An August Encounter

An unlikely meeting, (more symbolic than historically factual) is the subject for this appropriate “Bosworth” month window display of a pair of intricately-painted heraldic jousting model figures, depicting Henry Tudor and Richard III: “The Armoury of St. James’s,” 17 Piccadilly Arcade, London SW1Y 6NH (www.armoury.co.uk/home - these pewter mounted knights range from £800 - £1,000!)

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

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

Dues are $35 annually for U.S. Addresses; $40 for international. Each additional family member is $5. Members of the American Society are also members of the English Society. Members also receive the English publications. All Society publications and items for sale may be purchased either direct at the U.K. Member’s price, or via the American Branch when available. Papers may be borrowed from the English Librarian, but books are not sent overseas. When a U.S. Member visits the U.K., all meetings, expeditions and other activities are open, including the AGM, where U.S. Members are welcome to cast a vote.

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By now I must have scant credibility left. This double issue brings us through Summer and I plan to have the Fall issue ready by the end of the month. Many thanks for the understanding and patience everyone has shown during the past year, as the lack of publications has been an increasing problem for the Society. The Winter issue should follow in January and one of these shipments will contain the Winter Ricardian Bulletin.

Further delays in production ensued due to a problem with my right hand (they say I have a pinched nerve; this past year I’ve often felt my soul was pinched.) This is much better, although I still don’t have a working right thumb — a part of my body for which I have a new, enriched appreciation.

I am trying to unpack and settle in to a totally new lifestyle and surroundings and look forward to the moment when I run into someone I know in town or at the shopping mall. It is difficult to be living totally with strangers! On a recent trip to New Orleans, my name came across the parking lot, and my heart was in my throat — someone knows me! But the more I see of the conditions in the city, the more I think we made the right choice in not returning to New Orleans to live. We are in the city often, as my daughter is there now running our printing business and we still have flooded property which needs attention, but New Orleans post-Katrina is a place for young people. It is not an easy place to live, although I encourage everyone to visit.

Many thanks to Peter Hancock for another feature article and to Pam Butler for sticking with me until I could publish her 2005 Ricardian Tour journal, which I confess I have cut a good bit in order to make things fit! Heartfelt thanks also to Charlie Jordan (Puzzles) and Myrna Smith (Reading) for hanging in there while all of us have been confused about which issue we are doing next. One of the perks of being Editor is that I get to read Myrna’s column first. She has a voice which warms and amuses and informs me every time!

Enduring thanks to Geoffrey Wheeler, who continues to provide our cover art. And to Sandra Worth, who has been waiting for her ad to appear, and to Linda Treybig, who must be anxious by now that no one will know about the 2007 tour, also my thanks for your understanding. I would like to thank some new people — let’s see some offerings from you other guys.

As we approach the holidays, appreciate your home and your family and keep a merry spirit. And don’t forget to pray for good weather!
Kirby Muxloe Castle: The Embodiment Of The Disembodiment Of William, Lord Hastings

P.A. Hancock

Introduction

In the heart of Leicestershire, in the heart of England, mere yards from the M1 Motorway, one of the busiest and most crucial transportation arteries in the whole of the country, stands Kirby Muxloe Castle. Overlooked and largely unnoticed by the many thousands of travelers who pass by on a daily basis, the Castle sits today on the edge of a pleasant village, just four miles from the center of the city of Leicester. Like similar fifteenth century ruins, Kirby Muxloe Castle is strangely evocative and carries with it an air of understated ennui, representative of an edifice that never had the chance to experience the full glory of what if once could have been. In this pitiable state, it stands today as the quintessential embodiment of the ultimate disembodiment of William Lord Hastings, who was one of the central figures in the story of Edward IV, Edward V, and Richard III, and key player in the events that led to the ultimate demise of the House of York.

Early History of the Settlement

With a lack of convincing archeological evidence, the early history of the establishment of the settlement of Kirby Muxloe remains uncertain. There are some suggestions that there may have been a Roman influence here in the form of a roadway passing through the area but evidence of habitation prior to Roman times is sketchy at best. The first records of a settlement in and around this location occur in the late ninth and early tenth century. The community was supposedly named after a Dane, one Caeri or Carbi, and it was this name that later evolved into the present appellation — Kirby. The village was contained within the area of the Leicester Forest or Hereswode, as it was then referred to. Such locations tended to be under the influence of various local chiefs, rather than being direct possessions. By 1086, the Doomesday Book records indicate that Carbi was held by one Ricolf of (and presumably under the Lordship of) William Peverel. It comprised approximately 270 acres and it appears that at least some portion of the property was held by the Norman Count, Hugh de Grentemusnil, who originally received it from William the Conqueror.

De Grentemusnil’s interest in the property also seems to have been linked with the Abbot of St. Mary’s Coventry. Citation to Kirby in the Domesday Book include its worth and productivity as well as division between the various individuals who then had a vested interest in it (Thompson, 1951). The suffix Muxloe, was apparently added much later, appearing first in the seventeenth century. This addition was perhaps in an explicit attempt to differentiate this settlement from the nearby one of Kirby Mallory or perhaps being a bastardization of the epithet Muckle, meaning “great,” or “greater.” Existing records suggest the latter is the more likely explanation for the origin of the term — Muxloe. By 1302 the Manor itself was in the possession of the Pakeman family who had held an interest in the area.
since approximately 1220. Previous owners had been one Matthew le Venour in 1244 and John de Anesty in 1288. Simon Pakeman, who was Steward of the Honor of Leicester and a member of Parliament as a Knight of the Shire, died aged seventy in 1376, holding these lands from the Duke of Lancaster. It was from this family that the original epithet “Pakeman’s Place” was derived to refer to the local site of the Castle prior to the construction of the building we now see.

Also involved with Kirby were the de Herles family of Braunstone. This family included William de Herle, one time Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, who had held Kirby in the time of Edward I and Edward II as well as his son Robert de Herle, one time Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, who died in 1364. Having died without a male heir, the property of Robert de Herle, including his possessions at Braunstone and at Kirby, passed to his sister’s son, Sir Ralph Hastings of Wistow (1334-1398), who was thus the first member of the Hastings family to enter the story of Kirby Muxloe. By the time his descendant Sir Leonard Hastings died in 1455, the family had assumed total control of the whole manor including the Pakeman property, uniting it for the first time since the Norman Conquest. It was then collectively passed on to Sir Leonard’s son, William Hastings, and it was around the middle 1450’s that William, later Lord Hastings, begins to come to national prominence in relation to his association with the eldest son of Richard, Duke of York; that being Edward, Earl of March, later to become Edward IV.

In contrast, the conception for Kirby Muxloe seems to have been a design which almost completely replaced the older structure, the aforementioned ‘Pakeman’s Place.’ Some ground-level remnants of this earlier manor can still be seen on detailed plan drawings of the present Castle, as shown in Figure 4, and as actual, ground-level remains which are evident on the aerial photograph in Figure 7. This original structure also appears to have had some form of moat, albeit a much smaller version than the one surrounding the present site. The remnants of a Hall, which was of two bays and was entered through porches, are still evident, as is a stone drainage system related to these original structures. The foundations to the old solar and associated chambers as well as the kitchen have been removed leaving only the buttery and the pantry to indicate the original location of the former rooms. Some advantage appears to have been taken of these original structures in the creation of the new building, not simply incorporating some elements like the drainage but in using the original materials in a rebuilding effort. As we shall see, Lord Hastings’ structure itself also subsequently served as part of this recycling process later in its own existence.

Our extensive knowledge of Hastings’ creation of Kirby Muxloe Castle comes from the fact that the building records still exist. These were transcribed early in the twentieth century (see Hamilton-Thompson, 1913-1920) and represent some of the most complete of all such records in existence. They date between October 22, 1480 (Edward IV) to December 6th, 1484 (Richard III). These show a total expenditure of almost 1,100 pounds, of which approximately 1,000 was spent in the first three years. Not unexpectedly, there is a
diminishingly small amount expended on the building in 1484 after Lord Hastings execution (Peers, 1917). The originals of these papers had at first been kept at Ashby Castle but following its destruction were retained at Donington Hall. Following the sale of the latter estate, the records were transferred to the Manor House at Ashby, where they were subsequently made available for study by Lady Maud Hastings shortly after responsibility for the actual Castle remains passed to the Nation. They have been called "among the finest and most interesting" of such records that exist (Fosbrooke, 1913-1920). A reproduction of a single page from these originals is illustrated in Figure 5.

Certainly, it would have been one of the most, if not the most, expensive of the nation’s private dwellings of its day. These records are replete with weekly information ranging from serious financial assessments to one or two more comical references. The clerk of the works during the time of construction was one Roger Bowlett (or Bowlot, Boulot) and Ralph Petch (who was buried at Glenfield) was his controller of accounts. The overall master mason was one John Cowper, who was paid 8d (eight pence) per day, together with his traveling expenses associated with trips between this site and another of his commissions at Tattershall in Staffordshire. Support was also provided for Patrick Agar, his apprentice, who accompanied him on his peripatetic profession. The everyday laborers, some of who were probably Welshmen, were paid on average 4d (four pence) per day during summer and 3d (three pence) a day during winter, although rates did vary somewhat between newly hired men and the older hands on the site. Their foreman was paid 6d (six pence) per day. Some of these individuals working on the site were boarded at the house of Thomas Pocock at the rate of 10d (ten pence) per week, with Margery Pocock (presumably Thomas’s wife) once being able to charge 12d for grease to oil the wains (wagons).

As is evident from what we can see today, the expenditure of even this very large sum was only sufficient to complete a limited part of the proposed structure. However, the work may have been a little further advanced than we see it now since there is evidence that another corner tower was demolished sometime in the eighteenth century and the materials used in other local buildings. It is a matter of interesting conjecture as what the final cost of the completed Castle would have been.
brick-makers, wain (wagon) men, rough-masons, slaters, thatchers, and freemasons. The behavior of this latter group of higher-class workers in the summer of 1483 provides some very interesting historical evidence as to the date of the death of William, Lord Hastings as is discussed later. The construction site even had its own Chaplain, one John Syde, often in attendance.

While the early indications are that much effort on behalf of the laborers was going into clearing and pre-
paring the site, there is evidence that from the very beginning some interesting innovations were proposed. For example, one of Kirby Muxloe Castle’s most recognizable characteristics is in its use of brick as the primary building material. To create the enormous number of bricks required, estimated to be well over 1,000,000, a Dutch brick maker (most probably a Fleming named Anthony Yzebrond) was employed on the site. Today there remains a reference locally to a nearby ‘Brick Kiln Yard’ which presumably was the location where this brick-maker operated. Records also indicate that other materials such as freestone was brought from Alton by men of Thornton and Bagworth ‘for the love of my Lord.’ Timber came from Osbaston and Shepshed near Loughborough to the site while more timber and sand to help in the brick-making came from ‘Le Golet,’ with 30 loads a week not being unusual. One Richard Gamul (of whom we shall hear more later) was tasked with making a gate which was thought to be located at the base of nearby Blood’s Hill (see Figure 1). Bowlot provides most detailed accounts and receives periodic payments either at Kirby itself or at his home at Birdsnest. Records indicate that often he received such payments ‘by my Lord’s hands,’ the last recorded occasion of this being at Ashby (presumably Hastings’ residence, Ashby Castle) on 25th of April, 1483, ‘by my Lord’s hands’ the sum of 10 Pounds (Hamilton-Thompson, 1913-1920, pg. 214). Such information is useful in and above its context as a building record in that it apparently shows that Hastings was at his other Leicestershire home on the date in question, during the crucial interval between the death of Edward IV and the coronation of Richard III. Presumably, his journey to and from London must place a penumbra of a number of days around this date when he would have been away from the Capital. Given the crucial events of that fateful spring and early summer, it is important to determine whether we can use this evidence to establish his specific whereabouts. This obviously depends upon the collective interpretation of the observation ‘by my Lord’s hands’ and whether this implies Hastings physical presence or not, as it rather seems to do. What is clear is that the building program at Kirby was in full swing during the years 1480 to June 1483. Evidence intrinsic to these records shows very clearly that this changed radically early in June, 1483. Ricardians are certainly very familiar with why this change came about.

**The Demise of Lord Hastings**

On Friday, June 13th, 1483, shortly following a Council meeting at the Tower of London, Lord Hastings lost his head. The builder of what we see today at Kirby Muxloe Castle, Hastings was the intimate friend and boon companion of Edward IV, having also previously been a Yorkist supporter loyal to Richard, Duke of York, father of both Edward IV and Richard III. Despite the Hastings family’s affinity for the Lancastrian cause, the young William Hastings had fought alongside Edward IV at Mortimer’s Cross (February 2nd, 1461), and Towton (March 29th, 1461) and had been richly rewarded for his faithful service by his second cousin, being made Lord Chamberlain. His personal loyalty never wavered; he followed the King into exile and later he was again at Edward’s side at both the Battles of Barnet (April, 14th, 1471) and of Tewkesbury (May 4th, 1471). In these latter two encounters, he also fought alongside the King’s younger brother, Richard, then Duke of Gloucester.

During Edward’s reign he was one of the most powerful individuals in the land and held properties, offices, and honors largely derived from his relationship with and loyalty to the King. Indeed, there is reason to believe he was actually Edward’s best friend, having been his companion in various personal activities such as the procurement of Jane Winstead (Shore) as Edward’s mistress (Keene, 1794). Unsurprisingly, such activities had

![Figure 6: A delightful view of the Castle from the direction opposite that shown in Figure 1.](image)

*This was taken in early spring when the Castle can be seen at its best advantage. When the building efforts stopped there was an additional tower but this was demolished sometime in the eighteenth century.*
not endeared Hastings to the Queen, Elizabeth Woodville, or the various members of her family (see Johnson, 1830). His life and influence have been the topic of extensive study and the reader is directed to the following sources for further details concerning Lord Hastings himself (e.g., Dunham, 1955; Hillier, 1988; Thompson, 1975; Williams, 1984).

