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11000 Anaheim Ave. NE • Albuquerque, NM 87122-3102
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During the Wars of the Roses, Exeter's support seems to have been given to each side in turn. The city withstood a half-hearted siege by Courtenay, on behalf of the Yorkists, but the Mayor, who found it possible to serve under four kings, seems to have been able to convince Edward IV that he had supported the Yorkists throughout. However, the newly-erected roof of the Guildhall, restored in 1468–9, when Warwick and Edward were engaged in open war, bears evidence of Warwick's badge and possible involvement. The King gave the Mayor a sword as a special mark of his favour, and it is now part of the city's regalia. Richard III visited the city from 8–14 November 1483. When dealing with the uprising in the West Country and threat of invasion from Henry Tudor, Shakespeare celebrates his connection in the famous passage from Richard III, Act IV, sc II.:

When I was last in Exeter,
The Mayor in courtesy, shew'd me the castle,
and called it Rouge-monk; at which name I started;
Because a Bard of Ireland told me once,
I should not live long after I saw Richmond.

though this story only appears in the later Chronicles of Holinshed (1587) who, in turn, appears to have derived it from one John Hooker, according to his source note.

Cover Illustration:

A. The Guildhall roof, with the Warwick Bear and Ragged Staff badges carved on the corbels supporting the transverse beams (left and right).
B. The city Regalia, with Edward IV's sword, one given by Perkin Warbeck in 1497, and Cap of Maintenance.
C. Richard's visit is commemorated by this stained glass window (20th century) in The Rougemont Hotel, showing the Mayor and a small but handsome blonde king.
D. The Gatehouse and entrance, Rougemont Castle
E. The Gatehouse, Rougemont Castle, Exeter
On 24-25 July 1483, the newly crowned King Richard III paid a visit to Magdalen College, Oxford, as he made his way north to York. The king had been invited by the college’s founder, William Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester, to pay a royal visit to the college. According to the records of Magdalen College, upon his arrival in Oxford the king was ‘... honourably received, firstly outside the University by the Chancellor of the University and by the Regents and non-Regents.’

There is nothing unusual, or suspicious, in the new king visiting Magdalen College. The college founder, Bishop William Waynflete, was the longest survivor on the Episcopal bench. He was one of the few remaining Lancastrian bishops and had served as Chancellor of England (1449-59). He maintained good relations with Edward IV, who made a royal visit to Magdalen in September of 1481. When Edward IV commandeered most of the stone masons in England to work on his project of St. Georges Chapel at Windsor in the late 1470’s, he made an exception for Waynflete and allowed some of the masons to work on building projects for Magdalen College. Waynflete, the successor to Henry (Cardinal) Beaufort as Bishop of Winchester, appears to have been a competent academic who stayed away from political intrigue.

Waynflete had maintained good relations with the court of Edward IV. He appointed the king’s brother-in-law, Lionel Woodville, to the position of Archdeacon of Surrey in 1479, the same year he gave him the benefice of Witney in Oxfordshire. In 1479, Lionel Woodville would rise to another exalted position when he was named Chancellor of Oxford University. He was then twenty-six years of age. In 1482 he was made Bishop of Salisbury. For someone with little academic or institutional experience, he had a meteoric rise. One may logically suspect his status as the queen’s brother may have some connection to his rise in status.

In the mid-fifteenth century it was not uncommon for landed laymen to affiliate themselves with a powerful patron to secure protection and influence with the crown — ‘good lordship.’ Oxford University had a similar need to utilize the practice of ‘good lordship’ to protect its special status.

Thus, the selection of Lionel Woodville to be Chancellor was not that surprising. What is surprising to me is the fact that so few historians have commented on the fact that it was Lionel Woodville who greeted Richard during the last week of July. He was not in sanctuary and he was not in hiding. He apparently had Richard’s trust. Within weeks of the Magdalen visit he was involved with the uprising against Richard.

Some Background

Richard claimed the throne on 26 June, 1483, and was crowned on 6 July of that year. He remained in London for two weeks before beginning his progress north to York. He left London 21 July, making stops at Windsor and Reading, before arriving at Oxford on the evening of 24 July.

I have been interested in this visit to Oxford for several reasons. For several years I have been traveling to Oxford to participate in The Oxford Experience, a summer series of courses presented by the university and held at Christ Church College. Oxford becomes addictive and I have the addiction. I am a Ricardian who does not believe Richard ordered the death of his nephews who, in July of 1483, were lodged in the Tower. I will qualify this further by expressing my opinion that I am not certain they were murdered in the Tower but, if they were, the jury is out on the identity of the culprits. Several theories have been advanced that point the finger at various others, including the Duke of Buckingham,
Margaret Beaufort, Henry Tudor, etc. I believe that a sufficient case has never been established to charge anyone with their deaths. If the princes did meet their fate in the Tower, I suspect Buckingham was involved. However, as Bertram Fields maintains, any such suspicion is purely speculative and ‘there is no substantive evidence that he actually committed the crime.’

I am not an academic. My professional life covered a span of thirty-seven years in law enforcement, most of them spent conducting criminal investigations at the state and federal level. Motive, means and opportunity have always been of interest to me. I feel somewhat akin to Josephine Tey’s Inspector Grant when viewing the way history and historians traditionally depict Richard III. I also like a mystery.

Trying to piece together the fate of the princes in the Tower, and how their fate was connected to the events of the summer of 1483, would be a challenge at any time. Attempting to do so five hundred years later becomes close to impossible. I will concentrate on the issue of Richard’s visit to Oxford that summer as I believe it has never received sufficient attention by historians interested in the events of 1483.

The three individuals of greatest interest to me concerning the Magdalen visit are Richard III, Henry Stafford, second Duke of Buckingham, and Lionel Woodville, Bishop of Salisbury and Chancellor of Oxford University.

According to the records of Magdalen College, two of those individuals were at Magdalen on the evening of 24 July 1483. One was not.

Richard’s Visit

The lack of contemporary written records concerning the location and activities of many of the individuals involved in the events surrounding Richard III has long been lamented. However, we are forever in the debt of the anonymous fellow at Magdalen College who recorded Richard’s visit.

In July of 2004 I had the opportunity to visit Magdalen College and view the college record through the hospitality of the college archivist, Dr. Robin Darwall-Smith. It was his opinion that the entry was made by a fellow of the college. It is not possible to pin down the exact date it was written. I believe the entry was made within days of Richard’s visit. The author indicated that the entry was made in the same month as the visit. The identity of the author is unknown as numerous fellows made unsigned entries in the Register. Dr. Darwall-Smith believes it probable that had Buckingham, the second most powerful person in the kingdom, been present he would have been included in the Register. This opinion is held by many, including Paul Murray Kendall. Kendall makes a persuasive argument that the failure to list Buckingham is strong evidence he was not there and had not left London with the king. Bertram Fields, who likes to weigh the evidence as if preparing for trial, has a similar opinion.

Not everyone agrees that the failure to list Buckingham as being at Magdalen is presumptive evidence he was not there and/or did not leave London with Richard. Charles Ross disagrees with Kendall and infers Kendall was trying to build a case putting Buckingham in London at a time when the princes may have met their fate. Alison Weir has her doubts about relying on the Magdalen Register. Both Ross and Weir refer to varying accounts by Rous, More and Vergil that could be used to sustain a belief that Buckingham did start north with Richard. Counter arguments could be made concerning their objectivity and, in the case of More and Vergil, their direct knowledge of events in the summer of 1483.

There is, of course, the possibility that Rous, Vergil and More may have been right and Buckingham did start north with Richard but, for some unknown reason, departed from him before he reached Oxford and then rejoining him at Gloucester. I doubt that occurred. However, it is not beyond the realm of possibility. It would only deepen the mystery.

One possible source remained silent on the progress. It was not mentioned by the Croyland chronicler. If Buckingham was not with Richard during the first week of his progress, it raises the issue of where he was and what he was doing. Based on events of the late summer of 1483, the answer to those questions would be beneficial in unraveling the background of Buckingham’s rebellion, as well as the fate of the princes in the Tower. I believe the failure of the Magdalen Register to list Buckingham as being present is prima facie evidence he was not there.

I had another question for Dr. Darwall-Smith, an issue that has intrigued me ever since I read Robert C. Hairsine’s article ‘Oxford University and the Life and Legend of Richard III.’ This concerned the identity of the Chancellor of Oxford University at the time of Richard’s visit. The register states:

Twenty-fourth day of this month the most illustrious King Richard the Third was honourably received, firstly outside the University by the Chancellor of the University and by the Regents and non-Regents . . .

Dr. Darwall-Smith informed me the Register stated the Chancellor greeted the king. The fellow of Magdalen who made that entry would not have made a mistake on that point. I want to make clear that the Register does not name Lionel Woodville. It only refers to the Chancellor of the University. However, the Chancellor in July of 1483 was Bishop Lionel Woodville, last known to have been in sanctuary at Westminster the
A King, a Duke, and a Bishop

previous month. I asked Dr. Darwall-Smith if it were possible that someone might have been acting in that role for purposes of the visit and thus inadvertently listed as the chancellor. He did not believe so. His stated that if the record said the Chancellor greeted the king, then the Chancellor greeted the king. I will take that one step further and say that Lionel Woodville greeted the king, for he was the Chancellor. There is evidence that Richard may have come to some form of understanding with the bishop in late June, thus making Woodville’s presence, as surprising as it may be, within the realm of possibility.

The Status Of The Bishop

Who was Lionel Woodville? Most historical writings give passing reference to him as a brother of Elizabeth Woodville, and one who obtained his high position of Bishop of Salisbury through that relationship. There are conflicting views on the bishop’s activities at the time of Edward’s death. J.A.F. Thomson maintains he did not appear to be actively involved in Woodville intrigue at the time of Edward’s death. He asserts that the bishop was not present in London at the time of Edward IV’s death.\(^{(15)}\) He disagrees with Kendall who claims Woodville was present, placing him at the dying king’s bedside when Edward called the rival factions together shortly before his death. He also places the bishop at Edward’s funeral.\(^{(16)}\)

Kendall describes the bishop as a man ready to follow the lead of the queen. He labels Woodville as being "haughty" by nature and believes he was one of the Woodville group of conspirators.\(^{(17)}\) Kendall had a low opinion of the bishop’s father, calling him a ‘rapacious adventurer.’ He implies the bishop was a similar type of individual but hid his true nature beneath a bishop’s gown.\(^{(18)}\)

Charles Ross makes little reference to the bishop and his involvement with events in the summer of 1483. He claims the bishop played a leading role in Buckingham’s Rebellion but does not offer any specifics.\(^{(19)}\) Ross does not believe the Woodvilles were the driving force behind the uprising of that year. He cites the anger of Edward IV loyalists over Richard’s treatment of Edward’s heirs as the nexus. The Woodvilles and Lancastrians merged their plans into this scenario. Ross speculates that Buckingham may have decided he was at risk because of his close relationship with Richard and decided to join the conspirators for his own self-interest.\(^{(20)}\) The Tudors were ripe to take advantage of these events.

I tend to concur with Kendall’s opinion that the bishop probably was in London at the time of Edward’s death and was part of the Woodville conspiracy. This is only an opinion and I base it primarily on the bishop’s subsequent actions that year. It is not, however, conclusive. I do have one problem with Kendall’s interpretations concerning the bishop and the events of the summer of 1483. Kendall refers to Dorset, upon hearing of the planned uprisings set for October of 1483, having “made his way south to Wiltshire and went to work with his uncle Lionel, bishop of Salisbury who had slipped away from the sanctuary at Westminster sometime before and was fermenting trouble in his diocese.” Kendall never specifically discusses the bishop’s presence in Oxford. He does refer to the fact that the Chancellor greeted Richard upon his arrival at Magdalen but never comments on the fact that the Chancellor was Bishop Lionel Woodville. Was Kendall aware of that fact? If so, it is strange he never discussed it.

Ross, as far as I have been able to ascertain, also fails to make this connection to the Oxford visit.

Lionel Woodville went into sanctuary on, or about, 1 May 1483. This may have been the actions of a cautious man. Richard and Buckingham had already moved against his brother, Anthony Earl Rivers, and his nephew, Lord Richard Grey. Buckingham was known to harbor ill feelings towards the Woodville family. As an eleven year old youth, he had been forced to marry the queen’s sister, Katherine Woodville.

What do we know of Richard’s feelings towards the bishop in May/June of 1483? The bishop entered Westminster at the beginning of May. The next reference we have concerning his location is a letter from Simon Stallworth to William Stonor on 9 June, placing the bishop in sanctuary. We know that on 3 June the bishop’s name had been removed from the commission for the peace for Dorset.\(^{(21)}\) This was probably indicative of Richard’s suspicions concerning his loyalty. On 10 June Richard sent a letter to authorities in York making note of the Woodville threat.\(^{(22)}\) The bishop was a Woodville.

The next three weeks were a whirlwind of activity resulting in Richard claiming the crown. Bishop Stillington makes his disclosure concerning Lady Eleanor Butler and the precontract issue. On 13 June
Richard and Buckingham move against Hastings and others, including Bishop Morton and Thomas Stanley. Hastings is removed from the picture. Morton will be placed in Buckingham's custody. Richard will keep Thomas Stanley nearby, probably to keep an eye on him.

