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

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Editorial License

Carole Rike
This issue has serious space problems, resulting in several items being held over for the Summer issue. To those of you whose contribution I am holding, my apologies and a promise your day will come!

I especially regret not having space to share with you the exchanges on the Society Listserv, which have heated up considerably. Members are looking at all manner of questions in the most erudite fashion: Richard's will, Buckingham's rebellion, eating coal for Henry VII, Stillington, Perkin Warbeck, speculations on Richard and Ann having a pre-martial affair, Eleanor Butler and fox hunts only some of many! Pam Butler does an excellent job of keeping the flow going.

Many thanks to Dr. Peter Hancock for his recap of the Princes in various modes of representation, which he researched at length with the kind help of Geoffrey Wheeler.

Also thanks to Elizabeth Dorsey Hatle for her insights and research into the endlessly fascinating Margaret Beaufort.

On the Cover

A special thank you to Roberta Jacobs-Meadway, who has shared her recent purchase, a portrait of Richard III, circa 1600, purchased through M. Weiss' gallery in London. Pamela Tudor-Craig is familiar with the work, and believes the somewhat gentler expression may have been inspired by a ms. of Buck's defense. Roberta says it really is quite a haunting portrait. We hear there are plans afoot for local Philadelphia Ricardians to meet and view the portrait.

Congratulations, Roberta, on your acquisition, and thanks for sharing!

Myrna Smith continues to do a yeoman's job... for years now... I've lost track... she has entertained us with her insight and humor. Please support Myrna by providing her with book reviews (or even comments on what you have been reading). She carries the load of the work in her column, with contributions from several long-standing friends of the column, but new blood is always sought.

Now is the time to make your plans for the Annual General Meeting, to be held in Chicago this year. Plan to spend a few days with old and new friends who share your interest in Richard III and his period of history.

And don't forget your Editor — would love to hear from you, and to receive articles for future issues.
Serious examination as to the fate of the 'Princes in the Tower' has rightfully revolved around the written evidence that is available (e.g., Mancini, 1483). Unfortunately, there is precious little of this definitive information and so the central mystery of the Ricardian reign continues to retain its powerful hold on interested minds (Weir, 1992). It has been labeled the most enduring murder mystery in the world, although whether any such murder ever occurred is, in truth, still unknown. Until there is new, significant documentary or DNA evidence (see Hancock, 2001) we are not liable to be able to resolve this intriguing but frustrating conundrum. However, the mystery of the 'Princes in the Tower' is not only the result of the contention produced by the dearth of written evidence (Williamson, 1978). It is fomented by a second, powerful line of influence in which the circumstances and events surrounding the Princes are expressed in the graphic medium of pictures, line art, engravings and the like. If Ricardians are, and have been, engaged in a battle against the mis-perceptions generated by the written, or indeed the unwritten word, we have to be even more vigilant against the calumny perpetuated in pictures, since the twenty-first century is growing ever more into a visual age.

Here, I discuss such visual images, focusing specifically on the various representations of the 'Princes in the Tower,' some of which clearly feature either the 'wicked uncle' or similar villainous themes (and see Pollard, 1991). However, prior to presenting these interesting images, let us turn briefly to what we know about the Princes themselves, especially with reference to their age and appearance when the events which are depicted were taking place.

To the best of our knowledge, Edward, the older of the two boys, was born on November 2nd, 1470 while his mother was in sanctuary in Westminster Abbey (cf., Kendall, 1955; Ross, 1981). Using this information, we can calculate Edward's age at the times the pictures portray. One such illustration (Figure 5), shows Edward entering London alongside his uncle Richard, then Duke of Gloucester. This event is reported to have occurred on May 4th, 1483 (the auspicious twelfth anniversary of his father's victory at the Battle of Tewkesbury on May 4th, 1471). On this day then, when he entered London, Edward was almost exactly twelve and one-half years old. Since the events shown in the present illustrations supposedly all purport to have occurred within the following six months, the pictures of Edward should represent a boy of that age and one whose father we know to be of tall stature. In an era when the expected lifespan was much shorter (Riley, 2001) with an average age at death close to forty, his peers would have seen him as a young man rapidly approaching his maturity. In this context, we should not forget that the next King of England to bear this name, the invalid Edward VI (son of Henry VIII) actively took part in ruling the country at the age of fifteen, just over a two year difference (see Stephen & Lee, 1917).

The age of the younger Prince Richard, Duke of York, is a little more difficult to establish. Weir (1992) stated that he was born on August 17th, 1473 in a Dominican Friary in Shrewsbury. Unfortunately, she does not cite her source(s) for this observation. Sir Thomas More (1513) places Richard as 'two years younger' than his brother. However, since More mistakes Edward V's age by one year and his father, Edward IV's age at death by almost thirteen years, we must treat his assertions about this issue with appropriate caution. The Dictionary of National Biography concurs with the day and month specified by Weir but places Richard's birth one year earlier in 1472 (see Stephen & Lee, 1917 and see The Gentleman's Magazine, 1831, p. 25). However, Michael Hicks (2003, p. 102), in his recent book on Edward V notes that Richard was born in 1473, as recorded in the Taylor Ms. (16th Century copy of an original now lost), cited in Volume 1 of Owen and Blakeway's (1825) text on the Histories and Antiquities of Shrewsbury.
This indicates under an entry for 1473 "This yeare the duke of Yorke was borne in the Bladke Friars.. " (p. 230). Until further significant information is discovered it is reasonable to conclude at present that the younger of the two Princes was born in 1473. (cf., Hammond, 2004; Hancock, 2004). Given this established birth date, Richard, Duke of York would have been on the verge of his tenth birthday during the time period in question. Regardless of this concern, since most of the illustrations involve both of the boys anyway, we can use Edward's certain age as the key reference point in respect to the present discussion.

There are a number of contemporaneous descriptions of the Princes. However these written accounts, like the one for example reported by Mancini, largely describe attributes and capabilities rather than physical appearance. For example, Mancini (1483, [1989] p. 93) indicates:

This context seems to require that I should not pass over in silence the talent of the youth. (Edward V) in word and deed he gave so many proofs of his liberal education, of polite, nay rather scholarly, attainments far beyond his age, all of these should be recounted, but requires such labor, that I shall lawfully excuse myself the labour. There is one thing I shall not omit, and that is, his special knowledge of literature, which enabled him to discourse elegantly, to understand fully, and to declaim most excellently from any work whether in verse or prose that came in to his hands, unless it were from among the more abstruse authors. He had such dignity in his whole person, and his face such charm, that however much they might gaze he never wearied the eyes of beholders." (parentheses mine).

Later, More (1513) reported that:

having in themselves also as many gifts of nature, as many princely virtues, as much goodly towardness (natural aptitude) as their age could receive. (parentheses added).

All such descriptions are vulnerable to the effects of influence. That is, few critical things tend to be written about the immediate family members of reigning medieval kings for obvious reasons. Thus, all such descriptions need to be viewed through this interpretational lens. The further disappointment is that such comments do not tell us in any detail about physical characteristics per se, so the actual appearance of Edward and his brother remains largely unspecified.

In the absence of a written physical description, we can divide the present collected images of the Princes into three basic categories. The first of these represent contemporary or near contemporary images. These are often stylized and representational in nature, given that verisimilitude of features was not a primary concern of the respective artists. In its ultimate form, this can be seen, for example, on coins of the late medieval era on which the representation of the King's face remains unchanged across monarchs, while the coin itself is identified by name designation only. (Interestingly, this tradition only changed with Henry VII, the first of the Tudors)! The second category, which is composed predominantly of much later images, depicts the Princes prior to their purported murder in the Tower. The third, and final, group represents the illustrations of the supposed murder itself and its aftermath. As we shall see, Shakespeare's influence on this latter grouping is much in evidence.

Contemporary Images of the Princes

There are a relatively limited number of contemporary images of the Princes. Fortunately for readers of the Ricardian Register, images of Edward V were the subject of cover art of a recent issue (see Wheeler, 2003). I do not wish to be repetitive here, so only a brief précis will suffice in respect of these images. On the illustration in Figure 1, reading from left to right they are i) from the Royal window of Canterbury Cathedral; ii) from St. Matthew's Church, Coldridge, Devon; iii) from St. George's Chapel, Windsor; iv) from Little Malvern Priory Church and finally; v) detail from the Lambeth Palace Ms. 'Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers' of Lord Rivers presenting his book to Edward IV.

While the St. George's chapel painting is apparently posthumous, each of the others, with one exception discussed below, were apparently produced during Edward's lifetime. Figure 2 shows a comparable image of
Richard, Duke of York, Edward's younger brother, also taken from the same stained glass window in the north-west transept of Canterbury Cathedral, referred to as the Royal window. While the two representations from Canterbury appear to be most informative, it is unfortunate that the heads of both Princes are replacements and not original. Interestingly, the Coldridge glass has also been suggested as 16th Century based upon knowledge about the costume shown and the caption which intriguingly reads "prenys edward the fyte."

However, much more is to be gleaned from these images, other than representations of royal status is a highly specialized issue which is not pursued further in this work. However, it is evident that each of these representations show young but maturing individuals, a characterization in sharp contrast to many later, more formulaic images of the Princes as children. These contemporary or near contemporary graphics represent a crucial baseline against which to compare subsequent versions, especially since they are largely uncontaminated by subsequent story-telling and myth-making.

Before the Purported Murder

The second group of images come overwhelmingly from much later artistic representations. Predominantly emanating from the early nineteenth century onwards, they are the result of the conceptions of the romantic movement which sought to use actual historical events as bases for idealized representations. Outstanding among these is the most recognizable of all iconic images of the Princes, which is surely Millais' (1829-1896) magnificent masterpiece, as shown in Figure 3. As art, it is a wonderful piece of work. As history it is exactly like Shakespeare's characterization - highly suspect. First, however, we should concede that the ages appear reasonably close to what we now know to be those of the Princes. Further, the clothing depicted is within tolerable degree of accuracy, and Millais took some effort to assure that various details were correct. For example, he consulted an expert historian, James Robinson Planché, concerning the wearing and placement of the 'Order of the Garter' on Edward's left leg, a detail that itself has not gone undiscussed since it is suggested that his younger brother should also be so attired. What is most incongruent in the picture is the representation of the

Figure 2: Image of Richard, Duke of York, reproduced from the stained glass Royal window of Canterbury Cathedral. This is a companion image to the first representation of Edward V at left of the five shown in Figure 1.

Figure 3: An engraving of 'The Princes in the Tower' (1878), from the classic original portrait by Sir John Everett Millais, which is in the Royal Holloway College, University of London. Probably the most recognizable iconic representation of the Princes. This particular picture was used by Elizabeth Jenkins for the cover of her book on 'The Princes in the Tower' and has appeared many times elsewhere (see for example, Eckford, 2003).
facial features, and Millais gives us two near teenage brothers holding hands! — how times have changed! The features of the younger brother, a fearful hand on his brother’s shoulder, are palpably feminine, while that of his older brother are at best androgynous. This can be shown by specifically isolating the facial features while excising the rest of the context as I have done in Figure 4(a) and Figure 4(b).

A n initial survey of a random group of thirty U.S. college students and faculty indicated that 80% viewing Figure 4(a) [Richard, Duke of York] classed the individual shown as female. The same group examined Figure 4(b) and over 65% believed the older Prince to be female also. On being shown the full picture as in Figure 3, and being asked whether they might change their opinion, 30% of the sample indicated that they now believed the older figure of Edward was actually male. None changed their opinion with respect to the younger brother, Richard. These percentages do not derive from the mere presence of long hair. A nother, similar size group of college students were shown these respective faces but without the hair being visible. Of these, over 67% still identified the younger Prince as female while more than 42% saw the representation of the elder brother, Edward as female also. It is clear that Millais represents these individuals as strongly feminine in their appearance.