Although Hastings had a most influential life, it is arguable that it is his death that represents one of the most interesting and indeed the most puzzling of all the happenings of the Ricardian era. I think that it is the single most pivotal event in the Year of the Three Kings (St. Aubyn, 1983) and it can be argued that the reasons underlying Hastings' execution represent the key to understanding the mystery of Richard III. [Parenthetically, it is such intervals in which there is a fluid exchange of power which seem to be of great attraction to historians, see Tacitus, 106]. Some decades ago now, a controversy arose over the exact date upon which Hastings lost his head. This issue is important not just because it helps establish the date of the fateful council meeting in the Tower of London. This date is crucial to the interpretation of actions that were purported to immediately follow his execution, such as the release of Richard, the young Duke of York, from sanctuary in Westminster Abbey. The personal and collective motivations of the individuals involved in these events must certainly be interpreted differently, depending upon whether Hastings was executed before or after this event. The generally accepted account in contemporary thinking is that Hastings met his fate on a chopping block (a convenient log) somewhere close to or on Tower Green on Friday, June 13th, 1483 (cf., Hanham, 1972, 1975; Thompson, 1975; Wigram, 1975; Wolfe, 1974, 1976). I shall not rehearse the various arguments in detail but Hanham (1972) originally made a case for the execution occurring one week later on Friday 20th, 1483. Wolfe (1974) disagreed with this new interpretation that Hanham advanced and made a strong case for the original date (the fateful Friday 13th). In general, the argument seems to have been resolved in Wolfe's favor (see Wigram, 1975).

One line of argument that was not addressed by either of these modern protagonists concerns the records of Kirby Muxloe's construction cited here. Fortunately, the building accounts of Kirby Muxloe provide us with quite strong, corroborative evidence that the 13th is indeed the correct date for Hastings demise. Inference from the building records indicate that word of Hastings death must have reached Kirby Muxloe, most probably by or on the 16th of June, 1483. During the previous week, the freemasons, Steynforth, Bardalf, Robynson, and Gamull had worked a full week and had each been paid at the rate of sixpence per day for a total of 12 shillings for all of these four men, a fact which was recorded on Monday June 9th, 1483. The records for the following week on June 16th shows that the four freemasons: Steynforth, Bardalf, Robynson, and a new man as a replacement for Gamull, one John Kesten, received only two shillings between them, or the equivalent of one day's pay. The suggestion here is that as soon as these more mobile and higher status members of the workforce became aware of their employers demise, they left for other, more certain employment.

The case of Robert Steynforth is perhaps the most interesting. He appears to have been the permanent representative on the site of the master mason, John Cowper. The records show that he was almost omni-present at the site from 1480 onward, but after his one day's pay, delivered on June 16th, 1483, we never hear of him in these records again. It is true that both Robynson and Bardalf, who subsequently did slating work, do return to Kirby Muxloe, but of Robert Steynforth we hear no more. Wolfe (1974) quotes a variety of evidence in support of the 13th as the date of Hastings execution and suggests that the observations by the Croyland Chronicler perhaps represent the earliest of this evidence. It is my contention here the evidence of the Kirby Muxloe building records, being virtually coincident with the actual event itself, must now be considered to have precedence as a form of supportive evidence for the date of execution as Friday 13th June, 1483.

Hastings was apparently the first person of note to suffer the fate of public execution on Tower Green and by doing so he involuntarily set a precedent that was subsequently followed by a number of famous victims such as the two Tudor Queens (Anne Boleyn and Catherine Howard). Even the most committed Ricardian cannot exculpate the then protector, Richard, Duke of Gloucester from the responsibility for this action. Although as Thomas More reported about the incident and about Hastings: "undoubtedly the Protector loved him well and loath was to have lost him" (Kendall, 1965). As Wigram (1975) has observed trenchantly on the various contentious commentaries, and especially in relation to Wolfe's argument: "(he) is much sounder on the subject of the when than the why." Thus, with the cited evidence and the more recent insights derived from the Kirby Muxloe building records, we may be fairly confident in the dating of Hastings' execution. However, the reason for it remains much more obscure. The present work deals primarily with Kirby Muxloe Castle and so is not the place for an extended discussion on the reason(s) for Hastings' demise. However, perhaps a brief précis may be permitted.

It appears that in his capacity as Protector, Richard had called meetings in two different locations as part of
the process of preparing for the transition of power, ostensibly to his nephew, the boy King Edward V (Wood, 1975). On June 13th, it has been suggested that Richard turned up to the Council meeting in the Tower initially in a state of bonhomie, and if we are to believe Thomas More's account, Richard asked the erstwhile Parson of Blokesworth (Worth, 2001), that is the nefarious and largely unpleasant Bishop Morton, for a 'mess of strawberries' from the garden of his Palace at Holborn. Wood (1993) has commented on information provided by Ross, that with the adjustment for the transition from the Julian to the Gregorian calendar, there is no fundamental reason why strawberries would not be in season on this day. Further, a man riding on a fast horse could surely have accomplished the round journey between the Tower and the Bishop's Palace in half an hour.

On re-appearing at the meeting, Richard's state of mind appears to have been diametrically the opposite of his earlier good humor. He accuses Hastings, as well as Derby (Lord Stanley) and Bishop Morton (later the Cardinal of 'Morton's Fork' fame) of plotting his death, in association with both the dowager Queen, Elizabeth Woodville, and Jane Shore! While Derby and Morton are subject to lesser punishments, Hastings pays the ultimate penalty, with the Protector swearing he would not be at dinner until the execution was done. While the traditional explanation is that Hastings was in league with the dowager Queen, Elizabeth Woodville, and Jane Shore! While Derby and Morton are subject to lesser punishments, Hastings pays the ultimate penalty, with the Protector swearing he would not be at dinner until the execution was done. While the traditional explanation is that Hastings was in league with the dowager Queen, Elizabeth Woodville, and other members of the Woodville clan to eliminate Richard, primarily because of his loyalty to Edward IV's offspring, this account has never really appeared to be a convincing explanation of the momentous events of that day.

It is unconvincing not the least because of the fairly obvious dislike of Hastings by the dowager Queen over the earlier affair of Jane Shore. By that date in early June, Jane Shore may well have already become Hastings mistress, which appears to have been his long-standing aim (Johnson, 1830; Keene, 1794). Much remains to be understood about this crucial meeting and its subsequent fallout. Whatever the explanation offered, there is one fundamental fact and that is, to the best of our knowledge, it was Hastings last day on earth.

Lady Katherine Hastings did make further payments in respect of the building project, and was able to do so because King Richard allowed her to keep the property. This act in itself is interesting one and we should recognize it as an exceptional and generous gesture on Richard's part since the property of those accused and executed for treason typically reverted to the Crown. Despite this generosity toward the widow, the Kirby Muxloe accounts indicate that from that time on, further construction was primarily in the form of stabilizing and wrapping up operations. After 1483, there is no evidence of any serious attempt to complete the project. In essence, Kirby Muxloe Castle died with its sponsor and so stands today as the ultimate embodiment of the forcible dis-embodyment of William, Lord Hastings. It is perhaps the quintessential visual representation of the epithet: 'Put not your faith in Princes.'

![Figure 7: An aerial view of the Castle. This perspective shows the input and output sluices to the moat at right and left respectively. It also shows the ground remnants of the original Manor inside the present structure, just behind the gatehouse and to the left center of the quadrangle, and see Figure 4 also.](image-url)
The Dream That Was Kirby

Historians have often used the transition between the House of Plantagenet and the House of Tudor as a threshold to represent the end of the medieval period and the beginning of the more modern era associated with the Renaissance. Debatable as this division is, Kirby Muxloe Castle is a structure that can be seen as representing an era of transition. Kirby is a quadrangular castle, possessing four sides only. It is configured roughly in a square shape, although in the present case a rectangle is a much more accurate description, see Figure 7. It is, of course, easy to look back in retrospect and pronounce that a particular building or structure is one of a transitional form. However, at the time of its fabrication Kirby Muxloe represented the height of innovation. Much is made of the innovative brilliance of Wolsey’s Hampton Court Palace but Kirby Muxloe embraces the use of brick almost two generations earlier. Not a Castle in the traditional sense, Kirby can best be characterized as a fortified manor and it is indeed one of the last of these fortified houses to have been built. The present epithet ‘Castle’ is much more in the way of being a courtesy. With the exception of a few remains from the era of Roman occupation, Kirby Muxloe is the earliest known brick building in the County of Leicestershire and one of the three earliest brick buildings of this epoch in existence in England. Clearly, William, Lord Hastings, was looking to do something new at Kirby Muxloe and was most probably looking to establish it as the site of his family seat. His pride of creation is perhaps best represented today in some of the remaining carvings which grace the ruins. His initials, “WH” are embedded above the entrance to the gatehouse, while his coat of arms which shows a maunch (or sleeve), are worked into the brick pattern of the gatehouse’s north-west, octagon turret (Kinross, 1995).

There are many curious and interesting aspects to Kirby Muxloe. For example, the dimensions of the inner quadrangle when completed would have been almost exactly 100 X 160 ft. Reduced to its lowest common denominations; this would have represented a ratio of 5:8, which of course mathematically, is well know as part of the Fibonacci (Leonardo Pisano) sequence. Thus Kirby takes the form of quadrangular Castle of which Bodiam Castle is perhaps the most well known, although Chillingham in Northumberland, Bolton Castle in Yorkshire, and Herstmonceaux in Sussex are also other lovely examples. However, with its carefully conceived proportions, clearly Kirby would have exceeded even these peers in aesthetic beauty. The typical quadrangular Castle has towers at each of the four corners each connected via a curtain wall of slightly lower lower height. Perhaps the most interesting fact is that Kirby Muxloe Castle is probably the last of this genre of quadrangular Castle to be constructed in England but at the same time it is also one of the earliest of brickwork fortified houses. In this way in represents a true marriage of the old and the new. Kirby then is not just a ruin of a single structure, it is in its own way, the end of an ideal.

Figure 8: The pitiable state of Kirby Muxloe before modern restoration. Photograph taken circa 1895.

Figure 9: The Castle ruins during and following restoration in the early part of the last century. Restoration was complete by 1913.
Despite Lord Hastings’ pronounced treason the Castle stayed in possession of the family, being inherited by Sir Henry Hastings in 1617. This Sir Henry Hastings was a royalist also and had lost money in supporting the King of his own later era. He was subsequently fined more money by the vindictive and victorious Government of the day, following the disastrous royal defeat at Naseby. It may well have been this collective financial burden that subsequently caused Sir Henry to sell the manor of Kirby, including the ruined Castle, to Sir Robert Bannaster of Passenham, Northamptonshire, in 1630 (Thompson, 1951). The remaining buildings were apparently still habitable around that time and supposedly, a garrison of Parliamentary soldiers was billeted in the Castle in 1645 around the time of the siege of Leicester during the English Civil War (Wilshere, 1971). To such generations, conservation was not a major issue and it is believed that some materials were taken from the site, in particular the then remaining other tower, to use in the construction of an adjacent building which is the present Castle Hotel in Kirby. From Bannaster’s hands the Manor was acquired by William Wollaston of Shenton in Leicestershire whose descendant subsequently sold it on to Clement Winstanley in 1778. The property remained in the Winstanley family until 1911 when the final private owner, Major Richard Winstanley, placed the Castle under the guardianship of the Ministry of Works. At around this time the ruins were in a somewhat dilapidated condition (see Figure 8) and extensive maintenance operations were undertaken (see Figure 9). From the Ministry, responsibility today rests in the hands of English Heritage. We shall never know what the final appearance of Kirby Muxloe would have been. However, Figure 10 provides one artist’s impression of how the completed structure would have appeared. It would indeed have been a sight to see.

A Closing Speculation

It was some two years, two months after the execution of William, Lord Hastings by the then Protector, Richard Duke of Gloucester, that the now King Richard III marched out of Leicester to face his enemy, the upstart Henry Tudor at Bosworth Field. According to the Crowland Chronicle, “On Sunday before the feast of Bartholomew the Apostle, the king left Leicester with great pomp, wearing his diadem on his head and accompanied by John Howard, duke of Norfolk and Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland and other great lords, knights and esquires and a countless multitude of commoners.” (Pronay & Cox, 1986, pp. 179).

We do not know for certain what specific route Richard took. However, local tradition has it that he left Leicester by the west gate across the water meadows alongside the Augustinian Priory toward the Leicester Forest area (Billson, 1920). As Foss (1998), from whom the Billson reference is drawn, notes, “Perhaps a more likely way was through the relatively open chase of Leicester Forest toward Earl Shilton” (pp. 46). Given this is so, and given that useable thoroughfares in this area must have been limited, it is certainly a reasonable possibility that Richard’s line of progress took him past Kirby Muxloe.

Figure 10: An artist’s impression of what the finished Castle may have looked like.
It is pure speculation, but did he look down on the dismal ruin, appearing much as it does today, from the top of Bloods Hill (and what is the origin of the name Blood’s Hill and does it have anything to do with Richard?). Had he done so, what would have been the thoughts that would have run through his mind?

We cannot but speculate that Richard would have very much appreciated having his old comrade in arms with him that late August day. Hastings and Richard had fought alongside each other for Richard’s brother Edward IV in the victory at Barnet and later in the triumph of Tewkesbury (see Hammond, 1990). Although Hastings does not appear to have been a brilliant soldier, he was a loyal one and in the general run of circumstances, one upon whom Richard might well have relied on August 22nd, 1485. This serves again to highlight the crucial importance to Richard of those events on Friday 13th June, 1483 in the Tower of London. Whether his path of progress went within sight of the ruins or not, it is undisputed that he must have traversed this general area and so, whether triggered by the sight of the unfinished edifice or not, it is highly likely that Richard would have had some thoughts that dwelled on Hastings and his fate.

While speculating on Richard’s thoughts is an interesting exercise, he was not the only one in that procession whose mind must have been affected by the sight of, or proximity to, Kirby Muxloe Castle. Held in hostage, Lord Strange, the son of Lord Stanley, must also have been considering his father’s role in the incident at the Tower some twenty-six months earlier. Implicated alongside Hastings, the then Lord Derby had barely escaped with his life on the day that Hastings lost his. More to the point, Lord Strange must have been thinking furiously on the decision his father was about to take with respect to the coming action. How perturbed he would have been then, and indeed must have been later, when Richard did call Stanley to his side, threatening Strange’s immediate execution. A threat to which Stanley is reputed to have replied that “he had more sons!”

Finally, I cannot also help but wonder what thoughts passed through the mind of William Catesby, one time advisor to Lord Hastings, who apparently had such a pivotal role in his death. Had Catesby actually had some role in facilitating the building of Kirby Muxloe Castle and as he now looked upon it, or thought upon Hastings unfinished masterpiece, did he regret any of the actions taken against his former master? If he did not then, he certainly did some four days later when Henry Tudor, now Henry VII had his head cut off back in Leicester. It is these and like ruminations that must occupy our mind when we come to visit this evocative locale.