On 16 June, the queen allows the young duke of York to leave sanctuary at Westminster and join his brother in the Tower. Richard has pledged to respect the security of her son. It is at this time, according to Kendall, that Richard makes the decision that Earl Rivers, Lord Richard Grey and Thomas Vaughn must be executed. Those executions take place on 25 June.

Dorset has fled sanctuary and gone into hiding. Sir Edward Woodville has gained control over a large part of Edward's treasures and is a challenging threat with his fleet. What of the bishop? We do not know when he left sanctuary. I have not been able to find any source that documents his departure. Further, he is not mentioned in accounts concerning the young Duke of York leaving sanctuary. There are clues which, when taken with the totality of events, seem to indicate he left sanctuary sometime in later June.

On 26 June, the day after the executions, Buckingham led a large contingent of notables to Baynard's Castle and exhorts Richard to take the crown. Richard accepts and proceeds to Westminster Hall. It is impossible to know precisely what suspicions Richard had before he was presented evidence of the planned uprising. Other than his presence in Oxford, where was the bishop during the summer of 1483? There are documents that place the bishop at one of Buckingham's estates, Thornbury Manor, on 22 September, just prior to the uprising. Why is he there? It is worth noting that while Buckingham was not at Magdalen, Margaret Beaufort's husband, Lord Thomas Stanley was. What interaction took place between the bishop and Lord Thomas Stanley? We don't know. Ross believed Stanley was loyal to Richard at this juncture and supported Richard's cause over the interests of his wife. Could Stanley have been playing a double role? His actions at Bosworth make this a relevant question.

Richard ended his visit to Oxford on 26 July, leaving for Minster Lovell. Hairsine brings up a point that has received scant historical attention. Within days of Richard's departure, the university sent a petition to the king asking him to pardon Bishop Morton, a graduate of Balliol College. This may have been an attempt by the university to aid one of its distinguished fellows. On the other hand, as Hairsine points out, 'It is a matter of speculation whether the University's petition, reaching Richard at Minster Lovell or Gloucester, influenced him to order a relaxation of the conditions under which Morton was to be held at Brecknock Castle, giving opportunity for his subversion of Buckingham as depicted by Tudor historians.' What role, if any, did Lionel Woodville, the Chancellor, have in originating this petition?

Was Richard Suspicious?

It is impossible to know precisely what suspicions Richard may have had that summer. Whom did he trust? Whom did he suspect? Was the king playing a game of cat and mouse with his adversaries?

Buckingham's conduct at the coronation has been cited as being indicative of his having turned against Richard. Fields notes that More claimed Buckingham turned his head the other way when the crown was placed on Richard's head. He also refers to conjecture that Buckingham felt his role at the coronation had been slighted. Did Buckingham feel resentment over the way the king was handling the Bohun inheritance claim? Ross refers to the Croyland Chronicle reference that Richard had become suspicious of Buckingham's actions, claiming that he had placed Buckingham under surveillance even before he was presented evidence of the planned uprising. When did this surveillance start?

Alison Weir claims that in the summer of 1483 there was a conspiracy hatched by the Woodvilles, in sanctuary at Westminster, to spirit the daughters of Edward IV out of England, and that Richard's spies reported this to him while he was at Minster Lovell in late July. There is no record of the bishop having been present for the coronation. Thomson believes that after leaving sanctuary, the bishop went to Oxford. On 20 July, as Richard turned his head the other way when the crown was placed on Richard's head. 

The Magdalen Visit

On 6 July, Richard is crowned at Westminster. There is no record of the bishop having been present for the coronation. Thomson believes that after leaving sanctuary, the bishop went to Oxford. On 20 July, as Richard prepares for his progress north, the bishop is appointed to the commission for the peace for Dorset. My opinion is that the bishop had left sanctuary after making some assurance of loyalty to Richard. This is an assumption, but I believe it is a logical assumption. It would explain why he was allowed to continue as Chancellor of Oxford University and give credibility to the belief that he was in fact the Chancellor who greeted Richard on 24 July.

What continues to puzzle me is the bishop's intention at this time. Was his loyalty to Richard merely a scam that allowed him freedom of movement to plot against the king? What about Richard? Did he really trust the bishop? How does Buckingham figure into the equation at the time of the Magdalen visit? Has he already made his decision to betray Richard? Are Buckingham's plans and intentions known to the bishop? Are Buckingham and the bishop acting in concert? Where is Buckingham? Does his failure to accompany Richard involve a plot concerning the princes in the Tower?

Within weeks of the Magdalen visit Buckingham and the bishop are involved in activities concerning the October uprising. Other than his presence in Oxford, where was the bishop during the summer of 1483? There are documents that place the bishop at one of Buckingham's estates, Thornbury Manor, on 22 September, just prior to the uprising. Why is he there? It is worth noting that while Buckingham was not at Magdalen, Margaret Beaufort's husband, Lord Thomas Stanley was. What interaction took place between the bishop and Lord Thomas Stanley? We don't know. Ross believed Stanley was loyal to Richard at this juncture and supported Richard's cause over the interests of his wife. Could Stanley have been playing a double role? His actions at Bosworth make this a relevant question.

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This raises some points for consideration. On 29 July, while at Minster Lovell, three days after leaving Oxford, Richard issued to Chancellor Russell, under the privy seal, a cryptic letter. The background of this letter has never been adequately explained. It directs the Chancellor to look into a matter that involves an apparent conspiracy. Richard is not explicit as to what the conspiracy is, or who is involved. Does it involve the fate of the princes in the Tower? Does it involve a plot by the Woodvilles to remove Edward's daughters from sanctuary? Does it involve Buckingham? Has Richard received word of the planned October uprising? It is apparent from the letter that Richard believes Buckingham will know what he is referring to and he wants him to proceed on the matter. Was Richard in possession of this information while at Magdalen?

Regardless of what caused Richard to write Russell, by later August the bishop has again fallen out of grace with the king. On 26 August his name is removed from the commission of the peace for the city of Oxford, a post he had held since 1480. We know little of the bishop's activities in August and one can only speculate as to why he was removed from the commission.

We have evidence that by mid September he was residing at Thornbury Manor, one of Buckingham's estates. It was located twelve miles north of Bristol, close to the Severn. This was an ideal location for the relay of messages between Buckingham's estates in Wales and conspirators based in London and the south and west of England.

On 22 September, from Thornbury Manor, the bishop issued a letter concerning the appropriation of the chapel of St. Katherine in the church of Wanborough, Wiltshire, to Magdalen College. The patron of the chapel had been Viscount Lovell who had granted the advowson to Bishop William Waynflete and to his fellow courtier William Catesby. The revenue was to be used by Bishop Waynflete for the college. The significance of this is not in the grant itself, it may have been innocuous, but rather the fact that it allows us to place Bishop Woodville at Thornbury Manor, a Buckingham estate, only weeks before the planned uprising. It is difficult to imagine the bishop's presence at Thornbury Manor as being an innocent coincidence.

By September Richard is under no illusions, if he ever had been, concerning the identity of many of those who were plotting against him. On 23 September he orders the seizure of the Bishop Woodville's temporalities. On that same date he removes Robert Morton, the Bishop of Ely's nephew, from his position as master of the rolls.

Although information concerning his movements is sketchy, Buckingham has not been sitting on his hands during this period. On 24 September, the day after Richard takes action against Bishop Woodville, Buckingham writes to Henry Tudor and invites him to invade the kingdom. It is hard to believe that Richard continues to trust Buckingham. However, as late as 16 September Richard had ordered royal officers in the north and south of Wales to pay their accounts to Buckingham.

Buckingham's letter to Henry Tudor appears to indicate a belief that the princes are alive. Does this tend to exonerate Buckingham from any possible involvement with their death, if in fact they were dead at that time? Probably not. It could be a smokescreen. The use of 'plausible deniability' is not a new concept. Create a false written record, contemporaneous with the event, to provide yourself cover if you subsequently risk exposure. This tactic had been going on for a long time and Buckingham would not have been the first person to have used it. It remains a popular practice.

It is difficult to develop a firm opinion on the relationship between Richard and Buckingham that summer. Richard makes no statements that would indicate he suspects Buckingham's loyalty until his letter of 12 October to his Chancellor, John Russell, whereat he describes Buckingham as 'him that had best Cause to be true, the Duke of Buckingham, the most untrue creature living.' When did he form this opinion?

**The Rebellion And Its Aftermath**

Buckingham will face the block when the rebellion collapses. Many of those involved, including two of the three rebelling bishops, John Morton, bishop of Ely, and Peter Courtenay, Bishop of Exeter, will flee to the continent. Bishop Lionel Woodville seems to drop from sight. Little is written of his fate. Alison Weir, mistakenly, has him going into exile. Kendall gives no specific information on the bishop's fate but does include him in a group of conspirators who either went into sanctuary or hiding or fled to Henry Tudor in Brittany. Ross has little to say on the bishop after the collapse of the rebellion. It should be noted that Polydore Vergil never identified Bishop Woodville as having joined Henry Tudor in exile.

Thomson gives us the best description of the bishop's fate after the rebellion fails. He maintains that the bishop will shortly thereafter enter sanctuary at Beaulieu Abby and remain there until his death, probably in November of 1484. Records at Merton College, Oxford, place Bishop Woodville at Beaulieu in March of 1484. There are indications that Richard may have considered challenging the bishop's claim of sanctuary at Beaulieu in late 1483, and early 1484, but did not press the matter. Other records at Merton College, according to Thomson, indicate the bishop was alive in July of that year. The first mention of his death occurs in a document dated 1 December 1484. On that date a license was issued to the dean and chapter of Salisbury to elect a successor to Bishop Woodville. Thomson theorizes this indicates the
The bishop probably died in November of 1484, never having left sanctuary at Beaulieu.

The bishop's tenure as Chancellor of the university did not last long. On 20 October 1483, shortly after the rebellion fell apart, Oxford University elected a new Chancellor, Robert Dudley, Bishop of Durham. Bishop Dudley had been loyal to Richard, accompanying him on the July visit to Magdalen. Dudley died a month later and the university selected a new chancellor. This time they chose John Russell, Bishop of Lincoln. He was at that time Chancellor of England.(46) The belief in the benefits of “good lordship” continued to play a role.

Some Closing Thoughts

I believe that Buckingham was not with Richard when he visited Magdalen College. I do believe that Lionel Woodville, who, within weeks of that visit, would be involved with Buckingham in the planned October uprising, was there. He was there in his role as Chancellor of the University. However, did the bishop use his position as a cover to further plots to depose Richard? How innocent was his presence at Oxford? How significant was Buckingham's failure to be there? Are we to believe that the alliance between the duke and the bishop only originated after the Magdalen visit?

Historians disagree on whether or not Buckingham left London with Richard. I have stated my belief — the Duke of Buckingham was not at Magdalen College. Until someone can definitively prove where Buckingham was during 24-26 July, 1483, I will continue to have my doubts as to his activities. Likewise, little attention has been paid to the role played by Bishop Woodville. Few historians comment on the fact that he greeted Richard that summer. I find it hard to accept that the bishop, who was in sanctuary in June and supposedly part of the scheming Woodville clan, would the next month, as Chancellor of the University, loyally welcome Richard to Oxford. I believe he greeted Richard, but I doubt the sincerity of that greeting. Within weeks of Richard's visit he was clearly involved with Buckingham in the October uprising. I believe that the Bishop Woodville of May, and the Bishop Woodville of September, were true personifications of the man and showed where his interests were. The Bishop Woodville of late July, greeting Richard, in my opinion, represented a man playing a part in furtherance of a larger scheme.

What were the hidden thoughts of the king and the bishop on that July evening when the king came to Magdalen? What were Lord Thomas Stanley's thoughts as they sat down for the great banquet at Magdalen? How did he view the bishop? Was Buckingham's absence discussed? Oh, to have been a fly on the wall and hear hushed conversations that evening.

The visit itself was a logical act by the king. Richard showed more than a casual interest in academic affairs at Oxford. The following day he sat through two learned debates, one on moral philosophy and the other on theology. He rewarded the disputants and appears to have won the hearts of the fellows of the college. The anonymous fellow who made the entry in the college record describing the visit, closed with 'Vivat Rex in eternum.'

Bishop Lionel Woodville, the Chancellor of Oxford University has received scant attention from most historians. As Thomson points out, his early death may be part of the reason for this neglect, together with the belief that he was merely an opportunistic Woodville who played no major role in the events of 1483. Is that an accurate assessment? Few archival records exist that pertain to his activities. His episcopal register is not extant.(47)

What does all this mean? To me, the visit presents a scenario of conflicting theories and suppositions concerning the actions and intentions of the duke and the bishop at the time Richard visited Magdalen College. The planned October uprising was in its formative stage. Lionel Woodville loyally greets Richard at Magdalen, or so it seems. A month earlier he was in sanctuary at Westminster and under suspicion as a scheming member of the Woodville family. A month after the visit he is involved in planning the uprising to depose Richard. What is going on?

In 1939, in a radio address concerning the momentous events of that summer, Winston Churchill had this to say: 'I cannot forecast to you the actions of Russia. It is a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma; but perhaps there is a key. The key is Russian interest.'