There is indeed, a degree of controversy over the sex of the individuals that Millais used as models for the picture. In his 1899 text, John G uille M illais, the artist’s own son, indicated that Millais himself had cast two boys who were the sons of a professional model (Miss W hite, later M rs. D avis) who had previously posed for him for the picture ‘White Cockade’ in 1862, sixteen years earlier. Posing for the picture which was ‘half finished in a fortnight’ was made tolerable for the boys by a supply of acid-drops (a form of candy), to relieve the tedium. Unfortunately, this account does not match with that of Spielmann (1898) who earlier had provided a different story. Spielmann relates that M illais had seen the children in a ‘tableau vivant’ and that they were the son and daughter of Thomas Dallas-Yorke of Walmgate in Lincolnshire. Interestingly, the daughter W inifred Anna Dallas-Yorke, the supposed model for Richard, Duke of York, was later to become the Duchess of Portland. Although we would always like to know ‘ground-truth,’ even here just concerning a picture of the ‘Princes in the Tower’ there remains doubt over exactly who M illais’s models were.

W hile the issue of the models themselves remains to be resolved, their feminine appearance, in combination with their manifest youth renders them, in a stereotypical perception, as being even more vulnerable. These perceptions could simply follow all such romantic representations and would therefore a property of the genre itself, as opposed specifically to the representation of the Princes in the Tower alone. To evaluate this possibility, a further survey of twenty-two randomly chosen individuals examined three additional paintings of children in which they judged the central figure only (Yeames’s, 1878 ‘And when did you last see your father’ [Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool]; M illais’s, 1870 ‘The boyhood of Raleigh’ [Tate Gallery, London]; and Van D yck’s, 1637 ‘The children of Charles I’ [Royal Collection]). The surface areas were matched with those of the images of the Princes and the surrounding information was also deleted in order to minimize the effects of context. Of the twenty-two individuals questioned, over 85% attributed each of these latter figures as male. For the Yeames figure, all respondents indicated a male child while for the Van Dyck...
figure, there were only two individuals from the sample who thought the child was female. The Millais of Raleigh was included to evaluate whether perhaps he consistently painted young males as female in appearance. However, only one individual attributed the ‘Raleigh’ figure as female, a percentage significantly lower than for either of the figures of the Princes. While this supports the notion that the Princes are differentially depicted as feminine in appearance, it would need a much larger sample size to fully confirm this effect. However, we are probably justified here in initially suggesting that the Princes are depicted a little differently from other contemporary and previous images of male children.

If we take the pattern given in the identification by those first examining the images of the Princes without the hair being visible, it gives us a combination of slightly older male and slightly younger female. This being so, Millais’ painting becomes representative of the first stirrings of romantic love. This is a strange representation indeed if we think of the individuals as two brothers, but not strange at all if we consider the scene from the perspective of one of the founders of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood. Millais probably derived his portraiture directly from known some of the known pictures of the Princes, which are discussed below and almost certainly he was aware of and influenced by the Delaroche masterpiece (Spielmann, 1898). However, in keeping with his nascent genre, Millais clearly exercised the license of the artist to create a much more personal and romanticized version. A gain, this question is one to be addressed further by specialists in mid-nineteenth century art. However, the ambiguities, evident even in a cursory examination of this, the most recognizable of all the pictures of the Princes, shows how careful we must be in interpreting the existing visual images and how easily and subtly perceptions can be manipulated. Before we leave this iconic and highly influential image, notice how Millais has chosen to frame the Princes against the ominous staircase. We know this story emanates from the account of Thomas More and features in other pictures which follow. Despite the contention which surrounds More’s assertion (which is itself ultimately equivocal, see Hancock, 2001), by placing the Princes in this context, Millais, to a degree, also betrays his sympathies. Like Shakespeare, Millais sacrifices knowledge on the altar of art. This is good for art but highly painful for history; since the cursory understanding by most individuals of this epoch in history will be highly influenced by these artistic leanings. The policy of ‘never letting facts get in the way of a good story’ may be the ‘sine qua non’ for contemporary Hollywood. However, let us hope we can counteract the spread of fiction as fact, at least in our own small area of knowledge. At this juncture, it is also pertinent to mention one other associated issue. We should always be careful about the inferences we draw concerning all pictorial representations. Even those that are contemporary are always strained through the artist’s perception. The puzzle of the character of Richard III himself, as represented in the portrait from the National Portrait Gallery, which forms the basis of Josephine Tey’s influential text is, itself, an interesting example of this discussion (and see Weeler, 2001; Benstead, 2001; and also Wigram, 2001 for examples).

The illustration shown in Figure 5, depicts an event for which we have an exact date. It is the May 4th, 1483 entry of Edward and his uncle Richard into London. At this time, Edward was almost exactly twelve and one half years of age. At first glance, the picture of Edward and his uncle appears a benign illustration of their triumphal entry into the capital. This also belies a greater complexity, again founded in the faces of the main actors. As we can see from the faces shown, the visage of Richard here appears initially to be imperious, not to say maniacal. In contrast, Edward looks with great trepidation toward his uncle. A gain with an effeminate cast, the idea of vulnerable child in the hands of a power-mad uncle is assumedly the subtext to this work.

As with the previous illustration, these respective faces were extracted from the picture. This was done in

Figure 5: This representation is a much more veridical picture. The scene depicts Edward’s entry with his uncle Richard Duke of Gloucester, into London on the 4th of May, 1483. The artist is E. Caton Woodville and it is from a series of paintings in the Illustrated London News of The Coronation of Edward VII and Queen Alexandra, June 26th, 1902. Interestingly, the artist claimed descent from a cousin of the Woodville Queen on his mother’s side.
order that individuals did not recognize the context of the situation and thus base their estimates on their historical knowledge rather than their immediate perception. The extracted faces are shown in Figure 6(a) and 6(b). These faces were surveyed by a different group of University students for their reaction. In respect of Richard's age, the twenty participants, based on the image in Figure 6, estimated him to be forty years of age when we know Richard was actually not yet twenty-nine years of age. From the representation in Figure 6(b), the same group estimated Edward to be twenty-five years old, exactly twice his actual age. When asked to interpret the expressions shown on the respective faces, comments for Richard were of the order, 'troubled' 'angry' and 'upset.' For Edward, comparable terms used were 'scared' 'worried' 'confused' and 'wistful.' However, after this survey, it was suggested that the expression attributed to Richard here might be due to the way the eyelids appear in a small-size representation. To evaluate this possibility, a further ten individuals were asked to compare page-sized illustration of the picture of Richard shown in Figure 6(a) with comparable line-drawings which variously emphasized or de-emphasized the eyelid region. This subsequent survey showed that this unique feature did mediate people's impression of Richard here. Of the individuals surveyed, 80% reported that Richard changed expression when the eyelids were de-emphasized. In actuality, they reported Richard going from 'upset' and 'pensive' in the original picture to 'angry' and 'mean' in the line-drawing. Again, this serves to emphasize just how important subtle visual details can be, especially when observers are processing and interpreting faces which represent a very primitive but crucial capability of the visual cortex (e.g., Livingstone, 2002). Although we cannot know the actual expressions on the faces of these two individuals as they entered London that day, the present interpretation embedded in the created visual image very much accords with the received story of the 'wicked' uncle and the 'scared' nephew. As such, these images reinforce and perpetuate the myth of Richard and his relationship with his nephew as much as does any biased written account.

Figure 7 shows DeLacy's modern representation of this same event. Historically, it is most parsimonious to conclude that Richard, as Regent, was intent upon his nephew's elevation at this juncture and preparations were put in line for Edward's Coronation. This perspective on the situation is reflected for example in the much more benign illustration, shown in Figure 8, which depicts Richard and his nephew Edward on the road to London. While Richard’s actions prior to their joint entry into London suggest that he was securing his own position, there is little if any direct evidence to indicate any consideration on his behalf of the deposition of his...
nephew (and see Wood, 1975). As such this should have been, and most probably was, a triumphal occasion.

Whatever one thinks of the picture shown in Figure 5, the following, shown in Figure 9 is positively grotesque. One of the most accusatory, contemporary accounts of Richard’s action in the spring of 1483 comes from the work of Mancini (1483). In his communiqué to Angelo Cato, Mancini seeks to show how Richard sought to bring all of the major actors of the era under his influence. In particular, he records how Richard put pressure on Elizabeth Woodville, the Queen dowager of Edward IV, to surrender her second son, Richard the Duke of York, from sanctuary so that he could be with his brother (and refer to Levine, 1959; and Wood, 1975). This picture purports to show this event in which the Queen, at right, is taking her departure from the Prince while the ecclesiastics look on. Kendall (1955, p. 252) notes that: “The Archbishop took the nine year old boy by the hand and led him forth (from sanctuary in Westminster ABBEY).” The empirical question is whether the representation shown illustrates the figure of a nine (nearly ten) year-old boy or not? To examine this proposition, a different group of 20 individuals were shown a magnified section composed only of the face of Richard, Duke of York, represented in Figure 9 below. They were asked to judge sex, age, and expression. In respect of sex, 80% saw the individual depicted as female, again this was independent of hair length which was not shown. The average estimated age was just over fifteen years and this might seem high given our perusal of the whole picture. However, when we consider that the judging individuals did not see the whole picture and hence the respective size of the other figures appearing here, this high estimate, based on facial representation alone, is reasonable. In respect of the expression of emotion shown, typical epithets were ‘melancholy’ ‘sad’ ‘worried’ and ‘solemn.’ A gain, the illustration is suited to received wisdom and so is self-reinforcing when individuals encounter the traditional, written story of such events. T his particular scene, the parting of Richard, Duke of York, from his mother in sanctuary, seems to have captured the imagination of many illustrators. It is evidently a recurrent theme in the whole genre of the images of the Princes, as shown subsequently in Figures 10-12. However, since we do not yet possess an exhaustive listing of all of the images that have been published we do not know the relative frequency of each chosen scene, although this may be a project for future investigation.

As well as the engraving shown in Figure 9, there are comparable representations of the same event in Figures 10, 11, and 12. Although, as we can readily see, the depictions become progressively less historically accurate with Richard, Duke of Gloucester watching the Tudor–dressed, dowager Queen Elizabeth in Figure 12. Of course, pictures represent only a momentary ‘snapshot’ in time. What is actually crucial about this particular
The event is not the depicted, so-called tragedy of a mother sending her youngest son off to the hands of the caricatured ‘wicked uncle.’ Rather, the historical issue is why a woman as clever and informed as Elizabeth Woodville would release her second son from sanctuary in the first place. Much has been made of the persuasive abilities of Cardinal Bouchier but there must be much more to this decision than has yet been revealed by the true historic record, especially as it occurs so soon after the beheading of Lord Hastings, an event to which one may conjecture that it must be related.

The final picture in this second category of illustrations of the Princes, before their purported murder, is the famous Delaroche representation showing the boys, waiting in fear and trembling, for the entry of their putative murderers (Figure 13). Perhaps one of the more historically accurate of the representations discussed in the present article, this picture clearly invokes a strong sense of trepidation and anxiety. When shown the respective faces and asked about the emotions of those shown, the final sample group replied with the expected responses concerning expressions of fear, worry, and anxiety, especially for the younger child (at left) looking toward the doorway. It is at this juncture where we begin to depart from illustrations which show events that we know to have happened (e.g., Figures 5, 7-12) to begin with the illustrations of events that are presumed to have happened. Indeed, the Delaroche illustration is a most apposite vison and indeed the very epitome of this transition.