Although not one of the premier Ricardian sites, the Castle is well worth a visit and especially so since the location of the still contentious Battle of Bosworth (Foss, 1998; Hancock, 2002: Jones, 2002) is so close, a scant few miles to the west.

Acknowledgments

The present work relies heavily upon the most informative tract by Peers, originally published in 1917. Those who are seeking further information upon Kirby Muxloe Castle would be well advised to start with his account and then the paper by Hamilton Thompson (1919–1920) which provides specific details concerning the building accounts. There are several major reports concerning the life and times of William, Lord Hastings, and a number of these may be found in the present reference list.
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The Ricardian Puzzlers are Charlie Jordan, Lorraine Pickering, Marion Davis, and Nancy Northcott. The Ricardian crossword puzzles are intended as a fun method of learning about Richard and his life and times. Each puzzle will have a theme and clues are drawn from widely available sources. Suggestions are welcomed; please send comments to Charlie at charlie.jordan@earthlink.net.

solution on page 35
4. During the Yorkist era, _______ was England’s second most prosperous trading city. Its emblem, a ship, appeared on banners, bells, and the city seal.
5. Fifteenth century saw the adoption in England of ships with 2 or more _____, greatly increasing their ability to maneuver.
6. Historian Rodger calls this ship the “first English royal carvel”; built in 1464 when _____ was king.
7. During Richard III’s reign, pirates from _____, Devon, and Cornwall caused international friction by plundering ships from Brittany, France, Spain, and Burgundy; the area of modern Norfolk and Suffolk.
8. Warwick attempted to capture this ship, at Southampton, in his April 1470 flight from England.
9. Henry V had this huge ship built; displacing 2750 tons, the ship accidentally burnt in 1439.
10. In his invasion of France in 1475, Edward IV assembled an invasion fleet by impressing and hiring ships. The fleet sailed from _____ and landed in Calais.
11. The Calendar of Patent Rolls 1476-85 shows that this Yorkist king worked hard to control piracy.
12. Not only “ _____ of the Caribbean”, these plagued merchants and caused international friction, but were often supported by government officials.
13. Fifteenth century merchants valued this type of ship for its speed, agility, and power.
14. In late 1483, Richard III’s fleet captured ships from _____ that were threatening English merchant ships.
15. Between 1468-74, England waged a naval war with this association of merchant cities.
16. Fifteenth century saw the adoption in England of ships with 2 or more _____, greatly increasing their ability to maneuver.
17. This type of ship was a merchant ship with a flat bottom and rigged with a single mast and sail.
18. Type of ship building that includes a skeleton and planks laid edge to edge.
19. The Earl of _____’s 1458 victory over a fleet of 28 Spanish ships won him great popularity at a low point in English history.
20. Richard III ordered a fleet of East Anglian fishing and trading ships to wait for wafters from Hull to protect the trading ships from Brittany, France, Spain, and Burgundy; the area of modern Norfolk and Suffolk.
21. Richard III met the naval threat from Scotland and France by assembling a fleet at the northeastern port of _____.
22. The Earl of _____’s 1458 victory over a fleet of 28 Spanish ships won him great popularity at a low point in English history.
23. This Lancastrian king assembled 15th century England’s largest, most effective royal fleet.
24. Edward IV established a convoy system called wafting to protect Englishmen from fishing and trading in Iceland;
25. This Frenchman raided the coast of Sandwich in 1457 and escaped without harm; a great supporter of Margaret of Anjou.
26. Not only “ _____ of the Caribbean”, these plagued merchants and caused international friction, but were often supported by government officials.
27. The Earl of _____’s 1458 victory over a fleet of 28 Spanish ships won him great popularity at a low point in English history.
28. In 1471, Thomas Neville, aka The Bastard of Fauconberg led an attack on ____ that included naval bombardment from ships provided by the Cinque Ports.
29. This type of sail was adopted from ships in the Mediterranean and allowed ships to sail against winds.
30. Usually depicted as rowed by banks of rowers, this type of ship also used sail.
31. Historian Rodger calls this ship the “first English royal carvel”; built in 1464 when _____ was king.
32. This type of sail was adopted from ships in the Mediterranean and allowed ships to sail against winds.
33. This Lancastrian king assembled 15th century England’s largest, most effective royal fleet.
34. Edward IV established a convoy system called wafting to protect English fishing and trading ships. The ships that made up the convoys were called _______.
35. Edward IV established a convoy system called wafting to protect English fishing and trading ships. The ships that made up the convoys were called _______.
36. The Calendar of Patent Rolls 1476-85 shows that this Yorkist king worked hard to control piracy.
37. The Calendar of Patent Rolls 1476-85 shows that this Yorkist king worked hard to control piracy.
38. Called “the workhorse of the Hanseatic League”, this was a merchant ship with a flat bottom and rigged with a single mast and sail.
39. Henry V created the office of Keeper of the _______.
40. Richard III, it gives him credit for his “skill in naval warfare” in England’s victory over _______.
41. The Earl of _____’s 1458 victory over a fleet of 28 Spanish ships won him great popularity at a low point in English history.
Visiting battlefields, castles, cathedrals, Roman ruins, parish churches, and fellow Ricardians in the England filled 12 days for those participating in the 14th Annual Ricardian tour on June 18 – 29, 2005. Linda Treybig, tour coordinator, began the tour with the Lake District, followed by travel to Hadrian’s Wall at Vindolanda, the Northumbrian coast, the Yorkshire Dales, the Midlands, and East Anglia before finishing up in the Bayswater district of London. Tour members included Elizabeth York Enstam, Jane Munsie, Joshua and Sarah Dinges, Barbara Lee, Judith Van Derveer, Bettina Ortiz Rini, Betty Ortiz, and Pamela Butler.

Among the Ricardian sites we visited were the castles of Middleham, Penrith, Skipton, Warkworth, Castle Rising, Castle Bolton, and Ashby-de-la-Zouch, and the parish churches of Middleham, Sutton Cheney, Dadlington, Penrith and Fotheringhay. The tour group gathered at Manchester Airport on a Saturday morning, then boarded a Walton Company bus, whose driver Ken Andrews frequently directed our attention to sites of interest along the motorways and regaled us with humorous stories or insights.

Soon after we settled into the comfortable Edenhall Country Hotel near Penrith, which had lovely gardens, a well-stocked bar, and an elegant restaurant, we met John and Marjorie Smith of the Cumbria Group, who would be guiding us around Penrith the next day.

The next morning, June 19, Marjorie brought fellow members Norma and Linda to give us a historical tour of Penrith Castle, which began as a pele tower, a defensive structure of the 13th and 14th centuries to protect residents against Scottish border raids.

Penrith burned down three times in the 14th century; in 1397, William Strickland, eventual Bishop of Carlisle and Archbishop of Canterbury, added walls and asked for permission to crenellate them. Improvements and additions continued thereafter for several decades under the direction of Ralph Neville, First Earl of Westmorland, who inherited it in 1419. Later, Richard, Duke of Gloucester, had the banqueting hall constructed during his tenure as Lord of the North. Penrith Castle fell into disuse and disrepair after Richard’s death.

John Smith joined us at the nearby St. Andrews Church. The present structure, built in 1720, is the third one to have been built on the site and was designed by Nicholas Hawksmoor, who had studied under Sir Christopher Wren. Medieval windows which had been partially saved from previous fires were reincorporated into the new structure, including a famous Neville stained glass window. It’s possible that this represents Richard’s parents, but it’s more likely that it represents Cecily’s parents, Ralph Neville and Joan Beaufort. The churchyard is famous for the Giant’s Grave, which has two 11-ft. high stone crosses and four hogback stones in between them. Owen Caesarius, a tenth-century king of Cumbria, is believed to be buried here.

We walked to the Gloucester Arms Pub, which has been rumored over the years to have had a secret passageway to the castle, although none has ever been discovered. The pub dates back to the 15th century and may have been the place where Richard stayed in town while castle improvements were under way. Richard’s
arms are displayed above the entry door, along with a sign which says, “According to tradition, the Residence, c. 1471, of Richard, Duke of Gloucester, King Richard III, 1483-85.” Inside, there are carved bas-relief wood representations of Richard and Anne on the front of the bar. Tour members were treated to a look at the room upstairs where Richard may have slept. Our group visit finished its visit with the Cumbria Group by having lunch at Kings Arms Pub a short bus ride away.

We then drove through the scenic Lake District, taking in views of Lakes Ullswater and Windermere and their sailboats. The next stop was Levens Hall, an Elizabethan home, and its world-famous topiary gardens which have remained unchanged for 300 years. Monsieur Gillaume Beaumont, who trained at Versailles and who laid out the gardens at Hampton Court, began the gardens in 1694. At this time, the owner was Col. James Graham, who had purchased it in 1688 after having been employed as a keeper of the Privy Purse for King James II (prior to the latter’s abdication during the Glorious Revolution.) Eventually, the home became the property of the Bagot family.

The greatest surprise for me, and perhaps a few others, was inside the house. Some of Napoleon’s onetime possessions were on display, including a set of Dresden china figures of Napoleon and his marshals. The Duke of Wellington collected these after the Battle of Waterloo and later gave them to a favorite niece, Lady Mary Wellesley, who married the owner of Levens Hall, Sir Charles Bagot.

June 20 saw us headed into Northumberland towards Hadrian’s Wall and the civilian settlement of Chestersholm, or Vindolanda, and its captivating museum of Roman life and artifacts at the visitor’s center. A few steps outside the museum/gift shop was the Open Air Museum Complex, featuring an outdoor replica of a Roman Temple, Roman headstones, and the Roman “Stanegate Milestone.” The area was first occupied by Romans in AD 85, although Hadrian’s Wall wasn’t built until AD 122. When Romans would rebuild an area, they’d just cover over the previous building areas in dirt, which created an artifact-preserving anaerobic environment. Armor, jewelry, tools, shoes, boots, and coins were thus well-preserved for centuries until excavations retrieved them. Documents included birthday invitations, everyday lists, and official military orders and were written on wooden tablets which can still be read relatively easily. Extensive archaeological excavations have been underway for the last few summers, and visitors can watch them at work.

For lunch, we stopped at a popular pub called The Rat in Anick, north of Hexham, which is not the secret local people would like to believe it is. It was built in 1750 and used originally as a resting house for drovers.

From there we continued in a northeasterly direction towards Brinkburn Priory, near Rothbury, entertained by the “nagging, bossy voice” of a new navigation system advising our bus driver Ken of the best routes to take. It seemed rather superfluous, as Ken studies his maps. Brinkburn was founded as an Augustinian priory in 1135 and is set low in a valley in a curve of the Coquet River, surrounded by trees. The architecture of the Priory has both Norman and early English Gothic features, making it a Transitional style. There is an apocryphal story that, because it was difficult to find, it almost avoided a raid . . . until the priors rang the “all clear” bell. Margaret Tudor, sister to King Henry VIII and widow to King James IV of Scotland, stayed here in late 1515 en route to Lord Dacre’s home in Morpeth. She’d remarried to Archibald Douglas, but had to escape politically turbulent Scotland by a long, hard ride on horseback during advanced pregnancy; this led to a difficult childbirth in remote Harbottle Castle. Her daughter Margaret Douglas survived to become an ancestor of monarchs.

The tour group continued on to its next hotel, the Mason’s Arms in Rennington, about 4 miles north of Alnwick. The pub was lively that first night, as other nearby pubs were closed that day, and the food was a delicious adventure.

Our unique “summer solstice” experience on June 21 was to visit the mystical “Holy Isle of Lindisfarne.” We had to travel to it first thing in the morning, according to the tide timetables, in order to be back on the mainland before the tide flooded the causeway at midday. The two main attractions are Lindisfarne Priory and Lindisfarne Castle on Beblowe Crag, the high point of the island at 30

Lindisfarne Castle
meters, and on which no castle stood until the Elizabethan era.

The original Lindisfarne Priory, which was built of wood, was destroyed in 793 AD by Vikings, but another one of stone was begun by Benedictines in 1093, in the same year that Durham Cathedral was started. The second edifice was largely destroyed during the Dissolution in Henry VIII’s reign, yet the distinctive rainbow arch is still left. Much of the stonework was carried away in the reign of Elizabeth I to build the castle.

From Lindisfarne, it’s a short drive to reach Warkworth Castle, a spectacular castle ruin located on a peninsula formed by a bend in the River Coquet (again!) Most of the building took place between the 12th and 15th centuries. Edward III, who needed the help of the Percy family to defend northern England against the Scots, granted it to Henry Percy II, lord of Alnwick, in 1332, and the Percy family, which had originated in Yorkshire, became virtual royalty in Northumberland. Several Percy descendants died in the Wars of the Roses, including the battles of First St. Albans, Northampton, Battle of Towton, and Hedgeley Moor.

The Kingmaker’s brother, John Neville, resided here during his brief tenure as Earl of Northumberland and worked on building Montague Tower in the southeast corner. The fifth earl, who died in 1537, left the castle to King Henry VIII.

Durham Cathedral

June 22: Durham Cathedral, a magnificent example of Norman (or Romanesque) architecture, is the site of the black marble-topped tomb of the Venerable Bede, the ancient coffin of St. Cuthbert, and the tomb effigies of some Neville family members. The north entrance door has a distinctive bronze “sanctuary knocker,” an exact copy of the original, which is on display in the Cathedral’s museum. Durham Cathedral was a place of sanctuary in medieval times, and after fugitives used the knocker to gain admittance they were allowed up to 37 days to choose between trial and exile. If the latter was chosen, the fugitive would be required to embark on the next ship leaving Hartlepool, regardless of its destination.

Going inside and turning right, to the west, leads to the Galilee Chapel, where the paintings over the altar in the second bay on the north side are thought to be 12th century depictions of St. Cuthbert and St. Oswald. The Galilee Chapel is also known as the Lady Chapel; according to the rules of the Benedictine order of monks, it was once the only part of the cathedral that could be entered by women. Lady Chapels are usually built at the eastern end of cathedrals and not at the west so Durham is uncharacteristic in this respect.