I think we would do well to keep in mind the interests of the duke and the bishop that summer of 1483. To paraphrase Churchill, that may be the key. I don't know

Dr. Robin Darwall-Smith, the archivist for Magdalen College, pointing out the description of Richard's visit in the Magdalen register.
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the answer as to why they acted as they did, but it cer-
certainly does give one more than enough venues to
explore.

To date, we don’t know much about what went on
behind the scenes at the time of the Magdalen visit.
Documentary evidence is scarce and theories abound.
Oh well, another excuse to go back to Oxford.

Footnotes
(1) Magdalen College Register ‘A’ f.27.b
(2) Virginia A. Davis, William Waynflete – Bishop and
   Educationalist, pp 33-34
(3) ibid, p 68
(4) ibid, p 33
(5) Charles Ross, Edward IV, p 270
(6) ibid, p 96
(7) R. L. Storey, University and Government
    1430-1500, pp 711-2, re: The History of Oxford
    Catton & Ralph Evans
(8) Bertram Fields, Royal Blood, p 299
(9) Paul Murray Kendall, Richard III, p 302
(10) Fields, p 292
(11) Charles Ross, Richard III, p 148, see notes
(12) Allison Weir, The Princes In The Tower, p 142
(13) Kendall, p 302, see notes
(14) Robert C. Hairsine, Oxford University and the Life
(15) J.A.F. Thomson, Bishop Lionel Woodville and Rich-
    ard III, 1986, Institute of Historical Research Bul-
    letin, Vol 59, pp 130-135
(16) Kendall, p 191
(17) ibid, p 197
(18) ibid, p 254
(19) Ross, Richard III, p 42
(20) ibid, pp 114-115
(21) Kendall, p 313
(22) see Thomson
(23) Fields, p 267
(24) Kendall, p 252, see notes
(25) see Thomson
(26) ibid
(27) ibid
(28) Magdalen Register
(29) Ross, Richard III, p 56
(30) see Hairsine
(31) Fields, p 150
(32) ibid p 124
(33) Ross, Richard III, p 116
(34) Weir, p 144
(35) Fields, p 132
(36) ibid, p 135
(37) see Thomson
(38) ibid
(39) ibid
(40) ibid
(41) Ross, Richard III, p 322
(42) Weir, p 155
(43) Kendall, p 328
(44) see Thomson
(45) ibid
(46) see Hairsine
(47) See Thomson

The Author

David M. Luitweiler is a Ricardian and a retired law
enforcement official residing in Victor, New York. He previously
served 32 years in the New York State Police, including tenure as
head of the criminal division (BCI) before leaving in 1994 to
accept a position as Executive Assistant to the Administrator of
the US Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) in
Washington, DC. He served in that position until retiring in
December of 1999. He remains a member of the International
Association of Chiefs of Police. He is a Phi Beta Kappa graduate
of the University of Rochester and a member of the Richard III
Society since 2002.

ERRATA

The Tewkesbury article in the Fall Register contains a
factual error. In the first paragraph, the correct date of
the battle is 1471 — not 1481.
standing under the “falcon and fetterlock” sign next to “The Falcon” pub in Fotheringhay, which was supposed to double as a bus stop sign, I took one last look to the east towards the entrance area to the church, and beyond that, Castle Farm Guest House. Or so I thought, until a bus racing eastwards came into my line of vision. My bus! It hadn’t even paused near the pub. I ran into the street, jumping and waving my arms in a futile attempt to capture the attention of the bus driver, who quickly reached the turn south and disappeared from sight. This was the only bus I’d been certain of catching, and it had missed me, leaving me stranded in “isolated” Fotheringhay.

I’d rushed through my meal at The Falcon just to catch that bus in time! From the menu, I’d chosen the “Jamaican Jerk Chicken,” a spicy recipe which included yams, avocado, pineapple chutney, and black beans . . . interesting, since I’ve never seen a recipe which contains the last three ingredients. I’d topped it off with a drink of “Fentiman’s Curiosity Cola,” a drink I’d discovered the year before while on the 2003 Ricardian Tour, drinking three of them before the tour left town—from sheer curiosity, of course. The taste of this cola defies description, but to me it had sort of a sarsaparilla taste with a “twang,” which I now believe to be a small amount of ginger. Ironically, I don’t actually like Fentiman’s ginger beer, which I tried later when visiting Tewkesbury Abbey and found to be too strong.

It was hot and humid that day, July 30, 2004, but I decided to immediately launch “Plan B,” taking the Nene Way Footpath, which was marked out on the 1:25,000 scale map of the area I’d printed off from [www.multimap.com](http://www.multimap.com). The Nene Way Footpath is a 110-mile route which runs from Badby, Northamptonshire to Sutton Bridge in the Fens country near The Wash. From Fotheringhay, the trail runs north to Nassington, Yarwell, and Wansford (and joining up with Hereward’s Way), and to the south it takes one to Warminster, Thrapston, Wellingborough, and Northampton (and the site of the Battle of Northampton in 1460 near Delapre Abbey.) At this point, one can transfer over to the Grand Union Canal Walk or the Macmillan Way. For more information, see [www.ramblers.org.uk/info/paths/nene.html](http://www.ramblers.org.uk/info/paths/nene.html).

**The Church of St. Mary and All Saints**

Having bought many of the booklets which the Fotheringhay church sells, covering topics from Roman Britain to Mary, Queen of Scots, and adding it to the excessive camera gear I’d brought, my load was going to be heavy. This parish church, formally known as the Church of St. Mary and All Saints, is built in the English perpendicular style and has flying buttresses to help support the stone walls and the roof. The unusual and beautiful octagonal lantern tower set above a solid square base is distinctive and can be seen “for miles.” I had been able to see it from nearly two miles away as a passenger on the bus from Oundle approached it from the south, and it was a breathtaking sight! At the top spires surround the flagpole, which itself is topped by the metallic falcon and fetterlock, the badge of the House of York.

The bus had arrived before 10 am, and since the bar at The Falcon Pub didn't open until 11:30 am, and the restaurant not till noon, I had plenty of time to explore the vicinity before lunch. I went a short distance east down the road, then turned right to progress down a long, tree-lined walk which approaches the church entrance under the lantern tower. (There is no admission charge to get in, and the church is open to visitors most of the time during the year, except during special events).

Going inside to stand at the foot of the nave and looking at the front of the church, I discovered that the church is light and bright, with the mostly-plain but very large windows bringing illumination to the open interior structure, particularly on sunny days. The pale cream interior is beautifully set off by the wood-enclosed pews on
Visiting Fotheringhay

either side of the nave and the wooden altar screen at the front which quotes the Lord’s Prayer and Exodus. Immediately to my right was a Union Jack flag, and below that was a model of what the church used to look like when the college was still attached. A sign accompanying it says, “This model, based on the plan of Mr. P.G. Dickinson, shows the church and chantry college as they may have appeared before their dissolution in 1548. The choir was built in 1390, the nave in 1435. The chantry college housed a community of about 30. This would have included a master, a precentor, 11 chaplains, 8 clerks, and 13 choristers.”

The Friends of Fotheringhay, hereafter Friends (see www.richardiii.net/sites_fotheringhay.htm) reveal that in 1398 Edmund, the First Duke of York, a younger son of King Edward III, petitioned Pope Boniface IX “for consent to found a College in honour of the ’Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin and St. Edward the Confessor’.” However, “Edmund died in 1402, leaving his son, Edward, the second duke, to continue with the college project. The scale was reduced, it was moved into the parish church and the dedication was changed to ’The Annunciation of Our Lady and All Saints’. In 1412, the papal bull granting permission for the Foundation was finally issued. Three years later, the Duke was one of only two English knights who died at Agincourt and he was brought back for burial in the choir of his new collegiate church, which continued eastwards of the present building. If he had lived, it is thought that the Duke would have enlarged the whole of the church as well as building the college.” This area to the east of the present building, presumably the Lady Chapel, was later demolished.

Richard, Duke of York inherited that title as a child of four. P.A Johnson, in his book Duke Richard of York, 1411-1460, pp. 4-5, says that “The feoffees retained control of the duchy estates until Duke Richard came of age, partly for financial reasons, but also to permit the endowment of Fotheringhay College. What steps they took themselves, if any, to further this foundation are unknown, but when on 1 July 1433, the duke of York entered into recognizances with Cardinal Beaufort in the sum of £2,000, it was agreed that a maximum of £1,000 would be applied in ten equal installments to the endowment of the college. It was also agreed that, having fulfilled various obligations to the annuitants of the late duke, and discharged diverse debts within two years, York would be re-enfeoffed with the duchy estates.”

Richard, Duke of York was “committed to clearing Duke Edward’s debts and endowing Fotheringhay.” The Friends reveal that “Details of a contract are known, dated to 1434, between William Horwood, freemason, and the duke’s commissioners, William Wolston and Thomas Peckham. This contract was for a new church attached to the choir of the College of Fotheringhay. A cloister is also mentioned, together with a porch to connect the new buildings with it.”

The story of Richard, Duke of York, is well-known to Ricardians and will not be revisited here, except to say that after a long struggle with the House of Lancaster, he made his claim to the throne in October of 1460 and died on the 30th of December of that year at the Battle of Wakefield, as did his 17-year-old son Edmund, Earl of Rutland. A long stretch of 15 ½ years passed before they were laid to rest at Fotheringhay, partly because political turbulence would have interfered with the plans for an elaborate reburial, and possibly because church renovations (such as reglazing the nave) would have taken some time to complete. According to the article, “The Reburial of Richard, Duke of York, 21-30 July 1476,” by P.W. Hammond, Anne F. Sutton, and Livia Visser-Fuchs, Edward IV formally refounded the College of Fotheringhay on 15 February 1462 (p. 124 in The Ricardian, Volume X).

The authors also said “...one of Edward IV’s first acts after his victory at Towton on Palm Sunday 1461 was to remove the heads [on Micklegate Bar] and send them to Pontefract for burial.” While the exact location of the burials is not known for certain to us, “the most likely place is that of the Priory of St. John the Evangelist near

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Pontefract Castle. Edward perforce buried the heads in the same place.” The lack of attention at the time to the fate of York’s body would have probably been due to the enormous fallout of the Yorkist victory at Towton overshadowing all else.

Interestingly, the bodies of Richard, Earl of Salisbury and Sir Thomas Neville “were reinterred at Bisham Abbey, Buckinghamshire, with great pomp and splendour on 15 January, 1463. The bodies were escorted south by the leading Nevilles, and the House of York was represented by George, Duke of Clarence, and Elizabeth, Duchess of Suffolk.”

The bodies of York and his son Edmund were exhumed on the morning of 21st July, 1476 and laid in state on a hearse (or hearses) in the choir of the church of the priory of St. John at Pontefract. A life-like effigy of the Duke was the focus of the ceremonies; the face of the effigy was uncovered, the hands were folded in prayer, and the body dressed in a gown of dark blue, “the mourning colour of kings—furred with ermine. On its head was a purple cap of maintenance, also furred with ermine.”

It took more than a week for the spectacular procession of noteworthy people, led by Richard, Duke of Gloucester, to reach Fotheringhay. Among those accompanying Richard were “Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, Thomas, Lord Stanley, Richard Hastings, Lord Welles, Ralph, Lord Greyseke, Humphrey, Lord Dacre (of the North), and John Blount, Lord Mountjoy...The cortège was met by a large party of prelates in their full pontifical robes. At the entrance to the cemetery the king himself was waiting, dressed in a dark blue habit and hood, furred with miniver...He saluted the effigy with tears in his eyes. At his side were his brothers, the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, his nephew, John de la Pole, Earl of Lincoln, his father's brother-in-law, Henry Bourchier, Earl of Essex, and Edmund Grey, Earl of Kent; also the queen's brother, Anthony Woodville, Earl Rivers, and one of her sons by her first marriage, Thomas Grey, Marquess of Dorset. In the king's company were also William, Lord Hastings, his chamberlain, Richard Fiennes, Lord Dacre (of the South), the queen's chamberlain, John Tuchet, Lord Audley, Anthony, Lord Grey of Ruthin, son of the Earl of Kent, and Walter Devereux, Lord Ferrers, as well as the lords who had escorted the body on its journey.” Cecily is not mentioned as having been present. See the article or the book for more details.

Richard, Duke of York's coffin was lowered in his grave in the choir, and Rutland's was placed in the Lady Chapel. (Edward had earlier bestowed Fotheringhay to his mother Cecily, who lived there until 1469; she was buried there with her husband after her death at Berkhamstead in 1495.) The funeral arrangements had been elaborate and expensive throughout; the tents provided for guests at Fotheringhay could accommodate 1500 people and the food accounts indicated that as many as 2000 people may have been present at some point. When Cecily died, having outlived all of her sons, the York connection to Fotheringhay ended, and it became crown property. The Friends reveal that “it seems the College remained independent until 1539, when it surrendered its liberties to Henry VIII. The College members continued their duties until 1553. Despite the choir of the church being destroyed in the 16th century, the York tombs were removed from the ruins. When Elizabeth I visited in 1566, she ordered new monuments to be made for the tombs of her forebears.” These were completed in 1573, with Richard, Duke of York and Cecily’s being on the north side, along with that of their son Edmund, Earl of Rutland. Edward, Second Duke of York's tomb was on the south side. Plaques were placed above these in 1575, so they had been in place more than a decade by the time the drama of Mary, Queen of Scots unfolded.

