streete, hood-less, save a kerchief, to Pauls, where she offered her taper at the high altar. On the Wednesday next, she landed at the Swan in Thames street, and then went through Bridge street,

Gracechurch street, straight to Leaden-hill, and so to Christ Church by Aldgate. On Friday she landed at Queen-hithe, and so went through Cheape to Saynt Michaels in Cornhill, inform aforesaid. At which all times, the Mayor, the Sheriffs, and crafts of London received her and accompanied her," according to a document cited by H. Ellis. She behaved in such a subdued manner that onlookers were inspired to compassion.

After this, she was remanded to the care of Sir Thomas Stanley. She was taken first to the castle of Chester, later removed to Kenilworth, then banished for life to Peel Castle on the Isle of Man. She lived there for over a decade, dying in 1452, or possibly as late as 1454.

Margery Jourdemayne as a witch and relapsed heretic, was condemned to be burned in Smithfield; her actions against the king had been treasonous. Roger Bolingbroke was also found guilty of treason against the king's person by the same council. Sentenced to be hung, cut down half alive, his bowels taken out and burned, his head cut off and put on London bridge, and his body quartered and sent to Oxford, Cambridge, York, and Hereford, Roger protested his innocence, to no avail. After being exhibited on a scaffold beside St. Paul's, dressed in his conjuring gown and his evil instruments 'hanging about his neck,' the sentence was carried out.

According to E. F. Jacob, there is no evidence that the Duke Humphrey had anything to do with his wife's practices, which reflected a fashionable current interest in the occult and more suspect arts: but it had been noticed, with some relevance, that when in 1425 Gloucester had almost come to blows with Beaufort, one of the charges against him was that he had removed from custody a certain 'Frere Randolff' who had been imprisoned for treason. Randolf, a literary follower of Gloucester, was the friar who had acted in the same way as the clerks now charged, in the scandal implicating Queen Joan in 1419, and it would scarcely be forgotten that he had had the patronage of the duke.

On January 22, 1470, Jacquetta Woodville (widow to the Duke of Bedford, and again recently widowed on the execution of her husband, Richard Woodville, Lord Rivers), was cleared of slanderous charges of witchcraft brought against her by Thomas Wake. The evidence consisted of a figure of a knight made of lead, broken on the middle and bound with wire, which he asserted she had fashioned in seeking the death of Warwick the Kingmaker, her family's enemy. Warwick had ordered the execution of her husband and her son, John Woodville, the previous summer. John Daunger, a parish clerk of Northhamptonshire, was brought forth to testify that she had made two other such figures previously, one of King Edward IV and one of Elizabeth Woodville, as a kind of love magic. The clerk refused to testify any such thing and the charges were dismissed. Alison Weir, in her book *The Wars of the Roses*, asserts that Jacquetta sought protection from the Lord Mayor of

London, who, remembering her efforts to save London years earlier from the northern army of Margaret of Anjou, forcefully interceded on her behalf with the Council and thereby helped to win an acquittal. Witnesses had been bribed to testify against her.

From Harmless to Heretic

The above cases occurred when prosecution of witchcraft was sporadic and localized

prior to the appearance of *the Malleus Maleficarum* in Europe in 1487. The *Malleus* wasn't published in England for another century, and England didn't adopt Roman law, which sanctioned the use of torture. How did witch-hunters did get around these restrictions to produce confessions?

Digressing a moment to the seventeenth century, the self-styled "Witch-Finder General" Matthew Hopkins began his successful career in 1644 by questioning old one-legged Elizabeth Clarke of Manningtree. By the time he had finished with her, thirty-one others had been named accomplices to witchcraft.

Hopkins then traveled over eastern England from 1644-1646, claiming to be specially commissioned by Parliament to uncover and prosecute witches. Because torture was technically unlawful in England, he used various bloodless methods to extract confessions from some of his victims. He used prolonged sleep deprivation as well as a "swimming" test to see if the accused would float or sink in water, the theory being that witches had renounced their baptism, causing water to supernaturally reject them. He also employed needle-like devices known as "witch prickers" to look for the Devil's mark that was supposed to be numb to all feeling and would not bleed. (He used a specially-constructed retracting needle which caused no pain or bleeding.) Hopkins managed to have between 200 and 400 people executed, 68 in Suffolk alone, before his own death from tuberculosis.

How had the situation evolved to this point over the centuries? The *Canon Episcopi* from 906 A.D. had denied the reality of witches and forbade their persecution. Trevor-Roper says, "Therefore, in 1257, Pope Alexander IV had refused these demands [of the clergy to persecute witches] unless manifest heresy, not merely witchcraft, could be proved. But little by little, under constant pressure, the papacy had yielded. The great surrender had been made by the French popes of Avignon, and particularly by the two popes from southern France, John XXII and his successor Benedict XII, who had already, as bishops in Languedoc, waged war on nonconformity in the old Albigenian and Vaudois areas." It was to combat these heretics that the Inquisition and the Dominican Order had been founded in 1216; in 1326, they became authorized to deal with witches.

For the next century and a half—until the Witch Bull of Innocent VIII which accompanied the *Malleus* text—the inquisitors had focused on prosecuting

witches of the Alps and the Pyrenees. In 1468, the Pope declared witchcraft to be *crimen exceptum* and thereby removed all legal limits on the application of torture; it was not yet being used by the secular courts. Henry Charles Lea, who studied both the Inquisition and witchcraft extensively in the 19th century, noted that the confessions extracted from witches in the secular courts did not have the extravagant and obscene details as from those which were obtained in the church courts...by torture. This distinction didn't last long. The procedures of Roman law (i.e. the allowance of torture) were adopted in the criminal law of all countries of western Europe except England, and the latter alone escaped from the use of torture in ordinary criminal cases, including witchcraft. English witches were not burned at the stake or tortured in the popular continental manner. Death at the stake was a fate reserved for traitors and heretics, and under the Witchcraft Act of 1563, death by hanging was reserved for those found guilty of murder by sorcery.

The *Malleus*, which served as the "Bible" of witch prosecution, was produced only after the Dominicans pressed for inquisitorial power over witchcraft to a resistant papacy. However, by 1490, after two centuries of collecting forced confessions into the new, positive doctrine of witchcraft, the solidly-based mythology would be fully established. Wide circulation carried this mythology as a truth recognized by the Church and called on other authorities, lay and secular, to positively assist the inquisitors in their task of exterminating witches. The *Malleus* was inseparable from the Bull, which gave force and substance to a general mandate to prosecute. Henceforth, it would be simply a question of applying this doctrine: of seeking, finding and destroying the witches whose organization had been defined. This organized, systematic "demonology" acquired a terrible momentum of its own in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The political and religious wars that followed the Reformation also contributed to the dissemination of the witch hunts. Trevor Roper's investigations led him to state that "every crucial stage in the ideological struggle of the Reformation was a stage also in the revival and perpetuation of the witch-craze." Every time a major clash between Protestant and Catholic forces (and between rival Protestant forces) occurred, the witch hunts flared up with renewed intensity. Thus, the Continental witch panic climaxed around 1629, during the Thirty Years War, and in England, the peaks coincided with the Civil War (1642-1648) and the Restoration (1660). Trevor-Roper stated,

"Was there any difference between the Catholic and the Protestant craze? Theoretically, yes. The Catholics inherited the whole medieval tradition of the later Fathers and the Schoolmen while the Protestants rejected everything which a corrupt papacy had added to the Bible...Theoretically, therefore, they should have rejected the whole demonological science of the Inquisitors; for

no one could say the succubi and incubi, 'imps' or werewolves, cats or broomsticks were to be found in the Bible. This point was constantly made by isolated Protestant critics, but it had no effect on the official theorists. Some Calvinist writers might be more intellectual and austere in detail, but in general Catholics and Protestants vied with each other in credulity. The authority of Luther transmitted all of the fantasies of the Dominicans to his disciples, and the confessions of the witches were regarded as an untainted supplement to Holy Writ. So, in the end, Catholics and Protestants agreed on the facts and drew on each other for detail. The Catholic Binsfeld cited the Protestant Erasmus and Daneau; the Calvinist Voëtius and the Lutheran Carpvov cited the Dominican *Malleus* and the Jesuit del Rio. They all also agreed in denouncing those infamous skeptics who insisted on telling them that supposed witches were merely deluded, 'melancholic' old ladies and the Bible, in denouncing death to 'witches,' had not referred to persons like them."