Not far from the Galilee Chapel in the main cathedral building is a line of black Frosterly marble (a black stone originating near Durham which is embedded with the white shells of ancient sea creatures) running across the width of the nave floor. This marked the point beyond which women were not allowed to pass. There is an apocryphal story that when Edward III visited Durham in 1333 and lodged in the Priory, Queen Philippa arrived to join him a few days later, but because she was unfamiliar with Durham’s customs, she crossed the “boundary” of black Frosterly marble on the floor to join Edward in the Priory for dinner before she retired. One of the alarmed monks informed King Edward that St. Cuthbert could not endure a woman’s presence. Edward, who didn’t want to be at odds with the Church, immediately ordered Philippa to get out of bed and to go to the castle. Since she either couldn’t access her clothes or get dressed fast enough, she departed with only her under garments (and probably a cloak), praying that St. Cuthbert would not be angered by her inadvertent misstep. The restriction against women ended in the 16th century.

The Venerable Bede’s black marble-topped tomb is in the Galilee Chapel. He is considered to be the greatest man of learning of all the Anglo-Saxon age and his works were known throughout Europe. He mastered Latin, Greek and Hebrew and had a good knowledge of the classical scholars and early church fathers. In Jarrow (near Newcastle-Upon-Tyne) he was ordained a deacon. When he died in 735 AD, his few possessions were distributed among his fellow monks as he had requested; these consisted of some handkerchiefs, a few pepperpots and a small quantity of incense. He was buried at the monastery of St Paul at Jarrow, but around 1022 AD his remains were moved to Durham and buried in the choir with the remains of St. Cuthbert. In 1370, Bede’s bones were moved to a splendid shrine in the Galilee Chapel. The shrine was destroyed in the Reformation, but in 1831 his new tomb was built, inscribed with the words Hac sunt in fossa Baedae Venerabilis Ossa” which, translated, means “in this tomb are of Bede the Bones.”

Leaving the Galilee Chapel and returning to the nave, interesting monuments to the right side meet the eye: the 17th century Father Smith organ case and the Miners’ Memorial to commemorate local workers lost in coal mining accidents. There is also an ornate font cover with the eagle at the top. Not too far into the nave, on the right as one faces east, are the extensively mutilated tomb effigies of the Neville family. The alabaster tomb to the east is that of Ralph, fourth Baron Neville, who died in 1367, and of Alice, his wife. This Neville commanded part of the English army at the Battle of Neville’s Cross in 1346, when it defeated the invading Scots under King David II.
The alabaster tomb to the west is that of John, fifth Baron Neville who died in 1388, and of Matilda, his wife. In 1371, at the suggestion of the Shrine Keeper of the Abbey, he gave 200 pounds of silver to provide a new base of marble and alabaster for St Cuthbert's shrine. The Prior also persuaded him to give 500 marks towards the cost of the Neville Screen behind the high altar. John Neville's tomb is highly decorated and, in particular, is surrounded by the carved figures of mourners.

The relatively few tombs to be seen by comparison with other cathedrals may be due to the great sanctity of St. Cuthbert, which would have discouraged burials of ordinary people in the church until late in the Middle Ages. The Nevilles' lay burials had been the first to be allowed in the cathedral.

In the South Transept is Prior Castell's Clock. Prior Castell (1494-1519) placed it in the cathedral in about 1500 and it was renovated in 1630. Interestingly, the clock escaped the devastation wrought to the interior in 1650 after Oliver Cromwell herded 4,000 Scots prisoners into the cathedral and denied them any source of heat. They chopped up nearly every piece of wood in the building for their fires. The main face of the surviving clock appears to be divided up into only 48 minutes; originally it possessed only one hand — the hour hand. Each division, therefore, represents not a minute but a quarter of an hour, perhaps a good enough measure of time in the medieval era.

The Neville Screen at the High Altar was a gift from the Neville family in celebration of the victory against the Scots at the Battle of Neville's Cross in 1346. The screen was made of stone quarried in Normandy, then carved in London. The niches of the Screen were originally filled with 107 colorful statues of saints, but which are now empty. Legend has it that the statues were not destroyed but removed intact and hidden during the Reformation, Where they remain a mystery to this day.

The Bishop's Throne and Bishop Hatfield's tomb Bishop Hatfield (1345-1381) built the Bishop's Throne with a chantry to contain his tomb beneath it. Bishop Hatfield was the founder of Durham College (later to become Trinity College) in Oxford and also gave distinguished service to Edward the Third.

St. Cuthbert's tomb is behind the High Altar, and one must climb a few steps to get into it. During the Reformation, the shrine was dismantled and the relics buried on the spot where the shrine had stood. In 1827 the grave was reopened to reveal a series of coffins containing a skeleton swathed in silk. The earliest of the coffins, together with St Cuthbert's pectoral cross and some unique embroidered stoles were removed and can now be seen in the Cathedral's Treasury Museum. The bones themselves were replaced in the grave. Suspended above the tomb is a brightly painted tester which was done by Sir Ninian Comber and placed there in 1949.

The Chapel of the Nine Altars, built in Early English Gothic style at the cathedral's east end (and therefore an exception to the almost purely Norman architecture) seems not to have had the structural problems which defeated the first attempt to construct a Lady Chapel. The nine altars were needed because there were large numbers of pilgrims wishing to attend Mass and to receive blessings each day.

Yorkshire

We'd planned to see the extensive ruins of Rievaulx Abbey, a splendid 12th century Cistercian monastic foundation of remarkable beauty and peace. However, it had been flooded two days earlier, and the visitor's center had been completely wiped out, so after lunch at the Seven Stars Pub, we continued on to the city of York, where we got an early start on our “free exploration time.” We stayed two nights at the Hedley House Hotel in Bootham Terrace, whose owners had survived the great Indian Ocean tsunami of December, 2004 during their honeymoon.

June 23 was a free day to wander around on our own in the easily walkable maze of streets...um, “gates,” that is, of York, or along ancient city walls. (I couldn't resist buying a shirt which said, “York: Where the streets are gates, the gates are bars, and the bars are pubs.”)

The awesome York Minster took 250 years to build and was completed in 1470, but aside from the fires it has endured, and the collapsing tower, it looks much the same to us as it did for Richard. His son was invested in Sept. 1484 in the nearby archbishop's palace, which is now the Minster Library. Richard would have also been acquainted with the guildhall known as the Merchant Adventurers Hall. Tour group members had the options of visiting Jorvik Viking Centre, the ruins of Clifford's Castle, the National Railway Museum, the huge Castle Museum, or the York Museum where the famous Middleham Jewel may be found. Or we could choose to do nothing at all.

Monk Bar, which contains the Richard III Museum, features a lot of reading material about Richard III,
which should motivate visitors to reconsider their opinions. There is a working portcullis, which was last lowered in 1953, and there is a tiny prison cell in which there isn’t much room to move around. Someone had jokingly made a sign which said this cell had “en suite facilities,” which it did, in a manner of speaking. The uppermost floor of Monk Bar is said to have been added by Richard at his own expense, and there is a flight of steps going from there to the roof, which can’t be accessed. At the base of the stairs is a low door with a sign warning one to “Watch your head.” Why bother? You’re on the way to the executioner. However, on reaching the top, where a block of wood and an axe await, there is a sign apologizing that the executioner is “out to lunch.”

I met Linda Treybig and Elizabeth York Enstam for lunch at St. Williams College and Restaurant just east of the Minster. After lunch, Elizabeth and I went to the York Minster Library nearby, and into the room where Edward of Middleham is reported to have had his investiture. [See York Minster Library by Elizabeth York Enstam, page 27.]

For dinner, I met with Linda, Elizabeth, and Jane Munsie at the Guy Fawkes Restaurant, steps away from the Minster and directly across Low Petergate Street from the church where Guy Fawkes was baptized. Later that evening, Jane Munsie, Judith Van Derveer, and I took an evening cruise along the Ouse. The city of York passed out of sight quickly, and we went through some bucolic countryside at twilight before reaching Bishopsthorpe, where the Archbishop of York’s palace has stood since the 13th century.

On June 24th, we left York to visit Towton Battlefield and met Yorkshire Branch members John Audsley, Mary O’Regan, and Moira Habberjam at the monument, a tall stone cross which commemorates the battle. The pastoral setting provides no evidence of its past violent history. John Audsley added some roses to those already in place, then led tour members to the Cock Beck area where so many Lancastrians were drowned while retreating from the battlefield.

Following that, we stopped momentarily by Saxton Church and the tomb of Lord Dacre, which has the new white Towton Memorial stone next to it. This was created by area sculptor and Towton Battlefield Society member Steve Hines and “evokes Towton in every aspect from its arrowhead form to the subtle topographic image of the battlefield worked into its inscription.” It serves as a tribute to the thousands who suffered and died in the Wars of the Roses and was unveiled by archaeologist Tim Sutherland in 2005.

From there we drove, then walked a short distance to see tiny Lead Chapel, where Moira Habberjam talked about the history of this edifice, as the Yorkshire branch has helped in its restoration. There is some debate about whether Lead Chapel, built in the 12th century, was used as a refuge for the wounded at Towton or as a burial area, but there isn’t any solid evidence of this. She also discussed the chapel at Towton begun by Richard III but never completed due to his untimely death. Afterwards, we all trudged through a field to have lunch at the nearby Crooked Billet.

From there we went to the thriving market town of Skipton on its market day. It was tempting to stop and shop at the vendors’ stalls in the square, but many of us bypassed this to see Skipton Castle, a well-preserved castle that once belonged to Richard. Richard is known to have done some renovations in the adjacent parish church. The castle itself has such a mighty look to it that it’s hard to imagine that it could be taken by siege, but it did suffer damage in the Civil War. Finishing up at Skipton, we then drove through the astoundingly beautiful Yorkshire Dales to reach our lodgings in Buckden, located about 10 miles SSE of Aysgarth Falls.

The next day, June 25th, as we were headed towards Middleham Castle, we were unexpectedly treated to a show of sheep-shearing on a farm next to the road. We watched a crew of men vigorously working to remove the wool from three sheep or so, then continued towards the castle to meet all three Yorkshire members again. John gave a guided tour, pointing out the area of the previous castle, as well as architectural features of the present ruin. Roof lines incorporated into the walls revealed the some of the pattern of enlargement of the castle over the years. Mary O’Regan provided many insights as well.

We had time to do a little free exploration on our own; some went to see the parish church of St. Mary and St. Alkelda. Alkelda, deemed to be a chaste Saxon Princess, was killed by Vikings at Middleham. In a window of the collegiate church there, overlooking the site of her shrine, she is represented being strangled by two Danish
women. Her holy well, where she was martyred, still stands near the church and has always been believed to have healing virtues. However, so little is known of Alkelda that many doubt her very existence. The Richard III Society’s first commemorative undertaking, a memorial window, was placed here in 1934 and an embroidered Trinity altar frontal was donated in the early 1960s.

Others explored the enchanting town itself. Once reunited on the bus, we headed towards the tea shop near Jervaulx Abbey. A few of us took the opportunity to order products made from Wensleydale cheese. Moira persuaded a number of American Branch members to join the Yorkshire Branch and into buying some past issues of the Blane Sanglier.

Castle Bolton, Lord Scrope’s impressive fortified manor house, occupied our afternoon. This impressive structure was begun in 1379 and required wood to be brought in from as far as the Lake District. It was designed with private apartments having their own fireplaces and garderobes, a concept “ahead of its time.” Mary, Queen of Scots was imprisoned in Bolton for 6 months from 1568-9 along with 51 personal servants after being transferred from Carlisle Castle by Lord Henry Scrope. One room is entirely devoted to a display of this event. The Scrope Family became involved in national politics in the 14th century, serving at Crécy, Poitiers, and Najera with the Black Prince. They became mysteriously wealthy late in the century. However, as a good friend and neighbor, one of them, John, Lord Scrope, subsequently supported Richard III, fighting at The Battle of Bosworth Field.

I was able to climb to Bolton Castle’s rooftop to see spectacular views out across Wensleydale, as well as the grounds and gardens below. Bolton Castle has a medieval herb garden, rose gardens, an orchard, an unused bowling green, and a maze. We left Bolton Castle to return to the Buckden Inn by way of a stop at Aysgarth Falls, which was scenic, but not as vertical as I’d imagined.

June 26: John Audsley, heroically, met us for a third day at grass-covered Sandal Castle (located near Pugney’s County Park) to tell us its history. Originally a 12th-century motte-and-bailey castle, Sandal Magna was rebuilt by Thomas Earl of Lancaster in 1320 as an impressive stone fortress with a D-shaped barbican. Here, at the Battle of Wakefield during the Christmas season of 1460, Richard’s father, the Duke of York, and his brother, Edmund, Earl of Rutland, met their deaths at the hands of the Lancastrians. They’d left the safety of the castle to rescue a foraging party of their own which came under attack when the Lancastrians broke a Christmas truce. The battle was fought on Wakefield Green below the castle and the castle suffered no damage at the time, although it fell into ruin soon enough. In 1484/5, Richard III ordered building works to make Sandal suitable as a base for a permanent household in the north. His defeat at Bosworth in 1485 brought an end to any further development. From then on Sandal was allowed to fall into decay.

During the 1960s, the site was excavated thoroughly and later landscaped for visitors, making it seem like a city park. Bridges allow visitors to cross the moats, and a set of steps goes to the top of the very high motte. The panoramic views allow a better perspective of the Battle of Wakefield, as well as an appreciation for the ruined castle and its surroundings. While it is easy to visualize the 1460 Battle of Wakefield, it’s difficult to imagine that such a view would not have afforded sight of the Lancastrians in 1460—unless a heavy fog had rolled in. This battle provides a mnemonic for remembering the colors of the rainbow in order: “Richard of York gave battle in vain.”


**Peak District**

From Sandal Castle, we proceeded due south to Chesterfield, where we were able to get a glimpse of its famous crooked spire, then we turned west to get to the Peak District. As we passed through Bakewell, there appeared to be a celebration going on, although I hadn’t seen any “well-dressing” ceremonies scheduled. This Derbyshire tradition has artists pressing natural substances (seeds, flower petals, grasses, leaves, tree bark, berries, moss etc) into a 1 inch base of puddled clay held within a wooden frame to create works of art on wells. Well dressing is thought to be a ritual from pagan times, performed to give thanks for the supply of fresh water or for having avoided the plague.

Haddon Hall, a fortified medieval manor house dating from the 12th century, was our next stop. It is set on a rocky outcrop overlooking the River Wye. William the Conqueror’s illegitimate son, Peverel, and his...
descendants held Haddon for a hundred years until it passed into the hands of the Vernon family in 1170. It belonged to this family for centuries until after Dorothy Vernon eloped with John Manners, the son of the Earl of Rutland, in the 16th century. The house was eventually left to Dorothy on her father’s death and has been in the Manners family ever since.