**The Assumed Murder**

We now progress from the known into the assumed. Up to this point, we have been asking randomly selected, everyday individuals to match their perception of what is presented with what we know of the people in the events which are thereby depicted. With the following
A clear example of this is presented in Figure 14 which shows a composite assemblage. The two Princes again appear on the ominous staircase. A religious appearing individual leads them by the hand, forward to their doom. A second, book-bearing adult (perhaps illustrative of the law; collectively being the lords spiritual and temporal) follows on the children's heels, while two sets of shackles hang threateningly from the central pillar. A figure leaning from the shadows at the lower right, presumably Richard, Duke of Gloucester, looks on with a degree of both apprehension and approval. Ricardians will be very familiar with the fallacies embedded in this problematic version of events.

Since we are now into the unknown, as represented by the putative murder of the Princes, we find speculation stepping into the shoes of knowledge. This transformation very much brings Shakespeare to the fore. Each of the pictures of the assumed murder itself appears to emanate from the fictional account provided in Shakespeare's “Richard III.” The most influential lines are found in the mouth of Tyrrel and are uttered in Act IV, Scene 3. Lines 1-23:

"Tyrrel – The tyrannous and bloody deed is done,
The most arch act of piteous massacre
That ever yet this land was guilty of.
Dighton and Forrest, whom I did suborn
To do this ruthless piece of butchery,
Although they were flesh’d villains, bloody dogs
M elting with tenderness and kind compassion
Wept like two children in their deaths’ sad stories.
Lo! thus,’ quoth Dighton, ‘lay the gentle babes, –’
’T hus, thus,’ quoth Forrest, ‘girdling one another
Within their alabaster innocent arms:
Their lips were four red roses on a stalk,
Which in their summer beauty, kissed each other.
A book of prayers on their pillow lay,
Which once,’ quoth Forrest, ‘almost changed my mind;
But O! The devil’ – therethe villain stopped;
When Dighton thus told on – ‘We smothered
The most replenished sweet work of nature
That from the prime creation e’er she framed.’
Thus both are gone with conscience and remorse;
They could not speak; and so I left both,
To bring this tidings to the bloody king.
And here he comes."

Let us now examine the following illustrations first with reference to Shakespeare’s version and then in respect of each of the compositions themselves. In the classic illustration by James Northcote (1746-1831) shown in Figure 15, the influence of Shakespeare is undeniable, and indeed explicit, since this was one among several that he created for the Boydell Shakespeare Gallery. Despite these being among Northcote’s most...
successful works, he himself obviously felt some ambivalence having declared “it was such a slip-slop imbecility as it was dreadful to look at” (Ashton, 1981). The picture shows evidence of the ‘alabaster arms’ and the ‘red rose’ lips, as well as specifically featuring the obvious presence of the book of prayer. The presence, and the incipient actions of two murderers is taken directly from the lines of the play. However, independent of the origin in Shakespeare, the composition itself is particularly damning. The innocent children (for here they are clearly represented as younger than their known ages) lie in a pool of white light which symbolically and significantly also embraces the prayer book. The smothering here will be thus an act against God as well as against royalty and innocence.

The murderers, one of whom dare not show his face, approach from the darkness, blanket to the ready for the smothering (can one person smother two children in the same blanket and would his accomplice really hold a lamp?). The royal arms indicate the status of the Princes while the crucified Jesus is symbolically turned away from this despicable act. A very similar version is given in Figure 16 showing William Marshall Craig’s version of the ‘Princes in the Tower,’ with the traditional two murderers about to smother the angelically depicted boys, literally highlighted, as the villains approach.

A much altered version of the same event is shown in Figure 17. Again, light is used symbolically to represent the innocence of the children and all of Shakespeare’s critical features (two murderers, the prayer book on the pillow, etc) are again evident. However, unlike the previous illustration, here the murderers show confusion and uncertainty which directly recalls the line “Which once,’ quoth Forrest, ‘almost changed my mind” in which Forrest expresses his ambivalence for the act. Here, the Princes look more of an age with what we know, but the elements of the archetypal good versus evil, light versus dark, and the confrontation between the forces of right and wrong remain evident. The prayer book on the pillow is shown but here not emphasized. The method of murder, stabbing, smothering or whatever, also appears to puzzle the imminent assassins. Figure 18 reiterates all of the theme elements but with a much more realistic cast. Vitally, it retains the common, redeeming characteristic that, despite their manifest innocence, the children are shown as close to their actual age and not some miscast infants.

Figure 15: The quintessential representation of Shakespeare’s lines in an engraving by James Northcote. The two princes bathed in light (again note their apparent ages) slumber innocently and peacefully with an open prayer book while the dastardly murders approach. Smothering is clearly the method of choice here, although a sword hangs from the belt of one of the assassins. The crucified Christ looks on from above but symbolically is turned away from the scene. This is one of a number of engravings of this picture, the original of which is at Petworth (and see Pollard, 1991).

Figure 16: William Marshall Craig (circa 1765- circa 1834), ‘The Princes in the Tower,’ circa, 1820. (see Ashton, 1981). In the collection of the American Shakespeare Theater, Stratford, CT, USA.
The previous three illustrations very much accord with the Shakespearean account which we believe to have been extracted from Thomas More’s essay. It is this archetype, the ‘wicked uncle’ murdering his innocent nephews that has come to characterize Richard, even though it was not the calumny of choice which the immediate Tudor successors chose to heap upon him. In essence, Shakespeare created this view of Richard and one senses that Henry VII would not only have been pleased with Shakespeare’s accomplishment but also a little jealous of the idea which he would surely have embraced himself if he or any of his councilors at the time would have thought of it. It is thus in illustrations like Figure 19, that the last Plantagenet King is forever tied to an act for which we have no evidence!

Figure 20 carries symbology to its extreme. Here a text heading for Richard III can no longer even present a reasonable simulacrum of the King but he must be depicted by the worst possible representation of his boar-symbol. In this we have now descended into the triumph of his veritable animalistic personification (and what a frown there is on the boar) over the princes,” again shown with an inaccurate age representation, as the epitome of violated

Figure 17: A somewhat more realistic rendering of the same scene. The appreciably older children still slumber innocently in the bed while a bemused pair of assassins approach. The restraining hand of one is laid on the other. Note the prayer book again in evidence.

Figure 18: ‘The Murder of the sons of Edward IV’ was painted by Ferdinand Theodor Hildebrandt in 1835. It is presently in the Kunstmuseum in Düsseldorf. Regarded as one of Hildebrandt’s finest and most acclaimed works, it was inspired by Delaroche’s earlier painting ‘Sons of Edward IV (Figure 12) which was exhibited in the Paris Salon in 1831.
innocence. In some sense, this is the most egregious of all the illustrations since it assigns responsibility that we cannot know and does so in the most prejudicial and demeaning fashion. Little wonder that without correction, the misrepresentation of Richard will continue if these are the pictures that the burgeoning minds of impressionable children encounter.

Each of the foregoing illustrations represents the supposed murder itself, and now in this fictional account, having accomplished their task, the assassins must hide the evidence of their activity. The foul murderers must dispose of the bodies and leave no clue for others to follow. The illustration shown in Figure 21 is especially interesting. I shall not discourse too much on the compositional nature of the work but simply note that among other references, we see one of the presumed murderers looking up toward heaven as though fearing judgment. As Pollard (1991) rightly notes, many of these representations come from the eighteenth and nineteenth century’s interest in depictions of historic events. For many individuals in this latter era, the moral of the story often overshadowed and even superceded any necessity for historic accuracy of what was portrayed. What is immediately interesting in Figure 21 is first, the number of accomplices. As well as the two main figures, we can see a face in the background of one accomplice holding the torch at upper right. Down at the lower left, we see a pair of hands receiving the bodies, making at
least four individuals involved, which is obviously one more than represented in most scenarios, including those of More and Shakespeare. Again, one of the purported murderers has his face covered by an armoured helmet, as in Figure 15, and here the Princes are shown as almost fully grown individuals. The scene is set on the stairs, so beloved by Thomas More. As I have noted elsewhere (Hancock, 2001), the account given in More (1513) is sufficiently precise, in its imprecision, to cover all eventualities. However, misunderstanding of More's legerdemain continues to be a source of confusion (see White & Anon, 2003). As we see in Figures 3, 14, 21, staircases remain one of the preferred backgrounds against which to represent the Princes.

The penultimate illustration discussed in the present work, and shown in Figure 22, is also, together with Northcote's works, one of the oldest of the non-contemporary products. This is a two-part scene which acts to establish the responsibility and the guilt for the supposed murder of the Princes with Richard. Here, the deformed figure is provided as the veritable 'monster' in all possible lurid glory (the figure shown is very similar to that of the actor Garrick in an illustration by Fuseli). The murder proceeds apace in the background but the evident and dominant figure is that of Richard. Note how the head of Richard is juxtaposed with that of the murdered Prince in a reciprocal symbolic fall of the Prince and ascendancy of Richard. But again note that even in this macabre moment of 'triumph' Richard is already on the downward path as the descent of the stairs (stairs again!) show. Perhaps more than any other, it is this form of caricature that we must battle most assiduously through the appeal to evidence.

Finally, as Pollard has also shown, representations of the Princes need not be necessarily either old or indeed serious. In Figure 23, we have the typical tale retold, with the poor princes in a prison cell as Richard (or is it one of the murderers?) craftily moves in. Interestingly, the caption tells us that some historians believe the princes did not exist! Certainly a new and intriguing take on the problem of the Princes in the Tower. Despite
this claim by whoever these ‘historians’ are, the cartoon may actually be one of the more accurate in terms of representing the boys’ respective ages! Other such more favorable flights of fancy, in cartoon form, are discussed in more detail in Pollard (1991, p. 226).

**Summary and Conclusions**

The first sequence of pictures gave us an insight into contemporary representations of the Princes. They are interesting and informative but they are also formulaic in that they do not seek explicitly the veridical reflection of features which later ages embraced and eventually achieved in photography. The second sequence of pictures, however, skewed or biased their presentation, sought to record events which are known to have occurred in some fashion. The final sequence of pictures are focused on the ‘murder’ of the princes in the Tower and each of these representations lean heavily on the Shakespeare popularization of the More account. A sany Ricardian knows, this case remains unresolved and it is still highly uncertain whether any murder took place at all. Contention still surrounds the bones enshrined in Westminster Abbey. Hopefully, in the near future, a re-examination of these bones will be permitted that will allow us to bring the power of modern forensic science to the issue of identification and possibly of whether the individuals there interred died of natural or unnatural causes. Establishing whether the deaths of the individuals whose bones lie in that Westminster Abbey urn was by murder, or indeed, who the supposed murderer or murderers might be, is probably still beyond our present scientific powers to resolve. However, failure to confirm certain assertions at any such stage, i.e., the establishment of identities other than the Princes, the establishment of inconsistent ages of the interred with the Princes approximately known age at death, or the establishment of death due to natural causes, will render most of these later images of the Princes as mere fiction. Perhaps, at such a juncture (or even now) we can persuade some talented, modern artist to create an illustration of two happy princes on a Ricardian sponsored European tour. This alternative is at present, at least as likely as the more lurid, but equally baseless, accounts of dastardly murder.

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On Images of the Princes in the Tower


Acknowledgment

I am very pleased to be able to acknowledge the vital contribution of Mr. Geoffrey Wheeler toward the completion of the present work. Without his help, his generosity, and his insight, it would not have been possible. He has provided many of the illustrations and their sources here and thus much of the credit for any present value is due to him. Any remaining mistakes and errors are solely the responsibility of the present author.

About the Author

Peter Hancock is Provost Distinguished Research Professor with appointments in the Department of Psychology and the Institute for Simulation and Training (IST) at the University of Central Florida. He also holds courtesy appointments at the University of Michigan, the University of Minnesota, and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT). He is a Past-President of the Human Factors and Ergonomics Society of which he is also a Fellow.

