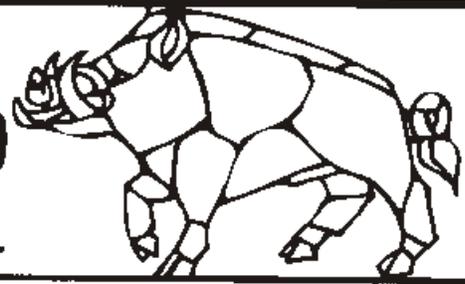


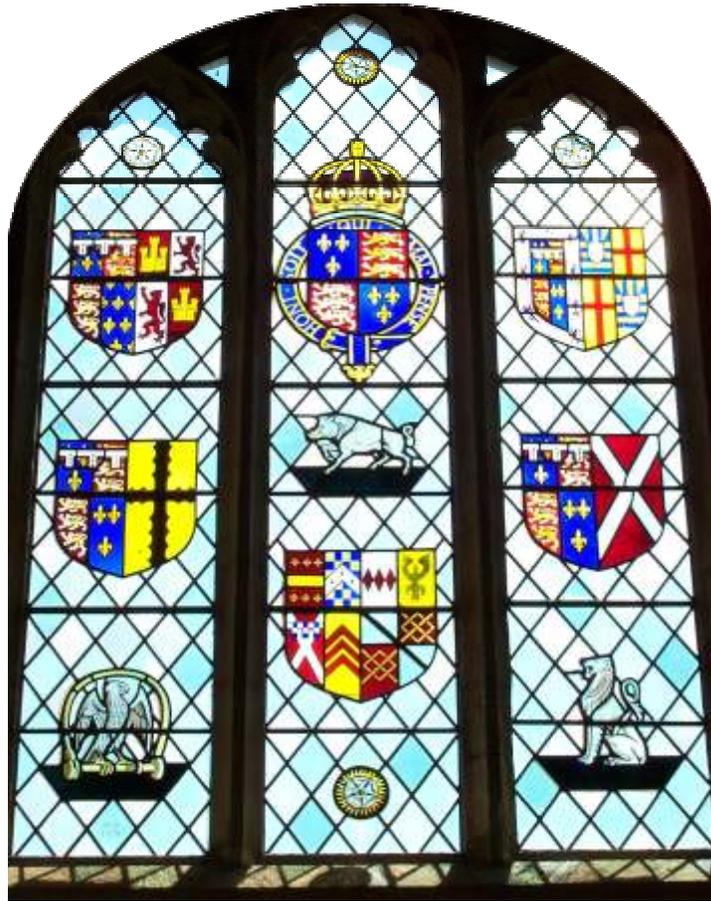
Richardian REGISTER



Richard III Society, Inc.

Volume XXXVI No. 4

Winter, 2006



*York Window,
Fotheringhay*



St. Mary & All Saints Church, Fotheringhay

— Photos by Dave Lutweiler

REGISTER STAFF

EDITOR: **Carole M. Rike**

48299 Stafford Road • Tickfaw, LA 70466
985-350-6101 • 504-952-4984 (cell)
E-mail: carole@wordcatering.com

RICARDIAN READING EDITOR: **Myrna Smith**

2784 Avenue G • Ingleside, TX 78362
(361) 332-9363 • E-mail: myrnasbooks@cableone.net

ARTIST: **Susan Dexter**

1510 Delaware Avenue • New Castle, PA • 16105-2674

CROSSWORD: **Charlie Jordan**

E-mail: cjordansprint1@earthlink.net



©2006 Richard III Society, Inc., American Branch. No part may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means — mechanical, electrical or photocopying, recording or information storage retrieval — without written permission from the Society. Articles submitted by members remain the property of the author. The Ricardian Register is published four times per year. Subscriptions are available at \$20.00 annually.

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.

Advertise in *The Ricardian Register*

Your ad in the Register will reach an audience of demonstrated mail buyers and prime prospects for books on the late medieval era, as well as for gift items and other merchandise relating to this period. They are also prospects for lodging, tours and other services related to travel in England or on the continent. Classified advertising rates for one-time insertions: Full Page: \$150; Half Page: \$75; Quarter Page: \$50.

Send copy with your remittance payable to Richard III Society, 48299 Stafford Road, Tickfaw, LA 70466. E-mail inquiries or digital files to carole@wordcatering.com.

Copy Deadlines:

Spring	March 15
Summer	June 15
Fall	September 15
Winter	December 15

Society Internet address:

<http://www.r3.org>
info@r3.org

Changes of address and dues payments to:

Pamela J. Butler

11000 Anaheim Ave. NE • Albuquerque, NM 87122-3102

Address changes may be made on-line at
<http://www.r3.org/form/address.htm>.

In This Issue

Message from the Chair

Wayne Ingalls 4

Branch & Group Events 4

Sheep, Cattle & Sword: Some Thoughts

About Richard, Duke of York

Marion Davis 5

Speculations on Francis Lovel—

Richard's Shadowy Friend

Joan Szechtman 17

Schallek Award Report

Jill Stevenson 19

Ricardian Puzzle

Charlie Jordan 20

The Lady of the Lakes and the White

Boar, *Virginia Poch* 22

Ricardian Reading

Myrna Smith 24

Scattered Standards 29

2007 Annual General Meeting 30

Generous Ricardians 31

Welcome to New Members 31

Chapter Contacts 32

Membership Application 32



EXECUTIVE BOARD

CHAIRMAN: Bonnie Battaglia

5191 Hanks Exchange Road • Placerville, CA 95667
(530) 622-6470 • E-mail: bonnieb@eldoradolibrary.org

VICE CHAIRMAN: Jacqueline Bloomquist

1829 Corleone Dr. • Sparks, NV 89434
(775) 355-1704 • E-mail: BloomquistJFB35@aol.com

SECRETARY: Laura V. Blanchard

2041 Christian St. • Philadelphia, PA 19146 • (215) 985-1445
FAX (215) 985-1446 • E-mail: lblanchard@rblanchard.com

TREASURER: Maria Torres

3216 Fillmore Avenue • Brooklyn, NY 11234
E-mail: elena@pipeline.com

MEMBERSHIP CHAIRMAN: Pamela J. Butler

11000 Anaheim Ave. NE • Albuquerque, NM 87122-3102
(505) 856-6186 (Leave Message) • E-mail: PamelaJButler@aol.com

IMMEDIATE PAST CHAIRMAN: Dr. Sharon D. Michalove

309 Gregory Hall • 810 Wright St. • Urbana, IL 61801
(217) 333-4145 • E-mail: mlove@uiuc.edu

COMMITTEES

CHAPTERS ADVISOR: Eileen C. Prinsen

16151 Longmeadow Drive • Dearborn MI 48120
(313) 271-1224 • E-mail: membership@r3.org

LIBRARIAN: Audio/Visual: Yvonne Saddler

719 Apple Brook Lane • Poulsbo, WA 98370
(360) 697-1278 • E-mail: ymsaddler@earthlink.nett

LIBRARIAN: Fiction: Gilda E. Felt

3054 Lantana Court SE • Kentwood, Michigan 49512
E-mail: gildaevf@yahoo.com

LIBRARIAN: Research & Non-Fiction:

Brad Verity

425 S. Sunrise Way # H7 • PMB 115
Palm Springs, CA 92262-7663
E-mail: royaldescent@hotmail.com
Phone: (310) 313-4480

ON-LINE MEMBER SERVICES: Pamela J. Butler

11000 Anaheim Ave. NE • Albuquerque, NM 87122-3102
(505) 856-6186 (Leave Message) • E-mail: PamelaJButler@aol.com

RESEARCH OFFICER: Dr. Sharon D. Michalove

309 Gregory Hall • 810 Wright St. • Urbana, IL 61801
(217) 333-4145 • E-mail: mlove@uiuc.edu

SALES OFFICER:

www.r3.org / sales • E-mail: sales@r3.org

SCHALLEK MEMORIAL/GRAD: Laura V. Blanchard

2041 Christian St. • Philadelphia, PA 19146 • (215) 985-1445
FAX (215) 985-1446 • E-mail: lblanchard@rblanchard.com

VOLUNTEER CO-ORDINATOR: Peggy Allen

1421 Wisteria • Metairie, LA 70005
(504) 837-0974 • E-mail: peggyall@cox.net

WEBMASTER: Laura V. Blanchard

2041 Christian St. • Philadelphia, PA 19146 • (215) 985-1445
FAX (215) 985-1446 • E-mail: lblanchard@rblanchard.com

EDITORIAL LICENSE

Carole Rike

Many, many thanks to Marion Davis for her article on the father of Richard III, Duke of York, which I thoroughly enjoyed. This is a different look at the subject, one which makes one realize all over again how difficult it was to be an ordinary citizen during the warring of the cousins. To my knowledge, this is the first time we have published an article on the Duke of York in the *Register*.

Thanks as well to Joan Szechtman for her musings on Francis Lovel, surely one of our membership's most popular figures. Over the years, this newsletter has published many speculations on the fate of Lovel and the depth of Lovel's friendship with Richard, most recently those of the late Geoffrey Richardson. Joan dismisses the more popular and romantic versions of Lovel's demise but concludes we still don't know!

Thanks also to Jill Stevenson, who provides an insight into what our scholarship money is able to provide.

Virginia Poch has sent three reports on the Medieval Faire in Florida, where she and fellow Ricardians are representing the Society. This is the first time I've had a chance to include her full report, for the faire in November, 2006. Perhaps Virginia will spur other members into looking at local faires to determine if any opportunity for promoting Richard's cause exists. And it sounds as if they are having a lot of fun.

Our dear Myrna keeps churning on; I so dread the day when she will no longer be doing the Reading column, as she is wonderful to read. Please help her out and send, directly to Myrna, reviews or comments on books of the subject period. And encouragement!

Pictured on page twenty-nine is the library exhibit the New England Society created; the board is very much interested in supporting members and/or chapters who are able to undertake such projects. Contact Ellen Prinsen or any board member if you need assistance.

Preview our 2007 AGM on page thirty — excitement is building about our plans. Lorraine Atreed promises to be an excellent feature speaker. Pam Butler's efforts on the plans for the event have been exemplary. She has contracted an excellent hotel, which Dave Lutweiller personally travelled to and checked out. Our theme is "War and Remembrance."

Keep the faith. Make plans now for October.

MESSAGE FROM THE CHAIR:



Greetings fellow Ricardians!

I am excited by the enthusiasm expressed on the listserv for our Annual General Meeting (AGM) this September. As I write this, the Executive Board is making the arrangements to hold this year's AGM in Worcester, Massachusetts. Detailed information about the AGM will follow, but even now much work has begun. Pam Butler deserves the Society's special thanks for research, placing bids, and following up with various avenues, and Dave Luitweiler deserves our thanks and gratitude for driving down from New York to conduct on-site reconnaissance.

Laura Blanchard has secured Dr. Lorraine Atreed of the College of the Holy Cross History Department as our keynote speaker. Dr. Atreed specializes in medieval English history and should be no stranger to Ricardians, having served as a member of the Society's William B. Schallek Graduate Fellowship selection committee for more than 15 years.

Among the events planned is a trip to Higgins Armory Museum, featuring one of the largest collections of arms and armor in the world. While there is still quite a bit of work to do to make this year's AGM a rousing success, all indications are that this year's meeting will be in the running for "best ever." It will, at least, be a time not soon forgotten.

Speaking of remembering, I encourage you to help remember Bosworth Field by placing "In Memoriam" ads in your local newspaper this coming 22nd of August. A sample "In Memoriam" is on our website at this link: <http://www.r3.org/bosworth/inmem.html> Use this one, or feel free to be creative!