Returning to my own situation (standing at the foot of the nave), there was immediately in front of me a beautiful white font with colorful flowers placed at the base; on top was a misericord with carving of a jester. (See http://www.le.ac.uk/elh/pot/leics/around.html, number 22; numbers 16-21 are photos of the pulpit, including number 19, the boar.) A gilded eagle lectern was in front of that halfway up the nave, and towards the front to my left, was the colorful pulpit donated by Edward IV. “In 1966, the rather shabby-looking pulpit was restored and repainted to bring back its glowing colours,” note the Friends. “Given to the church by Edward IV, it is one of the finest examples of its kind. Hexagonal in shape and rising on a slender plinth, it is reached by a narrow stair. The back bears the Royal Arms, flanked by a bull and the White Lion of March. The Arms are further flanked by another bull, for George of Clarence, and a White Boar for Richard of Gloucester. The over-tester, with its arabesques and acorn pendants, is probably Jacobean.”

To the right, on the south side of the church where the choir stalls used to be, was a pipe organ being played by a man practicing for an upcoming ceremony, while another man supervised. They were the only others in the church, allowing me to explore unimpeded while inspired by the beautiful music. This magnificent instrument was made by Vincent Woodstock of Hertfordshire, had been contributed by the Friends after extensive fund-raising efforts. “The design of the case has been very carefully matched with the pillars and the archway in which it stands, while the panels echo those of the stalls around it,” they say, and the effects of good planning are evident. It had had its inaugural concert on 28 October 2000.

In the south aisle, there is an extensive display about
the local history. Towards the front (east end) is a stained glass window which was installed by the Richard III Society in 1975; this had been previously blocked in. The Friends website says, “Designed by Harry Harvey of York, the window centres upon the Plantagenet Royal Arms, surrounded by the Arms of the early dukes of York, impaled with those of their wives. The representation of Richard III is an exception. His Arms have been impaled with those of his father-in-law, rather than those of his wife. The whole Warwick Arms, as used by Anne Neville, with the multiple quarterings, would have been technically very difficult to design in a window of this size. Instead, the Arms of Warwick are shown separately. Interspersed with these impalings are the various devices of the family, the Falcon and Fetterlock, the White Lion of March and the Rose-en-soleil for Edward IV, and for Richard, his Boar. Quoting the Friends website:

“In 1982, the south aisle was transformed into a memorial chapel, dedicated to ‘All Souls and the Royal House of York’. The Society provided an altar table covered with a gold cloth, suitably embroidered with a design exclusive to the church and standing on a fine oriental-style carpet. Over the gold cloth is ‘the fair linen cloth’ which has been suitably embroidered and all is then set off with a cross and two candlesticks, together with embroidered cushions for the Gospel and the Epistle. To the south side of the altar is a small credence table, with the rest of the linen and a wooden alms dish, carved with an heraldic rose. In front of the altar are two long desk kneelers with twenty hassocks, serving as a communion rail. All of the needlework was done by members of the Society, mostly to designs created especially for the scheme using Yorkist symbolism.

Beautifully embroidered kneelers are located throughout the church, as anyone who has visited can attest. “After providing kneelers for the chapel, the RCRF [Ricardian Churches Restoration Fund] began replacing those throughout the rest of the church. Fotheringhay’s pews are boxed in with very high walls which means that the new hassocks are double the thickness of those in the chapel. The designs range from ecclesiastical, to heraldic, to flora and fauna of the district. Together with the replacement of the kneelers for the communion rail, this remains an on-going project.”

Turning around to look at the west side’s large, plain window at the base of the lantern tower, I became distracted by the numerous booklets and offerings for sale. I hadn’t realized at the time that a local resident, Michael Lee, who is well-known to Ricardians of the area, found a

**The York Window**

**Tomb over the final resting place of Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, his wife, Cecily Neville, and his son Edmund, Earl of Rutland.**
secret room at Fotheringhay while working on the bells and tower. The subsequent excavation revealed lost stained and painted glass and the complete and only contract for the building of the church. He wrote a book called *The Secret Room and the Contract for the Building of Fotheringhay Church* and sells it for £5.00. Chapel House Publications, 55 Elton Road, Wansford, PE8 6JD. (www.pennhenry.cwc.net).

Outside, south of the church where the college once stood, the blocked doorway and windows in the south wall that show where it joined the church. The remaining earthworks of the former college are covered with grass and border the placid Nene River.

As a final and moving touch, it is reassuring to know that on the anniversary of his birthday, white roses are placed in the church by the Richard III Society.

I left the church and walked east down the main road towards the area where the road turns south towards Tansor. Buildings in this vicinity used to be fifteenth-century inns. I read the green round plaque commemorating the 500th anniversary of the death of Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy (placed there by the Society in 2003), then continued east on the road which runs on the north side of the Castle Farm Guest House.

This is the perfect place to stay for an extended visit to the area. American Ricardian Lorilee McDowell had stayed there some years back and said, “It was at that time a real working farm, but the owners had turned some of the farm buildings (a series of small barns and sheds) into rooms. I had a very pretty one, done up in blue and white gingham....and the meal was very good indeed.” It is still a working farm, by all appearances.

**Fotheringhay Castle**

This road is part of the Nene Way Footpath, and the castle mound is literally in the backyard of the Guest House. When I climbed up to the top of the mound, the only sounds heard were from the farm and from the people on the narrowboat who were leaving. Occasionally cars crossed the bridge, but they were few and far between.

As far back as the time of William the Conqueror, this area was known as “Fodringeia” and was listed in the Domesday Book. William gave this to his niece Judith, who married Waltheof, the Earl of Northampton and of Northumberland. Waltheof was later suspected of conspiring against the Normans and was executed. King William then offered Judith in marriage to a noble Norman named Simon de St. Liz (or Senlis), which she promptly rejected. The king exiled her to the Isle of Ely with her daughter Lady Maud, where they experienced many privations, while giving St. Liz the honors of the Earldoms of Huntingdon and Northampton. St. Liz probably began building a castle in the Fotheringhay vicinity in the year 1100, and, turning from the mother to the daughter, successfully proposed to Lady Maud. Years later, he voyaged to the Holy Land and died in France on his return, in 1115. Maud then remarried to David, brother of King Henry I’s wife Matilda and also a brother to King Alexander I of Scotland. David, Alexander, and Matilda were all children of Malcolm III of Scotland and St. Margaret. By 1124, David was the King of Scotland, but as the Earl of Huntingdon in England, he still paid homage to his brother-in-law.

Fotheringhay ownership remained with the Scots until 1294, when Edward I took it from John Balliol and granted it to John of Brittany, his own nephew. Nearly a century later, in 1377, Edward III gave it to his fifth son, Edmund of Langley, whom he later created the first Duke of York. Edmund enlarged and rebuilt the castle, replacing the wooden building with stone.

Only the motte and bailey earthworks remain of the timber and masonry castle where Richard III was born in 1452 and spent his first years; only one original piece of masonry is found on the site now, and is on display within an iron fence near the river. There were no visible remains of the castle on the top of the mound, which now has steps cut into the trail to the top. However, the views of the Nene River were inspiring, and the lantern tower of the church appeared to soar over the rooftop of the Castle Farm Guest House. I was content to occupy the same air space where Richard may have been...and Mary, Queen of Scots, too.

Mary Queen of Scots was brought to the castle in September 1586 after spending nearly half her life in captivity within England. Her trial took place in the Great Hall of Fotheringhay a month later, on October
14-15, but she was not beheaded until the morning of February 8, 1587. The first stroke of the axe cut into the back of her head; the second stroke essentially completed the job; lastly, the axe was used as a saw to cut a remaining bit of sinew. The executioner lifted the head by the auburn hair, which turned out to be a wig that remained in his hand as the head with short gray hair fell and rolled away. Mary, who met this grisly fate with courage and grace, had been only 44 years old. Her little Skye terrier had hidden under her voluminous gown throughout the execution, after which, distraught, it crept out from beneath her petticoat and stationed itself in the pool of blood between her head and shoulders. As there were to be no relics left behind, everything associated with Mary—the crucifix, writing book, clothes she'd taken with her to her execution, and even the executioner’s block, were burned in Fotheringhay Castle’s courtyard.

A death mask was made shortly after the execution. Antonia Fraser, in her book about Mary, Queen of Scots, says, “At about four o’clock in the afternoon…the organs including the heart were removed and handed to the sheriff, who with the fear of creating relics ever in his mind, had them buried secretly deep within the castle of Fotheringhay. The exact spot was never revealed….The body was then wrapped in a wax winding-sheet and incarcerated in a heavy lead coffin, on Walsingham’s explicit orders…Walsingham had specified in his instructions that the coffin should bestowed ‘by night’ on an upper shelf of the local Fotheringhay church—and Cecil afterwards underlined the word upper in his own hand. But in fact the coffin had not been accorded even this obscure resting-place, but remained quite unburied, like the corpse of Achilles, within Fotheringhay itself. Now [in the following summer] it was planned to give the coffin an honourable burial at Peterborough Church.”

In a subsequent paragraph, Fraser continues, “…the coffin was actually transported from Fotheringhay to Peterborough at dead of night for fear of demonstrations. On Sunday 30 July, Queen Mary’s body left the castle for the last time by the light of torches, in a coach draped in black velvet…They reached Peterborough at two o’clock in the morning, being met by a distinguished convoy of ecclesiastics . . . The coffin was then lodged temporarily in the Bishop's Palace . . . In one respect the ceremony deviated from the common practice at state funerals: it was not found possible to process the coffin round the cathedral owing to the great quantity of lead used on Walsingham’s instructions, estimated at over nine hundredweight. Not only was the weight inordinate, but it was feared by the prudent that the casing might even rip and ‘being very hot weather, might be found some annoyance.’ The coffin was therefore placed immediately in its vault on the south aisle of the cathedral.” An effigy of the late Queen, thought to be based on the death mask made nearly six months earlier, was used for the ceremonies.

She was buried by Robert Scarlett, the sexton and gravedigger of the parish. I find it interesting that such a heavy coffin could be transported 12 miles to Peterborough in the dead of night (when nights are so short in the summer), or that anyone could manage to handle it. The position where her body was buried at Peterborough Cathedral is distinguished by a commemorative tablet placed on a pillar on the southern aisle, and a painting by Zucchero, showing the head of Mary after her execution, hangs in Peterborough Museum. Another noteworthy person buried at Peterborough, and who lies there still, is Katherine of Aragon, King Henry VIII’s first wife. In 1612, Mary’s son, who by now was James I of England had her body removed to Westminster Abbey.

Standing on the mound in this utterly serene and peaceful place, it is difficult to believe such violent events took place within yards of where I was standing. How did Fotheringhay come to be chosen as the site for these events? After all, Elizabeth I had taken care to see that her own ancestor’s tombs (as well as Mary’s!) in the church had been given all due respect. “Interestingly, Fotheringhay in Northamptonshire was meant to be one which received [royal] attention. Leland found it in good condition: it was given a face-life in 1566 for a visit by Elizabeth I . . . But when Fotheringhay was selected as the location for the trial and eventual execution of Mary, Queen of Scots, 1586-7, the greater part of it was in poor shape,” claims Plantagenet Somerset Fry in his book of English castles. “The walls were low enough to jump over, and the outer gatehouse had decayed to the point of uselessness. Would an attempt to rescue Mary have been successful?

After Mary’s execution in its Great Hall, the deterioration accelerated as local people helped themselves to bits of its materials for their own use. However, the castle had one short revival: The antiquarian, Sir Robert Visiting Fotheringhay
Bruce Cotton (1571–1631), incorporated the Great Hall into his manor. (His collection of old government documents and other records is said to have surpassed that of the government.) After his death, it continued to be quarried; for example, the wooden staircase from the Great Hall was removed and was incorporated into a coaching house, The Talbot, in Oundle. By the 18th century, nothing was left.

Climbing down to the enclosed masonry display, I read the signs which commemorated Richard’s birth and the death of Mary, Queen of Scots. A third sign about the masonry itself was placed by the Peterborough Archaelogical Society in 1913.

Walking from Fotheringhay

After missing the bus—no, it missed me—I retraced the steps I’d taken earlier when visiting the castle mound. Lost in thought as I continued east on the farm road towards Elton with my heavy load, I failed to spot the next trail sign which would have told me that the trail cut off from the road somewhere in the vicinity of the castle mound. I remembered buying the “return” bus ticket for the Oundle-to-Fotheringhay ride, and the bus driver’s reaction, “I don’t know what to charge you for a return ticket, as no one ever buys one.” I should have realized that the bus driver wouldn’t be looking for me unless I stood in the middle of the road to flag him down, or be mowed down myself. Along the farm road, a red pickup with a couple of workers had passed me three times going in alternate directions, and I became worried that I might be needing to defend myself.

The truck finally stopped; the driver asked me if I was looking for the Nene Way Footpath, and I cautiously affirmed that I was. “Well, you’re way off. You’ll have to go south across that field,” he told me. Nonplussed, I thanked him for the information and trudged on, including one over Warmington Lock. For a picture, http://www.tuesd百年nightclub.co.uk/Tour_96/Tour6.html.