When the Dukedom of Rutland was conferred on the family in 1703, they moved to Belvoir Castle, abandoning Haddon Hall for almost 200 years until the early 1900s. It therefore avoided the Victorian rage for “improvements” (which destroyed the medieval character of so many other places) and remained a medieval and Tudor house. During that time the gardens became hopelessly overgrown. The gardens which we see now were created by the 9th Duchess when she and the 9th Duke returned to the house in the early 20th century.

After passing through the gatehouse, walking down a road to cross the river, and getting to the inside courtyard, one turns left to reach the main building. The first sight to greet the eyes is a large banqueting hall which has a minstrel’s gallery. The walls are filled with large French tapestries. The mid-15th century millefleurs tapestry hanging above the high table may have been given to Sir Henry Vernon, treasurer to Prince Arthur, by Henry VIII.

The huge kitchen has a couple of wide fireplaces and lots of tabletop space for preparing banquets. Plenty of storage space exists with its shelves and some medieval cupboards in smaller adjacent rooms. These include a ‘dole cupboard’ which was left by the front door to the Hall with scraps from the table for the villagers’ dole.

Returning to and crossing through the banqueting room, one reaches the room which was once a great chamber. It was divided in half horizontally by Sir Henry Vernon in order to use as upper and lower rooms. The great chamber above was the most important reception room in the late medieval and Tudor periods. The lower half was used as a dining room, and its painted ceiling displays the Tudor rose and the Talbot dog (as he had married Ann Talbot.) In the window recesses are the carved (bas-relief) figures of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York.

The Long Gallery dating from the early-17th century is 110 feet long and occupies most of the south side of the upper court. The gorgeous furniture could almost be overlooked if one notices the diamond panes in the windows, which are all set at different angles. The gardens are a riot of bright colors in the summer. What a delight it is to stand on the balustraded terrace overlooking the gardens and house, and to absorb the vision of hills filled with trees and green pastures full of sheep!

Midlands and East Anglia

We proceeded to the delightful Sysonby Knoll Hotel in Melton Mowbray, where we stayed two nights. June 27 was the “big” day we visited Bosworth Field and the surrounding area to commemorate Richard’s death. Sutton Cheney, where tradition holds that Richard III heard the last mass of his life, was our first stop, and Joshua Dinges placed the traditional wreath on Richard’s memorial on the wall. The church is filled with light, and kneelers which have been beautifully embroidered by Society members, similar to what is seen at Fotheringhay’s church.

Approaching the traditional Bosworth Battlefield site, we were greeted by coats of arms of some of the participants along the roadside. Whether the battle actually happened here, or nearby, is a question we hoped would soon be answered.

We met Pauline Foster at the visitor’s center; she led us on the two-mile walk which covered the traditional site of the battle. She also discussed some of the new proposed alternative sites, such as the one proposed by Michael K. Jones at Atherstone or Peter Foss’s site closer to Dadlington.

We moved on to Stoke Golding because Henry VII was said to have been crowned there. We toured the Stoke Golding Church of St. Margaret, which was built during the Decorated Period, and rebuilt in the reign of Edward III. Outside, it features the heads of Edward and Philippa on the balustrade beneath the tall spire.
Our final stop for the day was the magnificent Ely Cathedral, with its beautiful painted ceiling and soaring octagonal lantern tower; its height dominates the flat countryside of the nearby Fens. Visitors to the cathedral enter through the great West Door in the Galilee Porch, an example of Early English architecture. The view down the 248-foot-long nave from the West Door is stunning. The stonework was originally painted in strong, rich colors, but there is little of that which remains.

St. Etheldreda

Ely was originally founded in 673 as a monastery on the “isle of Ely” by Etheldreda, a Saxon princess of East Anglia. Born about 630, she was still very young when she was given in marriage by her father to a subordinate prince, Tonbert, who gave her a morning gift of a tract of land called the Isle of Ely. She never lived in wedlock with Tonbert, however; he died early, allowing her to pursue her vocation of religion for the next 5 years. Her family then arranged a marriage of political convenience for her to Ecgfrith, son and heir to Oswiu (Oswy), King of Northumbria in 660 AD.

From Ecgfrith, believed to be 14 years old at the time, she received certain lands at Hexham, and through her friend and spiritual guide, St. Wilfrid, she gave these lands to found the minster of St. Andrew. During the early years of the marriage, she befriended monks and nuns, including the young prior of Lindisfarne, Cuthbert.

In 670 AD, on succeeding his father, 24-year-old King Ecgfrith appealed to Wilfred for the enforcement of his marital rights in opposition to Etheldreda’s religious vocation. Wilfred pretended to agree while secretly encouraging Etheldreda to maintain a celibate life and to leave court to become a nun. The king reluctantly allowed Etheldreda to live for some time in peace as a sister of the Coldingham nunnery, founded by her aunt, St. Ebba, but soon changed his mind. King Ecgfrith never forgave St. Wilfrid for interfering in his marriage.

The ever-present danger of being forcibly carried off by the king caused Etheldreda to leave Coldingham disguised as a beggar, with only two women in attendance. They made their way to Etheldreda’s estate of Ely, and miracles saved her from a husband in pursuit. In 673 Ecgfrith divorced his virgin queen Etheldreda, who was then founding Ely, in order to marry his new love Ermenburga. Meanwhile tensions between King Ecgfrith and Wilfred continued to rise and in 678 the king banished Wilfred from Northumbria. It is possible that Ecgfrith may have been jealous of Wilfred’s longstanding friendship with his former wife; he broke up Wilfred’s York-based bishopric into two parts with separate sees centered on York and Hexham.

Ely was destroyed by the Danes in the 870s, but it was refounded as a Benedictine community a hundred years
later. The Anglo-Saxon church would have sheltered the legendary rebel Hereward the Wake, a native of Britain, when he took refuge from William the Conqueror at Ely after plundering Peterborough Abbey in 1070. William the Conqueror led his army to Ely, still an island in the Fens, and was three times foiled by Hereward in the attempt to build a causeway across the marshes. Eventually he and William made peace, but Hereward was killed later when other enemies attacked him. The Anglo-Saxon church was entirely demolished when the present structure was built, beginning 1080s; in 1109 Ely was given cathedral status. This great example of Norman architecture was largely unaltered over the centuries, other than the Galilee Porch, the Lady Chapel, and the octagonal tower, changes described below.

Two major alterations occurred in the 14th century under the Sacrist of the Cathedral, Alan of Walsingham. First, he planned the Lady Chapel to honor the Virgin Mary, and its foundations were dug in 1321. However, the original Norman tower collapsed in 1322, and he had to temporarily abandon the Lady Chapel project to attend to this. He decided to create something unique, so he had the octagon tower built, which took 6 years to complete; it is spectacular to see as well as a masterpiece of medieval engineering. It required 14 more years to construct the lantern tower on top; this was done William Hurley, Edward III’s master carpenter. It still stands today, 200 tons of timber, lead and glass.

Alan of Walsingham resumed work on the Lady Chapel, which was completed in 1349, which is the largest of its kind attached to any British cathedral. The stone vault spans 46 feet. The Lady Chapel has a 7-second echo and choirs from all over the world visit each summer to sing in its unique atmosphere. During medieval times, it would have have had colorfully painted walls, the finest medieval glass and exquisite statues adorning every niche. Unfortunately, following the Dissolution of the monasteries by King Henry VIII, the majority of exquisite statues were destroyed or defaced.

Etheldreda’s Shrine stood in the Presbytery until the Dissolution. At the order of Bishop Goodrich, Bishop of Ely, the shrine was completely destroyed. A commemorative slab laid in 1973 to mark the 1300th anniversary of the church now marks the site.

Cambridge: The group met John Ashdown-Hill on June 29th in Cambridge on Silver Street, near the Anchor Pub and the punting-boat rental area, to take a walking tour of the medieval and Tudor colleges. Richard enjoyed the company of scholars and actively supported education; his first endowment of the College dates from 1477, while he was still Lord of the North.

John first took us to see Queens’ College, which was closed, but he told us a little of its history. When it was first founded by Margaret of Anjou, it was Queen’s College, but after refounding by Elizabeth Woodville, it was Queens’ College (the plural sense moving the apostrophe). Despite the Wars of the Roses, Queens’ carried on, increasing the number of endowed fellowships from the initial four. The first President of Queens’, Andrew Dokett, had the difficult task of securing the patronage of first the Lancastrians and then the Yorkists, depending on who was in power at the moment.

As King Richard III and Queen Anne, they gifted or endowed, in July 1484, great sums to Queens’ College for the founding of fellowships and other purposes. Their plans for Queens’ appeared to be patronage to support possibly as many as 33 Queen Anne Fellows. For a few months, Queens’ was almost certainly the richest college in Cambridge. Dokett lived to see his foundation wealthily endowed, and must have died a happy man on 4th November 1484, when the future of Queens’ looked promising.

Due to Richard’s death at Bosworth Field in 1485, Queens’ College received no more than about 6 months’ worth of revenue before Henry VII ascended to the throne and immediately confiscated everything ever granted to Queens’ by Richard or Anne.

Richard III’s generosity is remembered in Queens’ twice a year at the Commemoration of Benefactors services. Additionally, the College has “adopted” a second coat-of-arms of his personal badge of the white or silver boar’s head.

King’s College was founded in 1441 by King Henry VI and endowed sufficiently for 70 poor scholars who had graduated from Eton. Work on the still-incomplete chapel stopped when Henry was deposed in 1461, but resumed again in 1476 in King Edward IV’s reign. Generous contributions from Edward and Richard furthered completion of the chapel, but there was still work to be done when Richard died in 1485. Work stopped completely until 1508, when Henry VII promised to see it funded to completion, but this didn’t occur until 1515, in Henry VIII’s reign. Henry VIII also contributed windows, the rood screen, and the choir stalls, and the interior of the chapel is full of Tudor symbols, as if he’d been entirely responsible for King’s College Chapel’s existence.

John took us by Corpus Christi College, which was refounded by Lady Margaret Beaufort in 1505 at its present location. We could only get a glimpse, but we learned that its “Parker Library” has one of the world’s most extensive collections of medieval manuscripts. Continuing north to a church known as St. Botolph’s, we learned that prayers for Richard’s soul which had been said here during his lifetime continued for a long
time after his death, well into the Tudor era.

John told us that in most cases, the “founding” of colleges was based on the takeover of an existing institution, with subsequent funding to pursue another purpose and glorify a new “founder.” This is true for Trinity and St. John’s Colleges, as well a couple of others mentioned here. Trinity College, the largest in Cambridge, was founded by Henry VIII in 1546, and there is a statue of him on the front gateway. Trinity combined King’s Hall, which had been founded by Edward II in 1317 and refounded by Edward III in 1327, and Michaelhouse, which had been established in 1324. The Trinity flag, flown for special events, is designed as King Edward III’s royal standard.

Just north of Trinity is St. John’s College, “founded” on the site of the medieval Hospital of St. John by Margaret Beaufort in 1511, two years after her death. This is quite a miracle, as she died without having mentioned the founding of St. John’s College in her will. Much of the work in founding St. John’s was done by John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester and Margaret’s confessor, who worked to get the necessary approvals and to get the funding from Margaret’s estate. The approvals came from King Henry VIII, the Pope via Polydore Vergil, and from the Bishop of Ely to suppress the religious hospital and convert the building into a college. It received a charter in April 1511 and in October of 1512, a codicil was obtained in the court of the Archbishop of Canterbury. A month later, the Court of Chancery allowed Lady Margaret’s executors to pay for the foundation of the college from her estates.

On the gatehouse entry is a statue of St. John with the symbolic eagle at his feet; below are Margaret’s arms, supported by two white “yale” supporters, with gold bezants. Yales are mythical beasts which have the heads of goats, the bodies of antelopes, and elephant’s tails. The two horns swivel independently, a great advantage in battle. There is a Beaufort portcullis, red roses and marguerites (daisies) decorating the gate, as well as forget-me-nots which recall Margaret’s motto: “Souvent me souvient,” or “remember me often,” which Ricardians certainly do!

After the tour finished in London, we met Wendy Moorhen and Jane Trump in the lobby of the Best Western Phoenix Hotel in Bayswater; we walked through the area in search of pub, finally settling on a vegetarian venue. We enjoyed this visit and were thrilled to learn of some of the future plans for the Parent Society.

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- Margaret Barr for The Historical Novels Society Review
RICHARD III SOCIETY AUDIO-VISUAL LIBRARY LISTING

Yvonne Saddler

VIDEO CASSETTES:

DRAMA:
• Richard III; The Lawrence Olivier version of 1955, color, 138min.
• Richard III; The BBC/Tme-Life version of 1982, color, 228min, Ron Cook as Richard
• Richard III; The Wars of the Roses series version of 1963, B&W, 240min, p.7, stars Ian Holm as Richard
• Henry VI; The Wars of the Roses series version of 1963, B&W, time not noted, pts 1-6, and includes Ian Holm as Richard
• Tower of London: American film of 1939 with Basil Rathbone and Vincent Price, Black and white, 92 minutes
• Blackadder: First part of the British history satirical series: Rowan Atkinson
• Looking for Richard: American film by Al Pacino, color, 112min, 1996
• Richard III; British film with Ian McKellen as Richard, color, 1995, 120mins.
• BBCN; An Age of Kings 1960 5 tapes
  Tape 1: Richard II, The Hollow Crown
  Richard II, Deposing of a King
  Henry IV, Rebellion from the North
  Tape 2: Henry IV, Part 1, Road to Shrewsbury
  Henry IV, Part 2, Uneasy lies the head
  Tape 3: Henry V, Signs of War; Band of Brothers
  (additional material on this tape: Miscellaneous excerpts from interviews)
  Tape 4: Henry VI, Part 1, The Red Rose and the White
  Henry VI, Part 2-1, The Fall of a Protector
  Henry VI, Part 2-2, The Rabble from Kent
  Henry VI, Part 3-1, The Morning’s War
  Tape 5: Henry VI, Part 3-2, The Sun in Splendor
  Richard III, Part 1, The Dangerous Brother
  Richard III, Part 2, The Boar Hunt
  Added material: Two men in a trench; Battle of Barnet
• BBC 1971
  Shadow of the Tower, Parts 11 & 12, BBC interviews: Sharon K. Penman, Timewatch with Desmond Seward, Margaret Paston with Harriet Walter, Seven ages of Britain/The Pastons
• Ch4 TV (2005): Princes in the Tower (Warbeck); Audience with King Richard III, Crosby Hall rebuilding, miscellaneous interviews.