*Loyaulte me Lie,
Wayne Ingalls*

RICHARD III SOCIETY BRANCH & GROUP EVENTS

- | | | | |
|-------------|--|-------------|---|
| Sat 5 May | Victoria Branch 2 pm <i>The Courtesy of Saints – Pilgrims & Shrines</i> in Mediæval England by Kaye Turnbull | Sat. 19 May | Notts & Derby Branch HOME MEETING Anne Ayres' house (local members only) Medieval Fashion Parade! Members to bring own examples of medieval dress, comparing accuracy against records & pictures, how made etc. |
| Sat. 5 May | Essex Local History Day, Senate House, University of Essex, Colchester, includes 2pm Lecture: 'The murder of the Princes in the Tower? – new evidence from Colchester', by John Ashdown-Hill | Sun. 27 | May (Scottish Branch) Traquair House, Innerleithan; full weekend event. 11am – 5pm Medieval Fayre with Jousting/ Archery/ Falconry/Crafts and Skills/ Trouvere Minstrels/ Jesters. Tickets: £7.00/ £6.00 in advance/ £5.00 concession |
| 7-8 May | Hull Group trip to Bruges | Sat. 2 June | Norfolk Branch plaque unveiling, Cromer |
| 9 May | Gr. Manchester: A Talk with slides on Northumberland | Sat. 2 June | 2.30 Gloucester Branch SHORT PAPERS Selection of 5-10 minute papers from members on a subject of their choice The Martins, Toban, Great Coxwell, Faringdon, Oxfordshire [01367 240499] |
| Sat. 12 May | 2.30 Gloucester Branch <i>Finding The Dna Of Richard III</i> ; Illustrated talk by John Ashdown-Hill, Emmanuel Church Hall, Leckhampton | Sat. 7 June | Victoria Branch 2 pm <i>Uppity Mediæval Women</i> by Hazel Hajdu |
| Sat. 19 May | Bristol Group MEDIEVAL TIVERTON: Leisurely day visiting medieval sites in the Tiverton area including Bradninch and Trull [Field Visit] | Sat. 9 June | Hull Group visit: Reedness Hall, and Whitgift and Adlingfleet churches |
| Sat. 19 May | D&C Branch An afternoon of Video's & quizzes at the secretary's home. Meet: Noon for 12.30pm Venue: Yoredale, Trewithick Road, Breage, Helston, Cornwall. | | |
| Sat. 19 May | TVB Field trip - Rye (postponed from last year) | | |

SHEEP, CATTLE, AND SWORD; SOME THOUGHTS ABOUT RICHARD, DUKE OF YORK, 1411-1460

Marion Davis

On November 23, 1450, Richard, duke of York, arrived in London to attend parliament. He brought 999 sheep and 80 beef cattle to feed his large retinue.⁽¹⁾ York was not only preventing his men from looting—he was showing Londoners how different he was from Henry VI, whose household agents had abused the king's right to buy supplies at low prices for years. This right, called purveyance, had degenerated into "enforced seizure—little short of theft in the king's interest."⁽²⁾ By the parliament of 1449, many bitter complaints had been made about Henry VI's purveyors. They had seized food, goods, and lodgings without owners' permission. They had commandeered horses and carriages for the royal household at times when the household wasn't moving. "The public reputation of [Henry VI's] household and its officials was badly tarnished and not without reason."⁽³⁾

A critic might describe much of Henry VI's reign as a looting spree. Henry VI did not manage patronage effectively. Apparently he granted many petitions without understanding the consequences. Early in his reign, he lost 1,000 marks when he granted away the office of constable and steward of Chirk Castle; only three months later, in May 1438, he sold Chirk and its lordship to Cardinal Beaufort. Sir John Fortescue, Henry VI's chief justice of the king's bench, described this sale as the most "glaring instance of wanton alienation of crown lands he could think of."⁽⁴⁾ Between 1437 and 1450, Henry VI made grants over and above the normal fees and wages of their household offices to "eight members of the nobility, fourteen king's knights and forty-five king's esquires, not to mention gentlemen ushers of the chamber, king's sergeants, clerks, etc."⁽⁵⁾ Officials close to Henry VI between 1437-1450 took advantage of insider knowledge about land and positions; as soon as land or an office became available, a household official was prepared to petition Henry VI for it, profiting at the crown's expense.⁽⁶⁾

William de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, rose to the rank of duke, acquiring "vast acres of crown lands which Henry VI granted him for life, or to him and his heirs in perpetuity."⁽⁷⁾ Not only did Suffolk enrich himself, he took control of local government in East Anglia. From 1437-1450, "as many as seven of the sheriffs of Norfolk-Suffolk were king's men, among them clients of Suffolk like William Calthorpe and John Say."⁽⁸⁾

Suffolk's protection allowed such men as Sir Thomas Tuddenham, John Heydon, and John Ulveston of Henham to commit extortion and violence in East Anglia for years.⁽⁹⁾ The Paston Letters say that Tuddenham and Haydon prosecuted "many men" and name twenty-two who were "oppressed and wronged."⁽¹⁰⁾ Court records show that Tuddenham and Heydon made good profits while promoting Suffolk's interests; but their abuses created deep popular resentment and distrust of Henry VI's government.⁽¹¹⁾

Similar reasons for popular resentment developed in the counties near London, because Henry VI's household men took control of as much property convenient to London as they could. Control of property led to control of local government; between 1437-1453 "as many as 12 men with household associations were appointed to the Surrey-Sussex shrievalty, and 8 in Bedfordshire-Buckinghamshire, with an extension west to Wiltshire ... Somerset and Dorset, which had reasonably good communications with the capitol."⁽¹²⁾ Unfortunately, household men in sheriff's positions "all too often resorted to abuse and extortion" in order to avoid losing money during their term of office.⁽¹³⁾ Because counties in the south and east of England experienced many such abuses during "the golden age of the household officials" they were especially prone to rebellion in 1450.⁽¹⁴⁾

Besides undermining local order, Henry VI's mismanagement of patronage undermined national defense. Household officials who monopolized profitable positions such as constablerships of castles were sometimes unqualified—or too preoccupied with court affairs—to manage the castles effectively. Inefficient, absentee management of such castles as Berwick, Salisbury, Beaumaris, and Winchester threatened the safety of the entire realm.⁽¹⁵⁾

Another serious threat to England's national defense was the government's failure to pay the wages of soldiers and their leaders. Even before Henry VI began making grants in 1437, his government had failed to pay nobles leading the defense of England's borders with France and Scotland. Sir John Radcliffe, seneschal of Gascony from 1423-1436, was owed 7,083 pounds when he died; the government's failure to pay its debt to Radcliffe forced him to mortgage or sell his own property as well as borrow from friends.⁽¹⁶⁾ In 1437, Henry Percy, earl of

Northumberland, resigned after seventeen years of poorly paid service. “By that stage, his frustration at the government’s inability to pay him his due had reached the point of exasperation.”⁽¹⁷⁾ During the golden age of household officials, wardens on the borders with Scotland experienced varying degrees of success in getting paid. Apparently the earl of Northumberland’s son, Henry Percy, was more successful than his father in collecting his wages between 1440 and 1451; but the government’s insolvency forced him to take a salary cut in 1452.⁽¹⁸⁾ The earl of Salisbury, warden of the west march, managed to collect three-fifths of the money owed him between 1443 and 1449, although he was still owed 1,239 pounds in 1450.⁽¹⁹⁾ Lord Fauconberg, the unfortunate keeper of Roxburg castle, was owed 4,109 pounds for his services between 1443-1451. Henry VI’s government often ignored such debts, expecting the castle-keeper to stay at his post; but Fauconberg was in such financial difficulty that he threatened to abandon Roxburgh if Henry VI’s government didn’t re-supply the castle and pay the soldiers’ wages. Although parliament made an effort to reimburse Fauconberg “in view of his long and largely unpaid service at Roxburgh, he was forced to forego part of what was owed to him in order to secure the rest.”⁽²⁰⁾ Radcliffe and Fauconberg’s experiences were especially flagrant demonstrations of how Henry VI’s government mistreated those who served far from Henry VI’s household.

Richard, duke of York, experienced similar difficulties. At the end of his first term as lieutenant of France, Henry VI’s government owed him 18,000 pounds, over twice as much as it owed Sir John Radcliffe and over four times as much as it owed Lord Fauconberg.⁽²¹⁾ Although York was promised 20,000 pounds yearly from the English exchequer and 36,000 francs from the Norman exchequer for his second term as lieutenant, payments from England were unreliable.⁽²²⁾ Even before he left England, York’s reasonable requests for guns and powder were unfilled; he received only half of the 1,000 lances and 4,000 bows and only one third of the 1,200 quires of arrows he requested.⁽²³⁾ In Normandy, York did not receive the support he needed to recover castles lost to the French or hold castles that remained under English control.⁽²⁴⁾ A tax voted by the Estates-General in Rouen covered the expenses of an army for one campaigning year, but it didn’t cover the expenses of the ships needed to support the army. Sir John Talbot, York’s annuitant, was England’s foremost military leader; but even his experience and skill couldn’t compensate for inadequate supplies and lack of naval support. By November 1441, Henry VI’s officials had authorized only 5,000 of York’s contracted 20,000 pounds salary. York

and Talbot couldn’t meet the demands made on them with the resources they were given, and England continued to lose ground to France.⁽²⁵⁾

While York and Talbot were trying to hold off Charles VII, Henry VI’s decision-makers and profit-takers pursued conflicting goals. In August 1442, a proposal to increase support for York’s army was set aside in favor of peace negotiations.⁽²⁶⁾ In February 1443, Henry VI’s advisors decided to aid Gascony at Normandy’s expense. Lord Cromwell, England’s treasurer since 1433, upheld his record for facing harsh financial facts: he presented a clear statement showing that the exchequer could not pay for the defense of both Normandy and Gascony.⁽²⁷⁾ Anxious to proceed with indentures for wages, Cromwell pressured decision-makers for a clear choice between Normandy and Gascony.⁽²⁸⁾ But Henry VI and his advisors didn’t listen to Lord Cromwell. Having chosen John Beaufort, earl of Somerset, to lead an army against Charles VII, they allowed Somerset’s self-serving demands to take precedence over financial reality and a clear military plan. While denying York and Talbot the resources they needed to defend Normandy, Henry VI and his advisors granted Somerset extraordinary wealth and power: they promoted him from earl to duke of Somerset; they granted him the duchy of Anjou and county of Maine for seven years after his younger brother Edmund’s grant ended; they gave him 600 marks yearly, allowing him to select from the exchequer the most reliable sources of funding for this annuity; they made him earl of Kendal; while claiming they intended no insult to York, they gave Somerset authority in all French lands where “York cometh not.”⁽²⁹⁾ Worse yet, Somerset was allowed to pretend that victory depended on keeping his military plans secret; this secrecy resulted in hard feelings and ridicule as Somerset’s campaign deteriorated.

In April, 1443, Henry VI’s herald, Garter, carried the council’s decision to York: “All the defences of Normandy must be on maximum alert and York must, in addition, give all possible help and comfort to Somerset.”⁽³⁰⁾ York must wait for the money he was owed, because “Somerset’s expedition was very expensive and would leave little to spare for other enterprises.”⁽³¹⁾ In June, a delegation led by Talbot, now earl of Shrewsbury, asked Henry VI and his council to reconsider Somerset’s expedition.⁽³²⁾ This request was denied, in spite of the fact that Somerset’s delays were costing the exchequer 500 pounds a day.⁽³³⁾ On July 6, 1443 Lord Cromwell resigned, giving poor health as his reason.⁽³⁴⁾ “Yet he lived on for another thirteen active years, and reading between the lines of his act of resignation one may detect a final exasperation at the lack of understanding

shown by the king and his advisers of the parlous state of England's finances." (35) By mid-July, Henry VI and his council acknowledged that Somerset was not returning good value for the generous support he'd received. A severe reprimand contrasted Somerset's self-promotion and inefficiency with the duke of Gloucester's public-spirited decision to pay the transportation costs of his successful defense of Calais in 1436. "Somerset was now roundly told that his parasitic forces were a greater burden on the shires than four complete subsidies would have been, and a comfort only to the king's enemies." (36) Despite this reprimand, Somerset was not replaced.

In August 1443, Somerset finally arrived in Normandy. Unfortunately for the people of Normandy, Somerset's funding didn't cover his costs beyond the port of Cherbourg; so the Normans had to supply horses, carts, men, and tax money to move Somerset's army through Normandy. (37) Somerset's 1443 campaign did not justify its costs: it failed to protect Gascony; it failed to confront Charles VII's army; it failed to protect Normandy. But it did sour Anglo-Breton relations, because Somerset attacked a Breton town, La Guerche, allowed his troops to loot, and demanded a payment of 20,000 saluts from the duke of Brittany. Henry VI's embarrassed council ordered Somerset not to repeat this "sorry venture." (38) Somerset ended his expedition sick and discredited. England lost money and resources that York and Talbot might have used more effectively.

By the end of his second term as lieutenant of France, York had proved to be loyal and competent; but he couldn't overcome the effects of Henry VI's contradictory decisions and erratic funding. (39) By 1446, Henry VI's government owed York "the enormous sum of 38,667 pounds. ... The charges of peculation leveled against York by Bishop Moleyns a little later in 1446 may not have been unconnected with the government's gross indebtedness to him as his term as lieutenant-general came to a close." (40) Surviving documents show that some time between mid-April and late July of 1446, York answered Moleyns' charges of favoritism and general mismanagement. He showed that he'd paid as many soldiers as he could from the insufficient funds sent by the English exchequer, and he accused Moleyns of recruiting accusers in France. (41) Although York seems to have won this confrontation, he didn't receive a third term as lieutenant of France. He was also forced to settle for only 26,000 of the 38,000 pounds due to him. He was still waiting for payment in 1451. (42)

On Sept. 29, 1447 York accepted a ten year term as lieutenant of Ireland. From 20,000 pounds, his yearly salary dropped to 2,000 pounds, plus all surplus revenues

of the Irish exchequer and shipping expenses paid by the English exchequer. But the English exchequer paid York's salary in Ireland as unreliably as it had paid York's salary in Normandy. Despite York's success in his military campaign of 1449, his May 1450 request for payment of 4,700 marks due was unfulfilled. (43) By June 12, 1450, "York was writing in exasperation to his brother-in-law, the earl of Salisbury, to say that he was faced with a considerable military problem in Meath, that without funds the English would lose, and that he, York, would return to England rather than have it said he had lost the province. Alarmed by the tone of his lieutenant's letter, Henry sent Lancaster, king-at-arms, but no money." (44) This ploy failed to prevent York from leaving Ireland.

The word "exasperation" appears often enough in descriptions of Henry VI's financial affairs to raise questions. Why would Henry VI's councilors allow the earl of Northumberland to accumulate 17 years' worth of unpaid wages for defending England's borders with Scotland, until exasperation drove him to resign? Why would Henry VI's decision-makers and profit-takers drive Lord Cromwell, who had proved himself an honest and competent treasurer of England, to resign in exasperation? Why were resources that might have enabled York and Talbot to defend Normandy diverted to Somerset after his delays had cost England 500 pounds per day? Why was Somerset allowed to waste even more resources after he'd earned a severe reprimand before he'd even left England? Why didn't a more trustworthy commander, such as Talbot, replace Somerset at that point? Why did Henry VI's officials repeat their failure to pay York's wages in Ireland when the results of failing to pay his wages in France had been so harmful? In *The Reign of King Henry VI*, R.A. Griffiths comments that "York could be forgiven feelings of bitterness and exasperation towards the government at home" in 1443. (45) His comment seems just as applicable to York's situation in 1450.