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ASK ME ABOUT THE REAL RICHARD III
FURTHER EXAMINATION OF MARGARET BEAUFORT

Marion Davis’ article, ‘Teflon and Stainless Steel: Some Thoughts About Margaret Beaufort,’ is long overdue examining what happened during Richard III’s reign. Further examination of Margaret Beaufort will assist Ricardians in rescuing Richard III’s reputation. Ms. Davis writes of Margaret Beaufort, “Although evidence of great ambition was plentiful in her actions, few have criticized her for camouflaging her ambitions in religious display.” Marion Davis’ article begins with Margaret at the age of forty, the year Richard’s nephews disappeared from the Tower. “Vegil tells us, she was commonly called the head of the conspiracy.” Who was Margaret before then and what made her one of the main players in 1483? Was Margaret a wealthy heiress? Lady Margaret Beaufort, might well have become queen of England in her own right as a survivor of the Beaufort family, with a claim to the throne through the bastard but legitimized branch of the House of Lancaster. She choose not too. Instead, her goal in life became putting her only child Henry VII, on the throne of England. Margaret saw the court of Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou and would live to be aware of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon. She was an active and effective participant in political events throughout her life.

In 1455, when she was only twelve, Margaret married the 26-year-old Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond. Edmund Tudor was Henry VI’s half brother from his mother’s second marriage to Owen Tudor. Edmund died in 1456 never seeing his son, dying of the plague some months before the birth. In January 28th, 1457 Henry Tudor was born at Pembroke Castle in Wales. “Evidently she had an eye for political opportunity even then, naming her son after his godfather, Henry VI.” Margaret was already a natural politician. She knew how to flatter, yield to superiors and knew the world revolved around power. Not yet fourteen, Margaret made her next marriage, to Henry Stafford, second son to another Lancastrian, Humphrey, Duke of Buckingham.

Margaret was to lose her uncle Somerset at St. Albans, her father-in-law Henry Tudor at Northampton and her former father-in-law, Owen Tudor, at Mortimer’s Cross. Her stepfather, Lionel, Lord Welles, fell at Towton. Her Beaufort cousins were outlawed. “Historians of the Wars of the Roses cannot take into account the anguish of the bereaved women who waited for news from the battlefields.” Besides her personal losses, Margaret had her only child taken from her when he was only five. “Worse still, her little son Henry Tudor had been taken from her when Pembroke Castle surrendered to the Yorkists at the end of September 1461.”

Henry Stafford switched sides and decided to back Edward IV and the Yorkists. Living as a subject of Edward IV’s must have been a painful time to be a Beaufort, also, Margaret’s son had been removed from her custody. Margaret knew though when to cut one’s losses. Henry Stafford secured a pardon on June 25, 1461 from Edward IV for ‘all treasons, rebellions and felonies,’ which saved his estates. “When the Yorkists were in power, she advanced herself to the highest levels at court in spite of her Lancastrian origins.” Edward IV allowed Margaret to keep the lands given to her by her father, Edmund Tudor, and Henry VI, but Margaret was no longer a member of the royal family with the Yorkists in power.

No children resulted from her marriage to Stafford. “The physique of the great heiress Margaret Beaufort was considered to have been ruined by early childbearing. She bore the future Henry VII when she was only thirteen, and never had any other children in the course of three marriages.” Margaret Beaufort made all the important decisions concerning her royal grandchildren. When her eldest granddaughter was to marry James IV King of Scotland, Margaret played a key role arguing for the marriage ceremony between the two to be held off lest consummation take place. James IV was sixteen years older than her granddaughter at the time. Margaret didn’t want what physically occurred to her with her first husband happen to her granddaughter.

When Edward IV was captured by Warwick, the highly intelligent Margaret saw appealing to Edward IV’s traitor brother, the Duke of Clarence, as an avenue to free her son. Margaret was an adaptable woman and kept interacting with any one who would help her regain physical custody of her son. “In October 1469 Margaret and her husband accompanied by ‘their fellowship and learned council’, met Lady Pembroke and her brother, Lord Ferrers of Chartley, who also brought their lawyers, in an attempt to reach a compromise over Henry Tudor’s future.” Margaret was cautious though, and never showed she had a visible plan for her son’s future. When Edward regained his liberty, he was deeply suspicious of Lady Margaret and his wife, Stafford.

Edward IV was angry at Lady Margaret’s devious move seeking the Duke of Clarence’s aid, but he had to remain on friendly terms with Lady Margaret’s husband,
Sir Henry Stafford, H is brother, Sir John Stafford, was a valued supporter of the King. "And we know from Margaret's household accounts that the Stafford brothers were close; John visited H enry at Woking OId H all, to hunt or to play cards. Moreover, their three Bourchier uncles were very powerful men indeed—respectively Archbishops of Canterbury, Earl of Essex, and Lord Berners. For all her Lancastrian Beaufort blood, by marriage M argaret had some undeniably influential Yorkist relations."

0 November 11, 1470, H enry Tudor left for Wales with his uncle Jasper Tudor. M argaret would not see her son for nearly fifteen years.

In February 1471, four months after her son's departure, the acknowledged leader of the Lancastrians, Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, returned to England. M argaret was his first cousin, and the Duke called on her in March at her home. At Woking, M argaret had created a successful environment for herself and spent much of her time checking accounts and leases. H istorians rank her estate administration as one of the most efficient of her day. M argaret's life with H enry Stafford was conducted like that of a small, royal court. Somerset was entertained by M argaret and saw in person how she had prospered as a Beaufort. "Even when by herself she dined in splendour in her hall, at a high table on a raised dais, presiding over her household and retainers."9

Somerset told her his plans to put H enry VI back on the throne. Twenty-five year old M argaret had good reason to worry about her family and most likely discussed the situation with her husband. Both knew, that by siding with the Lancastrian cause, H enry could lose his life. She could forfeit her wealth and her independence. M argaret was a self-reliant woman, who toured her estates on regular basis, and managed her own properties. The possibility of being arrested and what could be lost in land, freedom and wealth, had to be carefully considered. The ambitious M argaret didn't have a blind eye when it came to dynastic loyalty though. Her calculating temperament would determine the right choice when Edward IV came back.

Edward IV returned to fight Warwick Easter Day, 1471. M argaret's husband, Sir H enry Stafford, had to make the decision who to fight for. N ot backing the winning side could mean death and family ruin. During the battle at Barnet, Sir H enry was so badly injured, that there was no further need for him to prove his loyalty to anyone. M argaret hurried from London to be by his side. H enry died from his wounds he received that following Spring. H is estate went to 'my beloved wife, M argaret, countess of Richmond.' M argaret was now a widow a second time, but a rich and beautiful one. "The bronze tomb effigy by Pietro Torrigiano in Westminster Abbey—that greatest of monuments to Richard's overthrow—shows a strikingly handsome face of austere refinement with strong, if superbly delicate, features; when young she must have been a considerable beauty."10

Following Stafford's death, M argaret married her third husband, Lord Stanley, a wealthy and powerful nobleman. "Some time during these events Edward probably ordered Richard to join him with such forces as he could raise in Wales and the Marches. Marching up through the border counties, he seems to have clashed in Lancashire with the retainers of Thomas, Lord Stanley, the most powerful lord of that region. Stanley—as Richard later discovered to his extreme cost—was the quintessential trimmer, shifty, self-seeking and unreliable."11 Some thought it was unseemly, to take another husband less than a year after the death of H enry Stafford. T he controversial marriage between M argaret and Stanley aroused suspicions in the Yorkist party. Life was brutal and it was male strength that counted in M argaret's world. She needed a strong protector and made a prudent decision to remarry as quickly as possible. "M argaret survived the years of Yorkist dominance with her person and fortune intact due largely to her choice of spouse."12 Upon the death of Prince Edward on Tewkesbury's Bloody Meadow, in M argaret's son ran all that remained of the blood of Lancaster.

There were women who transcended the mores of society and got away with it. E vidence suggests that M argaret was one such type, and dominated each of her husbands with the sheer force of character. M argaret had a plan and now a husband who saw personal benefits in it for himself. "Even the most loyal nobleman of the age would have been tempted by the prospect of seeing his stepson on the throne; and loyalty was hardly Lord Stanley's salient quality."13 It was M argaret, with Dr. M orton, that forged the vital alliance between Lancastrians and Yorkists that would topple Richard III. She would help finance her son's invasions in 1483 and 1485, and her husband, Lord Stanley, would betray Richard decisively at Bosworth. M argaret's ambition, both for herself and her son, made her a dangerous opponent. She knew her son, whom she had been with for a quarter of a century, was a powerful candidate for the throne of England. M argaret was playing a dangerous game, but she had lived with danger all her life. T his was a very capable woman, of great tact and experience, many would come to miscalculate.

Plans were in the works before Richard III's coronation in July of 1483, to make M argaret's son, king. R ecorded from the Calendar of Papal Registers, Stanley and M argaret had discussed with King Edward and Bishop M orton the possibility of marriage between H enry and the King's eldest daughter in 1482. "T he draft of a royal pardon for H enry survives, written on the back of a patient that had created his father Earl of Richmond. T here is therefore ample proof that H enry Tudor had been
During Edward IV's reign, Buckingham was not to her dear nephew and late husband's namesake, Henry VIII. His early lead in plotting against Richard before the Princes disappeared. There had been a plan to make Henry VII king long before Richard wore the crown.

As early as Christmas 1469, the duke of Buckingham was the guest of Margaret Beaufort and her husband at Guildford. Margaret's second husband Stafford was Buckingham's uncle. Buckingham, born in 1454, would have been a teenager at the time of this visit. Buckingham, who had blood royal aplenty in his veins, knew Margaret for a long time before 1483 and most likely her employee Reginald Bray, a fifteen year employee of Margaret's. Reginald began working for Margaret at Woking, while she was married to Henry Stafford. "Their household staff included a staff of nearly fifty servants, many of them 'gentleman born,' such as the receiver-general, Reginald Bray, a man whose family had come with the Normans." Vergil singles out Dr. Morton as the chief recruiting agent, and writes Reginald Bray seems to have been no less active in gathering supporters for Henry VII.

Richard III made the terrible mistake of allowing Buckingham custody of Morton at Brecknock. "The exile of Morton to Brecknock was unexpected, but communicating with him would not be a real problem. Her steward, Reginald Bray, was completely trustworthy and often carried letters secretly to her son in Brittany. He could perform the same function with Morton, while openly bearing messages to her dear nephew and late husband's namesake, Henry Stafford." During Edward IV's reign, Buckingham was not a member of Edward's council, and never chosen by Edward to serve on a diplomatic mission overseas. Buckingham, as a cousin and brother-in-law of the King, titled and wealthy, a direct descendant of Edward III through both his parents, should have had a place in Edward IV's government. Margaret undoubtedly would have pointed this out to Buckingham though the years of their relationship. And, reminded Buckingham of past, royal transgressions in communications sent to Morton at Brecknock Castle.

In mid-May, 1483, Edward IV's eldest son was moved to the royal lodgings in the Tower of London; in June his brother, Richard, joined him. The Tower of London did not have then, the ominous connotation it later acquired under the Tudors. Henry VII, at this time, was seen as untired, and as a penniless adventurer. Having the princes go missing from the Tower benefitted Henry more than Richard. It would be a disastrous blunder on Richard's part eliminating the Princes because it would make Henry the only man left who could reasonably challenge his right to the throne. Two people had already reached this conclusion, Margaret and John Morton. In the autumn of 1483, sinister rumors began that the boys had disappeared from the Tower. A clever smear campaign had begun; it circulated the country that the boys had been murdered. No one saw the boys again after that summer.