Elsewhere, he states:

"The responsibility of the Protestant clergy for the revival of the witch-craze in the mid-sixteenth century is undeniable...For if the Dominicans had been the evangelists of the medieval Counter-Reformation, the Jesuits were the evangelists of the sixteenth-century Counter-Reformation, and if Protestant evangelists carried the craze to the countries which they conquered for the Reform, these Catholic evangelists carried it equally to the countries which they reconquered for Rome."

The first bill against witchcraft in modern England was introduced by a 1542 statute in the reign of Henry VIII, and covered such practices as divination for precious metals, simple maleficia, sympathetic magic (i.e., the use of waxen images), or the use of rings or bottles to find buried treasure. There was no mention of a pact with the devil, and white witches seem to have been exempt. However, it did make all crimes connected with witchcraft, whether major or minor, into felonies and therefore punishable by death.

Mary I focused on Protestants rather than witches, and no major ideological developments in witchcraft occurred during her short reign. Under Elizabeth I, however, a new interest in witchcraft grew. A group of soldiers stumbled upon some disgruntled noblemen making a wax effigy of the Queen. Concerned about the implications, she pushed for the Witchcraft Act of 1563, which prescribed death by hanging for "employing or exercising witchcraft with the intent to kill or destroy" and a year's imprisonment for "hurting persons in bodie or to waste and destroy goods." Although it included the devil as a factor, witches had to face their accusers and some attempt was made to evaluate the charges against them. Many were hauled before the courts and condemned on the flimsiest of evidence.

James I/VI

Scottish witchcraft did not take hold until the reign of King James VI of Scotland (James I of England) who himself supervised the notorious trial and torture of the North Berwick Witches from 1590-92, and set the pattern for Scottish witch trials in the line of European demonologists.

In 1589, he was betrothed to Anne of Denmark, a tall, attractive Lutheran, but her attempts to make the short sea crossing to Scotland were repeatedly thwarted by storms. After a few delays, James decided he'd waited long enough and went to personally retrieve his fiancée, staying with her till the following May. On returning home, a violent storm waylaid King James' ship and set it on a different course from the main fleet. The couple, after great difficulties, finally reached Scotland. It was later purported that witches caused the bad weather in an attempt to kill the king. There were many who wanted James dead, and witchcraft seemed an obvious explanation.

In the meantime, David Seaton, a "gentleman" of Tranent, East Lothian, grew suspicious of one of his servants, Gelie (or Gilly) Duncan, who seemed to have unusual powers of healing. People traveled from near and far to consult with her, or be healed by her. He believed her curative powers derived from the Devil, and his suspicions were exacerbated by the fact that she would secretly go out at night. In the Puritan community in which Gelie lived, this had great significance. It was not unusual during the times of the witch hunts for suspicion to fall on midwives or people who appeared to be able to heal others. The torture and confession of Gelie was the starting point of the infamous "North Berwick Witches" trial.

Gelie's inquisitors had no quibbles over methodology. After being tortured with pilliwinckes (thumb-screws), a "grievous torture," she confessed to being a witch and implicated Doctor Fian (alias Cunningham), Euphemia Maclean, Barbara Napier and Agnes Sampson, a widow from Nether Keith, East Lothian. Sampson was known to cure ailments with herbs and old Catholic chants, though they did not always work. Sometimes she could tell someone was going to die before they did. She was "the eldest witch of them all," said Duncan, significantly. More suspects were interrogated, the full story came out, with no fewer than 70 individuals named in a plot against the King, ranging from unsophisticated local folk to Satan and the King's cousin, the Earl of Bothwell, a man with a reputation for recklessness and a continuing threat to the throne. He was a nephew to the Earl of Bothwell who had married Mary, Queen of Scots.

The trial therefore went beyond a local conspiracy and now touched on a larger political plot. It is at this point, most likely, that the king decided to attend the trial in person, for now it had far reaching implications to his personage. In fact, a pamphlet, *Newes from Scotland*, said that he "took great delight to be present at

their examination." James even took part personally in several interrogation and torture sessions of the suspected witches.

These conspirators, after severe tortures, admitted to allegedly using spells and a dead cat thrown into the sea to try to kill the king on his trip to gain his bride. Eventually the whole story came out. It transpired that 200 witches met the Devil at the Auld Kirk in North Berwick, where he bared his backside in the pulpit and everyone kissed it, and he confirmed James VI to be his greatest enemy — confirmation no doubt to the self-important King of the threat he represented to the forces of darkness. The Devil explained how to throw a cat into the sea to summon up a storm and sink James's ship, and off they went to sea in their magic sieves to do his bidding.

The results of the trial were that Barbara Napier, an accomplice who was sentenced to be strangled and burned at the stake, pleaded pregnancy and was set free. Euphemia Maclean was burned alive on July 25, 1591. For a thorough listing on the fates of the accused, visit the website: www.personal.dundee.ac.uk/~ehthomps/NBerwick.htm.

Agnes Sampson stood stubbornly in denial of all that was laid to her charge until James took charge of the interrogation. She was examined by King James himself at Holyrood Castle, where she was shaved and checked for the devil's mark, which was found located in the pudenda. She was then fastened to the wall of her cell by a witch's bridle, an iron instrument with four sharp prongs forced into the mouth, so that two prongs pressed against the tongue, and the two others against the cheeks. She was kept without sleep, thrashed with a rope around about her head, and only after these ordeals did Agnes Sampson confess to the fifty-three indictments against her.

At some point in her confession, Agnes whispered to the King the very words that he had spoken to his 15-year-old queen, on their bridal night, saying she had flown over the scene which occurred overseas. King James acknowledged that "her words be most true" and it seemed to him to be irrefutable proof that witchcraft had been performed against him. Agnes Sampson was eventually strangled and burned as a witch in February of 1592.

Another of those implicated in the plot was John Fian, a schoolmaster of Saltpans, also called John Cunningham, the best-known of all 70 of those implicated in this witch trial. He was accused of acting as clerk to Sampson's ungodly assembly. He had reputedly tried to cast a love spell on a local gentlewoman at one time. He'd needed some of her hair, but she had substituted animal air, and the luckless suitor was said have been thereafter trailed by a lovesick cow.

Doctor Fian was put to extensive torture but would confess nothing. Eventually, he accused the Earl of Bothwell of being the leader of the coven. King James VI personally watched his agonies, including the sight of his legs totally crushed in the "boots."

The King and his Council then decided that he was to be made an example of “to remain a terror to all others who participate in wicked and ungodly actions, such as witchcraft, sorcery, and conjuration.” They ordered his execution, and Fian was strangled and burned at Castle Hill in Edinburgh in late January, 1591.