The duke of Gloucester's suspicious death added dynastic fears to York's financial burdens. Since Henry VI had no male heir when Gloucester died, York was next in line for the throne. Just as Henry VI had been generous to John Beaufort, duke of Somerset, at York's expense in 1443, he was generous to his relations John Holland, duke of Exeter, Humphrey Stafford, duke of Buckingham, and Edmund Beaufort, duke of Somerset at York's expense between 1444 and 1448. (46) This generosity could have been interpreted as Henry VI's effort to strengthen his relatives and weaken York. Worse yet, the circumstances of Gloucester's death may have validated York's fears about his critics at court. As early as

1443, York may have seen himself as a fifteenth century version of the Roman general Stilicho, “betrayed by the machinations of a jealous court party.”⁽⁴⁷⁾ At Claire priory, patronized by York and his ancestors, a translation of Stilicho’s life, comparing York’s virtues to Stilicho’s, was made for York. York’s self-restraint was compared to Stilicho’s stoicism.⁽⁴⁸⁾ This manuscript also reflected widespread belief in the value of good council; Prudence, described as the highest virtue, recommended impartial council—something Henry VI failed to obtain.⁽⁴⁹⁾

York’s vulnerability at court echoed the duke of Gloucester’s experience as well as the Roman general’s. Although Gloucester had successfully defended Calais against Burgundy in 1436, he gradually lost favor with Henry VI. His outspoken opposition to actions he considered harmful to England—such as the cession of Maine in 1446—made his enemies among Henry VI’s advisors decide to silence him. The trap was set at the parliament originally planned for Cambridge, December 14, 1446. This parliament was postponed and relocated to Bury St. Edmund’s, where the duke of Suffolk’s power base was strong and Gloucester’s was distant. Gloucester’s summons ordered him to bring a small retinue, and he obeyed. On February 18, 1447 a group of Henry VI’s household officials met Gloucester on his way to parliament and redirected him to St. Savior’s hospital, where a group of magnates arrested him on charges of treason. By February 23, 1447 Gloucester was dead. Those responsible for Gloucester’s imprisonment claimed he’d refused to move or speak for three days before his death. They displayed his body at the abby church, hoping to convince the public that Gloucester hadn’t been murdered. Some of Gloucester’s servants were tried and condemned to death, then pardoned at the last minute; this treatment suggests that charges against Gloucester were false, and his arrest was motivated by a desire to silence all opposition to the cession of Maine.⁽⁵⁰⁾

Some twentieth century historians agree that Gloucester wasn’t murdered, because they feel that murdering Gloucester wasn’t in the government’s best interests.⁽⁵¹⁾ But governments sometimes put short-term gains over long-term welfare. Henry VI’s decision-makers and profit-takers had a record of putting short-term gains ahead of long-term welfare, and they may not have seen their best interests in the same way that some twentieth century historians now see them. Many of Gloucester’s contemporaries interpreted his death differently than these twentieth century historians have. Three years after Gloucester’s death, when it was safer to express an opinion, the “Good Duke Humphrey” myth held Henry

VI’s household agents responsible for the duke’s murder.⁽⁵²⁾ This widely-accepted version of events increased criticism of Henry VI’s government. Even if it didn’t intensify York’s fear of Henry VI’s agents, it gave him a valid reason to defend himself against them.

Philippe de Commynes’ comment about Margaret of Anjou applies equally well to her husband: “As it turned out [Margaret of Anjou] would have done much better if she had acted as a judge or mediator between the two parties instead of saying ‘I will support this party,’ for there were many battles as a result and in the end almost everyone on both sides was killed. ... There is nothing more dangerous than to [show partiality] among men such as princes and men of virtue and courage. It is like setting fire to one’s house for soon somebody or other will say, ‘The king is against us,’ and then take steps to protect himself and to get in touch with the king’s enemies. At least the Orleanists and Burgundians should have made people wise in this respect, for the war lasted sixty-two years and the English were involved in it, hoping thereby to gain possession of all the kingdom.”⁽⁵³⁾ Commynes has described York’s actions between late 1450 and 1460 as well as Henry VI’s and Margaret of Anjou’s: York repeatedly spoke out against the “evil councilors” he claimed were turning Henry VI against him; he contacted the few lords who were willing to support him; he did his best to attract popular support; and he took steps to protect himself.

After leaving Ireland in late August or early September of 1450, York encountered resistance at Beaumaris, Wales, because someone in Henry VI’s household had ordered local officials to prevent York from landing. Consequently, York submitted two bills to Henry VI, stating his loyalty in spite of efforts to prevent his landing at Beaumaris, indict him of treason, imprison him, and execute his chamberlain, Sir William Oldhall. Between September 27 and October 6, 1450, York added a third bill, calling for reforms desired by the commons and authority for York to put these reforms into action. Henry VI’s officials responded with an unkept promise to establish a “sad and substantial council” including York as one among equals.⁽⁵⁴⁾ This unkept promise demonstrated the government’s unwillingness to reform.

York recruited support for his cause. Joining forces with the duke of Norfolk, he assembled a large retinue to back him up at the November 1450 parliament in London. Unlike Gloucester at Bury St. Edmunds, York arrived “in most provocative fashion, his sword borne upright before him, a gesture whose profound symbolism cannot have escaped the London crowds.”⁽⁵⁵⁾ At least that is how P.A. Johnson interprets Bale’s Chronicle. But R.A. Griffiths omits the upright sword in his

version of events, which cites four other chronicles; and Bertram Wolffe, omitting both sword and citation, uses the neutral phrase “great strength” to describe York’s arrival in a tense London. ⁽⁵⁶⁾ P.A. Johnson cites only Bale’s Chronicle. John Watts cites only P.A. Johnson’s version. R.L. Storey doesn’t cite a source; he simply states that York entered London with his sword borne upright before him. None of these three historians discuss the many questions raised by their version of events.

Although York may have entered London in 1450 with his sword borne upright before him, twentieth century versions of this event would be more convincing if they considered these questions: Did Bale’s Chronicle mistake the date of this event? Why would York have his sword carried upright before him so soon after declaring his loyalty to Henry VI? Why would York risk renewed accusations of treason when he lacked support from most of his fellow magnates? Did York think popular support would enable him to defeat the partisan and neutral lords who opposed him? Did York think the upright sword would discourage his enemies from attacking him again? It’s worth asking why York would have entered a “tense and seething” London with his sword borne upright before him as early as November 1450, because he doesn’t seem to have had enough power to enforce a claim to the throne at that time. ⁽⁵⁷⁾

Whether or not he entered London with his sword borne upright before him, York soon showed Londoners a powerful contrast to Henry VI. Joining forces with the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Devon, and the mayor of London, York rescued the earl of Somerset and protected houses from mobs. ⁽⁵⁸⁾ As a warning against further destruction, York sent a captured looter to Henry VI for execution. ⁽⁵⁹⁾ After the violence ended, Henry VI reappeared. Accompanied by most of the nobles and gentry assembled for parliament, the king led an impressive force from London to Westminster. ⁽⁶⁰⁾

In *The Reign of Henry VI*, R.A. Griffiths interprets this show of force as the government’s effort to counteract York’s image as “the champion of justice and bulwark of order in London.” ⁽⁶¹⁾ He suggests that York’s recent experiences were changing his ideas and political strategy: “By blending the various burning issues of the day—the loss of France, the succession to the throne, public order, and a reformed council—York could appeal to a larger number of discontented and at the same time pursue his own objectives.” ⁽⁶²⁾ This comment suggests that York’s objectives differed from those of the people he was appealing to. Many of York’s contemporaries as well as later historians seem to have shared Griffiths’ doubts about York’s sincerity. In *Henry VI and the Politics of Kingship*, John Watts writes: “York’s own

account of his motives has persuaded almost nobody, and this, in turn, has encouraged the view that such abstract concepts as ‘order’ and ‘the common welfare’ were of little account in shaping fifteenth century politics.” ⁽⁶³⁾ Watts disagrees with that view, and his book shows how abstractions such as “order” and “common welfare” may have influenced York and his opponents.

In theory, a fifteenth century English king had two principal responsibilities: military leadership and law enforcement. ⁽⁶⁴⁾ Law enforcement included executive and judicial functions; it was supposed to be impartial. The king’s decisions and actions were supposed to be for the common welfare, and the king was expected to listen to the advice of a representative council of noblemen. ⁽⁶⁵⁾ The common welfare was equated with preservation of peace, which was understood as unity or absence of dissent. The ideal of a peaceful, unified realm was supposed to be embodied in a decisive, independent king, whose decisions were supposed to be carried out by obedient nobles and commoners. Disobedience was treason. ⁽⁶⁶⁾

But there was a grey area in which theory did not consider kings who failed to act for the common welfare. “Were lords entitled to question the quality of royal government?” ⁽⁶⁷⁾ If corrupt advisors influenced a king’s decisions, did his people have to obey them? A king was supposed to be accessible to all of his subjects. A king was supposed to hear all subjects’ sides of disputes and make impartial decisions: “he could operate for all only by remaining above all.” ⁽⁶⁸⁾ If a king kept away from his people, listened to only a few advisors, and favored a few at the expense of many; was his authority valid? Theory offered no good answers.

In practice, criticism of the king, however ineffective or mild, was treason. Most of Henry VI’s critics responded to defeat in France and widespread local violence by accusing Henry VI’s councilors of restricting access, withholding information, biasing Henry VI’s decisions, and putting private enrichment ahead of the common welfare. In practice, “evil councilors” had to take responsibility for a king’s failures. ⁽⁶⁹⁾

Henry VI’s supporters did their best to suppress criticism. Not all of them were household men enriching themselves at the king’s expense. Some were moderate or conservative nobles who hoped to preserve consensus by persuading the dukes of Gloucester and York to cooperate as one among equals in Henry VI’s councils. Gloucester’s refusal to keep silent led to his arrest and death in custody. York’s refusal led to ten years of confrontation that ended with a controversial settlement disinheriting Henry VI’s son in favor of York and his heirs. York’s death at the hands of Margaret of Anjou’s

supporters soon followed. Neither duke attracted much support from other lords; both were intermittently supported by commoners, which may have caused some lords to avoid the dissident dukes even more. Although reforms were far overdue, Henry VI's decision-makers and profit-takers substituted "a harvest of heads" for effective problem-solving after Cade's Rebellion.⁽⁷⁰⁾ The judicial progresses, with Henry VI as figurehead, which passed through the shires in 1451 temporarily suppressed criticism and violence; but executions failed to solve the problems that caused criticism and rebellion. Eventually conflict resurfaced and escalated.

The confrontation between York and Somerset was as much a conflict between business-as-usual and reform as it was between competing individuals. As early as 1443, Henry VI's failure to heed Lord Cromwell's warnings demonstrated irresponsible indifference to a king's responsibilities. Although commonly accepted theory gave Henry VI the authority to make his own decisions, nothing in that theory justified bankrupting himself and the exchequer in order to satisfy the demands of short-sighted petitioners. A king's decisions and commands were supposed to develop out of impartial consideration of his subjects' conflicting views and claims. A king was supposed to make himself accessible to all of his subjects. Nothing in theory justified Henry VI's isolation among a favored minority while unpaid leaders and soldiers struggled to defend England's borders and the seas. Nothing in theory justified Henry VI's failure to provide impartial law enforcement and domestic peace. In practice Henry VI and his decision-makers and profit-takers continued to fall short of fulfilling theoretical duties. Suffolk's replacements seemed to learn nothing from Suffolk's downfall. "However opportunistic was York's association with the cause of reform—we have no real evidence to help us decide—the cause itself was a real and powerful one, driven by forces internal to English politics" ⁽⁷¹⁾

The source of authority for Henry VI's government was a problem that his decision-makers and profit-takers couldn't solve. By 1450 Henry VI's subjects had good reason to believe that Henry VI wasn't making his own decisions. Decisions made under pressure from self-interested advisors and petitioners didn't fulfill a king's theoretical duty to make independent, impartial decisions for the common good. If Somerset couldn't demonstrate in practice that Henry VI's independent decisions were the source of officials' actions, he couldn't defend his regime from critics: "... in this vulnerability lay the roots of the familiar hostility shown by Henry VI's principal ministers and intimates to anyone who possessed independent public standing and seemed

likely to use it to inaugurate public debate over policy."⁽⁷²⁾ Debate threatened the lives and wealth of Henry VI's closest supporters. Debate threatened the government's ability to continue in spite of Henry VI's inadequacies. Most lords seem to have practiced a "willing suspension of disbelief" in Henry VI for years; they behaved as if Henry VI was making his own decisions because the "crushing logic of monarchy" made disobedience equal to treason.⁽⁷³⁾ Most lords seem to have equated preservation of the existing system, however corrupt or incompetent, with preservation of order and the common good.⁽⁷⁴⁾ Most lords, even those who weren't closely associated with Henry VI's household, opposed Henry VI's critics.⁽⁷⁵⁾

Although York had so little support, Somerset had no authority to eliminate him. York's answer to the question of how much loyalty a vassal owes a bad king was that a "self-appointed responsibility to reform the king and improve the quality of government for the common weal ... briefly exceeded [the] duty of obedience."⁽⁷⁶⁾ York was claiming that Henry VI's persistent failure to reform justified a responsible vassal's opposition to misrule. York's claims were troublesome, but lords were unwilling to prosecute him for treason: "Apparently the crown could not count on the loyalty of its subjects, common and perhaps even noble, if it tried to deal with York as it had earlier dealt with Gloucester. However inconvenient the duke's behavior, it was evidently not entirely illegitimate, and this provides a fascinating insight on the problem of authority in Henry VI's last decade. Even as political circumstances dictated that York's assaults on the king's ministers would not succeed, they also protected the duke from total failure. The very fact that it was a political and not a legal problem which York posed and that the crushing logic of monarchy—offering only obedience or treason as political options for the subject—could not be invoked against him, demonstrates that the crown was actually no stronger under Somerset than it had been under Suffolk, or during the minority. Its power was as factitious as it had ever been."⁽⁷⁷⁾

The resumption issue demonstrated how unwilling Henry VI's government was to reform. Between 1437 and 1450, Henry VI granted away so much crown revenue that he couldn't pay his debts. Hoping that restoration of crown revenues, granted away to Henry VI's household men, would lead to payment of long-standing debts, many of Henry VI's creditors supported a parliamentary act of resumption. Before York's return from Ireland, the parliament that met at Leicester in May 1450 passed an act of resumption. Although Henry VI seemed to accept this act, "186 clauses of exemption

were attached to it by a royal warrant” within a month.⁽⁷⁸⁾ Many of these exemptions protected grants to household men, who were trying to keep as much as possible for themselves.⁽⁷⁹⁾ The parliament of spring 1451 passed a stronger resumption act, which stated that a committee of three officers and six councilors must sign each grant Henry VI approved. Although Henry VI eliminated the oversight committee, enough revenue returned to the crown to satisfy public opinion temporarily. In 1453, a parliament dominated by household men approved generous grants and taxes for Henry VI.⁽⁸⁰⁾ By 1455, parliament was protesting Henry VI’s financial mismanagement again.