At Eaglethorpe, I sat for a time to rest and cool off in the shade in an area where narrowboats anchor. Had I known that there is an “Eaglethorpe House” somewhere in the vicinity, built in 1604 and said to have a door from the Fotheringhay Castle which has an emblem from the House of York I’d have sought it out. (www.warmington.org/events/2002/villagewalk/hand_out.htm).

I continued on the path towards Warmington which went through an underpass beneath the motorway, but if I’d known more about the bus route, I’d have turned instead along the road parallel to the motorway along the north side. (This goes southwest for half a mile until reaching a roundabout.) The Stagecoach X4 bus picks up passengers going towards Peterborough or towards Oundle, Corby, Kettering, and Northampton on the main road above “The Little Chef.” After a series of missteps, I finally caught the bus to Kettering, where I’d been staying and rushed to catch a train to St. Albans, my next planned stop.

Below is a partial listing of other places to visit while in Northamptonshire, and the descriptions provided by the websites below are far more thorough. They will provide many, many hours of enjoyment and vacation planning. If one has a “Reluctant Ricardian” spouse or friend along, other activities which may interest them are the several World War II airfields in the area, the various nature reserves, and the Rockingham Speedway, with its “Days of Thunder.”

Places to Visit in the Fotheringhay Area
(Not at all comprehensive!)

Easy Hiking Distance

Woodnewton: (2.5 miles) See mill and millrace, Woodnewton pottery. Watch it being made, and, on select days, participate! Web: www.focusnorthamptonshire.org.uk/Walk.aspx?AreaMapID=6

Nassington: (2 miles) Prebendal Manor House, oldest in Northamptonshire, stands on a promontory overlooking the River Nene and the village of Nassington. Web: www.prebendal-manor.co.uk

Southwick: (4 miles) A family manor house dating from 1300, built by Sir John Kayvett, Lord Chancellor to King Edward III.; has significant Tudor, Georgian, and Victorian additions: www.aboutbritain.com/SouthwickHall.htm

Elton Hall: A mixture of medieval, gothic, and classical architecture, set in beautiful gardens, beautiful furniture and paintings by Gainsborough, Constable, and Reynolds; it also has Henry VIII’s prayer book. E-mail: office@eltonhall.com

Bicycle, Car, or Bus

Nene Valley Railway: Preserved steam railway, with 7.5 miles of track. Peterborough, Wansford.

Stamford: One of England’s oldest coaching towns. http://www.touruk.co.uk/lincs/lincs_stam.htm

Burghley House: A magnificent stately house of the Elizabethan age, begun by her most-trusted councilor, William Cecil, Lord Burghley, in 1565. www.burghley.co.uk
Visiting Fotheringhay

Peterborough Cathedral: Burial place of Henry VIII’s first wife, Katherine of Aragon; once the burial place of Mary, Queen of Scots. Interesting Norman architecture.
www.peterborough-cathedral.org.uk

Lyddington Bede: A medieval palace of the Bishops of Lincoln; later an almshouse. www.english-heritage.org.uk

Kirby Hall: Completed by a favorite of Elizabeth I, Sir Christopher Hatton. Now a spectacular shell, but functionally a ruin, used in the 1999 film “Mansfield Park.” www.english-heritage.org.uk

Deene Park: Home of the Earls of Cardigan, one of whom led the famous Charge of the Light Brigade. See www.deenepark.com.

Rockingham Castle: Royal castle for 450 years, family home for another 450 years. See www.rockinghamcastle.com

Boughton House, home of the Dukes of Buccleuch and Queensberry. www.boughtonhouse.org.uk

Oundle: The best known being the Talbot, now a hotel; it is believed that the magnificent oak staircase and paneling in the residents’ lounge also came from Fotheringhay Castle. www.oundleonline.co.uk

Geddington: An intact Eleanor Cross still exists here. www.english-heritage.org.uk

Northampton: Site of battle of Northampton in 1460; nearby is Althorp House, where the late Diana, Princess of Wales was laid to rest. See www.althorp.com.

Richard III Society Sites/Friends of Fotheringhay Church:

“The Friends of Fotheringhay was formed in the 1990s with two objectives, to raise money and to publicise the church. The parish of Fotheringhay is very small to support such a large church and one that is in need of renovation, particularly the Tower. The church has been the beneficiary of a number of gifts from the Society and the Ricardian Churches Restoration Fund (RCRF): One of the social events of the Richard III Society’s year is when it combines with members of the parish for the carol service in mid-December. Styled after the Festival of Nine Lessons at nearby Cambridge, the service has become an occasion enjoyed by all who take part. Parishioners and members of the Society share the readings, while the music is provided by a very fine local chamber choir. From the website. The Chairman of the Society, Phil Stone, is also the Richard III Society’s Fotheringhay Coordinator.

www.richardiii.net/sites_fotheringhay.htm
www.richardiii.net/society_achievements.htm
www.richardiiworcs.co.uk/branchhistory3.html

Photos:
www.castlesontheweb.com
http://www.wingfield.org/Churches/ENGLAND/Fotheringhay/Fotheringhay.htm
http://homepage.mac.com/philipdavis/English%20sites/Fotheringhay-Castle.html
www.northamptonshire.co.uk/guides/Fotheringhay/Fotheringhay_history.htm
www.picturesofengland.com/Fotheringhay
www.bbc.co.uk/education/beyond/factsheets/makhist/makhist6_prog11a.shtml
www.castleuk.net/castle_lists_midlands/142/fotheringhaycastle.htm
www.northamptonshire.co.uk/guides/fotheringhay/fotheringhay_pictures.htm
www.stewartsociety.org/updates/place_Fotheringhay_Castle.htm
www.marie-stuart.co.uk/Castles/Fotheringhay.htm
www.heritagesites.eu.com/england/forther.htm

Castle Farm Guest House:
http://www.northantsfarmholidays.co.uk/accommodation/BB01.shtml

Northamptonshire:
www.east-northamptonshire.gov.uk/pp/service/detail.asp?id=860
www.visitheartofengland.com/attraction/search.php?eastings=5250000&northings=2750000&scale=50
www.northants-history.org.uk/resourcereg.html
community.northamptonshire.gov.uk/text/organisation.asp?id=15206
http://www.northampton.gov.uk/Tourism/text/places.asp
http://www.gardenphotos.com/gethitched/tourist.html
http://www.ukvillages.co.uk/ukvillages/ukvillageshome.htm
www.thrapstononline.co.uk

An Excellent Trip-Planning Book for the U.K.:
www.hudsons.co.uk (Great houses.)

General Heritage Sites
www.english-heritage.org.uk
www.theheritagetrail.co.uk
www.nationaltrust.org.uk

Transport Information
www.sustrans.co.uk (Bicycle maps)

Other Sources:


Private correspondence with Lorilee McDowell, Ricardian.
Protecting the privacy and assuring the authenticity of personal messages was an important concern during the time of the Plantagenet monarchy, as it is today. Just as no person of integrity would open another's letter or e-mail today, no one would tamper with a wax seal in the Medieval era. The breaking of a seal, except by the intended recipient, implies treachery and a broken trust. Love letters and betrothals as well as official documents and decrees were once protected by individual seals. In Richard's time nearly every literate individual had a seal (sometimes an important person had several personal seals). Few of these have survived, for it has been a tradition to destroy the seal upon the death of the owner.

For over two thousand years special wax has been employed to affix the seal's imprint to correspondence. Some of the earliest examples come from China during the Shang dynasty, found in archeological sites at Anyang. A legend tells that the first seal was given to the Yellow Emperor and brought by a dragon. Another version recounts a boat trip by Emperor Yao during which he receives a seal. The common thread is that there is a heavenly and divine quality about seals. Possessing one implies a mandate and elevated authority. Affixing a wax seal is a statement that a document is written by one's own hand. Seals have also been used to attest to the genuineness of calligraphy and other works of art.

One of the first projects undertaken by Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin and John Adams after signing The Declaration of Independence was to create a Great Seal for the United States. The magic of sealing wax and seals prevails, surviving amid the sophisticated methods of communication in today's high tech cyber space environment. Probably sealing wax will still be with us in another two thousand years outlasting or holding its own along side the fax machine and computer terminal. The personal flair as well as dignity and prestige conferred by a wax seal is treasured by heads of states as well as people of all ages and circumstances, particularly practitioners of magic and artists.

At the writing desk of the witch, craft projects and greeting cards as well as crucial messages concerning coven matters all lend themselves to being presented with a distinctive special seal of approval.

A signet ring, collectible coin, or soapstone or hardwood carving affixed to a base can all be used to imprint sealing wax. An array of commercially made seals can be purchased as well. There are angels, owls, butterflies, zodiac signs, hearts and many more choices available.

Experiment with trying some that best reflect your own communication style and philosophy. Using wax seals contributes greatly to the impact of correspondence. Remember, the unusual always attracts.

Once set, a seal should not be removable except by destroying it.

Seals are meant to be broken upon receipt, of course. Sometimes a ribbon is inserted into the wax before imprinting to further protect an important missive against intrusion, or worse, the seal being surreptitiously removed and placed on another document by an evil doer.

Sealing wax is different from candle wax. It is much thicker and has a distinctive texture. A good sealing wax is created by mixing a variety of ingredients. Since the 16th Century when it was imported from India, shellac has been used. Rosins from coniferous trees, beeswax and turpentine combined with a variety of pigments will yield waxes that are attractive and secure. Prussian blue, vermilion, verdigris, fine black charcoal and cinnabar are all dyes that have been favored. Today commercial sealing waxes available at book, gift and stationery stores.

These will usually be in a stick form with a wick. To use them, light the wick just like a candle, then tilt at a 45 degree angle over the flap of the envelope. When enough wax has dripped onto the paper impress the seal firmly, then pull it up. You have just added a hint of mystery, beauty, power and the test of time to your correspondence.

Sometimes wax seals are strong enough to survive the post office, but it might be best to put the letter inside a padded envelope for mailing to make certain it arrives intact.

John Partrige in 1573 wrote in “The Treasurie of Commodious Conceipts and Hidden Secrets.” His recipe gives some insight as to how the sealing waxes that might have been used by Richard were prepared. To make red sealing wax:

Take one pound of Wax, iii ounces of cleare Tyrpentyne in Sommer, in Winter take fowre: melte them together in a soft fyre: then take from the fyre an d let it coole. Then put in Uermylion berye finely grounde and Salet Oyle of each an ounce and mix them well together and it is perfect good.

A recipe updated for the 21st Century would read 50 parts beeswax 15 parts shellac and 5 parts glycerin Melt...
Friday, October 1

Registration
Before any further description of this wonderful AGM, I must mention our primary hosts — the executive board of the Canadian Branch, Tracy Bryce (Chairman and Recording Secretary), Victoria Moorshead (Vice Chairman), Christine Hurlbut (Editor of the Branch journal, RIII), Sheilah O’Connor (Librarian), Doug Woodger (Treasurer), Noreen Armstrong (Membership and Corresponding Secretary), Laurence Gottlieb (Sales Officer), and Clement Carlese (Past. Chairman). Their presentation of the medieval and Anglophile resources in Toronto and arrangement of AGM activities revealed all the hard work involved. When U.S. Branch members exclaimed with delight, as occurred many times during the weekend, Canadian Branch members often gave the exquisitely polite reply, “We hope we have met your expectations.” To which I can only reply, “Met and far exceeded.”

Victoria “practiced” on me as one of the earliest registrants. The entire registration packet contents were enclosed in a Mount Pleasant Cemetery waterproof tote bag. Inside this bag was a list of illustrious dead who now reside in Mount Pleasant Cemetery. Perhaps the most famous are Banting and Best, co-discoverers of insulin. (Any Masterpiece Theatre fans remember “Glory Enough for All”?)

Another inclusion was the July, 2004, issue of History Magazine, a Moorshead family enterprise. In this issue, there is an article by “Victoria King” on the momentous events in European history during the 1450’s. This issue also contains a “brief history of gin” by Jamie Pratt. Jamie had some practical experience with spirits on Friday night, acting as our bartender. You can find out more about History Magazine at www.history-magazine.com.

Norman McMullen holds a glass cake plate from Queen Victoria’s coronation and Kevin Dark holds a plate celebrating the coronation of Edward VII and Alexandra.

A “Book Lover’s Kit” and “The Mini Pressed Flower Kit” were also included, as were the schedule and Pam Butler’s collection of Ricardian Puns and Humour* for the Joint Canadian–American AGM. (*Humor to Americans.) Many thanks must be given to Pam and all her contributors to this booklet, especially to major contributors Maria Elena Torres, Brian Wainwright, and Meredith Whittford. Truly, it was an international effort.

Registrants had already received in the mail the AGM Visitor’s Guide, written by the Canadian Branch members. This wonderful booklet contained information from the practical “Currency”, “Borders and Customs”, to the lighthearted “Translating Torontonian”. (Eh?)

Friday Night Reception and Games:
Late Friday afternoon, about 20 Canadian and U.S. members decamped from the registration room to the Fox & Fiddle for dinner. After that, it was back up to the conference rooms for a get-acquainted reception.

Victoria Moorshead conjured up games for the competitive: Pass the Parcel, a version of “hot potato” and her own WOTR version of Clue. Was it Margaret Beaufort in the White Tower with a pillow?