"Could the decision to keep Morton at Brecknock have originated in a suggestion Margaret Beaufort made to Buckingham?" This was not the only action Margaret made at this time to gather Buckingham into her web. "According to Hall, after attending the coronation, the Duke of Buckingham had suddenly grown disillusioned with King Richard and contemplated seizing the Crown for himself. According to Hall, during the later part of July, 1483, on his way to Shrewsbury, quite by chance, he encountered Lady Margaret Beaufort on the road between Worcester and Bridgewater. She was making a pilgrimage to the shrine of the Blessed Virgin at Worcester. Margaret asked him to intercede with Richard to allow her son Henry Tudor to return to England and marry one of Edward IV's daughters." It's hard to believe that just Henry's possible marital happiness was discussed between Margaret and Buckingham that day. Two months, after this 'accidental' run-in with his aunt, the experienced plotter, Buckingham revolts against Richard.

From the very beginning of his reign Henry VII placed the fullest confidence in his mother. Parliament reversed Richard III's attainder in 1485. "Clearly, the first Act of his Parliament must be to reverse all Yorkist Attainders, thus restoring lands and titles to their rightful, Lancastrian owners. His dear mother would have full rights again in her own properties and she must keep close to him as her wise counsel was essential to his success." The King knew how to make use of his mother's acquisitiveness and entrusted her with extracting the ransom of the Duke of Orleans, captured at Agincourt in 1422. The balance had been owing since 1440 and Henry VII offered his avaricious mother a share of the proceeds. A nyone else would have written the ransom off as a bad debt. "It will be right hard to recover it without it be driven by compulsion and force", Henry wrote to her in 1504, admitting that while England was at peace with France there was little to bargain with. Yet it was worth persevering. "For such a chance may fall that this your grant might stand in great stead for the
recovery of our right...' Margaret bombarded the French with demands for payment, drafted by the King's French secretary and delivered by heralds."

"Although Margaret Beaufort is unlikely to have left clear proof that she used Buckingham against Richard, she has left evidence that she exploited a variety of people." H enry and Margaret did everything they could to discredit Richard's memory afterwards, but Henry never formally charged Richard with the murder of his nephews. Margaret had schemed to take the throne long before any rumor of the princes' death began to circulate. Any one who had contact with Margaret was the means to an end. She cleverly played all sides against the middle, underestimating her, proved fatal for some. Through out her son's reign, Margaret occupied a far more prominent role in public life than any other queen mother and was constantly at court. M other and son were frequently in each other's company. "She was unlucky enough to outlive him. King Henry VII died at Richmond Palace on 21 April 1508 and during his last illness she visited him every day, rowed up the Thames from Coldharbour." Her later years, had been dedicated to prayer and good works. She died one of the richest women in England, on June 29, 1509, after her beloved son, King Henry VII of England.

Notes

5 Davis, Marion. Teflon and Stainless Steel: Some Thoughts About Margaret Beaufort. Ricardian Register. Volume XVIII, 2004. pg. 6
15 Davis, Marion. Teflon and Stainless Steel: Some Thoughts About Margaret Beaufort. Ricardian Register. Volume XVIII, 2004. pg. 4
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Elizabeth Dorsey Hatle is a Ricardian and school teacher. She is a high school history teacher in the Minneapolis school district. She has been a member of the Richard III society since 1998. She is a graduate of the University of Minnesota with a history minor. Elizabeth advises Robin Maxwell's novel about the Edward and Dickon, Richard III, Margaret Beaufort, etc. comes out this September.
Richard III Society Press Release
The Hunt for the Real Bosworth Battlefield Site

Leicestershire County Council in association with the Battlefield Trust has been awarded £1 million of lottery aid money to locate the actual site of one of England's most important battles.

Why was the battle so important and why is the exact site so hard to pinpoint?

The Battle of Bosworth, which took place over 500 years ago on 22nd of August 1485, established the House of Tudor on the English Throne. It was the last time that an English King led a cavalry charge into battle. By the end of the day Richard was to lose his crown to Henry Tudor as well as his own life, so becoming the last English King to die in battle.

The Battle of Bosworth has however provided historians with a riddle – where exactly did it take place? The traditional site was located in the Leicestershire countryside at Ambion Hill close to the village of Sutton Cheney. However recent research by a number of historians has thrown up at least two alternative locations – all within a few miles of Ambion Hill.

Just why it has been so difficult to locate the actual site of the battle?

The battle took place in the countryside with no major identifiable features close by. Historical descriptions of the site at the time of the battle really only mention features or conditions of the ground which can obviously change over a period of 500 years.

However a major battle such as Bosworth must leave much evidence, albeit subsurface, and this is where the lottery grant is so important as it allows archaeologists to use the latest technology not only to locate the remains which would have been considerable, but also to understand the landscape as it would have been in 1485, and which in turn may lead to a better view of how the battle developed.

'The Society is delighted at the news that the Leicestershire Council in association with the Battlefield Trust have obtained financing from the Heritage Lottery Fund for a project to locate the actual site of the Battle of Bosworth', said Peter Hammond, President of the Richard III Society.

'The advance in technology available to aid archaeologists has, over the last few years progressed in leaps and bounds, but nevertheless is still expensive and that is why this grant from the lottery is so important' says Phil Stone, Chairman of the Society. 'We will be happy to assist the team undertaking this search in any way that we can,' he added.

This same day marked yet other changes, Richard was the last of a long line of Plantagenet monarchs stretching from Henry II in 1154 over 300 years to Richard III. Bosworth was also the last major battle fought during the tumultuous period of history known as the Wars of the Roses, a struggle for ascendancy between two branches of the Plantagenet family, the Houses of York and Lancaster. This struggle which lasted for more than 30 years between the two sides with the crown of England changing hands a number of times and the newly triumphant Henry VII faced considerable opposition to his usurpation during the early years of his reign...

For the past 80 years the Richard III Society has promoted and undertaken research into the life and times of King Richard. The Society, like many others, believes that much of the traditional story about the king is not supported by the evidence nor does it make sense. We would like to see this monarch judged fairly on the evidence and not prejudged by inaccurate tradition.

Chapter Advisor Report

Kirsten Moorhead of Maine is interested in reviving the New England Chapter for the current members in the six New England States: Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Vermont. The majority of interested parties reside in Massachusetts, therefore Kirsten has asked members living in that State to recommend locations for their first meeting, which she proposes might be held on Saturday, June 25, 2005. Contact Kirsten Moorhead by e-mail: erinaceus27@earthlink.net, or by snail mail to: Kirsten E. Moorhead, 14 Bramblewood Drive, Portland, ME 04110-3789.

Efforts are being made to revitalize the Colorado Rocky Mountain Chapter. Present or past members living in Colorado, who are interested, can contact Dawn Benedetto through her e-mail: dawn_benedetto@yahoo.com

Interested in starting a new chapter, or reviving a previous one? Contact me by e-mail: prinsenec@comcast.net, or by snail mail to: 16151 Longmeadow, Dearborn, MI 48120.
Ricardian Puzzle: Books

The Ricardian Puzzlers are Charlie Jordan, Lorraine Pickering, Marion Davis, and Nancy Northcott. Each puzzle will have a theme and clues are drawn from widely-available sources. Suggestions for themes and feedback about the puzzles are welcomed; please send comments to Charlie.Jordan@earthlink.net.

Solution: Page 26
A cross

2. The first book printed in the English language, “The Recuyell of H istories of T roye”, was printed in this Burgundian city: __________

4. A manuscript dedicated to Richard, Duke of York compared the life and character of York to the Roman general ____________. Richard III may have considered both his father and the general as role models.

5. Sheepskin was used to make this bookmaking material ____________; rougher and thicker than vellum.

8. Caxton originally went to Bruges in his role as governor of the trading company called the _____ 

10. This replaced the role and was a gathering of folded pages stitched along one side as a binding; generally made from vellum or parchment.

11. Richard wrote his signature above the heading for the Seige of M eaux in his copy of “Chroniques de _________ ou de St D enis.”

13. Two frequently reproduced manuscript illuminations show authors presenting their book to this king. Thirty volumes from his collection were donated to the British M museum in 1757. H eis __________

16. “_____ _____” is a touching lament for the death of a child.

17. M argaret Beaufort was both a patron and a translator of books. She translated the fourth book of “The _______ from French into English.

20. Richard’s Book of H ours has been part of the Canterbury See L library since the early 17th C. A fter a brief period as part of the collection at Cambridge U niversity (1647-64), it was placed in the L ibrary at _______ Palace.

22. The motto ‘Tant le desiree’ (at various times attributed to both the juvenile Richard and the Stanley family) is written in this volume.

24. The foldings of paper or vellum into sections which could then be bound is called ‘gatherings’ or _______ Plural.

25. William W orcester’s “Collections of N ormandy” contains a reference to the Duchess of Bedford (‘the quene’s moder’) and several references to Richard (‘the thred, Kyng of Englande’). T his book was displayed in an E xhibition in 1973 at the _______ ________ in London.

28. An allegorical ‘dream vision’ poem, “____________________”, was one of the best sellers in late 15th century E urope.

29. Thought to have been taken from Richard’s tent after the Battle of Bosworth, it was on display at a recent exhibition of G othic artifacts. Richard’s birthday is noted inside. _____ ___ ______

31. Richard owned a copy of this author’s ‘A Knight’s Tale’.

32. The Burgundian lord, __________________ de

G ruuthuyse sheltered Edward IV during his exile in 1470-71. H is impressive library may have influenced Edward IV’s later book purchases.

Down

1. This king’s only parliament passed the first law encouraging the importation, sale, and production of books in England. T his king was __________

2. In the late 15th century, the literary center of N orthern E urope was _____________. Its ducal library was ‘one of the wonders of E urope.’


6. V ellum is generally considered to be made of the skin of ________. Plural.

7. D uchess of Burgundy, ______ served as an early patron of W illiam C axton.

9. T his famous jousting and scholar translated books about ancient Roman culture into English. A waiting execution, he wrote a philosophic poem about Fortune’s W heel.

12. Richard III owned an E nglish translation of V egetius’ ____________, which reflected his interest in military affairs.

14. T he first dated book printed in England was translated by A nthony W oodville, printed in N ov. 1477, and printed by __________

15. W illiam C axton’s print shop in W estminster was located at the sign of the ____________

17. T he practice of adding artwork into and bordering text served both as visual explanation of text and as pure decoration ____________


19. A page’s duties from “T he Rules of Service for a _______ U sher” is written in a hand similar to Richard’s in his 1469 letter to Sir John Say. T his document is listed in a collection now in the possession of the M arquis of Bath [L ong leat M S 257].


26. T he Wycliffe N ew Testament associated with Richard III because of the motto ‘a vous me lie’ and the ‘G loucestre’ signature written in it has been in the collection of the ___ ____ Public Library since 1884.

27. In her will, C ecily N eville left a ________ bound in cloth of gold, to M argaret Beaufort.

30. Formally M s. L ambeth 474, this book is generally known as “The _____ of Richard III.”
**Ricardian Watch**

Check out www.worth1000.com and do a search on Richard III for a few giggles. This site has ongoing contests for graphic artists, providing pictures on which contributors can then practice their filters and special effects. Recently, I was amazed to find the following on their home page:

The entries are interesting: Richard as Wallace, as Robert the Bruce, on Mount Rushmore, in a desert, on the beach as a sandcastle, a fountain, a chess set, sans crown, attacked by lightning, as a disco dancer and sometimes missing from the picture altogether. A few samples:

![Images of Richard III in various scenarios]

**AGM Preview**

The 2005 AGM will be held in Chicago, Sept.30-Oct.2, at the lovely Hilton Garden Inn, within walking distance of Downtown shopping and sightseeing opportunities. The Illinois Chapter is hard at work planning some exciting topics and speakers, including a history and demonstration of brass rubbings by expert Joan Read, and possibly a talk by Paul Murray Kendall’s daughter, Callie, to commemorate the 50-year anniversary of her father’s book on RIII.