York’s sincerity about reform has been questioned, but his actions suggest he was serious about resumption. At the same time that the 1449 Leicester parliament was passing its act, York encouraged the Irish parliament to pass its own resumption act, and he didn’t exempt the grants he’d made as lieutenant.⁽⁸¹⁾ After his 1455 victory at St. Albans, York refrained from making grants that might have caused parliament to pass another resumption act. By keeping his actions consistent with his claims, he was giving his reform program priority over rewarding his supporters.⁽⁸²⁾ But this consistency may have cost him support he needed to put his reform program into effect. York’s second protectorate ended because he supported the House of Commons’ controversial resumption bill. Deploring Henry VI’s continuing failure to pay his household’s enormous debts and end his agents’ oppressive purveyance practices, this bill imposed radical limits on the king’s prerogatives. Months of debate followed. A compromise bill provided too little income to pay sheriffs’ wages; but most lords objected so strongly to the proposed remedy that they brought Henry VI to Westminster to reject the bill. York resigned the protectorship.⁽⁸³⁾ Again the insolvent, incompetent Henry VI gave private interests precedence over the common welfare. Again, most lords upheld the existing system against the common welfare.

York’s conflict with Somerset ended at the first battle of St. Albans. From then until his death, York’s principal opponent was the queen. In defense of her son’s inheritance, Margaret of Anjou fought behind the scenes for increased power. Many of her contemporaries considered Margaret of Anjou the decision-maker in Henry VI’s government after the birth of their son, although she failed to obtain regency powers after Henry VI collapsed in 1453. She may have influenced York’s resignation of his second protectorship in ways that surviving documents don’t record.⁽⁸⁴⁾ After York’s resignation, Margaret of Anjou took her son to her estates in the midlands, where Henry VI joined them in late summer of 1456.

While Henry VI was escaping disturbances in London, York was defending England’s border against the Scots. James II of Scotland had been seeking the French king’s aid against England since 1455. In a letter dated May 10, 1456, James II threatened to invade England. On July 26, 1456, a letter in Henry VI’s name denounced James II for breaking the truce. York followed up that letter with one of his own before driving James II and his troops back to Scotland. By October 1456, James II had negotiated another truce.⁽⁸⁵⁾ Even this small victory made York look more competent to govern than Henry VI, who had never led his troops into battle. It gave Margaret of Anjou another reason to work against York.⁽⁸⁶⁾

In Coventry, Margaret of Anjou’s campaign against York began with the replacement of officials who had cooperated with him after the first battle of St. Albans.⁽⁸⁷⁾ A process of “intimidation and partial isolation, increasingly combined with careful efforts at amelioration” followed.⁽⁸⁸⁾ Margaret of Anjou was not trying to “destroy York, but to draw his teeth and eventually to bring him back into the polity on condition that he accept his place in a new status quo.”⁽⁸⁹⁾ Forty pounds yearly in return for the constabship of three Welsh castles, a charter for a weekly market at Fotheringhay, commissions of array, a commission to raise archers, and proposed marriages for York’s children may have been intended as “controlled inclusion for York.”⁽⁹⁰⁾ But small grants and offices didn’t come close to repaying the government’s enormous debt to York; and they failed to compensate for the lack of government reform.

Many of Henry VI’s subjects still lacked confidence in his government’s authority. Many believed Margaret of Anjou was making Henry VI’s decisions for him. Many still doubted the government’s ability to provide impartial justice, keep domestic peace, and defend English borders and the seas against foreign attack. Daily experience justified these doubts. Under these conditions, “an effort to destroy [York] would not have provided the optimum means for shoring up royal rule. ... Although what Margaret eventually got was a war, she did not need a war and its attendant risks to the dynasty. She did not need another St. Albans. What she needed was York’s capitulation as a loyal subject.”⁽⁹¹⁾ Although fifteenth and twentieth century observers seem to agree that Margaret of Anjou, Henry VI and their son had more to gain from peace than war, Margaret of Anjou and the sons of the lords slain at St. Albans may have seen their interests as differently as the household men who were responsible for Gloucester’s death.

Commonly accepted theory gave an English queen no authority in government. An English queen was supposed to intercede with the king for mercy and peace.⁽⁹²⁾

A queen's role seems to have been thought of in terms of mercy for individual petitioners or small groups rather than for a king's people as a whole. A queen seems to have had no duty to be impartial, unless it was necessary for making peace. Unlike a king, a queen seems to have had no theoretical duty to work for the common welfare. Although Margaret of Anjou has been repeatedly criticized for attempting to exercise authority and power belonging to males, she seems to have escaped criticism for undermining the common welfare, perhaps because a queen wasn't supposed to fulfill a king's role. In *Margaret of Anjou; Queenship and Power In Late Medieval England*, Helen Maurer demonstrates that Margaret of Anjou was an impartial mediator until the birth of Prince Edward made royal authority and her son's inheritance her overriding priorities. Once she felt responsible for protecting her son's inheritance, Margaret of Anjou seems to have seen her best interests in emphasizing subjects' duty to obey over any of the king's duties.⁽⁹³⁾

Under Margaret of Anjou, the government's demands for obedience were as unsupported by effective peace-keeping, impartial justice, defense of land and sea, or financial responsibility as they had been under Somerset or Suffolk. Some of Margaret of Anjou's supporters, led by the duke of Somerset, retaliated for the deaths of their kinsmen at the first battle of St. Albans by repeatedly attacking York and the earl of Warwick. The duke of Buckingham or local officials seem to have kept the peace more effectively than government officials did.⁽⁹⁴⁾ Rather than restraining York and Warwick's attackers, a great council held at Coventry, Margaret of Anjou's power base, made vague charges against York and Warwick.⁽⁹⁵⁾ An act against "self-help" was passed, restricting lords to "redress only according to the law."⁽⁹⁶⁾ But Henry VI's government had failed to enforce the law impartially for years, so little redress was likely for lords out of favor at court. In August 1457, a large French fleet burned and looted Sandwich. Rumors that Margaret of Anjou and her supporters had encouraged this raid may have reflected only the reality of public distrust of their government; but the charred homes and corpses demonstrated the reality of Henry VI's failure to protect England.⁽⁹⁷⁾

While Henry VI continued to fail at fulfilling his duties, his decision-makers and profit-takers continued the financial irresponsibility characteristic of his reign since 1437. Soldiers defending Calais continued to wait for their long overdue wages. Debts to the earls of Salisbury and Warwick went unpaid. The enormous debt to York, now increased by his unpaid salary as protector, was reduced by only 450 pounds worth of tallies, which were difficult to cash. London merchants continued to wait for long overdue repayment of loans they had made to the

government. Meanwhile, "the crown ... granted away badly needed sources of revenue to a small and highly favored circle of magnates," including the duke of Exeter, the earl of Shrewsbury, Viscount Beaumont, and Jasper Tudor, Henry VI's half brother.⁽⁹⁸⁾ To raise revenue between 1457 and 1459, Henry VI's decision-makers and profit-takers resorted to an unpopular expedient called "distrain of knighthood;" money raised this way went "straight to the household."⁽⁹⁹⁾ Another revenue raising effort was unsuccessful: commissions set up between May 1456-November 1457 studied methods of transmuting base metals into coin. Ignoring earlier laws against transmutation, Henry VI's officials ordered coin production to start as soon as experiments proved effective.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ No evidence of coin production has survived.

The Loveday of March 1458 failed to substitute ritual for meaningful reforms. Henry VI's decision-makers and profit-takers continued the fiction that Henry VI was making his own decisions. Demands for obedience grew more intense as the government grew weaker. In spite of official attempts to remove him, Warwick kept his grip on the captaincy of Calais; and his piracies in 1458-1459 not only spotlighted government weaknesses, they made Warwick very popular.⁽¹⁰¹⁾ Henry VI's government needed the Company of the Staple's loans; but the staplers grew unwilling to add new loans to the many loans that hadn't been repaid. In order to overcome the staplers' reluctance, the government agreed to limit the amount of wool exported by "privileged royal agents;" only three months passed before the government broke this agreement.⁽¹⁰²⁾

After the Yorkist defeat at Ludford Bridge, the Coventry parliament of 1459 blocked all food shipments to Calais. The staplers were ordered to relocate their trading operations, but they were offered no assistance or compensation. Staplers, soldiers, southerners, Londoners began to see York and Warwick as better defenders of their welfare than the absentee king in Coventry.⁽¹⁰³⁾ The Coventry parliament also attainted York, Salisbury, Warwick, March and other supporters. The attainer described York as a long-standing traitor and Henry VI as a "just and 'fit' king."⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ Although York's loyalty may have been doubtful, Henry VI's record demonstrates the inaccuracy of the attainer's claims for him.

An authoritarian tract titled *Somnium Vigilantis*, dismissing six Yorkist demands for reform, attempted to win public approval of the attainer.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ But *Somnium Vigilantis* offered no solution to the problem of authority: asserting that the common welfare depended on obedience didn't make a king demonstrably incapable of making his own decisions competent to rule. Since there

was good reason to doubt that Henry VI was making the decisions behind official acts, there was good reason to question the validity of officials' acts.

Between 1450 and 1460, York repeatedly questioned the validity of official actions by accusing "evil councilors" of restricting the king's accessibility to his people and the facts. It was the only way York could call for reform without making himself a traitor. Those who felt exploited by Henry VI's government hoped that York would relieve their oppression; and York appealed for popular support by circulating explanations of his grievances. In 1460, a letter drawn up in York's name was widely distributed. Among the twelve grievances listed were: oppressive purveyance; ineffective resumption acts; distraining knights; biased enforcement of laws; blocking shipment of resources to Calais.⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ The "evil councilors" held responsible for these grievances were the earl of Shrewsbury, the earl of Wiltshire, the earl of Pembroke, and Viscount Beaumont; strangely, the duke of Somerset was omitted. Although York's letter restates his loyalty to Henry VI, it does not include Henry VI's son.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ This letter may have been planned while Warwick was in Ireland with York, and the omission of Prince Edward may reflect an agreement that the time for York to claim the throne had come.⁽¹⁰⁸⁾

Between March-May 1460, Warwick was in Ireland with York. Their plans for returning to England may have included replacing Prince Edward with York and his sons, but no surviving documents prove that York and Warwick were planning to depose Henry VI. Waurin's chronicle, written in the 1460s, claims that Warwick didn't realize York was planning to replace Henry VI in October 1460.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ This claim raises questions. Could Warwick and York have spent two months planning their return to England without discussing York's claim to the throne? Would York have returned to England as he did if he and Warwick hadn't decided at some point between March and May 1460 to depose Henry VI? Ten years of semi-isolation and reprimands should have convinced York that the majority of lords would support Henry VI's claim against his. If York was deceiving Warwick, why did he think he could replace Henry VI without Warwick's support? Did Warwick inform York about the loyalty oaths he and the earl of March were making as they moved from Calais to Northampton? Or did Warwick withhold news about these oaths from York, hoping to persuade York to delay his claim to the throne after York returned from Ireland? What other sources of information about events in England did York have? Did York trust inaccurate reports about conditions in England? Or did York misinterpret accurate reports? If Warwick did inform York about the

loyalty oaths and a need to modify plans made in Ireland, did York ignore Warwick's messages? Did York decide to make his claim to the throne in spite of Warwick's warnings? Or did he think he could persuade Warwick to follow through on their original plan once they had joined forces in England? Is it more likely that Warwick changed his mind without informing York? Or is it more likely that York persisted with plans made in Ireland despite Warwick's effort to change plans in conformance with the loyalty oaths he and March had sworn?