Sooner or later, most attendees gravitated towards the display from The McMullen/Dark Collection of Royal Memorabilia. Here were items ranging from all British monarchs’ reigns from Queen Victoria up until the present. The most recent items commemorate the Golden Jubilee of Queen Elizabeth II. One eye-catching — and poignant — item was a plate for Edward VIII’s coronation.

The collectors, Kevin Dark and Norman McMullen, have been acquiring British royal memorabilia for many years and showed some of their collection for our benefit. They say friends in England often save items for them and also that they sometimes find additions to their collection at estate sales in North America.

Each AGM attendee received a specially-prepared and personally signed greeting from the

Front of the greeting. I did not ask if Messrs. McMullen and Dark were card-carrying Yorkists, but the reverse side of their greeting pictured two white roses.

Peggy Allen
collection, reading “Congratulations to The Richard III Society on the occasion of your Joint Canadian-American Branch Conference & Annual General Meeting. Thank you for inviting us to share some items from our Collection of Royal Commemoratives. With Best wishes, Kevin Dark and Norman McMullen.”

In addition to collecting royal memorabilia, Mr. McMullen and Mr. Dark are officers in the St. Swithin’s Society. (Please see the press release about St. Swithin’s Society on page 25.)

Saturday Morning Workshops:

Seldom does the simple act of receiving a business card make one feel as if one had been given a small work of art, but that is what artist Kathryn Finter’s handouts did for me. Her card reproduces her illumination of the letter “M”. Her slide presentation took us through the basics of medieval manuscript preparation — how the parchment is made from an animal skin, recipes for ink, and so forth. She concentrated especially on illumination — the application of gold to capital letters and other decorative elements of the manuscript.

Ms. Finter always documents each stage of her work photographically, and used the letter “M” to show us the progression from design through finished product. At the conclusion, workshop attendees gathered round her for a live demonstration of how the gold is applied.

Another gift from Ms. Finter to each attendee was a 3 x 5 glossy reproduction of her illumination of the word “Fame”. The reverse side of this reveals that it is one of her illustrations for the book Imagining Fame, by Anne Worthington Prescott. This book features commentary on and selected lines from Chaucer’s The House of Fame. Imagining Fame, by Anne Worthington Prescott, illustrated by Kathryn Finter, $12.95 paperback, 96 pp., ISBN 1-56474-404-3, published by Fithian Press, 1-800-662-8351.

Ms. Finter currently has a display in the Ottawa Airport of a complete illuminated alphabet. She generously donated a framed illumination of the letter “D” to the AGM’s Silent Auction, and this work of art was won by high bidder Diane Hoffman.

Ms. Finter provided a bibliography (see sidebar) but emphasized that much of her knowledge and technique has been acquired by painstaking experimentation, as medieval scribes and illuminators seldom wrote down their methods for posterity.

Would you like an illumination of your own initial? Time permitting, Ms. Finter accepts commissions for illumination projects. You can contact her at kathryn_finter@hotmail.com.

Saturday Morning Workshops:

The best AGM workshops often require audience participation and Clement Carlese arranged for his presentation to be included in that group. More about that later.

A Past Chair of the Canadian Branch, in his

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**Medieval Manuscript Illumination**

**Kathryn Finter, Presenter**

**Bibliography**


*Medieval Calligraphy It’s History and Technique,* —Marc Drogin, Dover Publications, New York, 1989


This is just a sample list if you would like more Information please feel to contact me at:

Kathryn Finter, Artist

Loft 4B

144 Clarence Street

Ottawa, Ontario, Canada K1N 5P8

phone: 613 562 1075

e-mail: kathryn_finter@hotmail.com

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professional capacity Clement Carlese has organized and conducted choirs for performances worldwide. In the short time allotted, he led us through the evolution of church music in the Middle Ages, with particular attention to the reign of Richard III. Musical notation had not standardized at this time and he passed around framed pages of medieval music showing rectangular and triangular notes.

The church of the time had prescribed liturgical forms of music. To deviate from these strict norms was frowned upon, if not downright forbidden. Musicians had to be creative, (if not downright sneaky) to introduce some variety into the time-worn acceptable forms.

Mr. Carlese showed how secular, profane, and even political elements might have been insinuated into standard liturgical music. He then posed a question, “How might we ‘compose’ a short piece of music which might appear to be Liturgical, but have a hidden meaning, especially after the death of Richard III?” He had composed the answer – audience participation goes only so far — a short grace meant to be sung as a round.

Using his choirmaster experience, he enlisted the audience to sing it, first as is, then in four parts. At the Saturday night banquet, everyone sang under his direction, and it was a very pleasant way to begin the meal.

**Lunch: Richard III, York and Drama**

After the workshops, we moved in a mild drizzle to the Duke of York Pub, about two blocks away, the scene of our barbecue luncheon. Umbrella-less, I thought it would be smart to walk a block underground in the subway station, until I realized one would have to buy a subway ticket to gain entrance. Anyway, the drizzle never worsened.

After lunch, Dr. Alexandra Johnston (of REED – Records of Early English Drama) presented a talk and slide show on medieval York. We were transported back to see how the drama companies moved around and learned what plays they might have performed at various sites in the medieval city.

The Duke of York was hospitable and the food was delicious, but it was too dark for most pictures. Here is one, however, of Canadian Branch member and veteran actor with a semi-secret: John Frid.

**Saturday, October 2, afternoon**

**Saturday Afternoon**

After lunch, the AGM moved to yet another venue – the Bloor Street United Church – for a performance by the Poculi Ludique Societas of *The World and the Child*. This play depicts various characters (Folly, Conscience, Perseverance, et al) struggling for the soul of Manhood. Professional actors and PLS members Kevin Robinson (“Manhood”) and Eric Buchanan (all other characters! — a tour de force of costume-changing) performed.

Following the play, two brief business meetings were held, one for the U.S. Branch and one for the Canadian Branch. The results of the U.S. elections announced at
the meeting were: Chair – Bonnie Battaglia, Vice-Chair – Jacqueline Bloomquist, Secretary – Laura Blanchard, Treasurer – Maria Elena Torres, and Membership Chair – Pamela Butler. These nominees, plus Past Chair Sharon Michalove, complete the Board for 2004–2006.

The U.S. Branch’s Dickon Award for this year was awarded to Tamara Mazzei, for her work on the Branch’s Web site, in particular for creating an online version of the 1991 Royal National Theatre Exhibition “To Prove a Villain .. the Real Richard III “ which is viewable at: http://www.r3.org/rnt1991/introduction.html.

Sandra Worth then gave a short talk on trials and successes she endured and enjoyed while publishing a Ricardian book. She noted that many Society members are aspiring or published authors and hoped that knowledge of her experiences could benefit them. The first book of Sandra’s WOTR trilogy, The Rose of York: LOVE AND WAR was published in 2003 and is now g e n e r a l l y available.

Following Sandra’s talk, we trooped back to the Quality Hotel to prepare the banquet.

Saturday, October 2

Early on Saturday evening we gathered, arrayed in our finery — medieval and modern — to process to Seeley Hall in Trinity College. Most of the attendees processed on foot to Trinity College. For those who preferred to ride, Victoria Moorshead attracted taxis in front of our Bloor St. hotel by showing a little ankle from under her houppeland.

Seeley Hall, on the second floor of Trinity College, was a perfect place for a medieval banquet, with a ceiling arched with thick, dark wooden beams. Hurly Burly performed medieval music between courses at the banquet.

Victoria Moorshead made the origami boar favors at each place setting. Having spent a whole day attempting to make one simple origami box several years ago, I can only marvel at the amount of time making 60-plus boars must have taken.

Instructions for making the boar can be found at http://www.fishgoth.com/origami/diagrams/pig.pdf.

The subtlety was a model of a medieval castle, lit by firework sparklers. After it was brought in for the admiration of the feasters, each person received a small, sweet gift from within the castle.

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All good things must end, and so it was with the banquet. It was not easy to find taxis at 11 p.m. on the quiet college street in front of Trinity College. Thanks go to Noreen and Jack Armstrong for bringing their car to take M.J. Battaglia, Sandra Torres, and me back to the hotel. In spite of receiving III different sets of instructions from IV ladies, Jack got us back to the hotel safe and sound.
Outgoing U.S. Membership Chair Eileen Prinsen entering Trinity College. (Psst! It’s a hired hennin!)

Hurly Burly. (photograph by David Luitweiler)

Incoming U.S. Membership Chair Pam Butler decided to attend the banquet before starting to read the DLXXIIJ books she won at the Silent Auction. (photograph by David Luitweiler)

Pam Butler, Craig and Annette Bradburn, and Evelyn Perrine in Seeley Hall. (photograph by David Luitweiler)

Canadian journal editor and one of our tireless hosts, Christine Hurlbut, at Seeley Hall.

Diane Hoffman, Dave and Judith Luitweiler.
Sunday, October 3

After a hearty breakfast buffet at the Fox & Fiddle, Joyce Tumea, Nita Musgrave, and Jane Munnie inspiration the outgoing Ricardians with a light-hearted look at how 21st-century marketing techniques could be applied to promoting Richard and his cause.

This stimulated audience members to recount their personal attempts, both comic and serious, to bring Richard to a wider public.

For those in any doubt that Richard could use more publicity, Sandra Torres reported that a fellow-traveler in the elevator had asked her, “Who is Richard Ill?” [Ed.: That’s “ill” as in “sick”.]

Finally, it was time to go. Three U.S. Ricardians will be ever grateful to Sharon and Peter Bridges for their kind offer to drive Pamela Butler, Marsha Jensen, and me to the airport. How did Peter fit all our luggage, including the DLXXIIJ books that Pam acquired in the Silent Auction, into his trunk?

Unlike the return trip from Europe, when one returns from Toronto to the U.S., one clears U.S. customs in the Toronto airport.
To further enrich the AGM experience, Sheilah O’Connor arranged for several early arrivals to attend Nicholas Orme’s talk on “Children’s Literature in Medieval England” on Thursday night. Sheilah is a librarian in the Toronto Public Library system specializing in children’s literature.

Before the lecture Victoria Moorshead and her husband Jamie Pratt treated this member to a fine dinner at the Fox & Fiddle pub, which shares the ground floor with the AGM hotel. Sheilah and Victoria then shepherded the U.S. members onto the Toronto streetcar and along to the Lillian H. Smith Branch Library.

Professor Orme, a distinguished scholar of the English Middle Ages and Professor of History at the University of Exeter in England, called attention to the distinction between textbooks and “out of school” books. Although Latin grammar books are available from the 990’s, his talk was primarily about the “out of school” books. One of the earliest he cited was Chaucer’s “Treatise on the Astrolabe”, written for his 10-year old son about the year 1400. Other early books for children included English versions of Aesop’s Fables, cheaply-priced thrillers equivalent to latter-day penny-dreadfuls, and Lord River’s book for the instruction of Edward V. He even included examples of children’s marginalia in their books.

An appropriate venue for a discussion of children’s literature, the Smith library is the home of the Osborne Collection of Early Children’s Books. While many of us are familiar with a generalized “Friends of the Library” program in our local area, it was interesting to learn that the Osborne Collection has its own “Friends” organization. The Friends hosted a sales table before the talk and a reception with delicious treats after. The reception area had on display various items from the Osborne collection.

Professor Orme signed Victoria’s copy of his book, Medieval Children. A question lingers in my mind — Professor Orme’s setup slide, which we watched as the hall filled, until his talk began, was the familiar NPG portrait of Richard III. Why?

Raffle To Benefit St. James - Dadlington

The Arizona chapter is raffling a table runner and napkin set made by chapter treasurer Georgia Howeth. The raffle will be held in April — tickets are available now!

Send $10 for each raffle ticket to R3 Table Runner Raffle c/o Pam Fitzgerald, 18946 West Osborn Road, Phoenix, Arizona 85037.

To be successful, the chapter needs a minimum of 15 tickets sold; if this minimum isn’t reached, the raffle will be canceled and ticket refunds issued. Please include contact information with your ticket purchase.

To see additional pictures of the runner and napkins, visit www.west.asu.edu/cjordan/r3/table_runner/index.htm.
Saint Swithun’s Society

Saint Swithun’s Society celebrated its thirtieth anniversary on July 15, 2004. Scheduled activities included a traditional pot-luck supper, followed by special musical entertainments, poetry reading, skits and lucky draws. The Society’s goals include promoting of feelings of goodwill, encouraging the celebration of St. Swithun’s Day and patterning members’ lives after the example of their Patron.

There are no membership fees and it intentionally operates with a minimum of bureaucracy. Donations to the Sunshine Bag are requested at Society functions and special fund-raising events are held throughout the year so that we can continue to support various charitable events. Kevin Dark and Elisabeth Stenson, both of Richmond Hill, are Vice-President and Secretary-Treasurer, respectively.

Saint Swithun died in 862 A.D. and is numbered among the legion of British Saints “about whom little is known”. History records that he was a remarkable holy man who probably tutored Alfred the Great. A Bishop of Winchester, England’s ancient capital, Swithun was renowned for his miraculous deeds of a charming, domestic nature. As well as curing lepers and the lame in his Diocese, he is said to have restored a basket of shattered eggs which were a poor widow’s only marketable goods. Such was his concern for the less fortunate.