King James later drew upon his experiences when he wrote his exhaustive work on *Daemonologie*, published in Edinburgh in 1597. The book had far-reaching influence, enduring longer than James’s own interest in witchcraft. Trials continued throughout his reign and only started to trail off in the early eighteenth century. The last recorded burning of a witch in Scotland took place in Sutherland in 1722. The Presbyterian Church of Scotland admitted burning some 4,000 witches, 3,400 from 1590 to 1690 accounted the Scottish Review in 1831, and George F. Black in 1938 gave 1,800 names.

On the death of Elizabeth I in 1603, he became King James I of England and ruled both countries jointly until his death in 1625. One of his first acts as king, in 1604, was to force Parliament to repeal Queen Elizabeth I’s Witchcraft Act of 1563 and replace it with a new bill which embraced a more extensive victim base and demanded even stiffer penalties. James changed the sentence to hanging for any form of witchcraft confessed or proved; confession was not necessary before conviction and execution, and general reputation alone was considered evidence. Once convicted, an accused could not dispute its accuracy, even when clearly untrue. He banned Reginald Scot’s book, *The Discovery of Witchcraft*, because Scot openly refuted the idea that there were such creatures as witches. Many more would die before witchcraft was officially repealed by the early eighteenth century.

Topics for Further Reading

St. Augustine
 St. Thomas Aquinas
 Johannes Nider
 Johann Weyer
 Jean Bodin
 The Chelmsford Trials
 Johannes Junius
 Reginald Scot
 Nicholas Rémy
 Salem Witch Trials
 Prosecution of Trier
 Prosecutions of Bamberg

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Timeline

1484 — Papal Bull Summis desiderantes was issued by Pope Innocent VIII.

1486 — Publication of *Malleus Maleficarum* (Hammer of Witches) by Sprenger and Kramer

1490 — Charles VIII issued an edict against fortunetellers, enchanters, necromancers and others engaging in any sort of witchcraft.

1532—Declaration of the Carolina Code in Germany which imposed the penalties of torture and death for witchcraft. Adopted by the assorted independent states of the Holy Roman Empire.

1542— Henry VIII issued a statute against witchcraft.

1547— Repeal of statute of 1542 during the reign of Edward VI. 1557— Toulouse witch trials took place, during which forty witches were condemned and burned.

1563 — Queen Elizabeth issued a statute against witchcraft.

1563 — Council of Trent resolved to win back Germany from Protestantism to the Catholic Church

1566 — The first Chelmsford witch trials.

1579 —The Windsor witch trials; also the second Chelmsford trials.

1580 — Jean Bodin, a French judge, published *Daemonomanie des Sorciers* condemning witches.

1582 — St. Osyth Witches of Essex (case tried at Chelmsford).

1584 — Publication of *Discovery of Witchcraft* by the skeptic Reginald Scot who argued that witches might not exist after all.

1589 —Third Chelmsford witch trials.

Witchcraft

1590 — The North Berwick witch trials

1592 — Father Cornelius Loos wrote of those arrested and accused of witchcraft: Wretched creatures were compelled by the severity of the torture to confess things they have never done... and so by the cruel butchery innocent lives were taken; and, by a new alchemy, gold and silver are coined from human blood.

1593 — Warboys witches of Huntingdon were put on trial.

1597 — Publication of *Demonology* by James VI of Scotland (later James I of England).

1597 — Case of the Burton Boy (Thomas Darling) in Staffordshire.

1604 — James I released his statute against witchcraft, in which he wrote that they were “loathe to confess without torture.”

1605 — Abingdon witches and Anne Gunter.

1612 — Lancashire witch trials.

1618 — Start of the Thirty Years War (1618-1648) during which the witch hunt throughout Germany was at its height.

1620 — Case of the Bilson Boy (William Perry).

1625 — Start of general decline of witch trials in France.

1628 — Trial of Johannes Junius, mayor of Bamberg, for witchcraft.

1631 — Publication of *Cautio Criminalis* by Friedrich von Spee, opposing the witch hunt.

1632 — Death of the Prince-Bishop of Bamberg; the end of the persecutions in this principality (1609-1632).

1645 — Case of the Faversham witches, Kent Witchfinder-general Matthew Hopkins and the Chelmsford (or Manningtree) witch trials.

1646 — Death of Matthew Hopkins from tuberculosis.

1647 — Publication of *Discovery of Witches* by Matthew Hopkins.

1649 — Case of the St. Albans witches, Hertfordshire.

1652 — “Dr. Lamb’s Darling”: the trial of Anne Bodenham and the trial of the Wapping Witch (Joan Peterson) near London.

1655 — Last execution for witchcraft in Cologne.

1662 — The Bury St. Edmunds witch trials.

1670 — Rouen witch trials.

1674 — Trial of Anne Foster in Northampton.

1679 — 1682 Chanibre d’ardente affair: Louis XIV’s

1684 — Last execution for witchcraft in England (Alice Molland at Exeter).

1712 — Jane Wenham of Walkern in Herefordshire was last person convicted of witchcraft in England.

1722 — Last execution for witchcraft in Scotland.

1736 — Repeal of Statute of James I (1604).

1745 — Last execution for witchcraft in France.

1775 — Last official execution for witchcraft in Germany (of Anna Maria Schwiigel at Kempten in Bavaria).

1787 — All witchcraft laws in Austria were repealed.

The Richard III Society Joint Canadian-American Branch Conference & Annual General Meeting

Friday, October 1 to Sunday, October 3, 2004

Toronto, Ontario, Canada

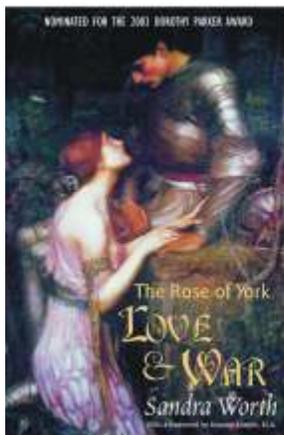
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Online registration: <http://home.cogeco.ca/~richardiii>

Please quote group designator number 101938 when registering for the Conference



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Schallek Scholars Chosen

Sharon Michalove

Committee members were A. Compton Reeves, Lorraine Attreed, Martha Driver, and Sharon Michalove. The award is now administered through an agreement with the Medieval Academy of America.

The committee was able to award five scholarships of \$2000. Proposals were evaluated on their originality, methodology, and the likelihood that it would make an important contribution to medieval studies. Dissertation research is given preference over other kinds of research grant proposals.

The awards were given to:

Paul J. Patterson, Department of English, University of Notre Dame, "A Mirror to Devout People: A Critical Edition with Commentary." This is a critical edition of a Middle English devotional text for women, using one of the two extant manuscripts as the basis for the edition. That edition is at Notre Dame while the other copy is at Cambridge University. The awardee says about his research "Relying on wills, legal documents, and textual evidence from original archival sources, the commentary centers the edition within current scholarly debates on the role of vernacular theology in the fifteenth century English book trade. . . . This study will then move to broader issues of lay female readership and the implications of vernacular theology in late Medieval England."