The papal legate, Francesco Coppini, who was supposed to be persuading Englishmen to replace their conflicts with a crusade, sided with Warwick and March instead. Coppini's reports to Pope Pius II suggest that Warwick and March supported York's claim to the throne at the same time that they were making loyalty oaths to Henry VI. Coppini reported that Warwick said York ought to be king, and the Yorkists intended to replace their enemies at Henry VI's side and govern the kingdom, allowing Henry VI "only the bare name of sovereign."⁽¹¹⁰⁾ At the battle of Northampton, Warwick and March ordered their troops to spare king and commons, emphasizing their claim to be "rescuing the king and kingdom from unworthy and oppressive rulers."⁽¹¹¹⁾ After their victory, they repeated their professions of loyalty to Henry VI, without York's "specific endorsement."⁽¹¹²⁾

While Warwick and March were reestablishing Yorkist government in London, York was consolidating his power in Ireland. York approved the "creation of an autonomous Irish currency, which stopped the overvaluing of English coinage" and the "outflow of silver."⁽¹¹³⁾ Then he defeated a Gaelic Irish family, the O'Reillys, in battle and arranged to prevent them from creating further disturbances.⁽¹¹⁴⁾ York's popularity in Ireland suggests that many Irishmen felt York was maintaining the common welfare as well as his own. Having achieved some order in Ireland, York left for England in early September, 1460.

By the time York arrived, Warwick, Salisbury and March had set up the "main features of Yorkist rule."⁽¹¹⁵⁾ Just as they had done in 1455, the Nevilles and Bourchiers gave more offices and money to themselves than York.⁽¹¹⁶⁾ Did this mean they still intended to replace Henry VI with York? Or were they making themselves as strong as possible in anticipation of a quarrel with York over a change of plans? Had circumstances caused Warwick and Salisbury to change their minds about replacing Henry VI with York? "It seemed less and less necessary (and certainly dangerously provocative) to unseat Henry VI."⁽¹¹⁷⁾ Was York uninformed about a change of Neville intentions, or was he

informed but unwilling to accept a change of plan? R.A. Griffiths comments: “Either [York] was steadfastly adhering to an earlier agreement with Warwick, or he had decided to regard the Yorkist victory as a prelude to his own enthronement.”⁽¹¹⁸⁾ On his way to London, York acted as if he expected the Nevilles to keep an earlier agreement to replace Henry VI. After September 13, 1460 he omitted Henry VI’s regnal year from his indenture contracts, and he displayed the arms of his mother’s ancestor, Lionel of Clarence.⁽¹¹⁹⁾ Warwick met York at Shrewsbury and spent four days with him there.⁽¹²⁰⁾ If Warwick proposed a change of plans, York’s actions suggest that he rejected the proposal. If Warwick tried and failed to convince York to delay his claim to the throne, Warwick may have left York to pursue his claim alone.⁽¹²¹⁾ But it is possible that Warwick didn’t try to discourage York from claiming the throne. Warwick may have encouraged York’s public demonstrations in support of his claim; and York may have believed Warwick was going to raise support on his way to London.⁽¹²²⁾ Warwick may have deceived York just as he may have deceived the troops who deserted him at Ludford Bridge.

Whatever happened between York and Warwick in Shrewsbury, York’s entry into London—with trumpets sounding and his sword borne upright before him—suggests that he believed he had enough support to claim the throne.⁽¹²³⁾ Treating the royal palace “as if it were his own” also suggests that York believed he could replace Henry VI.⁽¹²⁴⁾ Unlike 1450, no account book showing that York provided food for his supporters in 1460 seems to have survived.

On October 10, 1460, backed by eight hundred armed men, York entered the parliament chamber with his sword again borne upright before him. There he presented his claim to the throne.⁽¹²⁵⁾ Both lords and commons rejected York’s claim. York refused to withdraw his claim, but he had to accept a compromise. York was declared heir apparent, and his sons replaced Prince Edward as heirs to the throne. York and his two oldest sons shared 10,000 marks drawn from the principality of Wales and Chester. In addition to the powers he’d exercised as protector, York received full authority to suppress conflict, with a king’s power to demand support from all subjects.⁽¹²⁶⁾ In return, York had to acknowledge Henry VI as king for life. This compromise was widely publicized, at York’s request, so that everyone would understand that parliament had agreed to this “momentous dynastic adjustment.”⁽¹²⁷⁾

Margaret of Anjou and her supporters rejected the compromise. While Margaret of Anjou negotiated with the Scots, the duke of Somerset and the earl of Devon

joined forces with the earl of Northumberland, Lord Clifford and other northern lords at Hull. York and his supporters began to recruit troops in November; but money and manpower were limited. The Yorkists planned to recover the castles of Pontefract and Wressle as well as York’s lands in the West Riding. On December 2, 1460, York, Salisbury, and the earl of Rutland left London. Apparently they did not realize how much opposition they would face. Some twentieth century histo-



Tomb of Richard III's parents, Fotheringhay

rians have described York as overconfident, because he moved north slowly, recruiting troops as he went. Whether or not York was overconfident, he was unable to assemble a large, well-trained army. Apparently he received inaccurate reports about conditions at Sandal Castle. He arrived to find the castle under-supplied. Lancastrians had selectively destroyed Yorkist property in the area. Somerset controlled Pontefract Castle. Devon controlled the city of York, and troops surrounding York blocked access to supplies. York’s troops were badly outnumbered.⁽¹²⁸⁾

Fifteenth century chronicles and twentieth century historians give conflicting versions of York’s death. According to Bertram Wolffe, only the Croyland Chronicle attributes the defeat at Wakefield to York’s rashness; six other chronicles attribute the Yorkist defeat to Lancastrian treachery.⁽¹²⁹⁾ “It was alleged that they had been taken by surprise and treachery, against the law of arms, while their forces were dispersed in foraging parties, under protection of a truce.”⁽¹³⁰⁾ Somerset’s record of attacks on York and Warwick gives credibility to the versions that attribute York’s death to treachery. The Croyland Chronicle’s bias against Richard III suggests that its attribution of rashness to York may be unfair and inaccurate. However York died, the lack of supplies at Sandal Castle was ironic. At London, in 1450, despite the government’s failure to pay its enormous debts to

York, he had provided food and supplies for his supporters. In 1460, when long overdue payments and reforms finally seemed attainable, York lost the battle of Wakefield and his life.

References

1. Johnson, P. A. *Duke Richard of York, 1411-1460*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991, p. 89.
2. Griffiths, R. A. *The Reign of King Henry VI*. Phoenix Mill, Gloucestershire: Sutton Pub., 2004, p. 321.
3. Ibid., p. 322.
4. Wolffe, Bertram. *Henry VI*. New Haven & London: Yale Univ. Press, 2001, p. 106.
5. Ibid., p. 111.
6. Ibid., p. 116.
7. Ibid., p. 111-112.
8. Griffiths, R. A., op. cit., p. 335.
9. Storey, R. L. *The End of the House of Lancaster*. Phoenix Mill, Gloucestershire: Sutton Pub., 1999, p. 55.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid., p. 57.
12. Griffiths, R. A., op. cit., p. 334.
13. Ibid., p. 335.
14. Ibid., p. 334; p. 339; p. 346.
15. Ibid., p. 331.
16. Ibid., p. 376.
17. Ibid., p. 404.
18. Ibid., p. 405.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid. pp. 405-406.
21. Ibid., p. 668.
22. Johnson, P. A., op. cit., p. 28; Griffiths, R. A., op. cit., p. 460.
23. Johnson, P. A., op. cit., p. 36.
24. Ibid., p. 37.
25. Ibid., p. 40.
26. Griffiths, R. A., op. cit., p. 463.
27. Ibid.
28. Wolffe, Bertram, op. cit., p. 163.
29. Griffiths, R. A., op. cit., p. 466.
30. Wolffe, Bertram, op. cit., p. 164.
31. Griffiths, R. A., op. cit., p. 467.
32. Ibid., p. 468.
33. Ibid.; Wolffe, Bertram, op. cit., p. 165.
34. Ibid.
35. Griffiths, R. A., op. cit., p. 377.
36. Wolffe, Bertram, op. cit., p. 165.
37. Ibid.
38. Griffiths, R. A., op. cit., p. 469.
39. Johnson, P. A., op. cit., p. 50.
40. Griffiths, R. A., op. cit., p. 674.
41. Johnson, P. A., op. cit., pp. 53-54.
42. Griffiths, R. A., op. cit., p. 674.
43. Johnson, P. A., op. cit., pp. 68-76.
44. Ibid., p. 76.
45. Griffiths, R. A., op. cit., p. 675.
46. Ibid.
47. Jones, Michael K., *Bosworth 1485; psychology of a battle*. Stroud, Gloucestershire: Tempus Pub., 2002, p. 41.
48. Griffiths, R. A., op. cit., p. 704, n. 54; Jones, Michael K., op. cit., p. 54.
49. Watts, John. *Henry VI and the politics of kingship*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1999, p. 26, n. 73.
50. Griffiths, R. A., op. cit., pp. 496-498.
51. Ibid., p. 499; Storey, R.L., op. cit., p. 46; Wolffe, Bertram, op. cit., pp. 131-132.
52. Griffiths, R. A., op. cit., p. 499.
53. De Commynes, Philippe. *Memoirs; the reign of Louis XI, 1461-83*. Trans. by Michael Jones. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1972, pp. 413-414.
54. Johnson, P. A., op. cit., pp. 78-85; Griffiths, R. A., op. cit., pp. 686-689; Wolffe, Bertram, op. cit., pp. 241-243; Storey, R. L., op. cit., p. 76.
55. Johnson, P. A., op. cit., pp. 88-89; Watts, John., op. cit., p. 274; Storey, R.L., op. cit., p. 80.
56. Griffiths, R. A., op. cit., p. 690; Wolffe, Bertram, op. cit., p. 243.
57. Griffiths, R. A., op. cit., p. 690.
58. Johnson, P. A., op. cit., p. 90; Griffiths, R. A., op. cit., p. 691.
59. Johnson, P. A., op. cit., pp. 90-91.
60. Wolffe, Bertram, op. cit., p. 244; Griffiths, R. A., op. cit., p. 648.
61. Ibid., p. 691.
62. Ibid.
63. Watts, John, op. cit., p. 266.
64. Castor, Helen. *Blood and Roses*. New York: Harper Collins, 2006, p. 27; Watts, John, op. cit., p. 21; Wolffe, Bertram, op. cit., p. 116.
65. Watts, John, op. cit., pp. 18-19; p. 21; p. 61; pp. 77-78; p. 195.
66. Ibid., p. 77-78; p. 297.
67. Ibid., p. 36.
68. Ibid., p. 61.
69. Ibid., p. 199.
70. Griffiths, R. A., op. cit., p. 649; Wolffe, Bertram, op. cit., p. 245.
71. Watts, John. *Introduction* to: Wolffe, Bertram. *Henry VI*. New Haven & London: Yale Univ. Press, 2001, p. xxii-xxiii.
72. Watts, John. *Henry VI and the politics of kingship*, p. 190.
73. Ibid., p. 195; p. 297.
74. Ibid., p. 298.
75. Ibid., p. 190.
76. Ibid., p. 316.
77. Ibid., p. 297.

78. Griffiths, R. A., op. cit., p. 389; Johnson, P. A., op. cit., p. 93.
79. Wolffe, Bertram, op. cit., pp. 230-231.
80. Griffiths, R. A., op. cit., pp. 389-390.
81. Johnson, P. A., op. cit., pp. 93-94.
82. Ibid., p. 160.
83. Griffiths, R. A., op. cit., p. 750-751; Johnson, P. A., op. cit., p. 173.
84. Maurer, Helen. *Margaret of Anjou; queenship and power in late medieval England*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2003, pp. 127-131.
85. Griffiths, R. A., op. cit., pp. 772-773; p. 812.
86. Maurer, Helen, op. cit., p. 131.
87. Ibid., pp. 132-33.
88. Ibid., p. 144.
89. Ibid.
90. Ibid., pp. 137-138; p. 147; Griffiths, R. A., op. cit., p. 799.
91. Maurer, Helen, op. cit., p. 149.
92. Ibid., pp. 11-13.
93. Ibid., p. 127; p. 170, n. 69.
94. Ibid., p. 144; pp. 149-150; Griffiths, R. A., op. cit., p. 775; p. 800.
95. Maurer, Helen, op. cit., p. 145.
96. Ibid.
97. Griffiths, R. A., op. cit., p. 815.
98. Ibid., pp. 803-804.
99. Ibid., p. 787.
100. Ibid.
101. Maurer, Helen. op. cit., p. 160; Griffiths, R. A., op. cit., pp. 808- 809.
102. Ibid., pp. 809-810.
103. Ibid., p. 810.
104. Maurer, Helen, op. cit., p. 169.
105. Ibid.
106. Johnson, P. A., op. cit., pp. 201-203.
107. Ibid., p. 204.
108. Maurer, Helen, op. cit., pp. 176-177; Johnson, P. A., op. cit., pp. 205-206.
109. Ibid., p. 212.
110. Maurer, Helen, op. cit., pp. 176-177.
111. Griffiths, R. A., op. cit., p. 862.
112. Ibid., p. 863.
113. Johnson, P. A., op. cit., p. 199.
114. Ibid., p. 198.
115. Griffiths, R. A., op. cit., p. 866.
116. Johnson, P. A., op. cit., p. 206.
117. Griffiths, R. A., op. cit., p. 867.
118. Ibid.
119. Ibid.
120. Johnson, P. A., op. cit., pp. 211-212.
121. Ibid., p. 212.
122. Ibid.
123. Griffiths, R. A., op. cit., p. 867
124. Ibid.
125. Johnson, P. A., op. cit., p. 214.
126. Ibid., p. 219; Griffiths, R. A., op. cit., p. 869.
127. Ibid.
128. Johnson, P. A., op. cit., pp. 220-223.
129. Wolffe, Bertram, op. cit., p. 327, n. 61.
130. Ibid., p. 326.