On July 15, 971 the Saint’s remains were moved from their original burial site to a magnificent shrine inside Winchester’s newly constructed Cathedral of Saints Peter and Paul. Legend says that this humble man was so upset that his body was not allowed to lie where the faithful might pass over it that rains began, lasting forty days and nights. This event is the source of the popular rhyme associated with our Patron:

Saint Swithun’s Day, if thou dost rain,
For forty days it will remain.
Saint Swithun’s Day, if thou be fair,
For forty days ‘twill rain nae mair.

Saint Swithun’s Society is inclusive and non-denominational. It enjoys a wonderful cross-section of members in terms of age, religious affiliations, political persuasions and ethnic backgrounds. No doubt this fact, together with the spirit of fun and friendship that always accompanies our events reflects that well-known image of St. Swithun as “Pontifex” — the bridge builder.

Honourary Memberships are presented to those individuals whom we feel best represent the spirit of our Society. Included in that number are philanthropist Ed Mirvish, comedienne Anna Russell, Mississauga Mayor Hazel McCallion, Richmond Hill Liberal columnist Fred Simpson and the popular star of The Young and The Restless, Jeanne Cooper.

The Society also collects used postage stamps and sends them to Andrew Johansson, a disabled former deep-sea diver living in Northern Ireland. He sells them and uses the money to supply guide-dogs for people who like him, are visually impaired. Andrew was made an Honourary Member in 1989.

The Society publishes an irregular newsletter entitled The Water Spout. Copies are available free upon request. Back issues are retained at the National Library of Canada in Ottawa and the Canadian Collection of the North York Central Branch of the Toronto Public Library.

If you are interested in learning more about our Society or upcoming events and activities, please contact us at the following address:

Norman McMullen, President
Saint Swithun’s Society,
427 Lynett Crescent  Richmond Hill,
Ontario, L4C 2V6
905-883-0984  nmcmullen@rogers.com

Ricardian Crossword Solution (see insert)
Recent Additions To Our Fiction Library

Thanks to the generosity of our members our collection continues to grow. Stay tuned for a second installment of updates coming soon, as well as updates to our online catalogue.

For more information about our fiction library, visit www.r3.org/members/library/r3fictionindex.htm or contact Ananaia O’Leary.

**Ricardian Writers**: When publishing a novel relating to Richard, his times and his lineage, please remember to send a notice to the Fiction library. We’d love to add your book to our collection; if you feel inspired to donate a copy, we would be delighted. If you have published a novel in the past, and wish to know if we have a copy, please contact Ananaia O’Leary at fictionlibrary@r3.org or by mail at 8029 Lieber Rd. Indianapolis, IN 46260.

### Of Richard Himself:

The saga of Catherine Newberry (heroine of *Brothers-in-Arms*) continues. We follow Catherine and her son (secretly fathered by Richard, Duke of Gloucester, on one night of over-wrought passion) from the eve of Edward IV’s death to the resolution of Buckingham’s Rebellion.

Spunky dialogue, acrimonious family in-fighting, scheming Woodvilles and a tenacious Queen Margaret keep things moving along at a satisfying clip, from the eve of Edward IV’s fateful meeting with Elizabeth Woodville to the aftermath of Tewkesbury. An enjoyable, if light-weight, read.

This story about the sons of Edward IV, begins at Yuletide 1482 and ends at Bosworth Field, with Edward V as the main protagonist. The boys are sympathetically and sensitively depicted. The book suffers a little from confused intent, particularly in the final chapters, when the focus shifts to Richard III. Buckingham takes the blame for the death of the boys. (However, the author told me that were she to write this book today she would lay the blame squarely at R3’s feet.)

Somewhat of a sequel to *Maiden and the Unicorn*. Here the focus shifts to Heloise Ballaster, a fey-touched maiden, who is forced to marry the shadowy Miles Rushden (friend and advisor to Harry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham) in the medieval equivalent of a shotgun wedding. Intrigue and suppressed passion collide with history at Northampton as the pair proceeds to be instrumental in the unfolding of events that lead to R3’s ascension and Buckingham’s demise.

This novel has a loyal Ricardian backbone, classical Ricardian viewpoint providing the structure for this tale, which begins with Anne Neville in flight to Calais and ends at Bosworth. Anne is depicted here with more than the usual stamina and Thomas Mallory makes an unexpected contribution to the plot.

The veils between the worlds part in this fantasy, and it is but a step from our world to that of an England following a slightly alternate path of history – one in which the ancient worship of the Goddess and the practice of magic prevail. The story moves between these two threads of history and back and forth through time, keeping the reader engaged and intrigued along the way. Recommended for Ricardians with a penchant for the metaphysical.

The fictitious Martin Robsart, friend to both Edward IV & Richard, Duke of Gloucester, gives us an intimate and earthy view of Richard, his circle of friends and the events of his tumultuous life. The characters are lively and believable; I particularly enjoyed an Anne Neville with spunk and a sense of humor. A good balance of historical accuracy and vivid storytelling.

### From the Lancastrian Camp:

Henry V’s life from the death of John of Gaunt in 1399 until Henry’s passing in 1422.

The intertwined tale of Henry V and Katherine Valois, ending with the death of Owen ap Tudor, told with Jarman’s signature lyricism.

A well-intentioned (if a bit naïve) Margaret of Anjou becomes Queen of England. She is a faithful, loving wife, doting mother and loyal friend to her supporters, but is eventually driven, by adversity and maternal instinct, into harsh actions and subsequent despair. There is a brief encounter between Margaret and Richard of Gloucester after Tewkesbury during which she asks him to look after Anne Neville for her son’s sake.


The story of Katherine Swynford and her epic love affair with John of Gaunt unfolds with complexity, sensitivity and genuine humanity. Wonderful, a true classic.

Seeds of War:


Well-written account of the origins of the War of the Roses during the reign of Richard II, told primarily through the eyes of Constance of York, granddaughter of Edward III and wife of Thomas Despenser. This is a story in which the political and the personal are inextricably intertwined; the pages virtually ooze intrigue, treachery, revenge and personal tragedy. The characters are strongly drawn and the plot moves apace. An enjoyable and informative read.

Tales from Tudor Times:


Young Thomas More, raised in the household of Bishop John Morton to believe the late Richard III was a monstrous villain, begins to unravel the truth as his research contradicts Morton’s depiction of the last Plantagenet monarch. A rather torturous look at More’s life and psycho-spiritual make-up.


The story of Henry VIII’s fool, Will Somers, told from his perspective.


This book covers a lot of ground in a short span of pages. The result is an engaging & intimate view of Elizabeth’s life, which is more episodic than comprehensive. As might be expected, the emphasis here is on Elizabeth’s relationship with Robert Dudley, while the political upheavals of her reign are treated as a backdrop to the story.

TO SEAL A FATE . . . CONTINUED FROM PAGE 19

over low heat with 5 parts powdered charcoal (for black) or candle dye (can be purchased at a craft supply store) for other colors. Let cool, then remelt as needed. This can be molded into sticks with candle wicking added for easy use.

Dikki-Jo Mullen is a new Ricardian. She visited a tent display by The Richard III Society at the Lady of the Lakes Renaissance Faire in Central Florida in February 2004 and was immediately intrigued. She decided to join soon after. She is an English graduate of The University of Florida and a professional astrologer and parapsychologist.
A IS FOR ALPHABET

Because the memorization step is simple enough for five- and six-year olds, the whole process, with an alphabet, can be completed before students reach working age... his crucial fact has made the alphabet historically the vehicle of mass literacy. With the alphabet’s invention, the farmer, the shopkeeper, the laborer have been able to read and write — unlike the situation in pre-alphabetic societies... The very first alphabet was invented, scholars today believe, for humble people who were being excluded from the mysteries of Egyptian hieroglyphic writing.


Here is an exploration through the English alphabet with gun and camera, with side trips to other alphabets. The author is concerned less with what the letters stand for as with their sounds, and how they are represented in print. Learn why J is the Johnny-come-lately in the alphabet, just beginning to come into use in the 15th century, and not fully accepted till the 19th. Consider the fact that you didn’t have to worry about dotting your i’s till the 10th century, as the dot didn’t exist before then. Each letter gets its moment in the spotlight, some more than others, of course. There are letters we could get along without, although they have strong historical reasons for existing. But each seems to have a character of its own, even the ones that ‘don’t get no respect.’

Mr. Sacks gives due attention to the technicalities: pictographic writing, labials, the Great Vowel Shift of the Middle Ages. But you don’t need to have technical knowledge to enjoy this book. It’s well illustrated, too, and there are many historical sidebars. How does an ox’s head get transformed into the letter A? The illustrations make it clear.

I’m sure you must have wondered why the British and British colonials recite the alphabet with ‘zed’ for z, when they don’t say ‘bed’ for b, or ‘ted’ for t. Sacks, a Canadian, has an answer for that. It’s actually the other way around, and it’s all the responsibility of Noah Webster, as so much in American spelling and orthography is. –m.s.

(The headings of this column are quotations from this book.)

C IS FOR CELTIC, G IS FOR GUMSHOE

...we can say that C stole G’s identity. G was the alphabet’s original letter number 3, centuries before C existed. Then, a change: G disappeared and C became letter number 3 — similar to G yet lacking its voice. Where had the real G gone? Not dead, but banished from the developing alphabet, G wandered four and a half centuries in limbo, until, its services being at last missed and appreciated, it was recalled to the letter row, to spot number 7...There G abides today, staring with who-knows-what emotions at the back of C, four paces ahead.

Whispers Of The Dead – Fifteen Sister Fidelma Mysteries – Peter Tremayne – St. Martin’s Minotaur, NY 2004

This, the latest in Mr. Tremayne’s series about the seventh century nun/lawyer/sleuth, should tide her followers over till the full-length novel, Badger’s Moon, comes out sometime next year. Amongst these followers can now be counted my husband, whose taste in mysteries is narrower than mine. He enjoys the Sherlock Holmes stories, both canonical and non-canonical, but is not an aficionado of mysteries in general. Fidelma, however, is Holmes in a habit, and while she uses her intellect and common sense, she is not afraid to put some muscle into her work too. Most of these stories have been printed before, in other anthologies, but there are several that are brand-new.

K IS FOR KNIGHT

The U.S. servicemen’s K rations of World War II were named for Ancel Benjamin Keyes, the scientist who developed them...the K’s quickly displaced the inferior C rations of that day...although an improved C version would make a strong comeback in the postwar armed forces. The C of “Field Rations, Type C” was not an initial but an ordinal, meaning “number 3 in development.”


Candace Robb is a master at recreating the Medieval mind and world. The research is meticulous, her characters authentic and her plots intriguing.

Owen Archer and his apothecary wife Lucie Wilton
reappear in this Medieval mystery. All is not well between Owen and Lucie, who has just lost her unborn child. We recognize her state of mind as depression, normal in the circumstances. She thinks of it as despair, a mortal sin. Owen, that strong, capable man, is powerless to help her.

Owen's services to the Archbishop Thorsby are diverted to the Archbishop's troublesome guest, the Bishop of Winchester, who fears his enemy, John of Gaunt. The source of the enmity between the bishop and the duke is a scandal concerning the duke's parentage, which, if true, vindicates the House of York entirely. The story is told in the Author's Note.

The bishop's house, rented to a merchant family, burns. A woman's body is pulled from the flames, clearly murdered before the fire. Owen investigates the murder while assuring the safety of the unlikable bishop. The plot is complicated by a pair of gloves, an arrogant steward, the death of an elderly knight in France when his ransom was being arranged by the Bishop of Winchester. The elderly knight inspires the title. His heart is returned and buried in the Minster under the effigy of a cross-legged knight, a symbol that the interred died for his faith.

Lucie, though weakened from the loss of her child and wounded in a street attack, is central to the solving of the mystery. As her strength grows, her depression eases. By the book's end, peace is restored to the Archer household.

— Dale Summers, TX

M IS FOR MUMMY, AND MOMMY

... in the language of the Eastern European republic of Georgia, a father is our old friend mama...while a mother is deda.

Who Killed King Tut? Using Modern Forensics to Solve a 3,300 Year-Old Mystery — Michael R. King and Gregory M. Cooper, with Don DeNevi, Prometheus Books, Amherst, NY

No, this has nothing to do with the supposed mystery of the mummy's curse, but with the mystery of whether Tutankhamen was murdered or not. Most people probably didn't know there was a mystery concerned with his death, yet the fact that he was buried in a 'borrowed' tomb, with second-hand or hastily assembled grave goods, must give rise to some suspicion. The authors, a couple of homicide detectives from Utah, were asked to help 'prepare a case' for a show on the Discovery Channel. In spite of the fact that the case was about as cold as you can get ("1,224, 575 days had passed since the death occurred, and that's a long, long time."), and the weather stiflingly hot, they accepted the challenge. By using radiology, forensics, common sense, and the Sherlockian principle of eliminating the impossible, as well as the unlikely, they believe that they have a suspect. Mind you, there is also a pretty good case for natural causes, Tut being a sickly young man who walked with two canes, but as they point out: "once a royal child had reached age ten or so, his or her lifespan was significantly longer than most people in the kingdom."