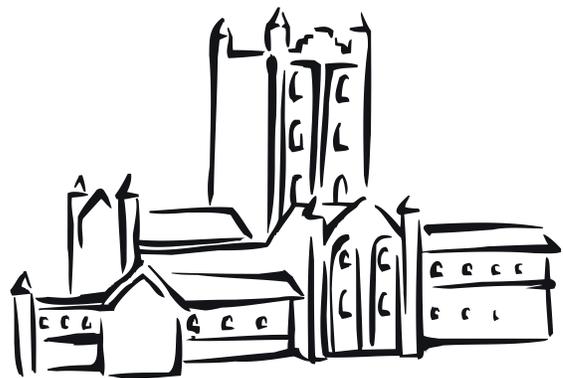
Kathryn Kelsey Staples, Department of History, University of Minnesota, Twin Cities, "Daughters of London: Inheritance Practice in Late Medieval London". Staple's dissertation looks at the experience of daughters in an urban setting, examining inheritance patters in late medieval London. She will look at a series of wills at the Court of Hustings in London from ca. 1300-1500. She writes "Examination of daughterhood in the Middle Ages, until now an understudied part of the medieval women's life-cycle, will illuminate women's experiences before they became nuns, wives, and widows. At many points in their lives, men and women, and perhaps women to a greater extent, were defined by and identified themselves with the position they held within their family. Therefore, to have a greater understanding of medieval history it is important to consider the lived experiences of medieval people at every point along their life trajectory."

Frederick J. Poling, Department of History, Catholic University of America, "Villagers in Court: The Hierarchies of Rural Life in Later Medieval England" Poling will look at records of local court jurisdictions, where medieval villagers would have been most likely to have encountered church law in relation to their own lives. He will study three courts, creating a database and conducting a statistical analysis of villagers' participation

in the courts. He writes, "Although there has been no shortage of work on English social history, our understanding of the life of the common villager is still imperfect. This study will seek to open a new avenue of investigation in this field by employing the documents of the often-neglected church courts. The records in this study are of particular interest since they provide an opportunity to examine village-level social control both before and after the Reformation."

Mary Hayes, Department of English, University of Iowa, "Still Small Voice: Silence in Medieval English Devotion and Literature" Hayes will examine a difficult topic, how devotional silence functioned in sacred environments and was represented in medieval literary texts. Discussing an absence is always more challenging than discussing a presence. Hayes writes "Attending to silence affords insight into medieval religious practices themselves and, perhaps more importantly, brings into purview the interplay of individual and ecclesiastical power that transpired in devotional settings. . . . Silence allowed the divine voice to be 'heard' and safeguarded the voice as a divine gift that mirrored God and the Word. . . . Although silence can characterize mystical, dumbstruck awe, even such pious reverence admits the voice's inadequacy. God's silent voice pervaded devotional settings and, implicitly, all sacred speech. Thus, devotional silences enact a paradox about the voice's potential that pertains to all religious discourse."

Rebecca A. Davis, Department of English, University of Notre Dame "Piers Plowman and the Books of Nature" Davis plans to discuss the concept of nature (kynde) in Piers Plowman. Interestingly, Langland identifies God with Kynde, unlike earlier identifications of nature with a "female goddess who acts as God's 'vicar.'" Her study "contributes and original and more fully informed understanding of Langland's notion of the relationship between God and creation and [demonstrate] Langland's familiarity with other discourses of nature will contribute in some part to scholarly efforts to place the elusive poet in



Member Spotlight: Laura Blanchard

Judy Pimental

The future Laura Blanchard was born on August 15, 1948, in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, a few miles north of Gettysburg. She divided her time between central Pennsylvania and the Germantown section of Philadelphia until she became a “permanent” resident of suburban Philadelphia in 1957. Upon graduating from high school in 1966, she returned to Philadelphia.

She lived in “metropolitan” Philadelphia until 1974, in the Lehigh Valley until 1981, and the environs of Princeton New Jersey (Grovers Mill, where the Martians “landed” in 1938, to be precise) until 1992, when she returned to Philadelphia. God willing and the taxes don’t go up any more, she’s not moving again in this lifetime.

Among Laura’s multitudinous areas of interest, those of her youth included music, literature (“Shakespeare” was one of her precociously early interests), natural history and movies of the 1930s.

Laura pursued undergraduate studies at Temple University in Philadelphia, and at a variety of other institutions situated close to wherever she happened to be working at any given time.

Laura’s professional career includes twelve years in publishing and marketing and four years in higher education administration (at Westminster Choir College in Princeton). For the last nine years, she has combined administering a rare book and manuscript library consortium with freelance website design.

Laura married Roy Blanchard in 1984. Roy has become (in)famously known as THE “Reluctant Ricardian,” but he graciously shares the title with anyone similarly afflicted (misery loves company?), without regard to gender or other qualifying characteristics. The couple have three children: Roy, Jr., currently 38; Christopher, 36; David, 31; and granddaughter Sara, age 11.

Laura discovered “Our Dickon” in 1961 through Laurence Olivier’s classic 1950s film. She put the “historical” Richard on her personal research agenda shortly thereafter. Unlike so many of the rest of us, Laura started at the “high” end of the spectrum: she read a genuine first edition of Horace Walpole’s *Historic Doubts on the Life and Reign of Richard III*.

Walpole was followed by Gairdner, Kendall, Vivian Lamb, and “only then” by Josephine Tey.

In 1962, Laura was able to hold in her hands her first medieval manuscript: The Edward IV Roll, then as now at the Free Library of Philadelphia.

Laura did not officially join the Richard III Society until 1988. However, it appears that she deserves more than a little “extra credit” for her attempt to join as early as 1962. She wrote a letter to what she thought was the Society in 1962, but received no answer, and assumed

she was too young or unworthy of being considered a member.

Since becoming an official member, however, Laura has served the Society (and “the Cause”) in the capacities of: Schallek Scholarship chairperson from 1992 to the present, with a 2-year hiatus in which Nancy Northcott ably filled the position. Vice-Chairperson of the Society from 1993-1997, AGM coordinator in 1996 and (“partially”) in 2003, Co-organizer of the 1998 symposium in honor of Charles T. Wood at the International Congress on Medieval Studies. Webmaster, 1995-present, Recording Secretary, 2001-present, Writer/coordinator of “Letter from America” for the recently-reformatted *Ricardian Bulletin*.



Laura received the Dickon Award in 1993. The Dickon Award is given annually to a member who demonstrates manic levels of Ricardian activity.

In addition to all her work on behalf of the Richard III Society and all her other achievements, Laura has served as: Secretary of the Delaware Valley Medieval Association from approximately 1992-1996, Member of the Board of Directors, South Philadelphia Blocks Association; and Board member, webmaster and interim chair (“until October when I give it up whether they’re ready or not”) of the South of South Neighborhood Association.

Applying her energy and vision to the future, Laura would like to see the US Branch “motivating more members to get involved in spreading the word that ‘Ricardian studies’ are ‘a whole lot’ more interesting and relevant than most people realize.”

Laura does not really know (she says) what this might mean, but includes a comprehensive list of possible activities: “Canned” talks with downloadable slides or PowerPoint presentations; Detailed curricula and handouts similar to those in on the website’s on-line “Looking for Richard” section (*Richard III Onstage and Off*); Downloadable materials that could be used as part of member exhibitions at libraries or theaters.

“As it stands now, our members have to reinvent the wheel every time they see an opportunity to give a talk or do a display. The exceptions are the cases in which members or Branches do this sort of thing with regularity. I would also like to see us working more closely with, and possibly having a voice in the policies of, our parent Society in England.”



Ricardian Post

15th-Century England Conference

May 24, 2004

Dear Board Members of the Richard III Society, American Branch

I have just returned to Tasmania after a period of research in Britain, and participation in two conferences, including the Fifteenth-Century England conference at Champaign-Urbana organized by Sharon Michalove, and sponsored by your society.