MOCK TRIALS:
• The Trial of Richard III; 1996 C-span video of the trial held at the School of Law, Indiana University, 88mins

MEDIEVAL DRAMA.
• The York Cycle in the Fifteenth Century: 4 tapes covering enactments of the Biblical events from the Creation to the Annunciation, color, 1977.
  Tape 1. Creation and Fall of Lucifer; Creation of Adam and Eve; Adam And Eve in Eden; Fall of Adam and Eve. 53 minutes, color, 1977.
  Tape 2. Expulsion of Adam and Eve; Cain’s Murder of Abel; Building of the Ark. 46 minutes, color, 1977.
  Tape 3. Noah and the Flood; Abraham and Isaac; 42 minutes, color, 1977.
  Tape 4. The Exodus; The Annunciation

MUSIC
• Music from the time of Richard III: “Richard III” from album “Four Symphonic Poems, by Smetana; audio tape
• Middleham Requiem: Complete score and taped performance (audio) of the musical tribute to Richard by Geoffrey Davidson. 85 minutes.

LECTURES:
• Discovering the Middle Ages; lecture series in three tapes from The Teaching Company. The High Middle Ages; lecture series in two parts: Part 1, three tapes. Part 2, three tapes from the Teaching Company.

MISCELLANEOUS VIDEOS
• Blood Red Roses—the Battle of Towton: recent British video, date unknown, 45 minutes
• Story of English: two episodes from the TV series: Muse of Fire and Guid Scots Tongue
• Ricardian Potpourri: a composite of various items from British Television including a production from Middleham by Yorkshire Television
If I hadn’t read about it on the listserv, I’d never have known that Richard’s son, Edward of Middleham, was invested as Prince of Wales in the chapel of the Archbishop’s palace instead of in the Minster. Pam [Butler] and I went to find the building, now the Minster Library, across the park from the Minster. We looked first for the plaque commemorating the event, but did not see it anywhere on the outside of the building, about half of which was covered with scaffolding. When we went inside, we identified ourselves as members of the American Branch of the Richard III Society and told the young receptionist why we had come. She knew nothing about the investiture, nor had she ever seen the plaque. However, she said, "However, we have a special exhibit which you might like to see," she said and dialed a number on her phone. I wasn’t terribly keen on manuscripts at that moment; I was in touring—a—building mode. But she seemed anxious for us not to go away disappointed, and Pam seemed quite happy with the idea of medieval manuscripts. An older librarian — or perhaps she was an archivist — came through the foyer, and I think I remember her carrying a large ring of keys. She led us up a long, impressive stairway into a large room with bookcases around its walls and a very large, arched window in one end. The special exhibit was arranged in glass cases covered with velvet and only lighted for actual viewing. I was so awed to be shown such amazing books that I forgot to ask if I might take photographs of the room itself and especially the window. A second librarian/archivist came — summoned by the first one or perhaps by chance — and made quite a few suggestions about doing research once we had our topic defined. We listened carefully and I took notes, though neither of us had any thought of returning to do research in the Minster Library — but then who knows what the future may hold! So I have kept all the notes. Before we were finished looking at the manuscripts in the glass cases, a third librarian/archivist came with several books in her arms. They were published in the eighteenth century, but their pages were as smooth and their ink as clear as if they had come off the presses yesterday. They were simply beautiful.

And so, even though we never saw the plaque or talked with anyone who understood that the building has significance for Ricardians, we left feeling very privileged, and treated as honored guests instead of a couple of tourists who wandered in off the street. For that is how I felt, like a tourist who came for the wrong reasons and discovered a roomful of treasures by accident. It was a sticky, very warm day, too, and I was wearing my tourist clothes in a place that had once been part of a palace, into a room that once was a sanctified place, the chapel of an archbishop, where the son of a king was invested with his proper title, a young boy who did not have long to live. I only hope the three librarians understood how much we both appreciated their time and their kindness.

Elizabeth York Enstam
The Last Plantagenet King

In the Footsteps of Richard III
June 23 – July 3, 2007

REGISTRATION FORM

NAME: ____________________________________________________________

STREET: _______________________________________________________

CITY, STATE, ZIP: ______________________________________________ PHONE: __________________________

E-MAIL ADDRESS: ______________________________________________

DATE OF BIRTH: ___________________ ALLERGIES OR MEDICAL PROBLEMS: ______________________

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(Please note that this information is helpful to tour escort and is confidential.)

I will be sharing a room with: ________________________________________

I am traveling alone but would like to share a room if possible. _____ Yes _____ No

Smoking ____ Non-smoking ____ I would like a single room ($350.00 supplement). _____ Yes

* If, due to your physical condition, you require a shower rather than a bath, please check here. _____ (We will do our best to accommodate your needs.)

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tour arrangements you require at a very competitive price.

Please arrange my airfare, departing from and returning to:

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Departure: June 23, 2007. Return: July 4, 2007. If you prefer an earlier departure or a later return, please complete:

Departing: _______________________________ Returning: _______________________________

I will require post-tour London accommodation. _____ Yes Number of nights: __________________________

I would like information about additional travel arrangements while in England. _____ Yes

Name, address and phone number of family contact in the U.S.: ________________________________

____________________________________________________________________

I/we have read and agree to the responsibility clause and to the booking conditions as stated. Please find
$300.00 deposit per person enclosed.

SIGNATURE(S): ______________________________________ DATE: _______________________

____________________________________________________________________

Please mail registration form and deposit payment by check or money order to:

Linda Treybig
11813 Erwin Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio 44135
Phone: (216) 889-9392; E-mail: treybig@worldnetoh.com
Dear Carole,

Geoffrey Wheeler kindly sent me a copy of his article on Abbey’s picture of Gloucester and Anne, printed in the “Ricardian Register” vol.xxx No. 4 (Winter 2005), as he knows I am interested in the Victorian theatre. I read it with great enjoyment, and wonder if you would allow me to make the following comments on the connection between Abbey and Sir Henry Irving, the restorer of Shakespeare’s Richard III to the stage in place of Cibbers’ and the greatest Victorian exponent of the role.

Abbey and Irving were both members of an Anglo-American dining club, the Kinsmen, to which Bret Harte and the artist J S Sargent also belonged. The US ambassador in London was the ex-officio president. Abbey was invited, too, to several of the grand receptions with which Irving marked first nights at the Lyceum Theatre, for example Macbeth in December 1888. It is not surprising, therefore - quite apart from its success at the Royal Academy - that Irving should make use of Abbey’s depiction of this scene in his production of December 1896.

On page 7 of the article we read that Abbey was asked by Irving to design sets and costumes for Shakespeare’s Richard II, but in fact this new production never came to fruition because of Irving’s illness: he contracted pleurisy in October of 1898 and remained very ill for some months, not fully recovering until the spring of 1899. Although he had spent over £1600 on scenery alone, and commissioned a musical score from Sir Alexander Mackenzie, he had to abandon the project and never played the role.

The illustration fig. 3 on page 5 shows an engraving from the “Henry Irving Shakespeare” but the date given (1896) is incorrect, as is the date of 1890 given on page 4. Volume IV was published in 1888, and the last in the eight-volume series appeared two years later. (Reference: Austin Breretons’ Life of Irving, 1908, vol. 2 p. 131.)

Angela Moreton
Yorkshire Branch,
Richard III Society

Dear Ricardians,

You will be aware that Leicestershire County Council — funded by the Heritage Lottery Fund — is undertaking a major study to locate the exact site and scenario of the battle of Bosworth, 1485. The academic consensus is now that the battle took place on the Redemore, just to the north of Dadlington village, Peter Foss’s The Field of Redemore being generally acknowledged as the best available analysis.

If you are interested in visiting St. James’ Church, Dadlington, we would be happy to welcome you. It was the chief place of interment for combatants of the battle, receiving a license in August 1511 from King Henry VIII ‘for and towards the bielding of a chapel! of saint James standing upon a parcell of the grounde where Bosworth feld otherwise called Dadlyngton feld in our countie of Leicester was done’.

We are able [to] stage a display for you in the church and can offer teas or light lunches in the very pleasant and modernised village hall adjacent to the church. If the numbers are sufficient it may even be possible to arrange a talk about the battle for you. Do come and spend a pleasant hour or two with us.

Yours sincerely,

Revd. Sue Wicks

Revd. Sue Wicks, Rector, The Rectory, High Street, Stoke Golding, Nuneaton, Warwickshire, CV13 6HE
Telephone: 01455 212317
Email: sueterry.wicks@virgin.net
I am really not sure what is going on.
(The headings come from actual doctors reports. Some of them I have heard with my very own earphones!)

She is to stay home so she won’t infect the office and Tylenol.

This is the 18-year-old daughter of Dr. ______ who is a freshman in college.


This is the third Matthew Bartholomew mystery. Bartholomew is a teaching and practicing physician with strangely modern theories. His teaching position is in Michaelhouse College, Cambridge, and the background is authentic. The new university is struggling in competition with the larger, older, and more prestigious Oxford. The constant strife between the townspeople and the college students is an historical fact. The description of medieval thinking and filthy living conditions are accurate; so are the descriptions of the suffering of the plague victims. Ironically, the action is occasionally watched by a fat rat.

The plot opens with the suicide of Sir John Babington, Master of Michaelhouse College. Bartholomew suspects murder but has no evidence. The new master is worldly, arrogant, and held in contempt by the scholars. More murders follow. A body disappears. The Bishop goes along with a cover-up. Bartholomew is told of a plot by Oxford supporters to weaken Cambridge so that scholars will choose to teach and scholars will attend the larger university. He is skeptical. He learns by spying that his brother-in-law is involved in a plot with the hostels, organizations where some teaching takes place but which are not colleges. He is waylaid in the dark after answering a call from a tinker for medical care. But the call is in the form of a note and the tinker can’t write, and is in fact dead from the plague. Bartholomew is rescued by his brother-in-law on that occasion. He becomes a social outcast because, as medieval logic has it, he must carry the plague since he treats its victims. At the back of his mind is the disappearance of his roommate and the roommate’s sister.

There are three plots interwoven in the story. One is the creation of the actual plotters, whose motive is that ever-present human weakness – greed. Bartholomew’s life is threatened again. He subdues his attackers with help. The roommate and his sister reappear. The fire in Michaelhouse Hall is put out. The villains are punished and all is well at last.

The large cast of characters is a bit difficult to sort out, and the plot is very complex. The action is overly drawn-out. For instance, it takes Bartholomew three pages to climb a vine. A faster pace and some cutting and editing would have made a more pleasant adventure for the reader.

— Dale Summers, TX.

He had no problems until he started attending the First Baptist Church, when he began having sneezing, sore throats, and nasal congestion. I think he is allergic to God.


Processional crosses are so frequently depicted in Books of Hours and other medieval manuscripts that they often fade into the background. Here, Colum Hourihane, Director of the Index of Christian Art at Princeton University, takes a comprehensive look at these neglected pieces of devotional art.

Hourihane considers the origins of processional crosses, the role of processions in the Church, other liturgical uses of the cross, types of English processional crosses, and concludes with a catalog of surviving processional crosses of late medieval England. For the Ricardian reader, the most intriguing of the crosses is the “Bosworth Cross,” a processional cross found in Bosworth that dates before 1485. The cross is reproduced both front and back in black and white plates and is also pictured in color on the front and back covers of the book jacket. Another item to note is the Yorkist “Sun in Splendor” motif found on the roundels of many of the 15th century crosses.

Fans of Books of Hours will appreciate the discussion and reproductions of crosses as illustrated in medieval manuscripts. The most beautiful aspect of the book, however, are the plates of the processional crosses themselves. Medieval illustrations don’t prepare you for the
workmanship and variety of these “dallye crosses,” even if by 15th century standards they were mass-produced items. Hourihane does a wonderful job of re-creating the world of liturgical processions and devotional crosses, and, in doing so, offers a unique window into the daily life of a 15th century Englishman or woman.

— Erika Milk

I am going to get an MRI to make sure there is nothing in his brain.

She suffers from hyponasality, a disorder of Renaissance.

Great Tales From English History: Joan of Arc, the Princes in the Tower, Bloody Mary, Oliver Cromwell, Sir Isaac Newton, and More, - Robert Lacey, Little, Brown and Co., NY, 2004

In his introduction, Robert Lacey raises false hopes. He says he has “tried to test the accuracy of each tale against the latest research and historical thinking.” This sounds good. Unfortunately, he has failed to do this in some of his chapters about the 15th century.

Lacey’s annotated bibliography also looks good at first. Lacey recommends the University of Virginia’s online library at www.lib.virginia.edu as a source for the Paston Letters. But other citations raise doubts about his critical judgment. Even if Desmond Seward’s The Wars Of The Roses was the latest book published while Lacey was writing his book, it’s doubtful standard for testing the accuracy of old stories about the Yorkist-Lancastrian conflict.

Even more doubtful is Lacey’s annotation of David Starkey’s article, “Henry VI’s Old Blue Gown.” Lacey writes: “David Starkey’s rereading of the ‘Royal Book’ of court etiquette has cast a new light on the supposed shabbiness of Henry VI.” But Leary ends his chapter “House of Lancaster: The Two Reigns of Henry VI,” with a description that echoes the title of Starkey’s article. Stated simply, Lacey’s statement about Richard’s bones or left this tale untested. This suggests that the archetypal story of innocents murdered by their wicked guardian has clouded Lacey’s critical judgment. Perhaps when Lacey was writing this book, there was no research available concerning the tale that his bones were dumped in the river Soar. If so, he should have moderated his statement about Richard’s bones or left this tale out. This suggests that the archetypal story of innocents murdered by their wicked guardian has clouded Lacey’s critical judgment, and the temptation to leave his readers with that story uppermost in their minds overpowered his intention to give his readers the latest research and historical thinking about old stories.