Entertainment and favors and sale table items, including a great selection of books, along with some very nice raffle prizes, are all coming together nicely, so be sure to mark your calendars and start saving your pennies for the event. More details and the registration form itself will be forthcoming at the appropriate time. This AGM promises to be well worth the trip!
Dear Carole,

Having enjoyed Pam Butler's account of her visit, last year, to Fotheringhay, (in the Winter 2004 issue of 'The Register'), can I be allowed to make a few observations and corrections?

Quoting from 'The Friend's' website description of the Society's window, installed in 1975, in what is now the York Chapel, the identification of central shields for Richard III and his Queen, is rather confused and incorrect. Perhaps it ought to read "The representation of Richard III is an exception. His arms have NOT been impaled with those of his wife" (p.14). As the originator of the initial design, interpreted by Harry Harvey, I had a prolonged correspondence with Garter King of Arms, at the College of Arms, concerning these, as he insisted that, as with the arms of the other Dukes etc. shown, they also ought to be 'impaled' (ie: the arms of the husband and wife together on the same shield), but due to the restricted width of the glass area, it would have been impossible to combine the Royal Arms, with the complicated Neville arms in this way. Therefore, I had to produce sufficient evidence to satisfy him, that there were contemporary examples for the Neville shield being shown alone. Luckily, two examples survive, the fragmentary glass at Great Malvern Priory and more importantly, the illumination in Richard's copy of the military treatise 'De Re Militari' (British Library).

Although Pam refers to 'an extensive display on the local history' in the church's south aisle (p.13), I rather think some of this may have been dismantled at the time of her visit, or otherwise she couldn't have failed to miss the sections on the Yorkist Dukes and Kings, with their Fotheringhay connections, together with panels illustrating the glass and woodwork from the church, now dispersed amongst local churches, such as Tansor and Hemington etc. The panels are also devoted to the execution of Mary Queen of Scots, which include pictures of her rosary and crucifix, together with undergarments, said to have been worn on that day. So it is curious to read the extract from Antonia Fraser's biography (p.16) stating that all these were burned.

Then as reported in the Society's Spring 2004 'Bulletin' (p.48), the plaque to Margaret of York Pam refers to on p.15, actually commemorates Fotheringhay as being one of the possible sites of her birth, though it happened to be unveiled near the 500th anniversary of her death.

Finally, if I had known this article was scheduled to appear, I would have liked to have shared with you the latest, exciting discovery, concerning Fotheringhay, which will be added to the exhibition display there later this year. The accompanying illustration shows a detail of the village from a recently discovered map of the area dated to c. 1638 from "The Perambulations of the Bounds of Rockingham Forest", in the National Archives (formerly the P.R.O. at Kew). Despite the small scale of the original, it shows in considerable detail the appearance of the church, its aisle truncated, and, curiously, its position rotated through 45° from its correct alignment, the cloisters, and most importantly the Castle! As far as is known, this is the only extant drawing, as all previous accounts and attempted reconstructions, have been based on written records. It shows a keep, rather similar to that of Windsor Castle, (difficult to reconcile with the often-quoted description of it being in the "shape of a fetterlock"), and the large quadrangular bailey, with its Great Hall, on the side facing the river.

Geoffrey Wheeler

From the Canadian Branch, in response to our sending a Dickon Award for their outstanding work on the AGM.

Hi Bonnie,

Just to let you know your package arrived today... We're honoured that you chose to recognize the Canadian Branch in this manner; we thank you and the other members of the American Branch for your kind thoughts and appreciation. In retrospect, we had a lot of fun planning and putting together for you. In fact, Victoria has gone into "withdrawal" and has been casting about looking for other projects to plan!

We are having a general meeting this coming Sunday afternoon, and I will be sure to take our Dickon Award along for all to admire! I believe Victoria is definitely attending the Chicago AGM; I'm about 50% sure I will be there, if I can overcome all the obstacles. We're looking forward to it. Regards to all,

Tracy
The flowers that bloom in the Spring, tra la
Are quite a wondrous thing.
— Gilbert & Sullivan, The Mikado

An English rose . . .

A Matter of Martyrdom — Hugh Ross Williamson,
London, 1969

Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury, was the daughter of
George, Duke of Clarence. She is sometimes referred to as
"The Last Plantagenet" because she was the last of the
grandchildren of Richard, Duke of York, and Cecily to be
identifiable in public records. (However, the next two
generations did continue to cause concern for the Tudors.)

Margaret's early care and concern for Catherine of
Aragon is the subject of another of Mr. Williamson's
books, The Marriage Made In Blood.

A Matter of Martyrdom begins at the time of the Di-
vorce, the rise of Cromwell, and the beginnings of the
Church of England. Margaret is Princess Mary's govern-
esse and her sons are the King's cousins. But as Henry be-
comes more autocratic, he sees them as dangerous
enemies whom he must destroy.

The Countess was a strong woman caught in a world
turned upside-down. She challenged Henry's efforts to
bully his daughter Mary. When her second son,
Reginald, was made Cardinal, corresponding with him
was called treason. Shortly after Prince Edward was
born, the family was attainted and Margaret's eldest son,
Montague, executed. Her questioners could find no fault
with her answers, but she and her grandson Edward
never left the Tower alive.

In this book the characters are vividly drawn and the
politics and theology deftly explored. Mr. Williamson is
an historian who writes fiction. He skillfully incorpo-
rates the actual words of letters and documents into dia-
logue and description without footnoting them. This is
done so smoothly that unless you know what he is doing
it just seems like good story-telling.

I recommend the book to anyone who wants to read
an accurate retelling of Margaret's later years, but is not
interested in the details of economics and espionage
found in Hazel Pierce's scholarly biography.

This book may be found in the Society Fiction
Library.

— Margaret Drake, FL

When daffodils begin to peer
With heigh! The doxy over the dale,
Why, then comes in the sweet o' the year;
For the red blood reigns in the winter's pale.
— Shakespeare

(The leek of Wales is related to the daffodil)

Wales and The War Of The Roses — H.T. Evans,

This book is a Lancastrian version of the War of the Roses as
it was celebrated by the Welsh Bards. The author believes
that the observations found in their verses are accurate and
supported by his careful study of the other sources.

He begins with Henry V and Owen Tudor. The con-
flict between Lancaster and York is sketched in terms of
loyalties. The Lancastrians most notable in Welsh affairs
are the Herberts, the Stanleys, the Vaughns, and the
Tudors, Edmund and Jasper, the half-brothers of King
Henry VI.

As Edward of York lays claim to the crown, the actions
and motives of Warwick are explored. All of Wales be-
came royal lands under Edward IV. He was already lord
of Mortimer and took possession of Lancaster and of
Glamorgan. His only rival in the territory was
Buckingham. Ludlow, which had for a long time been the
chief seat of the Mortimers, became the residence of Ed-
ward's son, the Prince of Wales.

The author describes Richard III's reign in conven-
tional and matter-of-fact terms and relies heavily on
Polydore Vergil. He looks briefly at Buckingham's Rebel-
lion. Then he clarifies the shifting loyalties as Henry Tudor
makes his way through Wales to England.

The writing is crisp. He covers 70 years of history in
130 pages. He offers some insights into motives by using
the work of poets. As he promises, he gives evidence by
extensive footnotes, of contemporary records that the po-
et's writings he uses were reliable witness to
history.

This book was written in 1915 and was out of print.
It is being republished under the sponsorship of Alan
Sutton Publishing Ltd. The illustrations were super-
vised by G. Eoffrey W. Heeler and Ralph Griffiths has writ-
ten an introduction explaining why the book is
considered worthy of rescue.

— Margaret Drake, FL
Some mysteries for your reading pleasure:

The Midsummer Rose - Kate Sedley, Severn House Publishing, Surry, UK and NY, 2004

or Roger the Chapman in a “haunted house.” Roger usually “chooses to believe the more prosaic explanation every time.” But this time? Strange things indeed are going on in the house were a woman murdered her abusive husband 30 years earlier. Now really, do ghosts go about hitting people upside the head?

There’s an interesting description of a midsummer fair and a solid mystery to be solved. But the chief attraction is the likeable main character. Roger is a faithful husband, but is not above being a bit nostalgic about his footloose days.

In Nine Men Dancing (Severn House, 2003), Roger is on the road again, accompanied by his little mutt Herculees, as important a part of the story as any of the human characters. In a small village of about 10 houses, he lands right in the middle of a feud, and a mystery — a couple of them, in fact. Even though one is over a year old and the other 130 years old, he manages to solve both of them. The title refers to a life-size board game, with human pegs, in which Roger takes part.

In the Spring a young man’s fancy lightly turns to thoughts of love. – Tennyson, Locksley Hall

A Maze of Murders - C.L.Grace, St. Mартins, NY, 2003

“A violent past haunts Sir Walter M altravers, the wealthy lord of Ingoldsby H all.” Long before he was one of Edward IV’s cohorts, he was one of the bodyguard of the last Byzantine emperor. M altravers deserted the emperor, taking with him a great ruby, the L acrimi C hristi. T he ruby disappears, Sir W alter lies dead in the maze of Ingoldsby Hall, and Kathryn Swinbrooke, apothecary and physician, must follow the clues to work out the puzzle. Both usual and unusual suspects abound, as well as multiple victims. T here’s even a sanctuary man. H int: look for the least likely suspect, then double check. O h, and when they can take the time from detecting and getting on with their everyday business, Kathryn and C al um M urtagh are planning their wedding.

In the Spring a young man’s fancy, but a young woman’s fancier. — Source unknown.

Face Down Beneath Rebel Hooves - Kathy Lynn Emerson, St. M artin’s Minotaur, NY, 2001

H erbalist Susanna, Lady A ppleton, has gotten herself involved in international intrigue. N ot by choice, to be sure. Spymaster Sir W alter P endennis, once (and still) sweet on Susanna, asks a favor of her: She is to go to a hotbed of Catholic supporters of M ary Q ueen of Scots and pretend to be a courier committed to their cause. T he identity she must assume? N one other than the spymaster’s murdered wife, and Susanna’s late husband’s former mistress! A lthough she is deeply involved with another man, she agrees, though fearful she may be unmasked. She does indeed get into some tight scrapes. T he reader is well advised to not to take anything for granted here.


It’s not Spring but hot Summer when this story opens, in the middle of a drought. By page 66, there is a devastating fire. A s you can see, there is no dearth of action here. M ysterious, even spooky, events are harbingers of disaster. Or is it C atharine herself?

“. . . things like this only happen when C atharine is staying with us”

“. . . I didn’t realize we’d ever lost a body before. Y ou can’t blame your sister. She’s as puzzled as therest of us.”

In this book, we learn much more about C atharine’s motley family. It seems there is a Family Curse (no, not sister A ngeS!) and a Faerie ancestress, a la the counts of Anjou. “. . . all the best families have similar stories.” O nce arrived at her grandfather’s nearly fabulous castle, the intrepid C atharine is determined to get to the heart of the mystery, even if it means going to the heart of the labyrinth beneath the castle’s foundations. B efore the story is over, there will be a siege, well depicted. T here is a loose end or two left untied at the end, but that goes with M s. N ewman’s realistic style. B ecause some things remain a mystery to C atharine, they are a mystery to us also.

Even their authors would not claim the quintet above as Great L iterature, but they are Excellent A dventures.

— m.s.