The conference provided a rare opportunity for specialists and enthusiasts from around the world to share their knowledge and research findings. Sharon was a superb host and facilitator, and as an international visitor whose accommodation costs were covered by the conference organizers I am very grateful for the financial support provided by the Richard III Society.

Yours sincerely,

*Michael Bennett
Professor of History
University of Tasmania
Member of Richard III Society.*

May 26, 2004

Dear Board Members of the Richard III Society:

I would like to compliment you both on your sponsorship of this year's Fifteenth-Century Conference. It was the third I have participated in, and, despite the fact that it could not be held at Allerton this time, I would have to say that it was the best of the three. Dr Sharon Michalove outdid herself in the preparations for this conference. Our accommodations at the Hampton Inn were comfortable and convenient; our meals served by the Student Union were tasty and attractive, and the special visit she had organized for conference attendees to see some of the library's manuscript and early-print holdings was the icing on the cake.

But I would like to say something about the conference itself and its participants. The 15th-century is rather peculiar. As one of its historians, I often find myself on the fringes at other conferences, separated from the "real" medievalists, who think that the Middle Ages were over by about 1400, or the early modernists, who often only begin to become interested in things from the late-15th or 16th-centuries.

Say "Renaissance", and people automatically think Italy (and maybe the Low Countries); those whose focus lies elsewhere are again on the margins. And, yet, there

is a burgeoning interest in the 15th-century, and this is the one conference I know of where we can actually get together and talk about it. This year we had participants from all over the world: from France and the U.K. to New Zealand and Tasmania, not to mention those of us who came from various parts of the U.S. It was exciting for me to meet (or to meet again) people whose work I've read, some of which has already influenced my own work, and to share in idea-exchanges (made possible by the conference's unique, camaraderie-fostering atmosphere) that will likely have a bearing on my future thinking.

Holding this conference every three years, right before the Medieval Congress at Kalamazoo, is inspired. While it enables the Fifteenth-Century Conference to attract worldwide interest, I daresay that it also makes a trip to Kalamazoo more attractive to those from abroad. Many participants do take in both conferences, and this is mutually beneficial.

Although my heart sank when I heard that Sharon would not be organizing any future conferences, I am heartened to learn that she has a pair of successors who are willing to take it on. As the Fifteenth-Century Conference enters its second decade of existence, it--and they--have all my best wishes.

Sincerely,

Dr Helen Maurer
Independent Scholar

June 1, 2004

At the beginning of May the Richard III Society (American Branch), together with the Department of History at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, sponsored an utterly splendid Fifteenth-Century Conference. Participants came to present the results of their research and to engage in discussion in a stimulating and collegial environment.

Scholars of language and literature, the arts, and history attended from the US and Canada, France, New Zealand, Australia, England, and Wales. Dr. Sharon Michalove, immediate past chair of the American Branch, organized the event brilliantly.

Members of the American Branch should be extremely pleased about the successful conference. At the same time, the American Branch should be distressed that the only members of the Society in attendance were those of us who were presenters. One of the glories of the Society is the linking of the academy with the arm-chair scholars whose professional lives fall elsewhere.

A grand opportunity to engage with leading scholars of fifteenth-century England was missed by hundreds of Ricardians.

Professor Compton Reeves
Past Chair, American Branch

May 18, 2004

Hello,

I just wanted to write and thank you for your sponsorship of the recently-completed fifteenth-century conference, organized by Sharon Michalove. I am a regular conference goer, and would like to say that this one was of particular value and of a very high standard. The thoughtful format — which left ample time for discussion, and which eschewed concurrent sessions — left space for cross-disciplinary themes to emerge and scholars could exchange ideas on present and future research, and tangibly assist in each others' research. Assembling scholars from across the world, and brilliantly combining historians with literary scholars, makes this a very special conference, one which I know many look forward to with great anticipation.

If I may, I would also like to commend Sharon for the work she's done over the years, acting as organizer and midwife to this conference, which many of us agreed was one of the best we'd ever attended. We therefore look very much forward to the next fifteenth-century gathering, under what I understand will be new leadership.

Yours sincerely,

Mark Arvanigian, Ph.D.
Department of History
California State University, Fresno

To the Richard III Society:

I would like to briefly commend the Society and University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, for sponsoring and hosting such a wonderful and productive academic experience as the Fifteen-Century England Studies Conference. I had attended the last such conference, three years previously, and can honestly say that I've been waiting three years with anticipation for the conference to be held again. In particular, I think thanks and congratulations must go out to Sharon Michalove for all of the tremendous work she puts into these conferences; her organization of it will be sorely missed in three years, at the next meeting, although I look forward to her participation in it as a presenter of a paper. The Fifteenth-Century England Studies Conference is a particularly useful meeting because of the unique opportunities it presents to us late medievalists to present longer than average conference papers (finally, a real chance to develop and explain a complex idea to our peers), to meet with both our comrades in fifteenth-century studies and to meet with the old guard of historians to whom we all owe so much in this field, and the chance as well to meet outside of papers, over lunches and dinners, to share ideas and questions in our field.

It is also extremely beneficial having this conference so near, in time and geography, to Kalamazoo, and the annual Congress of Medieval Studies there. Attending

Kalamazoo is useful and essential to anyone working in Medieval Studies, it is only improved by attending the Fifteen-Century England Studies Conference first. I know that each time I leave the Fifteenth-Century Studies Conference I inevitably take with me the great papers I've heard and head over to Kalamazoo, sharing them with the poor unfortunates who did not attend that earlier conference. I also seek out the same participants, knowing that conversations begun at Urbana can be continued and expanded at Kalamazoo.

Dr. Candace Gregory
California State University, Sacramento
Dept. of History

Dear Richard III Society,

May I express my gratitude to the Society for enabling me to attend the recent Conference which Sharon Michelove organized at the University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana. It was generous of the Society, and Sharon arranged a very rewarding and friendly conference. It enabled a number of scholars who rarely meet to renew acquaintanceship and exchange views, and a number of younger scholars to take part (and present papers). In particular, the University library arranged a most interesting exhibition, and the recital of medieval music by the University's distinguished department of music was an added bonus.

I value my connection, across the sea, with the Society and take an interest in the periodic reports that come my way. Please convey my sincere thanks to the Society's governing committee at the next opportunity.

Yours sincerely

Ralph Griffiths

From the ListServe

June 18, 2004

I just happened to be reading, for the first time in over 45 years, Charles Dickens classic first novel -- *The Pickwick Papers*.

In Chapter XXV, "The Worthy Magistrate," the Pickwick crew is in apparent trouble with a local magistrate. The lovable Mr. Samuel Weller, Samuel Pickwick's manservant, is introducing them to the magistrate and explaining to him that they all are worthy gentlemen, unlike their accusers:

... all of them very nice gentlemen sir, as you will be happy to have the acquaintance on; so the sooner you commit these here officers o' yourn to the tread-mill for a month or two, the sooner we shall begin to be on a pleasant understanding. Business first, pleasure afterwards, as King Richard the Third said wen he stabbed t'other king in the Tower, afore he smothered the babies.

Well, I guess Weller is an old Tudor family name. Shades of Shakespeare!

Dave Luitweiler

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.

Nell Corkin, artist of Okemos, Michigan, like so many others, became interested in Richard III thanks to Josephine Tey's *The Daughter of Time*, which she read at the age of 14. Perhaps obsessed is a better word. "Who do you want to believe?" a friend's schoolteacher mother asked her, "William Shakespeare or that Nell Corkin?"