In the conclusion to his chapter “The Battle of Bosworth Field,” Lacey again fails to “test the accuracy of each tale against the latest research and historical thinking.” He writes, “To this day, the bones that are said to have belonged to the little Princes in the Tower rest in honour in Westminster Abbey. But sometime in the 1530s the bones of Richard III were thrown into a river in Leicestershire.” Although he acknowledges the uncertain identity of the bones in the Westminster abbey urn, Lacey doesn’t compare the tale about the fate of Richard’s bones to any up-to-date research. Perhaps when Lacey was writing this book, there was no research available concerning the tale that his bones were dumped in the river Soar. If so, he should have moderated his statement about Richard’s bones or left this tale out. This suggests that the archetypal story of innocents murdered by their wicked guardian has clouded Lacey’s critical judgment, and the temptation to leave his readers with that story uppermost in their minds overpowered his intention to give his readers the latest research and historical thinking about old stories.

The website dedicated to his bitterest enemy, contains the most comprehensive and the latest material on Henry VII. The popular image of ‘Crookback Dick’ is quite certainly a defamation – one of history’s most successful hatchet jobs – and it is not surprising that over the centuries have come to Richard’s defense…In a testament to the English sense of fair play, the Ricardians, as they call themselves, campaign tirelessly to rescue their hero’s reputation, and central to their argument is the absence of evidence linking Richard III directly to the disappearance of his nephews.

But Lacey’s chapter ending suggests that he failed to make full use of the sources available on www.r3.org. He asserts that “Richard might wriggle off the hook of modern TV justice, but he was found guilty in the court of his own time, and he was soon made to pay the full penalty.” Yet early in the chapter “1486–99: Double Trouble,” Lacey contradicts this unsupported assertion. His description of Henry VII’s reactions to rumors that the princes were still alive shows that neither the court of Richard’s own times nor Henry VII had found Richard guilty of murdering his nephews.

In the chapter “Whodunit? The Princes in the Tower”, Lacey reflects some effort to test the accuracy of old stories about Richard III against the latest historical research and thinking. Lacey writes: “Like many of history’s chestnuts, the facts behind what
came to be known as Morton’s Fork are not quite as neat as the story.” It’s regrettable that he doesn’t apply this concept consistently throughout his chapters about the 15th century. Readers who know less about the 14th, 16th, and 17th centuries than the 15th are justified in asking how many of Lacey’s chapters about those centuries also fail “to test the accuracy of each tale against the latest research and historical thinking.” If the whole book is as unsuccessful in this regard as those 15th century chapters, readers won’t get what Lacey leads them to expect.

At first, this looks like a book that could encourage students and general readers to explore a rich variety of history websites, books and articles. Perhaps it can, but readers who stop with this book might be left with a distorted impression of “the latest research and historical thinking.” Even though he speaks well of the Richard III Society and its website, this probably isn’t the book to give family and friends if you want to awaken their interest in historical research into old stories and unsolved mysteries.

— Marion Davis.

**In High Places** – Harry Turtledove, Tor, NY, 2006

This is one of a series of alternate-world novels for young people. Others have landed their teen-aged protagonists in a post-Augustan Roman Empire, with guns (*Gunpowder Empire*, Tor, 2003), and a German-ruled San Francisco (*Curious Notions*, Tor 2004) in still another world-line.

The story’s heroine is Khalija, daughter of a family of Moorish traders, only she is really Annette Klein, a nice Jewish girl from California. The “trader” part is accurate, though. She and her family are agents of Crosstime Traffic, trading slightly outdated technology for raw materials in less-, or shall we say, differently-developed worlds. This particular one is one in which the plague was more virulent than in our world, and the Middle Ages (of course, they don’t call them that) are still a going concern.

The Kleins are going home soon, and Annette is not sorry to be getting away from the pong. On the other hand, there is Jacques, who looks as if he might clean up nicely, and who has an enquiring mind—a maybe too enquiring. Matters are taken out of Annette’s hands when she and Jacques are captured by bandits and sold, along with many others, into slavery. Annette, of course, is opposed to slavery on principle. The subjects of the Kingdom of Versailles take it for granted, but they are definitely opposed to being slaves. But what can they do about it?

Soon Annette, and Jacques as well, begin to notice some things that don’t quite add up, although they may notice different things. Why are the slaves, who are not owned by an individual, more a corporation, engaged in building roads that nobody apparently travels on? And why are the slaves wearing Wal-Mart specials?

After a goodly ration of adventure, Annette is reunited with her family back in the home time-line. There remains the problem of what to do about Jacques—a not unpleasant problem.

— m.s.

**This is a 14-month-old patient, brought in by the mother. He states that he is snoring at night. His mother states he is making sounds, but does not require any intelligible speech.**

**The Leper’s Bell** – Peter Tremayne, St. Martins Minotaur, NY, 2004

Fidelma and Aedulf’s baby son has been kidnaped, his nurse murdered. After a natural period of shock, Fidelma decides that turning her logical skills to tracing the child and his abductors will keep her sane. Maybe she is feeling a little guilty, too, for never having bonded with her son. She believes that certain enemies of her brother, the High King, are behind the crime, and that little Alchui’s life will not be in danger, since he is their prime bargaining counter. But investigation seems to prove their assertion of innocence to be true. Then who….?

Fidelma and Aedulf work together for part of the investigation, and solo for the other, more exciting part. Tremayne may not be a great stylist—he tends to repeat certain phrases a little too often—but he tells a rousing good story. Besides the conflict in the main plot (in which the reader will discern parallels with current events) there is the conflict between Fidelma and Aedulf. Their year of trial marriage is nearly up. They must either make it permanent or go their separate ways. In Aedulf’s case, that might be back to the country of the Saxons, because he has never felt welcomed in Ireland. Which will it be?

As an added attraction, there are interesting descriptions, e.g. of country fairs and entertainments. Fidelma’s fans will surely enjoy this, as well as anyone who likes good old-fashioned detecting and derring-do.

— m.s.

(The May issue of *Ellery Queen’s Mystery Magazine* contains a Sister Fidelma short story, *Sanctuary*, set during her student years. A sidebar mentions a new story collection by Tremayne: *Eising Evil And Others: Fourteen Historical Mysteries*. No indication whether they are all Fidelma stories or not.)
She had a random bullet wound to her head at age 18 as part of a New Year’s celebration, but has not had any problems since then.

The character of Fidelma is based on a real person, but also on the cool, logical, unmotional Sherlock Holmes, employing the time-honored ploy of putting a Holmesian character in a milieu or persona far removed from Victoria’s London. That is my excuse for reviewing Holmes On The Range (Steve Hockensmith, St Martins Minotaur, NY, 2006). This is set in contemporary times – contemporary to Holmes, who, as in all good pseudo-Sherlock stories, is a real person here. It is far removed in place, being set in frontier Montana. Gustav Amlingmeyer (“Old Red”) begins to model himself on the great consulting detective after hearing “The Red-Headed League,” with which he identifies for obvious reasons. When a rather gory accident and what is meant to seem like a suicide turn up right under his nose, Old Red can’t resist the temptation to emulate his hero. He has his own Watson, his brother Otto (“Big Red”).

He needs an amanuensis, because Gustav can neither read nor write. That doesn’t mean he is stupid – far from it – and he is certainly a skilled observer. Otto’s account is rather saltier than those penned by the good Doctor - he is, after all a cowboy, surrounded by other waddies – but there’s nothing too lurid here. Nothing Ricardian, either, although the cowboy detectives come up against the English nobility, and come off rather better. A good hammock read for Western fans, as well as aficionados of the classic detective story.

Some comments on To The Tower Born (Robin Maxwell, William Morton, NY, 2005), reviewed here recently. One may forgive much of a book if it hangs together logically on its own terms. For instance, the year is 1502. so while Nell may forgive much of a book if it hangs together logically on its own terms, terms – contemporary to Holmes, who, as in all good pseudo-Sherlock stories, is a real person here. It is far removed in place, being set in frontier Montana. Gustav Amlingmeyer (“Old Red”) begins to model himself on the great consulting detective after hearing “The Red-Headed League,” with which he identifies for obvious reasons. When a rather gory accident and what is meant to seem like a suicide turn up right under his nose, Old Red can’t resist the temptation to emulate his hero. He has his own Watson, his brother Otto (“Big Red”). He needs an amanuensis, because Gustav can neither read nor write. That doesn’t mean he is stupid – far from it – and he is certainly a skilled observer. Otto’s account is rather saltier than those penned by the good Doctor - he is, after all a cowboy, surrounded by other waddies – but there’s nothing too lurid here. Nothing Ricardian, either, although the cowboy detectives come up against the English nobility, and come off rather better. A good hammock read for Western fans, as well as aficionados of the classic detective story.

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This segues into the next book to be reviewed….

She is to contact facility should persistence persist.


Katherine of Aragon is the Constant Princess of the title, or, as her not-too-loving grandmother-in-law calls her, the Constant Plague. At times, the reader might agree with Margaret Beaufort. “Constant” can have a double meaning: both “faithful” and “eternal,” and both fit. This is mainly Katherine’s love story. After a rather rocky start, she comes to love Arthur deeply, and he her. Arthur does seem rather mature for 15, both physically and emotionally. He is blindingly detached about his family. (Of his uncle, he says only that they “went into the tower and never came out . . . no one knows what happened to them.”) Katherine’s family story is also told mostly in the form of pillow-talk between the young couple.

Ill and dying, Arthur makes Katherine promise to marry his younger brother and raise a dynasty that will bring about the Utopia they have dreamed of. In order to do this, she will have to lie through her teeth and claim to be a virgin. One may doubt that the intensely religious Katherine would imperil her soul by doing that, although given that her faith was much like her mother Isabella’s, a calm belief that God’s will coincided with her own, she might have. But would Arthur, resenting and mistrusting his brother, have suggested it? Katherine does come to love Henry too, but she is not blind to his shortcomings, and prides herself on being able to manipulate him – at first.

In her Author’s Note, Ms Gregory says: “This has been one of the most fascinating and most moving novels to write.” It can be fascinating and moving to read, also, but does call for a suspension of disbelief in one regard, at least.

She denies any family problems.

Her sister had a sister with thyroid.


That subtitle also covers armchair travelers, for the authors not only provide a guide to sites associated with each monarch, but also include websites. You can visit William the Conqueror’s chateau of Falaise on line before actually going there in person, for instance. This volume covers sovereigns from William to Victoria. The histories appear to be mostly the work of Ms. Spalto, with the travelogues contributed by Ms. Bridge, and both of them responsible for the genealogies, but I’m not sure of this, and will be happy to stand corrected.

Besides the kings and queens, they have included biographies of others of dynastic importance, such as the Old and Young Stuart Pretenders, Margaret Beaufort, Catherine of Valois, etc. Chapters on Elizabeth of Bohemia, George III’s thundering herd of offspring, and the Woodvilles (another such) had to be excised for lack of space.

Though this makes no pretensions to being a “scholarly” history, the historian of the pair (or both of them),
strives for a fair and balanced view of the subjects (if a ruler may be so called). This is exemplified by the section on Richard III. After considering the evidence pro and con, and the contrasting arguments by A.J. Pollard and Bertram Fields (due credit is given to all sources, here as elsewhere) the conclusion reached is: “Maybe he did it, maybe he didn’t.” Maybe that is a little too balanced for some Ricardians! However, the tone is mostly positive.

This balanced viewpoint is maintained throughout. Boiling everything down to less than 300 oversized pages, plus a copious bibliography and an index, means that there is not overmuch scope for embellishment or trivia, but the occasional fascinating tidbit works its way in here and there, such as Samuel Pepys smooching Catherine of Valois. (For the graphic details, read the book!) The writing is clear, concise, and not at all positive.

I am not qualified to critique gemological charts, although these seem straightforward. In my opinion, this is one of the best one-volume histories of England yet published, and an excellent, if not lightweight, guidebook, plus a companion to the World Wide Web. What more can you ask?

— m.s.

Website: www.iuniverse.com

Apparently he had his ear manipulated by a policeman.

The Foxes Of Warwick – Edward Marston, St. Martin’s Minotaur, NY, 2002

Gervase Brett and Ralph Delechard are royal commissioners for William of Normandy, William the Conqueror, (aka William the Bastard- m.s.) who is ignorant of much of his new kingdom, hence the Domesday commissions.

The commissioners arrive in Warwick, “a goodly town,” with a castle whose constable, Henry Beaumont, is to be their host. Their task is to judge three claims to the same piece of land. Thorkell, an elderly Saxon, has maintained his land – so far. The Bishop of Lichfield has a document which he believes gives him the land. The third claimant is Adam Reynart a minor Norman noble and a thoroughly unpleasant man.

A third commissioner has been added to their number, Phillip Trouville, a Norman Count whose ambition is to be the Sheriff of Nothamptonshire. They arrive in Warwick to find that a murder has been committed. Thorkell’s reeve, a distant kinsman and enemy of Adam Reynart, has been found crushed to death in the forest of Arden. Since the reeve could have given valuable testimony in the matter the commissioners were to decide, Ralph and Gervase take an interest in the case. They (and the reader) are immediately convinced that Boio, the accused blacksmith, is innocent. A second murder could not have been the work of the gentle blacksmith. He also has an alibi, if the wandering healer can be found.

But Lord Henry brushes aside all evidence that would exonerate Boio. Furious after the blacksmith escapes, Beaumont scours the countryside for the missing blacksmith, his fury increasing with every mile. He is encouraged in his anger by Phillipe, who urges the destruction of the abbey where Boio has sought sanctuary, and where the Bishop of Lichfield is currently residing. Ralph and his men arrive in time to catch the killer of the second victim, and Boio is saved by Thorkell.

This is light and fun reading, with a red herring in the form of a bear. The twist at the end is quite satisfying. The decision over the property is justified, at least to someone who is still outraged that the Nasty Normans dared to disregard Saxon law, kill the last English King, and cause so much suffering to the Saxons.

— Dale Summers

I reviewed with his father my recommendation that he does not become a weightlifter, scuba diving, or other high-risk activities as he goes up.

You can’t teach a dog old tricks.


What is a nice Scandinavian girl like Ellen Ekström doing writing about an Italian condottore? Easy: she is simply fascinated by him. And a fascinating character he is, literally larger than life. I had just finished reading a book about dogs (The Good, The Bad, And The Furry, Sam Stall, Quirk Books, Philadelphia, 2005) and couldn’t help comparing Francesco di Romena to some of the ‘characters’ in that: the Great Dane for size, the Italian Greyhound for nationality and impulsiveness, the Pit Bull for tenacity, and the Jack Russell Terrier for general hyperactivity and aggressiveness. In his pursuit of what is “rightfully his,” his legacy, he rushes from one adventure, one fight, to another, slowing down only for love-making.