About the Author

Marion Davis has spent most of her life in the Potomac River Region. In high school, she became interested in English history and Shakespeare's plays, but she always felt they were separate subjects. After reading Thomas Costain's series on medieval English kings, Kendall's biography of Richard III, and Alison Hanham's *Richard III and his early historians*, she decided that Shakespeare's character occupied a different kind of reality from the historical Richard III and went on to explore other interests.

Since finding the American Branch's website in late 2003, Marion has enjoyed exploring the abundance of new research about Richard III and his times. She joined the Society in April, 2004.

*The Grand Old Duke of York
he had ten thousand men,
he marched them up to the top of the hill
and he marched them down again.*

*When they were up they were up
and when they were down they were down
and when they were only half way up
they were neither up nor down*

SPECULATIONS ON FRANCIS LOVEL— RICHARD'S SHADOWY FRIEND

Joan Szechtman

In his seminal work, *Richard the Third*, Paul Murray Kendall refers to Lovel as “Richard’s oldest and dearest friend.” Of the many enigmas surrounding Richard III, none may be so odd than that of Francis Lovel. This article will focus on two major periods that are mired in mystery: When did he first become acquainted with Richard; and, what happened to Lovel after the Battle of Stoke? Major details of his life are skimmed and some milestones are summarized at the end of this article.

Although born into a wealthy and powerful family, Lovel was orphaned when he was nine and became a ward of Edward IV. Mindful of his debt to the Earl of Warwick for having tutored his baby brother in the art of warfare, Edward used the revenues of the Lovel lands to pay for both Richard’s and Francis’ wardship.

By September 1464, Edward IV had secretly married Elizabeth Woodville, foiling Warwick’s plans for a French marriage. Edward’s marriage created a rift between the king and king maker. By May of that year, Richard was at court in Greenwich, ending his tutelage under Warwick.

There is the romantic notion that Francis and Richard hooked up in 1467 at Middleham, but by the time Warwick assumed Lovel’s wardship, Richard was long gone. However, Richard was in York at the time, serving in a commission of Oyer and Terminer*. So while they weren’t under the same roof, it’s entirely possible their paths crossed.

Perhaps Edward had asked Richard to check up on Warwick and also verify that the annuities from Francis’ lands were being properly managed. Richard had lost his father at age eight, just a little younger than when Francis had lost his father. At only four years Francis’ senior, Richard may have had sympathy for this boy, perhaps seeing a reflection of himself at a similar age. He might have chosen to get close to Francis for personal reasons. While it’s impossible to know if this happened, it cannot be ruled out.

If they didn’t come together at that time, when is the next potential time they might have joined up? We know that Francis and his wife Anna became members of York’s Corpus Christi Guild in 1473. By then, Richard had married Anne Neville and lived with her at Middleham. While Richard and Anne Neville didn’t join the guild until 1477, it is likely Richard and Francis

became close during this time. One reason could be that Francis did not receive his majority until 1477. He may have sought Richard’s alliance as a political necessity. Alternatively, Edward may have instructed Richard to monitor Lovel.

We do know that Lovel served with Richard at least from 1480 and that he

participated in the border wars against Scotland, for which Richard received praise from parliament.

In 1485, in anticipation of Henry invading England, Richard had Lovel defending in the south of England at Southampton. He was there in early August and it is in debate as to whether Richard summoned Lovel at all or in time for him to have joined him at Bosworth. Regardless, Lovel did survive the battle and went into Sanctuary with Thomas and Humphrey Stafford in Colchester. There they fomented a rebellion. Lovel returned to York in the spring of 1486 to muster troops. However the rebellion was quickly put down and he fled to Flanders where he took refuge with Richard’s sister Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy.

In Burgundy, Lovel met John de la Pole, Earl of Lincoln, where they plotted Henry’s overthrow. The rebels had a priest instruct Lambert Simnel, a ten-year-old boy, to impersonate Edward, Earl of Warwick. On 24 May 1487 Lincoln, Lovel, Margaret, et. al. installed Simnel as Edward VI in a ceremony in Dublin. Henry had the real Earl of Warwick imprisoned in the Tower.**

From Ireland, Lovel went to England and rebelled at the Battle of Stoke. Henry was triumphant again, and the impostor, Lambert Simnel was captured. Henry’s soldiers slaughtered most of the rebels. Some accounts have it that Lovel died in the battle, while others report he was seen to drown in the Trent while trying to gain the opposite bank. Neither account was confirmed. While he may have been wounded on the battle field, it is unlikely he died there because his body would have been put on display as one of the principal rebels. For the same reason, I don’t think he drowned. If Tudor’s men had seen someone they thought was Lovel drowning while trying to escape, they would have attempted to retrieve the body. Unless more comes to light, I think it plausible Lovel escaped to parts unknown.

— continued, page 18

The most persistent legend is that Lovel managed to flee south to Minister Lovell Hall where he became trapped in an underground vault and starved to death. In 1728 the Duke of Rutland reported that twenty years earlier workmen found a fully clothed skeleton when they exposed a large underground vault during excavation for a new chimney. According to legend, the skeleton, clothes, and papers disintegrated when the air filled the chamber. But, if this is true, why did Rutland wait twenty years to report it? Over the years, the story of the skeletal discovery was embellished.

After the Battle of Bosworth, Lovel sought sanctuary and subsequently fled to Burgundy. Why would he change his behavior after the Battle of Stoke by returning to in his former estate? While getting trapped in an underground vault at Minster Lovell Hall makes for a great story, I think it's apocryphal. It is more likely he either escaped to Scotland, or returned to Burgundy.

On 4 November 1488, James IV of Scotland issued safe conducts to 42 exiled Yorkists, including Lovel. It is unknown if he ever collected it.

In 1508, an inquisition to determine Lovel's disposition was held. The jury found that Lovel had escaped and was living abroad at that time, not having proof of his death.

Thus, some 500 plus years later, we are still left wondering if Richard's loyal friend died at Stoke, survived long enough to get trapped in his former manor, or outlived the man who put an end to his good friend's rule.

Notes:

* Oyer and Terminer—Anglo-French name meaning to hear and determine, a judge.

** I find it interesting that they chose a ten-year-old boy instead of someone older to match Edward V's age, and that they chose to impersonate the boy who Henry had locked in the Tower. Even though the common man may not have known Simnel was a fraud, wouldn't the officers and dignitaries who participated in this charade be aware of the real Earl of Warwick's situation? Could this choice of impostor have signaled the older prince had died before Stoke?

A brief chronology of Lovel's life:

1456 Born
Feb 1465 Father died—Francis becomes ward of the crown

14 Feb 1466 Married to Anna Fitzhugh, aged 6
13 Nov 1467 Warwick granted custody with all revenues of Lovel's estates
Summer 1470 Edward IV pardons Francis, his wife and two sisters for their part in the Warwick uprising
Mar 1471 Francis' wardship given to Edward IV's sister, Elizabeth de la Pole
1473 Francis and his wife Anna become members of the Guild of Corpus Christi in York
1477 Francis received his majority
20 June 1480 Commission of array for North Riding of Yorkshire
1480 Participated in Scots campaign with Richard, Duke of Gloucester
21 Aug 1481 Knighted by Richard, Duke of Gloucester
4 Jan 1483 Promoted to Viscount by Edward IV
19 May 1483 Edward V appointed Lovel to Chief Butler
28 Jun 1483 Richard III appointed Lovel to Chamberlain and Chief Butler
6 Jul 1483 Lovel supervises Richard III's coronation dinner
9 Dec 1483 Appointed to Parliament
1483-1485 Richard III bestows many gifts of land and title
Summer 1485 Lovel assigned to guard port in Southampton
? Aug 1485 Richard summons him to Bosworth (in dispute)
23 Aug 1485 Goes into sanctuary in Colchester with Thomas and Humphrey Stafford
Spring 1486 Leaves Sanctuary and goes to York to muster troops for rebellion. Henry suppresses rebellion and Lovel flees, ending up in Flanders with Richard III's sister Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy
24 May 1487 Ceremony to install impostor Lambert Simnel as Edward VI in Ireland
16 Jun 1487 Battle of Stoke, rebels fail, Lovel's fate unknown

Bibliography

Belenger, G. V., Francis, Viscount Lovel, Thesis (1980)
Kendall, Paul Murray, *Richard the Third* (1955), p58, pp60-61, p 156
Ricca, Joe Ann, Francis Viscount Lovel (2003), Pamphlet published by Richard III Foundation
Robottom, J., Workman, P., Carty R., Francis Lovel (1982) Pamphlet published by West Midlands branch of the Richard III Society.
Wroe, Ann, *The Perfect Prince* (2003), p91

SCHALLEK AWARD REPORT

Jill Stevenson, CUNY

In the spring of 2005 I was grateful to receive a Schallek Award from the Medieval Academy of America and the Richard III Society. That summer, I used the \$2000 award to help fund my dissertation research trip to York, England. I enrolled as a visiting student at the University of York, which offered me access to university resources, computers, a doctoral student study space, and inexpensive student housing.

It also entitled me to a faculty advisor and Sarah Rees Jones kindly agreed to act as my mentor. Her exceptional guidance, as well as the support of other faculty members at the Centre for Medieval Studies, particularly Jeremy Goldberg, who graciously gave me copies of his research notes, proved invaluable. Although enrolling as a visiting student was an expensive choice, without the resources this opportunity provided I would not have been able to direct my research as effectively as I did during the short two-month period.

During this trip I collected a large body of material related to late medieval lay devotion. I primarily spent my time examining microfilm of medieval testamentary records from the York diocese that are housed exclusively at the Borthwick Institute and the York Minster Library Archives. I also examined original probate records held at these institutions. My goal was to find evidence of devotional images and objects kept in the lay home, and I collected a great deal of data related to this from these documents.

In addition, I spent time in York's medieval parish churches examining their art and architecture, as well as medieval devotional objects housed locally. One particular object I examined was the Pavement Hours, a fifteenth-century primer in the York Minster Library collection. This book, about which I knew nothing before arriving in York, not only served as a crucial example in the final chapter of my dissertation, but was also the subject of an article I published this past summer in *Material Religion: The Journal of Objects, Art, and Belief*.

My hands-on study of this devotional object was enhanced greatly by the help of Amelia Grounds, one of the Minster archivists who is also a former University of York student and who wrote her thesis on this

manuscript. She willingly gave me a copy of her thesis, an indispensable resource after I returned to the U.S. and began writing the dissertation. She and Peter Young, the Minster's chief archivist, also helped me, months after my trip, to obtain images of the manuscript.

To supplement this local research, I also had a very productive visit to the Museum of London. Although the medieval section of this museum's exhibit was closed for renovation, the curator, John Clark, kindly provided me with access to a large percentage of its collection of medieval lay devotional objects. My notes and photos from that visit proved useful not only for the dissertation, but also for the revisions I am currently undertaking to adapt the dissertation into a book.

This trip constituted my first experience undertaking extensive primary research and it reinforced for me the value of working directly with evidence. My interest in medieval churches and devotional objects centers on the physical encounters that medieval laypeople had with them, and the way this interaction relates to the physical encounter constructed during medieval performances. Therefore, the importance of this trip lay not only in collecting evidence from the archive, but also in working physically with that evidence. Holding the Pavement Hours in my hands did not give me direct access to the medieval layperson's experience of that book, but it certainly raised questions and generated ideas that only a physical encounter could prompt.

Because this trip served as the foundation for my future research, it is obvious that the Schallek Award will continue to support my work for years to come.

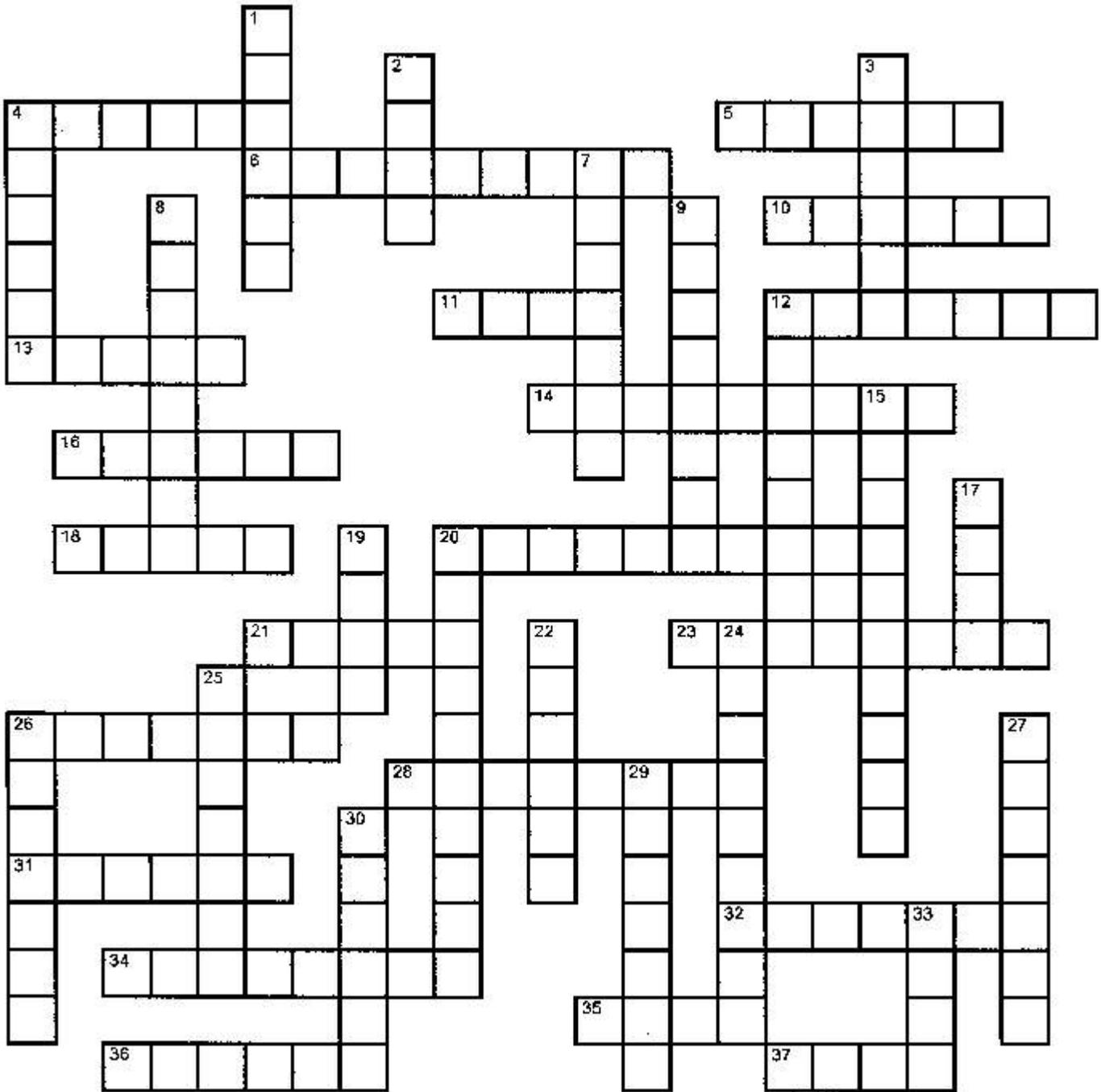
Offered by the Medieval Academy in collaboration with the Richard III Society—American Branch, the Schallek Award supports research in any field focusing on late-medieval Britain (c. 1350–1500). The award is made possible by a generous gift to the Richard III Society from William B. and Maryloo Spooner Schallek. For details, visit the Medieval Academy website (<http://www.MedievalAcademy.org>).