She continues: "My college graduation gift (1968) was a trip to England. We hired a car and driver, and set out to find Bosworth Field. Since there was no Bosworth Battlefield Centre at that time, it turned out to be quite an adventure, involving repeated trips between Market Bosworth and Sutton Cheney. After trudging through a field full of 'young beasts,' (and unspeakable muck), and having a few painful encounters with nettles, we finally discovered Dickon's Well, adorned with a withered bunch of white roses. The farmer was friendly, but bemused: 'I don't see why you people want to come over here,' he said. 'I'd like to go over there!'"

Nell says she had heard about the society "for years, and always meant to join," so was delighted to find the web site. She says she thinks the publications are wonderful and that it is good to be able to keep up with current research. Best of all, "It's a real delight to know there are so many others who share my interest and enthusiasm." Tel: 517-381-1980; E-mail: miniminis@aol.com.

John C. Farrell, an airline pilot who has frequent "lay overs" in London, often visits Westminster Abbey. When he first came across the tombs of the departed royals, he says he was embarrassed to find he was "incredibly ignorant about the British political system and the monarchs who sat at its head." He continues: "I felt it was important to know the political roots from which we evolved over two centuries ago. In the typical fashion of an electrical engineer/military officer/pilot, I immediately set about to rectify this educational oversight. My goal was to learn about every monarch from Egbert to Elizabeth II. Sharon Kay Penman's book, *The Sunne in Splendour*, was first on my list. Then, I read the very legalistic *Royal Blood* by Bertram Fields. In time I happened upon your website and was well on my way to becoming an avid Ricardian. My reading continues, and my copy of Mike Ashley's book, *The Mammoth Book of British Kings and Queens*, seldom leaves my side.

John says he has drawn inquiring stares as he walked along London's Cromwell Road "reciting aloud the sequence of the Plantagenet kings from Henry II onward." Recently he has become "very interested in the Saxon and Norman transition period," finding Emma, a fairly unknown queen, of the 11th Century, of particular fascination. (Editor: see note below).

When he "doesn't have his nose in a book," in his spare time John skis on snow and water, photographs the wildlife near his home on Lake Winnepesaukee in Moultonborough, New Hampshire, and works on a 1965 Austin Healey. His wife, to whom he has been married 25 years, tolerates his obsessions as long as he "returns the favor!" E-Mail: johncfarrell@earthlink.net

(Note: Emma, also known as the fair Maid of Normandy, was wife first of King Aethelred the Unready and afterwards, Canute the Great; and mother of Edward the Confessor. Mainly known through "The Legend of Queen Emma" in which she is accused of "too close an intimacy with Aelfwine, Bishop of Winchester!")

Sally Keil, is a resident of Long Lake, Minnesota, and President of AcquiData, Inc., a software company. As with so many of our members, a fascination with the history of England's kings and queens was among the first steps she took on her journey to membership in the Richard III Society. On the way, as a pre-teen, with the help of a roll of meat wrapping paper, on one Saturday she plotted out the royal family tree from William the Conqueror, through the Plantagenets and Tudors, finishing up with the Victorian era!

Later, while looking for a topic for "summer easy reading," Sally's sister suggested Richard III as the subject. She continues: "I got the Richard books by V. B. Lamb, Desmond Seward, Kendall and Charles Ross. Needless to say I was hooked! Next stop for me when I'm interested in something is usually the Internet, and that's where I discovered the Richard III Society and immediately became a member. As the newsletters began arriving I realized that Richard's 550th birthday was approaching. I felt it very important to be at Fotheringhay on that very day: maybe some unstated "mystical" silliness on my part, who knows, but that desire ultimately spawned a Richard III memorial tour I put together that October. And so, "dragging" her husband and 13 year old son along, they toured many of the sites associated with Richard, having a wonderful time. Sally says her "absolute favorite days were the ones at Middleham and Fotheringhay—both cold and grey autumn days, ideally suited for walking through medieval castles and churches!" E-mail: skeil@acquidata.com

Two-Year Profiles

Janet T. O'Keefe, librarian from Flint, Michigan, whose leisure interests are cooking, theatre and reading, says she had actually been meaning to join (the Society) for almost 20 years, before she did. She continues: "It may sound perverse, but despite the fact that I was initially drawn to Richard III through the play, because I love a good villain, I also became convinced almost immediately of his innocence! I describe myself as a firm Yorkist, and am strongly interested in that period of History." Under the heading of "other information I'd like members to know" Janet confesses that she is "unfortunately cursed with a Lancastrian sister," but hopes we will not hold that against her! E-mail: JTOKEEFE@corecomm.net

Richard Tracey, a Publisher in Carlsbad, California, says he met Richard III in Thomas Costain's *The Last Plantagenets*, then moved on to *The Daughter of Time*, Shakespeare's *Henry VI* plays, and Thomas More's *History of King Richard III*, "on the way to a PhD in English Literature." He eventually found *The Ricardian* as a grad student in the UCLA Library! Among his many activities, he writes the internet column for the Union Jack, which he says is "America's only national British

Richard III Society

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Members Who Joined March 1- May 31, 2004

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Ricardian Reading

Myrna Smith

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

All things are subject to fixed laws.
- Marcus Manilus

LAW AND ORDER

What really matters is the name you succeed in imposing on the facts - not the facts themselves. - Cohen's law.

& *Perfect Prince*TM - Ann Wroe, Random House, 2003

Against a richly detailed tapestry of 15th-century life and customs, Ann Wroe offers us a mystery. *Perfect Prince* raises a continual stream of questions. Is the boy Margaret of Burgundy takes into her home the son of her brother, rescued from death by a tender-hearted murderer, and sent to her to nurture? Or is he a poor boy, son of a boatman of Calais, whom Margaret took in to fill her widow's loneliness?

James of Scotland might have been willing to accept him, and his claim, just to annoy the English. But why, if that was his reason, did he show his acceptance by arranging a state marriage for the young man with his kinswoman, Lady Katherine Gordon? After his followers in Wales were scattered why was he not taken prisoner? Why was he allowed to join the King's company "like a nobleman encountering the King on the road"?

King Henry may not have known "who" he had, but he did know "what" he had. For many months his agents had been documenting a "confession" for this young man. During a private conversation between the King and his guest the "confession" was signed and, from that time, the young man identified himself only as "I am not Richard." He continued to live at the Court, meeting his wife in social situations. Why did he decide to escape from his 'house arrest'? When imprisoned in the Tower, was he part of the plot to entrap Edward of Warwick in an attempted escape? Or did Henry plan from the beginning that he would be the second victim? Was "Perkin Warbeck" a French urchin and a princely impersonator? Or was he Prince Richard, the son of Edward IV, hanged by the order of Henry Tudor?

Ann Wroe gives a detailed outline of the evidence on both sides of that question and then leaves us with the mystery. I have learned that it was once Dr. Wroe's intention to cast doubt on the "confession" prepared for and used by Henry. She succeeded in making me doubt it when she revealed how detailed it was. It claims to document this very unlikely series of events. A French child, about 8 years old, becomes a servant of an English family on the Continent. In two or three years he has learned

the English language and courtly manners so well that when he comes to the attention of a not very critical Duchess of Burgundy she acknowledges him as her nephew.

The author concludes that, as the young man prepares to die, he may have been in a 'state of deep confusion about who he was.' Does she mean to suggest he had been living a life of lies for a long time? Perhaps Dr. Wroe, even with her long and careful search of the record, has not found evidence for an incontestable conclusion. Was it character assassination or fraud?