When daises pied and violets blue
And lady-smocks all silver-white
And cuckoo-buds of yellow hue
Do paint the meadows with delight
— Shakespeare, Love’s Labour’s Lost.

No Fear Shakespeare - Spark Notes

“Now all of my family’s troubles have come to a glorious end, thanks to my brother King E dward IV. A ll the clouds that threatened the York family have vanished and turned to sunshine…”

Or, if you prefer...(and most of us do)...

“Now is the winter of our discontent
Made glorious summer by this son of York,
And all the clouds that loured upon our house
In the deep bosom of the ocean buried…”

— Spark Notes
For those who become mired down between the twixes and the twains of William Shakespeare’s iambs, there is a solution. Go to your local bookstore and pick up a copy of No Fear Shakespeare, which offers you the play plus (their italics) a translation anyone can understand. It may not be pretty, but it may also clarify a few things.

However, do you really want to substitute: “H as anyone ever courted a woman in this state of mind? And has anyone ever won her, as I’ve done?”

For:

“Was ever woman in this humor wooed? Was ever woman in this humor won?”

I think not.

— Ellen Perlman, FL


I am a great admirer of Michael Wood. His affable personality, his contagious enthusiasm, his compassionate intellect and his rather rumpled charm make one forget that there are actually camera men and sound men on site. He seems to be sharing his delight in his discoveries only with the viewer.

Shakespeare is Richard’s portraitor to most of the world. This production takes Will from birth to death through a dangerous world for Catholics, and the Shakespeare family was of the old faith. Will becomes a very private man religiously.

Interestingly, after a stint with the Queen’s Men, a touring company and propaganda tool for the Protestant Queen, Shakespeare left to be an independent playwright. He took three of their plays to be rewritten, “Lear,” “Hamlet,” and “Richard III,” described by Wood as the “cartoon villainy of Richard III.”

Wood had the excellent help of the Royal Shakespeare Company, who performed scenes of several plays in the New Inn in Gloucester, the last original theater in England, in Hampton Court, and in the New Globe in London. The Royal Philharmonic Orchestra provided background music.

Sources (some requiring surgical glove handling) include state papers, parish records, Royal account books, records of trade, tax courts, and records of coroners and the Lord Chief Justice, as well as original documents from the British Library. Two of Shakespeare’s patrons are interesting: Fernando Stanley of Lancashire, and the Earl of Southampton, a DeVere. Perhaps they are descendents of Richard’s enemies.

And then there is England — in every season, at every time of day. The beautiful, tranquil landscape, unchanged in the rural areas from Shakespeare’s day. Even in London, some of Will’s haunts remain. For any Anglophile, this is a lovely tribute, not only to Shakespeare, but also to the evolving nation that produced him.

In Search of Shakespeare is a two-volume video set, available from BBC America Shop (800-898-4921). It was not in the catalogue, but I asked and the clerk had it. The cost was £27.99 plus shipping.

—— Dale Summers, TX

From W ashington State, Beverlee Weston sends words of praise for Will In The World: How Shakespeare Became Shakespeare, by S. Greenblatt, which she calls “absolutely fabulous.” The author, a professor at Harvard, “ties everything together, including how old Will knew about Italy, etc. Greenblatt may perpetuate the ill will toward Richard III, but I forgive him.”

She adds: “Having been to the Ashland Shakespeare Festival for 15 years, and loving it, this book is a joy and an eye-opener, and brings back many excellent memories.” I don’t think you need have been to Ashland to enjoy it, however. It is a selection of the History Book Club.

Beverlee presumes that “one of (our) scholarly reviewers” will do something for this column on this book. While we do indeed have scholars among our membership, and are pleased and grateful for their input, most of them have plenty to keep them busy, and this column is by no means limited to those with academic credentials reviewing academic tomes. All that is absolutely necessary is enthusiasm, willingness, and getting-around-to-it. This column is as much for entertainment as anything else. In fact, your Reading Editor sees herself as somewhat analogous to the Court Jester or Court Fool of the Middle Ages. (So far, nobody has complained or contradicted her!)

Which segues into the next book to be reviewed:

She’s the flower of the family — a blooming idiot. — Anon

Fools Are Everywhere: the court jester around the world — Beatrice Otto, University of Chicago Press, 2001

This is a revision of the author’s doctoral theses (the jacket blurb describes her as “a freelance consultant in London” — full stop.) So it could certainly be called academic writing. But the author obviously enjoyed writing it, and it’s a lot of fun to read, as well. Ms. Otto has largely avoided any tendency to politicize or analyze the jesters and their comedy to death, and simply records their histories and jokes, as she might for more recent comedians — some of which do get a mention here. The book is well illustrated, some pages having what might be called “thumb movies” in the upper right hand corners.

While fools are indeed found all over the world, the author concentrates on those in China, Persia, and
Europe, especially England, France and Germany. In an Appendix, she gives a table of the jesters named in the book, translating the Chinese names. For example, she quotes from the jests of Going Around in Circles, and Gradually Stretching Taller. Could these reflect part of their acts? On the other hand, there is Tyl Owlglass, who is of course more legendary than real. I grieve to report that Edward IV’s famous jester, Scogin, may have been semi-legendary also, and even the real, documented jesters have had their jokes credited to others, or jokes that were in the public domain credited to them. The author sagely observes “A joke has no copyright.”

Though most jesters were anti-clerical, there were those who were clerics. Many were from very humble backgrounds, some quite literally farmhands. At least a few jesters were soldiers, such as William I’s Rohare. Ms. Otto gives some attention to the scholar-jester, a rare but not unknown type, of whom Thomas More was a specimen. There were jesters of both sexes, jesters who were simple and jesters who were quite intelligent. Consider the advice of the female jester, Jenny von Stockach, to her patron Leopold the Pious of Austria, in 1356, when he was planning an invasion of Switzerland: “You fools, you’re all debating how to get into the country, but none of you have thought how you’re going to get out again.” Of course, they didn’t listen.

Some samples of their routines? In many cases, I’m afraid, you would have to be there. Puns, a stock in trade, are notoriously untranslatable, though the author gives it a valiant try. But the following gives an idea of the kind of not-so-gentle but not ill-humored wit that is still, thankfully, with us:

... Tamerlane wept when he saw his cyclopean ugliness in a mirror, and his courtiers wept in sympathy before attempting to cheer him up. Only Nasrudin continued sobbing, and when asked why, he answered “If you, my Lord, wept for two hours after seeing yourself in the mirror for an instant, Is it not natural that I, who see you all day long, should weep longer than you.”

Tamerlane took it in good part, and laughed.

— m.s.

Enough for now. Spring — cleaning and house-moving call. See you when Summer is I-cummen in.

\[ \text{Welcome} \]

\begin{center} \textbf{New Members} \\
9/01 - 11/30, 2004 \end{center}

- Margaret R. Adams
- Victoria Ives Adamson
- Kristin Canzano
- Alan Clark
- Kimberly Klane Dallas
- Robert L. Felix
- Barbara Fleisher
- S. M. Harris
- Shawn M. Herron
- Karen Hiatt
- Lorelle J. Hunt
- Laura K. Johnson
- Barbara Lashmet
- Raymond Long
- Marion Low
- Theresa Mueller
- Loretta Park
- Victoria Pitman
- Steven B. Rogers
- Steven P. Tibbetts
- Cynthia Tonkin

\begin{center} \textbf{New Members} \\
12/31/04 - 3/31/05 \end{center}

- Robert Boos
- Carolyn A. Dershem
- Mary Doucet-Rosenberger
- William M. Greene
- Heather G. Gresh
- Karen Griebing
- Judith Ann Guest
- Meaghan M. Jackson
- Ann Ketterer
- Ruth Laskowski
- Shannon Leahy
- John R. Marana
- Erika Millen
- Jennifer Moss
- Janet M. Powell
- Stuart Rice
- Bettina Ortiz Rini
- Cynthia Robinson
- Jo Stratmoen
- Joan Szechtman
- Geoffrey A. Todd
- Judith Veale

\begin{center} \textbf{Donations,} \\
10/01/2004 - 12/31/2004 \end{center}

- Margaret R. Adams
- Joshua & Sarah Dinges Stuart Rice

\begin{center} \textbf{Generous Ricardians} \end{center}

- Victoria Ives Adamson
- Eric H. Carter
- Charlene J. Conlon
- Lorelle J. Hunt
- Sarah K. Hunt
- James D. Kot
- Andrea Rich

\begin{center} \textbf{Honorary Fotheringhay Level} \end{center}

- Margaret R. Adams
- Joshua & Sarah Dinges Stuart Rice
Two-Year Profiles

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

Beth Greenfield of Silver Spring, Maryland, decided in the Spring of 2003 the whole family had to study history in preparation for our upcoming trip to England. “I remembered loving The Daughter of Time when I first read it decades ago, so I announced that we would begin our study plan with the mystery of Richard III and his nephews. That is when I first learned that history is made up of people and stories, not just dates and wars. I found the Society while surfing for information on the women in Richard’s life, and places to visit, and eventually joined in order to show support.” Beth is retired and, when not traveling around with her family, spends her leisure time in reading and gardening.

Maria Koski, having always enjoyed reading about the Middle Ages, found Richard III of special interest after coming across The Sunne in Splendour many years ago, and eventually discovered the Society while doing some research on Richard on-line. A controller of a manufacturing firm, and resident of Great Neck, New York, Maria devotes much of her leisure time to reading and collecting rare books, but still finds time for roller-blading! E-mail: koskai2@prida.hofstra.edu

William R. Lewis of San Antonio, Texas, is a Music Instructor whose leisure interests are Web Design, Writing and Composition, and Diet and Fitness. He says: “I found R3 through Shakespeare and More and the ball started rolling—all this in Jr. High! Education became paramount and I did not pursue further until 4 years ago—found the website and here I Am!” Wlll’s other interests include “actively researching music (composers and musicians) during Richard’s lifetime (any assistance w/sources is welcomed).” He concludes: “Also working on ‘imaginative’ Ricardian works, to be revealed later! Love to include R3 in my Humanities class! Tel: 210-828-0437. E-mail: wrlewis@hotmail.com

George Sapio, whose occupation is both Playwright and Photographer/Graphic Artist, is a resident of Spencer, New York, and, naturally, his leisure interests also include play-writing, photography and directing! He says his interest in the Richard III Society: “Began when researching for a play These Matters Be Kynges Games. I began researching Margaret of Anjou, but Richard captured my attention.” George is currently applying for entrance to graduate school in Birmingham, England. Kynges Games is his fifth play-and first history play. He is a Secondary Social Studies teacher and a photo journalist (visited Iraq twice in 2003). E-mail: Gorgea@GSAPIO.com

Jon M. Stallard, radio announcer of Richmond, Va., is a military enthusiast, paints heraldic artwork as a side-bar, and in March 2004 made his first trek to Bosworth. Although he doesn’t have much leisure time since he became the father of “twin-fant” little girls, he still manages to see a movie once in a while, do some painting and follow his interest in genealogy. He says: “I discovered Richard through Allinson W eir, of all sources. It just struck me that something wasn’t quite right, so I pursued it further. This, of course, led me to Tey, and Kendall, and Bertram Field’s excellent book!” Tel: 804-789-1085. E-mail: Stallard@caulet.net

Robert E. Sullivan, retired computer specialist from San Diego, CA, whose leisure interests include bridge and travel, says he enjoys historical novels, particularly about the Plantagenets. Reading The Richard III Murders caused him to wonder about various events and, while looking for information in the Internet, he was invited to join the Society. Robert has degrees in chemistry from Reed College, education from Oregon State University, and Spanish, with a translator’s certificate, from San Diego State University. He has worked for the Navy Department resolving scientific problems, and training new employees in computer science. Tel: 619-461-1667. E-mail: RESULL@cox.net

Gordon W hite, of Ann Arbor, Michigan, and theatre staffer and manager at The Performance Network Theatre, says he had read William Shakespeare’s Richard III, and,”was not impressed: the character, as presented, was not believable. Then I read The Daughter of Time and realized there was much more to the story. Research always led to the same dead ends and precious little contemporaneous information about Richard. Web searches led to the Society.” Much of Gordon’s spare time research is geared toward writing a play about Richard and his reputation. Something he plans to do when he has less work at the theatre. Tel: 734-332-8967. E-mail: Whitegorddo@msn.com

Compiled by Eileen Prinsen
Readers should keep in mind this material was written for an oral presentation at the 2004 AGM by three people from the Illinois Chapter - Joyce Tumea, Nita Musgrave, and Jane Munsie. Joyce is a writer, actress, teacher, and local cable TV talk show host; Nita is a registered nurse who has served as chair of the Illinois Chapter; Jane is a teacher who is active in several organizations. Both have participated in several presentations of "Medieval Women With Moxie," also written by Joyce. Some of the text is summarized.)