FARM

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.

Farming is the focus of this puzzle. Many of the words were more frequently used prior to the mid-15th century. As a result of working on this puzzle, both Marion and I were reminded of the tremendous changes in economic and societal structures after the Black Death.



Solution on page 28

Across

4. Measure of dry goods; about 8 gallons.
5. Manuscript illuminators and stained glass artists represented the months of the year by showing peasants at work. These images were called _____ of the months.
6. After the Black Death, English agriculture produced less grain and more _____.
10. Castrated sheep; at least in its 2nd year; AKA “hogg” or “hogget.”
11. Verb; to lease
12. A general term for animal diseases.
13. In addition to their share of the fields, peasants had the use of meadows, wastes, _____ and pastures although in many cases, fees were applied for use.
14. Especially post-1348. System which saw previously open fields closed to support sheep-raising.
16. In the “Tres Riches Heures du Duc du Berry,” the labor for September is harvesting _____.
18. The crest in a strip of plowed land.
20. This devastating 14th century epidemic had powerful effects on agriculture in 15th century England.
21. Area enclosed by ditch or fence often adjacent to the cottage; contained livestock and outbuildings.
23. In the “Tres Riches Heures du Duc du Berry,” one of July’s labors is _____ sheep.
26. After the epidemic, labor shortages made _____ unprofitable for land owners, so they earned more money by leasing their land to tenant farmers.
28. After Bosworth, _____ compensated the farmers of Merevale, Atherstone, and neighboring villages for crops trampled by his mercenaries.
31. August 1; holiday to mark the end of the hay harvest and beginning of the grain harvest.
32. Land on the manor reserved for the lord’s use. Usually worked by those who owed labor services to the lord.
34. Often restricted to the old and infirm, _____ involved gathering the residue left after crops were mowed.
35. In the “Tres Riches Heures du Duc du Berry,” November’s image shows herders fattening their _____ in the woods.
36. In the “Tres Riches Heures du Duc du Berry,” the labor for the month of _____ was reaping grain.
37. Garden area of a cottage, typically in front.

Down

1. Unplowed or unplanted. Fields were left _____ to allow them to regenerate.
2. English farmers often used _____ to pull plows

because they were more manageable and less expensive than horses.

3. Inhabitant of a cottage. Generally someone without much land, if any, and as a result, owing little labor service. Also spelled with “a.”
4. Poor peasants had to _____ a team and plow, because they couldn’t afford their own.
7. Peasants’ cows and sheep grazed on the _____. As opposed to “severalty” which denoted land not subject to communal use.
8. Small easement of land at ends of farmed strips; allowed for access and area for plows to be turned.
9. Medieval England had two field layouts: the _____ field system formed square or rectangular fields. Most often found in the west, northwest, and southeast of England, this system saw individual farmers working parcels of land separated from neighbors’ parcels by ditches, walls or hedgerows.
12. A plot of land containing a house and outbuildings.
15. The legend of the fields spared and fields laid waste says that on the road to Bosworth, _____ ordered his troops to stay on the road and avoid trampling the crops.
17. Medieval England had two field layouts: the _____ field system divided village lands into large fields of 1,000+ acres with each villager who had rights to do so, rotating crops on small strips of land. AKA the “champion” system of farming.
19. Wealthier peasants could afford farming equipment including such instruments as: a wagon, harrow, shovel, fork, flail, winnowing fan, and _____.
20. In England, St. Martin’s Day, in November, was dedicated to _____, salting, and smoking meats.
22. The “valley” created by a plow.
24. Historian Barbara Hanawalt notes that in one period “59% of village _____ resulted from boundary fights in the fields during plowing or harvesting.”
25. A measure of land sufficient to support one family; about 30 modern acres.
26. A group of strips of land; each _____ was planted with the same crop.
27. Land that reverted to its lord.
29. Not free; a person bound to a manorial court and owing labor service to a lord.
30. Especially pre-1348. A death duty paid by a dead villein’s heir to the lord usually in the form of the best animal.
33. A small horse.

THE LADY OF THE LAKES AND THE WHITE BOAR

Virginia Poch

The third day of November broke windy and refreshingly cool, relieving the sultriness of an overlong summer and heralding fall to bustling denizens of Village of Hickory Grove and its nearby forest. Nodding in approval with the blustery revelry, unfurled Yorkist colors, the great white boar prancing on a field of blue and burgundy, were the “standards” of King Richard III. Flying from outward tent poles of the Richard III Society booth, they staked their ground with blazoned greeting. Like some mystical Brigadoon, the renaissance village reappeared within a modern central Florida recreation park known as Hickory Pointe.\

Once again, braving the rival but friendly confines of the Tudor-themed Lady of the Lakes Renaissance Faire in Central Florida, the flags representing the king stood. As in the previous year of expansion, the fair grounds hosted a temporary “village” in the sun-drenched clearing within the 68 acre park.

Last minute flurry before the trumpets and bells belated the fair’s opening made the early morning pass swiftly. With fanfare they came on, commanding the land like Vikings, filling the grounds with shouts, classes of eighth grade public school students thundering into the welcoming reception of Student Friday, act one of the three day fair. So began our fourth year bringing a bit of Plantagenet lore to Tudor England in the shire of Lake.

A member of the original stalwart band of Florida Ricardians, Janice Wentworth, is preparing for a move with her family to New Mexico. Packed away for shipping was the sturdy shade tent which last season hosted the traveling musicians’ camp of those intrepid record-ing artists, “The Wyndes of Tyme”.

Richard Endress, ever trusty, ably compensated by extending the side fabric outward fixing them to new wooden stakes. Came he at the ready with all his building tools and did marvelous to behold on the spot home improvement wonders Thursday before the fair. Thus does one 10 by 10 foot tent become shade and shelter for musicians, kings, scholars and students, alike. Positioned as they were, the tent polls also provided an opportunity to fly the Ricardian colors to better effect. Make mention, too, that ever bonny good friend, Helen Homan, pitched a helping hand that afternoon and so were we able to meet the vendor readiness deadline.

Comfortably accommodated on the left side was the musicians encampment and on the right, a fresh open air classroom for the School Day interactive demonstrations. Each section bestrode the booth’s informational

exhibit tables. Five hay bales were brought in by the fair friend and Ricardian, Amalee Mahoney.

Carmen Cullen, Lady of the Lakes Faire Committee Chairman for the sponsoring Education Foundation of Lake County (see website lakerenfaire.com) donated the double booth space in return for our providing educational programs and given the Society’s volunteer non-profit status, a boon for promotion of the Society and its message. The Educational Foundation’s goal was to raise funds for the county public school system, as well as for an entertainment center which remains the project of the Performing Arts of Lake and Sumter Counties, the fair’s past principle organizer and founder.

Situated once again in the mythic “Enchanted Forest,” moss draped cypress trees provided a romantic hue with dappled sun play on the leaf carpeted root ribbed ‘forest’ floor. We were but a rat catcher’s swing from last year’s spot, but closer to the Lake Harris shoreline. There was faire vision to behold at nearly every vantage, looking out on to the woodland community from one direction and but turning a bit to view the conjunction of two waters, Lake Harris and with its companion Little Lake Harris marked by the bridge that is State Road 19. The park, normally a multi use waterfront recreational park, was transformed for these days into Tudor playland.

Village festivals were commanded by Queen Catherine and King Henry, to promote peace and contentment in the land. This festival was graced with a visit by those august Royals. Nobles and villagers put their best foot forward and brought a bit of the Renaissance to the hills and lakes of Central Florida. To be enjoyed were games of chance, merriment, music and dance, pirates and dragon boat rides, jousts and swordsmen, beautiful maidens, noble lords, and, the White Boar. Students trouped around the village to take in the excitement of the fair, the demonstrations, and a little shopping. Teachers and students made their way to the sign of the Boar to have a go at the activities our members prepared. Calligraphy, the ancient art of penmanship, was illustrated by Richard using his authentically styled quill pens and crafted wooden ink wells. “Brass rubbing,” on resin monument replicas, was a learning experience from which the students could take souvenirs of their window into medieval culture. Orlando area member, Dikki Jo Mullen enchanted students with fascinating ribbon readings. The origins are lost in misty time, but the game was a popular curiosity

of a distant age when folk amused themselves by “reading” personality from a selected ribbon. And, too, were the lyrical recorder performances of our visiting Medieval/Renaissance musicians. Richard, Janice and Amalee founded and nurtured a company of fellow acolytes under the tutelage of a professional musician at the community college. The players participated all weekend and drew interest with their wonderfully spun gossamer harmonies.

Sadly, we missed having Dr. Peter Hancock’s expertise and great story telling this year. As he had a prior commitment. Entertaining and enlightening, he is always a treat to listen to and learn from, be it young student or old history hand.

Saturday brought a new wave of curious seekers after renaissance lore. It, too, was busy, but more relaxed after the structure of Education Day. Individuals and crowds in varieties of costume or modern dress, sauntered past, paused a bit, variously listened to the music, viewed the exhibits, asked questions and heard a brief version of the story of King Richard and the Society. Or, with children in tow, they tugged at the child friendly oversized dragon mascot lounging at the boundaries of the booth. Periodically, the nearby naughty bawdy Washing Well Wenchers drew large crowds from which we snagged a few of the more serious minded.

Visiting the Ricardian booth was his noble presence, Lord Nigel Southwick, played by Brad Hanaforpe whose gamesmen, the Royal Chessmen, appear annually at this faire. Bearing greetings from the Royal and noble households, he provided the day’s list of clues to the endlessly popular treasure hunt. Treasure seekers would plead aid in eliminating wrong answers from those villagers wearing the tiny white rose insignia. In return for such knowledge, they were to perform a service. Where else but to the house of the White Rose would one expect to find right ready reception and excellent guidance. Naturally, being skillful barterers and recognizing profitable enterprise where it may lie, loyally, we bade them call out a rousing cheer for “good king Richard III.”

Joining our merry crew, Janice, with her daughter and friends, brought good cheer and support during the high days of the fair. While we will miss having Janice with us, she has pledged to make a return next season.

The welcome mat is, as always, laid for visiting Society members and rumors were afoot that we might be so privileged. It was thought one gentleman who stopped may have been such, but while it turned out his interest was high, he was not a member. However, with a brochure and bookmark in hand, we have great expectations.

Gaining admiration from another patron was the lovely calligraphy on “Richard’s Prayer” part of a collage poster display and other memorabilia from the 2004

Canadian and American Branches’ combined AGM which Dikki Jo attended and so generously put together. The poster aptly illustrates the art, the education, the good fellowship and the right merry madness of the annual general meetings.

A fair offers the chance to meet and greet all kinds of people with an amazingly eclectic range of interests. We perform our well savored duty and useful service in many ways, from distinguishing Richard the Lionhearted from Richard III to chronicling the history of Western Civilization in two minutes or less, and all with good cheer.

A sure delight to parents and their children, was Helen’s large colorful stuffed dragon which we now know is called Nog. Nog is made of parachute material suited to the wear and tear of children sitting on it and pulling on its ample head. As a foundling discovered on the streets of New York by Helen’s daughter, its origin remained a mystery. The mystery was solved when a gentleman eyed it laying tentside, said he worked at the factory which crafted “Nog.” Alas, Nog’s reaching collectable status as he’s no longer being made and may be one of the last of his kind. On a smaller scale but equally an object of wide eyed childhood curiosity was the contents of a basket Dame Helen carried. Peeking out at the world with equal bemusement while perched on the rim of the wicker basket was a newly “hatched” baby dragon, complete with broken (duck) egg.