There are interesting side notes: the poignant mummies of the king's stillborn children, the authors' culture shock — but the main focus, as it should be, is on the mystery. In the Preface, Harold Bursztajn, of Harvard Medical School, ponders:

"...it happened thirty-three hundred years ago. Why should we care now?"

Because any unsolved killing is a blot on all the hearts and souls of good humanity, and all ineffable mysteries sooner or later must be solved by someone."

Ricardians would agree – wouldn't we?

— m.s.

Q IS FOR QUEEN

... Ben Johnson, in his 1640 English Grammar, points out distastefully that our use of Q, was imposed by a French-language invasion. ..."The English-Saxons knew not this halting Q, with her waiting woman u after her."


Once upon a time, there was no chess queen, that all-powerful monarch. In Arabic countries there still is not, only a vizier, adviser, or prime minister, with limited powers. Sometime around 1000, when the letter I was acquiring its "crown" a lady began to appear in this all-male bastion, and as the game evolved, to acquire more and more advantages.

Marilyn Yalom, whose previous books include the intriguing title The History Of The Breast, traces the advance of the chess queen alongside of the advance of powerful women rulers, such as Eleanor of Aquitaine, Isabella of Spain, Catherine the Great of Russia, and others,. It’s true that most of these women reached their positions of power through males, - husbands, fathers, sons, - but that is true also of their male counterparts. For a king or queen, family connections are most important! It is also true that, just like their chessboard representations, most of them spent their time and resources fighting for their men. (Catherine would be the exception here.)

The book is charmingly illustrated with many woodcuts from the Middle Ages, along with other eras, which show people of different classes, as well as different genders, enjoying a chess match, often with kibitzers. Certainly the game made many opportunities for harmless, or not-so-harmless, flirtation. So why do more women not play chess today? Only about 5% of competitive chess is played by women. Could be a number of reasons...
accounting for this, but perhaps the popularity of the game as an opportunity for courtship worked for women overtly, but against them in a subtle way. Not only would it encourage ‘sweetheart’s chess,’ akin to ‘employee golf,’ but if a woman won, it would be said that she distracted her opponent with her charms; if she lost, it would be because she was too easily distracted! –m.s.

T IS FOR THEATER
Theoretically, our ‘th’ sounds as a group deserve a single letter of their own. Such symbols have existed in the Greek and Old English alphabets, but not in the Roman. ..The use of the Anglo-Saxon letters would gradually cease after the Norman Conquest. The change came due to pressure from Norman-educated clergy and teachers, who sought to give written English a more ‘proper’ Franco-Roman form.

**The Counterfeit Crank – An Elizabethan Theater Mystery featuring Nicholas Bracewell** – Edward Marston, St Martin’s Minotaur, NY, 2004

There’s good news and bad news for Lord Westfield’s Men. The good news is that their grouchy landlord at the Queen’s Head is off to visit a sick relative, and his substitute is much more bohemous. The bad news begins almost immediately afterwards. Money and costumes disappear, their playwright falls deathly ill — a typical plot for a backstage mystery: the production that seems to be cursed. There’s more than that, however. There’s skullduggery in high places and card-sharpery in low, a compatriot of actor Owen Elias who is murdered and has to be avenged, a damsel in distress — and it somehow all ties together at the end.

The astute or simply experienced reader may be a step or two ahead of Nicholas, but you can’t really blame him for not being able to devote his full time and energy to detection. His duties as book-holder include not only prompting, but also stage managing and massaging the egos of his temperamental troupe of actors, a full time occupation in itself. Just enjoy the trip while waiting for him to catch up. Incidentally, he proves himself to be a skilled actor in this book of the series, only not on stage.

Oh yes, the title refers not to the piece of machinery or an ornery sort of person, but to a beggar who counterfeit the “falling sickness” (epilepsy), called “crank” in common speech in the 16th century.

– m.s.

**CAMELOT DAYS**

Several of our Central Florida Ricardians recently took a trip back in time when they represented the Society at the Camelot Days Medieval Faire in Ft. Lauderdale November 13-14.

Underneath a canopy of oaks in a tent festooned with York banners and heraldry were educational displays and materials designed to pique the interest of fairegoers. Visitors to the booth were provided with lively conversation about the life and times of Richard III and entertained with a live recorder music ensemble.

Participants Virginia and Agnes Poch, Richard Endress, Dr. Peter Hancock, Janice Wentworth, Amalee Mahoney and Helen Homan hope to continue their faire appearances in Florida as a way of promoting interest in the Richard the III Society.

If any members would like more information about our schedule of appearances or wish to join us in this incredibly fun endeavor, please feel free to contact us at jwentworth@pmbsolutions.com.
Of the 130 people subscribed to the listserv, 60 made at least one posting this fall, for a participation rate of 46%. Those posting most frequently, excluding the listserv moderator, were, in order, Laura Blanchard, Sheila O’Connor, Marion Davis, Will Lewis, Maria Torres, Liz Wadsworth, Ananaia O’Leary, Janet O’Keefe, Carole Rike, Peggy Allen, Jacqueline Bloomquist, Brian Wainwright, Dave Luitweiler, Charlie Jordan, and Charlene Conlon.

In September, 308 messages were posted; in October, 500; and in November, through the 20th of the month, 234. One of the more popular topics was the joint Canadian-American Annual General Meeting in Toronto, covering both practical topics (currency exchange) and recreational topics (things to see in or near Toronto, from the CN Tower to Niagara Falls, 100 miles away.) Some discussion centered on 15th-century fashion and costuming books, with recommendations being traded.

We discussed the pros and cons of putting Ricardian texts online, obtaining articles from older issues of The Ricardian from the research library (such as those about William, Lord Hastings and about Helen Maurer’s two-part article about Charles II and the discovery of the bones in the Tower in 1674), and issues surrounding visits of Sheriff Hutton and Pontefract Castle, as an extension of Carrie Harlow’s question about places to see in Yorkshire, particularly places associated with Elizabeth of York (EOY).

Brian Wainwright wrote the following reply to one of Carrie’s questions:

“Sheriff Hutton Castle is on private ground; the owner allows access but you are really supposed to phone or write in advance. I have only ever visited it on rare occasions like festivals when it has been open anyway. Therefore I don’t know the contact details, but I’m sure someone out there does. It’s a long way to go to be turned away if a visit isn’t convenient or something, and it is about the only place north of Trent definitely associated with EOY and so you certainly want to see it.

With regard to visiting Manchester, Brian added:

“The John Rylands Library is owned by Manchester University, so it may help if you stress that you are a foreign student. Anyone can theoretically go into the library, but a lot of their best stuff is not necessarily on view on any given day. They have a web site at http://rylibweb.man.ac.uk/about.html which contains lots of useful info, and gives contact details. There’s even a virtual tour, though it looks like the main, very attractive, building is out of commission until late 2005.

“If I read the info right, you may be able to get membership as a University Student and if you can it’s worth considering as they have some rare stuff in there. I have got special permission to use it occasionally when I’ve wanted a book so rare that even Manchester Central don’t have it. It’s only about an hour from Sheffield by train.”

A lot of fun debate took place over which actors should be chosen to play Richard if a new screenplay should become available. We also debated who should be portrayed on specialty playing cards. This began when Victoria Moorshead of Canada said, “My mother bought me a set of playing cards (Heritage Playing Cards Company) this past weekend featuring the Kings and Queens of England. Elizabeth I is the Ace of Hearts, Elizabeth II is the Queen of Hearts, Edward V is the Jack of Hearts, Henry VIII is the Ace of Spades, etc. Of course, I looked through the pack for Richard III and found him as the two of spades, one of the lowest ranking cards of all. At least he wasn’t one of the jokers as Edward VII, Canute and George IV were instead and Richard’s picture is semi-flatterting.”

Another historical line of discussion took place about the dowry of Lucia Visconti and how it affected English-Milanese business matters for most of a century: Pamela Butler said, based on earlier statements from Brian Wainwright, “Lucia fell madly in love with Henry Bolingbroke in the 1390’s when he was traveling around [Europe]...Even though Henry’s wife Mary Bohun died in 1394, he didn’t take advantage of this particular opportunity to marry Lucia. Instead, a marriage contract was drawn up between Lucia and Edmund Holland, Earl of Kent in May, 1406. Edmund had served Henry IV well, such as fighting heroically at the 1403 Battle of Shrewsbury. Edmund and Lucia were married at St. Mary Overy (in Southwark) on 24 January 1407. (Henry IV had married Joanna of Navarre a few years earlier...) In fact, Henry IV gave Lucia away at her wedding to Edmund. What could have been going through each of their minds?

“Edmund was supposed to receive 70,000 florins as her dowry, some of it as a down payment and the rest in yearly installments; the deal was guaranteed by the ‘commune’ of Milan with a separate financial instrument. Edmund was having a “bit” of financial difficulty at the time, being over 4,000 marks in debt, and this dowry was supposed to help him recover somewhat.

“Well, what do you know, Edmund got sent to
Brittany to help enforce the payment of Joanna of Navarre’s dowry...and he was killed by a crossbow bolt in the the face in 1308. Lucia had only been married to him for a year and a half, and she had had no children. She had been left with Edmund’s debts, which were considerable. Henry IV did a few things to help her out, but the duchy of Milan had not paid her dowry, and in 1414, determined to mobilise her own resources, she pressed for economic sanctions. Backed by her English male relatives, she petitioned Parliament for letters of marque against the Milanese to compel payment not only of her dowry but of £5000 in expenses. The petition carefully pointed out that other English creditors of Milanese merchants would also be able to collect their money more quickly...’ [Quote is from the book Medieval Widows of London, 1300-1500 (1994), edited by Caroline M. Barron and Anne F. Sutton, pp. 79-81].

[Continuing from the book] ‘Nevertheless, the dowry battle raged on for some years, to the great inconvenience of Milanese merchants trading in Europe. By 1471 Lucia’s letters of marque had stopped Anglo-Milanese trade and, although these were lifted by 1490, further letters of marque issued by the emperor were in force and Milanese goods were detained on the Rhine.’

Brian Wainwright added to this:
“Lucia Visconti (and her family) are very interesting. Pam’s already covered most of it but it’s worth adding that Lucia’s father, the Duke of Milan, was deposed and murdered by her cousin, Gian Galleazo, who just happened to be married to one of Lucia’s sisters. Another cousin, Valentine (or Valentina) was married to the Duke of Orleans, brother of Charles VI of France.

“By the time Lucia married Kent she was already well into her twenties, having avoided previous marriages by various means, including one that she had annulled after a short time...Had Lucia’s dowry been paid it would have been the largest ever in medieval England. One wonders if there was ever any realistic possibility that it would be paid. However, Henry IV arranged the marriage and imported Lucia to England, despite having given Kent a licence to marry whom he would ‘of the king’s allegiance’ some months earlier. Oddly, Henry did something similar when he brought Beatriz of Portugal to England for the young earl of Arundel. Henry’s sister, Queen Philippa of Portugal, had to remind him that Arundel had already paid for the right to marry a woman of his own choice, and ought to be reimbursed.

“That piracy was licensed by the state to recover a civil debt, and that the situation was allowed to drag on for decades, damaging Anglo-Milanese trading and diplomatic relations, pretty well beggars belief. But so it was.” concluded Brian.

Lastly, we talked of medieval recipes, the British Library offerings available online, Richard of Eastwell, Jane Shore, Anne Neville, the PBS movie about Henry the Eighth and his wives, and about forming new chapters in the Washington, D.C. area, as well as Indiana and southern California.

Members may subscribe to the listserv by going to http://r3.org/mailman/listinfo/richard3_r3.org and filling out the request form.
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Chapter Contacts

Arizona
Mrs. Joan Marshall
10727 West Kelso Drive • Sun City, AZ 85351
(623) 815-6822

Eastern Missouri
Bill Heuer
111 Minturn • Oakland, MO 63122
(314) 966-4254 • email: beejnbill@mindspring.com

Illinois
Janice Weiner
6540 N. Richmond Street • Chicago, IL 60645-4209

Michigan Area
Eileen Prinsen
16151 Longmeadow St - Dearborn MI. 48120
313-271-1224. E-mail: prinsenec@comcast.net

Minnesota
Margaret Anderson
3912 Minnehaha Avenue S. #29, Minneapolis, MN 55406.
(612) 729-4503. E-mail : megander@earthlink.net

New England
Chapter moderator wanted
Please contact: Eileen Prinsen
16151 Longmeadow St - Dearborn MI. 48120
313-271-1224. E-mail: prinsenec@comcast.net

New York-Metro Area
Maria Elena Torres
3216 Fillmore Avenue • Brooklyn, NY 11234
email: elena@pipeline.com

Northwest
Jonathan A. Hayes
3806 West Armour Street • Seattle, WA 98199-3115
(206) 285-7967 email:chateaustegosaurus@worldnet.att.net

Rocky Mountain
Chapter moderator wanted
Please contact: Editor, Eileen Prinsen
16151 Longmeadow St - Dearborn MI. 48120
313-271-1224. E-mail: prinsenec@comcast.net

Southeastern Pennsylvania
Joseph Wawrzyniak
3429 Chalfont Drive • Philadelphia, PA 19154
(215) 637-8538
email: jwawrzyniak@worldnet.att.net

Southern California
Anyone looking to reactivate the Southern California Chapter, please contact Judy Pimental at japimpan@yahoo.com

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