Perfect Prince is a long book. It contains many details about the way people lived and thought in the 15th century. It helps us see how mysteries like this were possible, and continue unsolved to this day.

— Margaret Drake, FL

PROOF OR SPIN

Any event, once it has occurred, can be made to appear inevitable by a competent historian. - Historian's rule

The easiest way to change history is to become a historian - Revisionists rule

& *Richard III* - Michael Hicks, Tempus Publishing Ltd, Stroud, Gloucestershire, UK, revised 2003.

I received this book most kindly from our American Branch Membership Chair, Eileen Prinsen, for the purpose of reviewing it for our Register. The jacket cover seemed promising; with our Richard on the cover in one of the two main doctored portraits we believe to be him. The jacket adverts boasted comments from BBC History Magazine alleging "a most important book from the greatest living expert on Richard," and another from the publisher: "He...is regarded by many as the leading expert on the Yorkist dynasty." I read it from cover to cover, and slowly, as is not my wont. I wanted to have an open, investigative mind while reading. Tough assignment. Then I read it again, marking pages and making notations. I knew we were "in for it" at the opening line of the Introduction: "Richard III and John are the two wicked kings in English History." He invokes Shakespeare, whose "utterly damning portrait of a usurper, tyrant and monster...has held the scene until today." (p.7) He points to "Richard's advocates, the Ricardians, (who) have grown in the past century from an insignificant minority into an influential and ultimately dominant majority." (ibid) Majority of what he doesn't say. Hick's problem is that he has set for himself

an arduous task of trying to weigh all sides and conduct his own "trial" of our Richard III, and he comes up with a retelling of the Tudor spin. On that same page 7, Hicks states that "nobody who ever lived could be as wicked as this or so lacking in redeeming features." By page 265, he avers: "The real Richard was never as interesting or as popular as he is today.

To paraphrase Shakespeare, "but Hicks is the greatest living expert on Richard, and Hicks is an honorable man." Surely Hicks had the same resource access as Wendy Moorhen (Research Officer, Richard III Society, Great Britain.) Compare Hicks' statement, "He was not a great soldier, general or chivalric hero, not a peace-maker, not even a northerner," with Ms. Moorhen's compelling article, "The Man Himself," in the Spring 2004 Ricardian Register.

There's more, and there's More. Hicks at various times in the book will attempt to compare More's and Mancini's accounts of events (e.g. p. 152) or More's and Crowland's accounts of events (e.g. p. 214), and yet doesn't take us to the More/Morton connection. "But Hicks is the greatest living expert on Richard," and Hicks is an honorable man.

The section from pp. 160-168 offers us the usual: Rivers and Richard were such good friends, convivial meeting the night before Rivers' (and Vaughn's and Grey's) arrests.

Surely, Hicks had access to the same resources as Gordon Smith, whose insightful article, "Stony Stratford: The Case for the Prosecution," *Ricardian Register*, Spring 2004, includes resources and maps which detail the Wydeville plot to capture, possibly kill Richard, the Lord Protector.

Hicks buys into Richard III being the most likely to have killed/ordered the killing of the Princes. Surely he must have become aware of Ann Wroe's *The Perfect Prince*. She all but claims that Perkin Warbeck was in fact Richard, Duke of York, the younger of the two princes. Most of the crowned heads of Europe believed it (granted, for reasons known only to themselves), yet Hicks does not entertain the possibility.

Neither does Hicks have cheering words about Lambert Simnel's claim. He ignores the very punctuating truths that Henry VII put the Dowager Queen Elizabeth in a nunnery, beheaded William Stanley (seemingly responsible for putting Henry on the throne), and kept BOTH Lambert and Perkin from having contact with any family member who might have been able to identify them. "But Hicks is the greatest living expert on Richard," and Hicks is.....

Infuriating was my reaction when I reached this (on p. 237-8) ".Tudor propaganda preceded Bosworth. Wydeville propaganda preceded Tudor propaganda. To justify Henry Tudor, Richard had to be discredited. We do not know how the propaganda was disseminated. We do not know where it was formulated or how far it was directed by Henry; how far he was the organizer as well as the beneficiary [This next is the phrase that turned me

wrong-side out] We cannot attribute roles to Pembroke and Oxford, to Margaret Beaufort and John Morton, to Bray, Urswick, Collingborne, or the other names we know." In the interest of scholarship and research, I would ask, "And why not?"

Hicks ends his work thus: "When Richard took the crown, he breached a whole series of conventions: hereditary legitimacy...the obligation of allegiance, and the need in a mixed monarchy to accede and rule with consent..Just as he engineered his accession, so his actions determined his fall. The denunciations of him as King Herod and Anti-Christ, as a tyrant and a monster, demonstrate the outrage by the political establishment. They could conceive of nothing worse. They swept him away and would indeed have done so in 1483 had they found a leader...And it was their version of Richard that prevailed." "But Hicks is the greatest living expert on Richard.." but you can't prove it by me!

- William R. Lewis

"Proud to be a Texas Ricardian in his second year." - (and we're proud to have you!)

(Addendum to the publishers: There is a correction that should be made to the text that accompanies plate #51, Richard's letter to the Bishop condemning Buckingham's treason. It should be dated Oct. 12 1483, not 1485. I'm afraid Richard wasn't writing anyone by that later date. W.L.)

Once you have eliminated the impossible, whatever remains, however improbable, must be the truth.
(Sherlock) Holmes Law

& ***The Hunter's Tale* - Margaret Frazer, Berkley, N.Y., NY - 2004**

"In the Summer of 1448, when Sir Ralph Woderove is found murdered near his estate, not even his family mourns." - jacket blurb.

A promising beginning indeed. One of Sir Ralph's daughters is a pupil at St. Friedeswide's, where she is visited by her newly widowed mother. Dame Frevisse and Sister Johanne accompany them back to their home, where they find a complicated (but not dysfunctional - at least not with Ralph out of the way) family. - and eventually another murder, not one to be celebrated this time. What can Frevisse do?

She sometimes despairs of her younger companion, Johanne, whom she considers light-minded and gossipy, but Johanne turns out to be an asset instead of a liability, both in p.r. and in detection, which Frevisse freely acknowledges.

Often, by the time a series gets up in double digits, or even before, the author will 'write short' and not pay attention to details. Ms. Frazer, I am happy to say, has not flagged. - m.s.

Every rule has its exceptions except this one: A man must always be present when he is being shaved. - Brewer's Exception

& *The Guinness Book Of Beards and Moustaches* - Leslie Dunkling and John Foley, Guinness Publishing Co, 1990

What does this have to do with Richard III or the 15th century, when men were almost universally clean shaven? Two things:

1. The authors' research traces the once popular game of "Beaver," (spotting and scoring beards, with extra points according to color and gender) to the chin-plate of a suit of armor, rather than the furry mammal.
2. This quote from page 62: "It is said of Henry VII, father of the bearded Henry VIII, that he 'shaved himself and fleeced his people.'"

Being rather literal-minded, I doubt this. Kings, and gentlemen in general, were usually shaved by somebody else - their valets perhaps.

Although the authors are bare-faced (one of them all over), they are pro-beard. While admitting that there are some faces that might be improved by pogonotrophy, there is also something to be said for being clean-shaven. For one thing, the training and grooming necessary for a presentable growth seems wasted on something that, unlike a dog, can give no affection in return. (Or maybe it can; I wouldn't know.) And for society at large, the fashion for smooth faces minimizes the chances of being afflicted by such excrescences as the Screw, the Strip-teaser, the Meat-axe, the Breakwater, and the Eleven-a-side, all duly illustrated, along with more presentable beards and 'staches.