Joyce opened with the first stanza of her "W hat W e'd Tell W ill..." poem. She then explained that session participants would be brainstorming a dream marketing campaign to whitewash Richard's reputation, to rehabilitate his fate - as if he were running for office and those present were the public relations firm hired to give him an image makeover. She said that, "Richard is our client and we are going to sell him to the public. And, we have no limits on our budget, nor on our connections. This is a dream campaign, 'dream as in ideal, and imaginative.' The campaign would be thorough, ranging from print media - plays, articles, books - to word of mouth, television, movies, radio, lectures and more. The makeover team could be inventive and involve celebrity spokespersons like Oprah Winfrey, name brand associations like Richard's Reese's pieces, could throw in Mel Gibson, Brad Pitt and a dash of Errol Flynn and Elvis. The result could be called the "Right Richard" Campaign. In fact, the written part of this campaign could be called the "Write Richard Right" segment.

Joyce, Jane and Nita went over several points: many people are interested in Richard. There are various reasons for this interest, 500-plus years after the fact, but discussing them would constitute another program. Richard's name needs to be cleared for obvious reasons to Ricardians. The person chiefly responsible for blackening it is Shakespeare, because of his popularity and the effectiveness of his writing.

One obvious ploy in reclaiming Richard's good name, then, would be to attack the credibility of Shakespeare. A nother is to create and disseminate pro-Richard information. This is being done, but may be done more frequently and more effectively.

A udience members were asked what got them interested in Richard to begin with. Their answers are examples of the kinds of thing that will get others interested as well. The fact that more needs to be done was illustrated by Joyce's recent experience: "I stood in a large crowd of people at the Tower of London this past summer and listened to a Yeoman Warder state, unequivocally, without any qualifying riders, that Richard murdered the princes in the Tower. And this slander is repeated many times a day throughout the year, over many years," she commented. Further, many people continue to read and watch productions of Shakespeare's Richard the Third without ever questioning its historical accuracy.

Audience members were asked what kinds of marketing approaches work with them - scholarly articles based on research? Endorsements by experts, bandwagon-everybody's doing it approach, logic, humor, etc.? Discussion followed. The presenters then shared some of their ideas.

**JANE:** "We could manufacture, plant, and then accidently but fortuitously unearth incontrovertible proof, the signed and notarized, stamped and sealed confession of the ultimate culprit in the princes' murder, something that would pass all tests of authenticity (even if it means bribing a technician or two...)."

**NITA:** "Or, we could similarly "discover" another play by Shakespeare, a version of RIII which would be even better written and more dramatic than the first. However, this one would present Richard as a hero, not as a villain, and would have author's notes explaining that this depiction is what Shakespeare really believed."

**JOYCE:** "Further, these notes would state that Shakespeare had been forced by circumstances, such as the political climate of his day, to suppress his original version and replace it with the notorious, warped one. With the global communication systems we have today, this rediscovered play in no time at all could be translated into other languages, end up on international bestseller lists, be produced on stages around the world, be filmed for television and later made into a movie version, and even be made into a hit Broadway musical. It could be called, 'My Fair Richard,' or 'Richard's Best Side Story,' or 'The Pro-Richard Producers.'"

**JANE:** "All extant copies of the 'evil twin' RIII play would be recalled, and if not burned, then they would only be reissued with big warning labels and disclaimers about their lack of factual accuracy."

**JOYCE:** "We could also produce a steady stream of pro-Richard movies, for television and the big screen, and have Mel Gibson star as Richard. We could even have Mel Gibson produce and direct a documentary - A Plantagenet 'Passion.'"

Presentation attendees were asked who would comprise their dream-team cast and crew for a movie. The presenters then shared additional ideas:
**JANE:** “OK, then, what about product placement and subliminal messages? We could pay movie producers to slip in a few positive sentences about Richard in their scripts. For example, on ‘CSI: Miami,’ David Caruso could confront a suspect who has just been cleared of suspicion, and the dialogue could go something like this:”

**JOYCE:** “Well, so and so, you’ll be happy to know you’ve been cleared of all charges due to a microscopic, infinitesimally small semi-drop of saliva from a mutant crocodile that ate a rare plant that was smuggled into harbor on a hijacked boat that had a muddy footprint on its side, with said mud having traces of car wax spray only used on yellow 1992 models of Ford minivans manufactured in Siberia as undercover getaway cars used by lowlife identity thief computer hackers. So, your ordeal, in which you were unjustly accused just like Richard the Third in the 15th century, is over and you’re free to go.”

**NITA:** “Certainly that’s one way of doing it. We could also insert low decibel pro-Richard messages in soundtracks of movies and in background music, and we can slip pro-Richard messages into song lyrics, and on the spines of books or on magazine covers. The idea is that viewers watching ‘Everybody Loves Raymond,’ for instance, would be thought of as Saint Richard.”

**JANE:** “And what sells the soap, other than the emotional stories? Sex. So, we need some famous romance authors – Nora Roberts, Janet Dailey, Susan Elizabeth Phillips – to write Ricardian Romances. We have one featuring Richard and Ann – ‘Love and War’ by Sandra Worth. Future Ricardian romances would have to have Richard as a recurring figure, always favorably presented.”

**NITA:** “OK, if we can do soap operas and romance novels, we can do a comic strip. I don’t mean anything undignified. I’m thinking superhero, with sword and chain mail instead of tights and cape. It worked for Robin Hood, didn’t it? No, not that there was a comic strip about Robin, but there could have been, and there could be about Richard. He could rise off with his men to save the kingdom from one villain after another. Then there could be a TV cartoon version, and action figures made with movable parts. Richard would have sidekicks, and there’d be townspeople and serfs, too. Kids would want to collect them.”

**JANE:** “Product licensing! Righteous Richard would be on teeshirts, on backpacks and lunchboxes, on pencil cases and video games. A Richard doll could be the surprise in McDonald Happy Meals! We could get a Richard impersonator in the Elvis tradition and have him make appearances at local malls where he’d sign autographs for kids. We could start up Righteous Richard Clubs where kids would be taught the meaning of modern chivalry.”

**JOYCE:** “We could tweak his appearance a bit for some crossover action – appeal to the pre-teen as well as the pre-school set. We could give him a lute and teach him to croon – Rockin’ Richard. This representative Richard could make guest appearances on Oprah, Leno, and Letterman. He could champion the underdog and promote the virtues of loyalty. He could be role model Richard, encouraging people to give to the poor, urging kids to learn to read and write. You name it. By the time we’re done, he’ll be thought of as Saint Richard.”

(The presentation included several visuals, including, at this point, a 24” high, full length picture of Richard with halo and wings, hands folded in prayer.)

**NITA:** “You don’t think that’s going a little too far? No? OK…well, what about character endorsements from different organizations, from top business people and world leaders, like Donald Trump or the Peace Corps or the United Nations? Or the Queen? We could have the Queen – of England, of course – symbolically exonerate Richard.”

**JANE:** “That’s good. We can also try a media blitz with under Medieval conditions with visitors from other TV shows who would make guest appearances. These guests could range from Seinfeld to Xena, War Arrior Princess, and we could throw in some trading places, home makeovers with bachelor knight and maiden episodes, and wife-swapping…”
W hat W e'd T ell W ill
(Shakespeare, if we had him here)

Friends – Canadians and Countrymen/W e are gathered here today/not to bury Richard/but to praise him/and to raise him/in the world's estimation;/F orsooth, we've undertaken/his reputation's restoration./ F irst, let's clear the air/ about the pair/of missing princes-/that nasty business -/the unfortunate misconception/on Richard's role in their protection-/for verily, Richard wished them well;/tis another who could tell/what fate to them befell./B ut whate'er may be the true identity/of the real villain who did the killin'/;/tis Shakespeare who's the most to blame/for blackening poor Richard's name./N ow, W ill Shakespeare/was no peer/of any realm./H e sat at the helm/of a playhouse (the louse!)/and wrote he too well/the dark tale he did tell/of a poor and last Plantagenet;/who ne'er deserved the fate he met/nor the apppellations and imprecations/all cast his way forever more,/plus sundry sins laid at his door,/courtesy of W il-ly.

H ad we him - W ill-im - here today,/oh, there's a thing or two we'd say!/To wit: W hat wadst thou thinking?/H ad thee no inkling?/For verily, a rose, I suppose/named other than a "rose,"/still may smell as sweet,/but a man's name, used to greet,/and tell us whom we meet,/has naught to do with noses/smelling someone's roses!/In fact, when evil is what/a good man is named/,then woe and alack,/that man's been defamed!/D astard though he be NOT,/his reputation is shot/and his name left to rot-/which was, alas, W illy Boy's plot-/though not, p'raps, anything personal'/gainst Richard, but excusable,a little/for drama's sake, and so he'd not make/mad at him, his M onarchy,/since key to his fate was she.

Yet, if it could be that we would see him - W illiam - here today./here's more of what we'd say:/"W illy Boy, thou blackguard, thou knave,"/we'd rave -/and rant, to use his cant,"/you murdered a man in a crime/some centuries after his time/as surely as those you do claim/and attribute to Richard's good name!/N ow, how wouldst thou like it?"/w e'd taunt."/F if rumors rife 'round you did haunt?/If a great play were written in which it said,"twas M arlowe or B acon who'd writ what we read/and falsely believed had been penned by you?/M e-thinks you'd protest - /yes, that's what you'd do/If the world on you turned and believed you a fraud,/a nasty pretender and not one to laud./S o there. T hat's fair, and would serve you right/did we bring, as truth, such falsehoods to light.

A nd yet, but stay - for how-so-be-it-/no such play is likely to be writ-/for, two wrongs a right don't make,/so, though not for your hide's sake,/we'll somewhat refrain/from black'ning your name./B ut still, we've found a way/to "sort of" make you pay;/S o, hear and heed us well/these things to you we tell:/Reincarnate, thou knave/and turn o'er a new page./E dit and rewrite until it be right/R ee-do, take back, revise -/W hat'eer thou canst devise,/and yes, it would be wise/if you'd apologize!/It would seem thou must redeem/as an act of retribution,/as a sign of reparation,/poor Dickon's reputation!

C hange it from damned to benighted/and your wrong will be righted-/F rom sinner to saint before it's too late!/F rom vilified to vindicated;/To one loved well, and not well-hated,/for your karma to be sated./C hange it from besmirched to beatified/and we'll be satisfied./C hange it from cursed to caressed,/from berated to blessed -/"cause that would be best/so Richard can rest."/A nd that is what we would tell W ill -/Shakespeare, if/we had him here still." E N D
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