Another, all-too-obvious, comparison is with the Sopranos. Believe me, the Guidi family makes the Sopranos look like Ozzie and Harriet. It’s a wonder Cecco turns out as well as he does. Ekström doesn’t try to romanticize her hero into a sensitive 21st century type in tights – she can’t help romanticizing him to some degree just because he is a hunk. The 14th century is pictured in earthen colors, i.e. dirt, warts, and all.

A major character in the book is named Edmund
Clifford, an Englishman who heads the mercenary Company of the Rose. It's a good century before the Wars of the Roses were even thought of, much less named that, however.

This is more of a “guy’s book” than “chick lit,” but should appeal to anyone who is in the mood for a novel of adventure – and plenty of it.

— m.s.

Websites:
www.triviumpublishing.com,
www.quirkbooks.com

I have passed an endoscope.
He is a plumper’s help. (stet)

Finally, by way of light relief, here is Thunder, Flush And Thomas Crapper: An encyclopedia, (stet, please) by Adam Hart-Davis, Michael O’Mara Books Ltd., London, 1997 – yes, just what the title suggests, with examples from Ancient Rome to Outer Space, and copious illustrations.

— m.s.

Patient complains of doing well.
She denies any problems or complaints.
She is breathing and doing fine.

May you continue to complain of doing well, and above all, keep on breathing!

**GIVE A MEMBERSHIP**

For the person who has everything — especially if “everything” includes a lively interest in history, give a friend, associate, or loved one a membership in the Richard III Society this holiday season. We include a special card announcing that you have given the membership.

Be sure to include the recipient’s name and address, your name and address, and instructions as to whether this is to be a Christmas gift or whatever. You can also include a short personal greeting, which we will faithfully inscribe on the gift card included with the membership packet.

Send it all, together with a check for the annual dues ($30-individual or $35-family, add $5 if the recipient lives outside the U.S.).

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- **Medieval Warfare 1050-1450: ** The English Experience with Dr Rowena Archer
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- **Reign of Henry IV** with Dr Rosemary Horrox
- **Shops and Shopping in Medieval England** with Leigh Alston.

For further information, please contact Institute of Continuing Education, University of Cambridge, Madingley Hall, Madingley, Cambridge, CB23 8AQ, Tele: (01954) 280399, Website: cont-ed.cam.ac.uk

**SHIPS**

![Ship diagram]

**SCOTLAND**
**MACKEREL**
**KINGSHIPS**
**CALEDONIA**
**SOUTH**
**CALINA**
**WEATHER**
**SAND**
**MILL**
**CALEDONIA**
**NORTH**
**WIND**
**SAND**
**LITTA**
**CLINN**
**MATTERS**
**SAND**
**KINGSTON**
**SOUTH**
**OLAND**
**MACKEREL**
**KINGSHIPS**
Generous Ricardians

Middleham Level Members

Nancy Donovan
Erika Millen
Loretta Park

Fotheringhay Level Members

Matthew J. Catania
Karen Rhodes
Clarke Dale
Lutz D'Angelo
Janis M. Eltz
Bridget Fieber
Dr. Emma Goodman
William M. Greene
Diane Hoffman
Edith Hopkins
Wayne Ingalls
Dr. Kenneth G. Madison
Juanita Miller
William Narey
Beth Egan O'Keefe
Ruth S. Perot
Elizabeth A. Root
Kathryn Ruiz
Rhonda L. Tirone
Gwen Toma

Other Generous Ricardians

Becky Aderman
Wendy Burch
Marcia Mary Cook
Susan Ebershoff-Coles
Thomas Edsall
Cheryl Elliot
Richard Foster
Beth Greenfeld
Marjorie Kane
David Charles Klein
Alison Lowery
Kirsten E. Moorhead
Dr. Michael Myers
Diane Preston
CSW Schorr
Dr. Ruth Silberstein

Kimberly Barnes
Nancy Benefiel
Soren Bergeson
Christine Caccipuoti
Karen Rhodes Clarke
Lori M. Colling
Leslie Fiore
E. Tomlinson Fort
Anne Frankel
Jeannette Grimshaw
Erin Hastings
Alice Hendershot
Terry Hiebert
Angela Hill
David, Lonnie, and Aaron Kaufman
Teresa Kohl
Donna Lagone
Robert P. Lombardi
Alison Lowery
James Joseph Maksel
Andrea Maupin
Joann Milani
Sasha Miller
Dr. Michael Myers
William Narey
Diane Preston
Teri Reis-Schmidt
Starla Kay Roels
Alison Walsh Sackett
CSW Schorr
Sarah Sickels
Sonia Tower
Susan Vaughn
Sarah Walsh
Kristine Williams
Helena Wright
Anyone who knows the joys of a good watermelon knows that sometimes it’s worth the wait. Diving into a ripe melon with shovel spoon in one hand and salt shaker in the other, one can easily forget the months of waiting for the season.

So it is with *The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England, 1275-1504* (PROME). This CD-ROM of the Rolls of Parliament is a deep-red, mouth-watering fruit with just a few seeds.

PROME is a new publication of the Rolls of Parliament (or *Rotuli Parliamentorum* as it’s most often seen.) The new work is available in print, CD-ROM, and a subscription-based online version. To quote the editors, “This new edition reproduces the rolls edited in *RP* in their entirety, plus those subsequently published by Cole, Maitland, and Richardson and Sayles as well as a substantial amount of material never previously published, together with a full translation of all the texts from the three languages used by the medieval clerks (Latin, Anglo-Norman and Middle English).”

Dr. Chris Given-Wilson served as general editor. PROME was “published by Scholarly Digital Editions in association with The National Archives, The History of Parliament Trust and Cambridge University Press” according to the SDE web site. It is available – perhaps – from Boydell & Brewer Ltd. or from Scholarly Digital Editions; bibliographic and order information is at the end of this article.

Boydell provided the first seed. Its web site has listed PROME since at least January 2006; after ordering a copy, I sent an email to Boydell in late January advising that while I had received a letter noting that the CD wasn’t yet available, it was still listed online as being available. The site – checked 5/27/06 – seems to have updated information now. No word on current delivery time.

After five months, one email, one phone call, and about $85 later, the CD arrived. It was worth the wait.

**CD and program.**

The contents of the CD can be viewed in a standard web browser and are powered by Anastasia and Apache software which is included. (Anyone who wants the technical details on Anastasia should be able to check at [www.sd-editions.com/AnaServer?teidoc+5937+simple.anv](http://www.sd-editions.com/AnaServer?teidoc+5937+simple.anv); SDE reports web site problems at the time of writing, so I am unable to offer details.) Most will be more interested to know that the contents of PROME and its “engine” can be copied to the computer’s hard drive. It isn’t necessary to run PROME with CD in the CD drive although you can since the license provides for either method. Novice computer users may have to hunt for the icon to start the program; copying to the hard drive doesn’t automatically produce an icon on the computer desktop.

The SDE website offers that “You need a recent internet browser; all other software is provided on the CD-ROM. A PC 486 or later with Windows 95 or later, with 128MB of RAM and CD-ROM drive/or a Macintosh running OSX with 128 MB of RAM is recommended.” So, Mac users will be able to use the program as will Windows users.

**The Interface**

SDE has provided a functional interface with some thoughtful features. Interface designers could, however, take a course or two in combining function with aesthetics. The design is vintage 1990s with standard beige backgrounds; the buttons, search boxes, and help pads are usable if ugly. There isn’t the Mac-like attention to an inviting interface, but this isn’t a Mac production. The controls work and are easy to understand and use.

The publishers have thrown in a couple of cool features. Footnotes are hyper-linked and open in a separate window. This means that if you want to check out a note, you are not transported away from what you’re viewing; a separate window pops up allowing you to view the note and then close it. Cool. They’ve also provided a moveable “mini-map” and a magnification feature for viewing images. This allows you to easily hone in on an image section and then increase magnification on that section. Other controls allow you to easily scroll up, down, and sideways through the image without much effort. Nice job.

The interface allows for viewing “the original” document in a window side-by-side with the text of the new edition. This is very convenient for those who can interpret Latin or Anglo-Norman. If you prefer, you can “close” the original’s window by adjusting the width of that window – standard Windows procedure there. One seedlet – as you scroll through the new version’s text, the original’s text window does not automatically track to match. So as you read through the translation window, you must use the slide bar in the “original” window to...
match the text seen in the “translation” window. For those truly interested in translation, a feature to automatically scroll the opposing window would be a helpful. Perhaps next season?

You can choose how to view the contents. The “membrane view” matches the pagination of the original rolls. “Page view” matches that of the Strachey edition; if you happen to know the volume and page number of text in the Strachey, you can use a “go to” feature that jumps to that volume and page. (Remember that the Strachey edition is the 6 volume set of the rolls produced between 1767-83 and which PROME will probably replace.) Careful with the “Show all” feature; it loads the contents of the entire specific Parliament in a window prepped for printing. Doing this with a busy Parliament session can produce a considerable wait.

The Contents

The meat of the melon is divided into easily accessed sections. Contents are categorized by monarch; pull-down menus list each ruler from 1272 to 1509. Images are also categorized by monarch. A general introduction covers translation and production notes and offers much background on the documents. Specific introductions cover each of the parliaments and are written by specialists; the introduction to Richard’s parliament and editorship of the contents for his parliament were handled by Dr. Rosemary Horrox.

The introductions provide much, but are not aimed at a general audience. SDE’s web site describes them as “new scholarly introductions.” Horrox’s introduction to the 1484 parliament is meaty and requires the reader to pay attention. For example, Horrox offers insights into political posturing and jurisdiction with Richard’s acceptance of the petition for him to assume the throne: “As presented here, Richard is entirely passive: his only input to receive the bill and send it to the commons for approval. The lords then gave their assent, and the king, with that assent, declared the contents of the bill (and hence of the roll) to be true.” And later, “If Richard was indeed deliberately distancing himself from the statement of his claim to the throne, part of the explanation may be that parliament had no right to judge the central plank of his title…” With this, she touches on whether those gathered to petition Richard constituted a parliament and Richard’s own role in the petition. Not issues with which the casual historian would probably be familiar.

The introduction is interesting, helpful, and insightful without obvious anti-Ricardian bias. A Loraine Pickering would be able to easily analyze and evaluate; I, however, had to pay attention, reread, and, given the detail, accept without much analysis.

Judging The Melon

Let’s dispose of another seedlet quickly. In a section helpfully provided on how to cite contents, the publishers repeatedly offer “Citing from a parliament from the CD-ROM version: W. M. Ormrod (ed.), Edward II: Parliament of 1421, Text and Translation” [emphasis mine.] Really? Edward II in 1421?

Strange little seed, but probably not worth too much attention since it’s found in an example of citing and most likely a typo produced “1421” instead of “1321.” It does raise, however, a little curiosity about what else may have slipped the editing process.

More interesting is the topic of translation and choices made in modernizing language. The introduction indicates “The original spelling, however eccentric, has nevertheless been retained in all cases” and the editors note that they have corrected scribal errors. The PROME edition also expands contractions and “normalised” punctuation and capitalization. Further – and most interesting – the editors have modernized some of the language; the introduction indicates that

Everything that appears on the original rolls – whether in Latin, Anglo-Norman or Middle English – has been translated into modern English. Place-names have been modernized, and modern dates are inserted into the translation in square brackets, but otherwise editorial intervention has been kept to a minimum.”

Producing a new edition of a work is somewhat akin to cutting a melon for a group of people; someone is going to be unhappy no matter how it’s sliced. Since I have little exposure to the problems inherent in translation, I am left exploring this primarily by asking questions.

For example, have we lost a sense of time and place with the replacement of “Worship” with “honour”? (See the first line in the table below.) Replacing the “f” with an “s” may well correct the habit of using “f”s instead of “s”s and therefore may be easier to read. But don’t we lose something by replacing “worship” with “honour”? Remember that here we are not translating from Latin or Aramaic where phrases translated literally might be meaningless. This example is a modernization of an English term and in my view, one that distances me from the writer’s time and place.

In looking at text and word choices, we’re using three versions: the first is the “Strachey” – the 1767-83 edition of Rotuli Parliamentorum (of which I’ve copied from the 6 volume set at a local law library and provide below); the second is the PROME edition – the new edition offered in this CD; and, the third is the original as presented in PROME.
“Commaundement” is shown in the PROME “original” but Strachey – the edition of RP from 1767-83 – shows “comandement”; the PROME original has added an “m” and a “u.” Why? What is in the original parchment? Did Strachey get it wrong? Or is this a PROME correction of a scribal error? I don’t know. To give credit where due, I doubt that anyone – especially in a work of this length – could note each time what choices and corrections were made and why.

Strachey’s “Shires” becomes “shires” in PROME’s original; the PROME “translation” produces the ugly “county.” OED may well give “county” as used in the 15th century, but this change is unnecessarily off-putting – to any Tolkien fan at the least.

And so the watermelon is cut; modernization may make the work more accessible for some but for others, it increases the distance from Richard’s world.

**Buy or wait for next season?**

In a word, buy. The CD is easy to use, includes insightful introductions to the material, and provides sample images so that you can get a peek at the original source documents. At $85, it’s just a few DVDs and something you’ll want to refer to often…unlike that copy of Anaconda. A future edition should include more insights into word replacements; similarly, a mechanism to auto-scroll the side window text would be welcome.

That said, the editors are truly to be commended for tackling a project that makes this type of original material widely available.

_References_

2. Ibid.

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**The Strachey edition** *(vol. 6, p. 238)*

TO the Worship of God. We youre poure Commons by your high comandement comen to this youre prefent Parlement, for the Shires, Citees and Boroughs of this youre noble Reame, by th’ affent of all the Lords Spuelx and Tempelx…

(Note that in the Strachey edition, “Spuelx” and “Tempelx” are show with a “~” above the “p” in each word indicating the word has been abbreviated; I have not reproduced this here given limited type style capabilities.)

**PROME edition** *(R3, Membrane 2)*

To the honour of God; we your poor commons who have come to this your present parliament by your high commandment for the counties, cities and boroughs of this your noble realm, by the assent of all the lords spiritual and temporal…

**Original as presented in PROME** *(R3, Membrane 2)*

To the worshippe of God; we youre poure commons by your high commandement commen to this youre present parlement for the shires, citees and boroughs of this youre noble reame, by thassent of all the lordes spirituex and temporelx…³
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