For pogonophiles and mispogonists alike. - m.s.

Give me chastity and self-restraint, but do not give it yet. - St. Augustine's plea

& *The Lady and The Unicorn* - Tracy Chevalier, Dutton/Penguin, N.Y., N.Y. 2004.

A fictionalized account of the making of the tapestries of the title, one of which is pictured on the boards, visible through cut-outs in the dust jacket. It's the story, not so much of the nobleman who commissions them in 1490, but of the women, not all of them of the noble classes, who inspired them, the artist who planned them, Nicholas des Innocents (who isn't), the cartoonist who made the pattern, Phillippe de la Tour, and the weaving family in Brussels who actually made the tapestries. Though the head of the family, Georges de la Chapelle, thinks they will be the making of his shop, they are very nearly the breaking.

After reading this pleasant, but realistic, story you may look at pictures of these tapestries — or the real thing, if you go to Paris — with fresh eyes. Had you noticed that they represent the five senses? It's a nice ironic touch when Ms. Chavelier has a blind girl stand for Sight.

Weavers, the author tells us, worked from the back side of a tapestry, not seeing their work directly until it was finished. They followed the cartoon and checked on their stitches with the use of mirrors. This is a fitting metaphor for the story, for the family of the nobleman and that of the weaver are reversed mirror images of each other, tied together by Nicholas.

Most of the narrators are nice people, or at least enjoyable companions, and the story ends with a pairing off for marriages, which the reader will no doubt agree are fitting, at least, if not universally happy ever after. - m.s.

If you will be a traveler, have always the eyes of a falcon, the ears of an ass, the face of an ape, the mouth of a hog, the shoulders of a camel, the legs of a stag, and see that you keep two bags very full, one of patience and the other of money. - Florio's Law of Travel, 1591

At least 50% of the human race doesn't want their mother-in-law within walking distance. - (Margaret) Mead's Law of Human Migration

& *Maid Marian* - Elsa Watson, Crown Publishers, NY, NY 2004

A retelling of the Robin Hood legends from the point of view of Marian, this is set in the same time period as Penman's story, but is altogether different. There is some element of mystery, but it is not the most important one. And Eleanor of Aquitaine does not come off too well in this one - Robin ungallantly compares her to St. George's original dragon — but she is not the real villainess of the piece.

Marian Fitzwalter, ward of the Queen, widowed once but never a wife, sees that the Queen is trying to marry her off to her late nominal husband's younger brother, and more than incidentally, to get her royal hands on Marian's property with a view to ransoming her favorite son, Richard. Marian is not pleased with the idea, to a large degree because she doesn't like her once and future mother-in-law. She doesn't know how much reason she has to dislike and distrust the Lady Pernelle. Our heroine is not only plucky but shrewd, and doesn't come off badly matching wits with the 70-years-old queen. She realizes that this is only a stop-gap measure, however, and she must take more drastic action. Having met the famous outlaw, Robin Hood, she enlists his aid, and enlists in his band of merry men (and women). As a woman in a man's world and a Saxon in a Norman world, they find common cause, and a cause which is even commoner.

There are some anachronisms, the most glaring being the smoking of a pipe by one character. (Well, the carrying of one anyhow.) Though not marketed as such, this seems to be aimed at Young Adults (i.e. adolescents) but is suitable for anyone who likes an exciting adventure story, complete with poisons, potions, disguises - the whole nine yards. -m.s.

1. You must pay for your sins.
2. If you have already paid, disregard this notice. -
Remusat's reconciliation

& **St. John's Fern - Kate Sedley, St. Martin's Press, NY, NY 1999**

Not having read a Sedley book for a couple of years, I had forgotten what a beguiling writer she is. Late-Medieval life is finely drawn, and the reader absorbed into the scene.

One of the Saxon legends, according to this book, is that a person eating St. John's fern gains the ability to become invisible at will. A young man brutally murders his uncle and vanishes. He is believed by some to be in France, or in Brittany with Henry Tudor, or to have eaten St. John's fern and to be nearby.

Roger Chapman, having been stirred to restlessness by God and led to Plymouth, leaves his new wife and young children to search for this mild-mannered young man turned vicious murderer. There are deceptive clues to the traitor laid out from the beginning of the tale, but vital information is withheld until the final pages. Being more specific would spoil the suspense and surprise ending.

An interesting insight into Medieval village life is the position of the chapman or traveling peddler. He is welcome everywhere for necessities such as needles and thread, as well as luxuries such as ribbon and fabric like the piece of Italian silk Roger sells in this book. He is the mender of items necessary but not readily available. In addition, he is the bearer of news and entertaining stories. In return for these, he is fed and offered a bed for the night. It helps, I suppose, that Roger is well-built and handsome.

The book is well-written and entertaining. The mystery is not so complex as to be frustrating or so simple as

to be boring. But the book is becoming scarce. Would-be readers should hurry.

— Dale Summers, TX

Clothes do make the man. Naked people have very little influence in society. - Twain's Sumptuary Law

Apropos of nothing, or notions, I've come across a web site called Richard the Thread, which supplies "patterns, dress forms, corsets..needles, hangars..floor mats" (!). Check it out if you decide to attend an AGM in costume. (www.richardthethread.com).

Finally, a few laws regarding the lot of the author and/or reviewer.

Writers desire to be paid, authors desire recognition. -
Davis' Law

No man but a blockhead ever wrote except for money. -
Sam Johnson's Creative Caveat

If you are a writer, editor, publisher, or affiliated with an advertising agency, everyone knows more about your business than you do. - Kneass' Law

No author dislikes to be edited as much as he dislikes not to be published. -
(Russell) Lyne's Law.

Never review the work of a friend. - Sissman's First 20 Rules of Reviewing

To err is human, to really screw things up requires a computer. - Anon

(Most of the laws cited here are from *The Official Rules and Explanations*, by Paul Dickson, Merriam Webster, Ma., 1999.)

Board of Directors 2004 Elections

Elections will be held at the Fall AGM. Three directors are running for re-election:

- Bonnie Battaglia, Chairman
- Jacqueline Bloomquist, Vice President
- Laura Blanchard, Secretary

The Nominating Committee has proposed the following for open positions:

- Maria Torres, Treasurer
- Pamela Butler, Membership Secretary

Pam's statement follows:

The position of membership chair complements my current position as the listserv moderator for the Society's American Branch (as of January, 2003); there is a lot of overlap in directing new members to the information they require. I've been enthusiastic about the Richard III Society since I joined up three years ago, and I believe that a positive attitude encourages others to become more involved. I worked several years as the

membership chair, secretary, and treasurer of a neighborhood association which numbered nearly 500 people and initiated the use of the Excel database program there. Writing and editing the quarterly association newsletter was another responsibility I acquired, having had previous, similar experience working for a local arts organization. I graduated with honors from Idaho State University in 1978; my degree was a B.S. in pharmacy, and I served as the vice-president of Rho Chi, an honorary pharmacy society, in my final year. In December, 2001, I graduated with honors from the University of New Mexico's M.B.A. program. If I'm elected to the position of membership chair, I will do my utmost to encourage membership and participation.

Pamela J. Butler

Mail ballots will be mailed in August. (Prior written approval must be obtained from write-in candidates.)

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SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

*Anyone looking to reactivate the Southern California Chapter,
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