On Sunday, Richard discovered portrait artist, Dian Marshall of Glamouratures and had his portrait done in felt pen on canvas. It drew much admiring interest among our party and gave rise to the notion to commission one of our king. As a result, all could now gaze upon his freshly rendered royal countenance. Yet another portrait enters the galaxy of Ricardian art.

By the end of the day, everyone was tired, windtossed, but comforted in the serenity of a mission accomplished for another year. Naturally, the success of the venture for the Society can only be measured in new memberships and a greater awareness of the real history surrounding the last of the Plantagenets. Many thanks to the Society Board for its support and the donation of bookmarks and brochures which Pamela Butler sent and were most popular. And a big thank you to the Education Foundation, its sponsors and the Lady of the Lakes Faire Board for providing us with the wonderful opportunity of the booth for this year’s fair. Invitations were received by Janice from several other fairs, but, unfortunately, given everyone’s schedules, it wasn’t possible to participate this time, but clearly the word is spreading.

There is as ever a standing invitation to members to participate and visit us at future fairs.



RICARDIAN READING

Myrna Smith

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

Except for the tendency to write articles about the Modern Girl and allow his side-whiskers to grow, there is nothing an author today has to guard against more carefully than the Saga habit. The least slackening of vigilance and the thing has gripped him. He writes a story.

Another story dealing with the same characters occurs to him, and he writes that. He feels that just one more won't hurt him, and he writes a third. And before he knows where he is, he is down with a Saga, and no cure in sight.

– P.G. Wodehouse, *BLANDINGS CASTLE*,
Preface

Herewith we have a number of books that are part of a series, some that may well be, or should be, and a one-off by way of contrast.

📖 *No Place To Hide* – Joan Wolfe, Harper paperbacks, NY, 1999

📖 *The Poisoned Serpent* – Joan Wolfe, Avon Books, NY, 2000

Since the main characters from the first book carry on into the second, I decided to review them together. The plot concerns a young man, Hugh, kidnapped as a child and adopted into a loving family, who is recognized as the heir of the Earl of Wiltshire. The first book concerns his acknowledgment by his uncle and his falling in love with Cristen, a girl who is aristocratic but too far below him on the scale of aristocrats to ever aspire to be his wife. The second book dwells on Hugh's efforts to marry Cristen and his re-establishment of a childhood rivalry with the son of the Sheriff of Lincoln.

The plots are superficial and predictable. The characters lack dimension. Hugh is small but elegant, strong and always wins. His only flaw is that he has migraine headaches. Cristen (an unusual name for the period) is lovely and a healer. She has brown eyes. Most heroines in romantic novels have blue or green eyes. Hugh's enemy appears perfect and is respected and admired by everyone but Hugh. He is a large man, the perfect knight, but of course the petite Hugh kills him in the end, and his villainy is proved to all.

The books are set in the 12th century, early in the dynastic war between Stephen and Matilda. The war, so disastrous to the population that it has been called "when Christ and His saints slept," does not touch Lincoln or Wiltshire, except of course to try to force Hugh with a commitment to Stephen or Matilda.

The author, an American, is wise to have chosen so remote a period because her facts are difficult to check. She puts Lincoln's 'Minster' inside the castle. Lincoln Cathedral has not been a Minster (a church which concentrates on missionary work) and is far outside the castle walls, dwarfing the castle in size and importance.

– Dale Summers

📖 *Sherlock Holmes: The Unauthorized Biography* – Nick Rennison, Atlantic Books, UK, 2005, Grove Atlantic, NY

One of the best-known series or sagas of all time is that of Sherlock Holmes. Mr. Rennison has done some genealogical and background research on the great detective:

There had been Holmes living in ...Yorkshire for centuries. As far back as 1219 an Urkell de Holmes is mentioned in the records of York Assizes and, by the late Middle Ages, the Holmes family had risen from the ranks of yeomen farmers to the lesser gentry. The Walter Holmes from Kirbymoorside, ...is almost certainly a direct antecedent of Sherlock and Mycroft. Walter had chosen the right side in the Wars of the roses and he prospered as a consequence. Several years after the battle he was knighted by Edward and the family went up another rung on the social ladder. Walter survived the transition from a Yorkist monarchy to the reign of the Tudors with his status intact (he seems to have been one of the few Yorkshire baronets to have supported Henry VII before the battle of Bosworth.)...His grandson, Sir Ralph, one of the century's more opportunist converts to Protestantism, was in a position to benefit substantially from the dissolution of the monasteries...

And so on, before getting down to Holmes' own life and career. Very informative and interesting.

 *Conan Doyle, Detective: The True Crimes investigated by the creator of Sherlock Holmes – Peter Costello, Carroll & Graff, NY, 2006*

Not really a biography of the biographer of Sherlock Holmes and John Watson, but a study of his own detective work. Did you know that Doyle was once accused of murder himself? Did you know he wrote poetry – mysterious poetry? Did you know that there was a ‘Sherlock’ on one of the branches of his family tree?

Dr. Joseph Bell was recognized as a prototype for Holmes even during his lifetime, but the detective also had much of Doyle in him, although at first glance the author might seem more like Dr. Watson. Conan Doyle was actually Dr. Arthur Conan Doyle, to be sure.

This fairly slim volume recounts some of his ‘cases,’ most prominently “The persecution of George Edalji,” whose innocence Conan Doyle defended for many years. Edalji was eventually freed, but never recompensed in his lifetime. There are chapters, also, on Jack the Ripper and Conan Doyle’s travels in America. Doyle came to be regarded by the press, at least, as something of an expert on crime, and to be ‘consulted’ by them:

Puffing at his pipe, he considered the problem.

The premises had been searched?

Everywhere: cellars, barn outhouses.

And what about the moat? Asked Conan Doyle.

The moat? The journalists were puzzled.

Had they not told him that the place where Dougal lived was called Moat House Farm? Surely the name....

Thinking the moat was too shallow to hide a body, the officer from Scotland Yard had neglected it....”

Of course, that was where the body was. All of which leads one to believe that Inspector Lestrade had his counterpart on the police force as well.

While on the subject of medicos.....

 *An Unholy Alliance – Susanna Gregory, St Martins Press, NY, 1996*

This volume begins shortly after Gregory’s first work, *A Plague On Both Your Houses*, and features her medieval physician, Matthew Bartholomew, whose modern ideas of medicine are suspicious to the thinking of the time. Though the plague has passed, the effects still complicate life in Cambridge. Entire streets are left empty. Two university men are missing. Prostitutes, along with one respectable girl, are murdered in the streets. Many people have turned from God and covens inhabit deconsecrated churches. Caravans bringing goods to Cambridge are attacked and robbed. A friar is found dead in a trunk of university documents. This last death is the one that pulls Matthew

Broderick into the investigation.

The plot is complex and dramatic. The sights and smells of medieval Cambridge are evoked with realism. The characters are multifaceted. The author, a Cambridge university fellow, has used the actual names of the university officials in 1350.

This is a lively and fun read.

– Dale Summers

 *Mistress Of The Art Of Death – Ariana Franklin, G.P. Putnam’s Sons, NYH 2007*

Another day, another doctor. But a most unusual doctor for the times (1171) She is a woman, for one thing, and what we would now call a medical examiner, for another. A good thing, probably, as she has little or no bedside manner. She travels with her mentor, a Jew, and a Saracen bodyguard. Adelia doesn’t really know what she is, as she was a foundling. Because of prejudice, the bodyguard has to pretend to be the doctor, and Adelia to be his assistant and translator.

But why are they here? Four children have been killed in Cambridge under horrific circumstances, and the Jewish community is being blamed – the old blood libel. Most of them have taken to the castle for protection. The king, Henry II, is angry; he depends on the Jews for much of his revenue. So he sends to his opposite number, the king of Sicily, for someone expert in the arts of death. What he gets is Adelia and her companions. Not an impressive group, but on their way into the city, she heals a suffering prior and wins a valuable ally. Word gets about, and she, or rather Mansour, who is supposed to be the real doctor, is inundated with patients. She finally manages to examine the bodies. From the evidence, she believes their killer might have been a crusader. This is unfortunate, as a former crusader, current tax collector, Sir Rowley Picot, is showing interest in her. Or is it in her?

The dialogue might be thought to be a little too modern, sometimes anachronistic. (“I’m not a bloody sideshow!” one character protests). But of course, they would have spoken in Norman French, or Medieval Italian, or possibly Saxon, so we may suspend our critical natures and regard it as translations. The characters, especially the major ones, have the dimensions of real people, and the story will keep the reader guessing. There’s horror aplenty, but also romance and even a little fun – and, by the way, good detective work. Don’t miss this one.

At the end, our heroine is informed by Henry Curtmantle that she is in his debt, and must stay in England to use her talents for him in the future. So look for more books in this series.

 *The Disunited States Of America* – Harry Turtledove, Tor, NY, 2006

Turtledove is the master of the alternate-world story, and this is an excellent sample of his Crosstime Traffic series for young people. The previous books in the series, *Gunpowder Empire*, *Curious Notions*, and *In High Places*, have been reviewed here previously. As the title implies, the story is set in a North America that speaks the same language for the most part, but is divided into a number of different nations, some large (California, Texas), some smaller, some downright piddling, but no Great Powers. Those are all European or Asian. And of course the various nations are all too ready to go to war with their neighbors. Ohio and Virginia do go to war during the course of the story, putting its young hero and heroine in an awkward situation, to say the least. Beckie is a neutral, from California, and he, although she doesn't realize it, is from an altogether different world. Woven around the Romeo-and-Juliet story is young Justin's baptism-of-fire story.

Mr. Turtledove has an expert hand with telling details. One of the way stations of Crosstime Traffic (Change Busses Here) is on a world uninhabited by humans. The Traffic officer assigned there would seem to have a lonely life, but doesn't mind his tour of duty so much, because it gives him an opportunity to birdwatch. In Beckie's world, the passenger pigeon is not extinct, but there are only a few left. On the uninhabited one, they abound.

Mr. Turtledove's web site indicates another title in the series, GLADIATOR, will soon be out. The website can be accessed by googling turtledove.

If you are interested in alternate history, look into a series of books published by Putman and edited by Robert Cowley, with contributions by a number of historians, including Steven Ambrose: *What If?*, (1999), *What If? 2?* (2001), and *What Ifs? Of American History*. What would have happened if Martin Luther had been burned at the stake? If Hitler had lived to stand trial? We may look back and think What a pity that things turned out as they did, but it could have been far worse.

 *Beyond The Gap* – Harry Turtledove, Tom Doherty Associates, NY, 2007

This Turtledove novel is very definitely for adults. Its hero is Count Hamnet Thyssen, of the Raumsdalian Empire. The Empire's capital city, Nidaros, was once on the edge of the great glacier, but the glacier has been retreating a few feet every year. Finally a large crack appears in the glacier. Is there another land on the other side of the glacier? Can the legendary Golden Shrine be found there? The Emperor wants to know, so Hamnet is sent off, together with Trasmund, a mammoth hunter from further north, the fox-like Ulric Skakki, Hamnet's former wife (a proper

witch, or something that sounds like that) and her present husband. Later they pick up a much more simpatico female companion for the Count, although her chief function in the expedition is that of wizard and magic-worker. She has a male counterpart, also, but he can't understand her language nor she his, so Hamnet is kept busy translating. Oddly enough, the Raumsdalians speak in colloquial American. They talk, for instance, of someone 'pulling their legs.' The Bizogots, their Northern neighbors, use a more earthy expression.

The book details their adventures, their narrow escapes, the tribes they meet on the other side of the glacier, and much more. None of them is much given to philophizing, nor do they have time for it, but the reader might be tempted to read modern parallels into the story. Or maybe not. It is a rousing good blood-and-thunder tale on its own, and the beginning of a series if ever I saw one. In fact, it ends in a cliffhanger.

A certain critic...made the nasty remark about my last novel that it contained "all the old Wodehouse characters under different names."...With my superior intelligence, I have outgenerated the man by putting in all the old Wodehouse characters under the same names. Pretty silly it will make him feel, I rather fancy. – Wodehouse, *Summer Lightning*, Preface)

 *The Traitor's Tale* – Margaret Frazer, The Penguin Group, NY, 2007

The year is 1450, and the dynastic battles that came to be known as the Wars of the Roses, is heating up. And even though she has renounced the world, Dame Frevisse is involved right up to her wimple, for her cousin is the widow of the Duke of Suffolk, the traitor of the title. If he weren't dead, murdered at sea, the Duchess would kill him herself, she is that mad at him. She is fighting for her son's inheritance that Suffolk has put in jeopardy; reason enough.

Enter a character from another of Frazer's series, Simon Jolliffe, one-time actor/playwright, soldier, farm-boy, now Richard of York's man. Though really on a different side from Frevisse and Duchess Alice, he is as devoted to justice as we would like to think all Yorkists were, and they have a mutual interest in tracking down the English noblemen who may have betrayed King Henry. Jolliffe has been finding too many of them dead by violence.

Fevrisse is much as she has ever been, but Jolliffe (who now has a Christian name, presumably the one given him at birth) seems to have matured a great deal. He is no longer an actor – or is he? At the end of the story, he tells Frevisse "I have a home ... and a wife," but does he? Is his home the open road, and his wife 'Dame

Fortune?’ Maybe in future books we will find out.

This is a somewhat different sub-genre – the spy story – for the protagonists, and a two-for-one for series lovers – a bargain for the reader, even in hardback.

 *The Rose Of York: Crown Of Destiny* – Sandra Worth, End Table Books, U.S.A., 2006

The second of a trilogy, *Crown Of Destiny* is a worthy sequel to *Love And War*. The story is familiar to all Ricardians but the vividness of detail and the sharply drawn characters make the plot fresh and the reader eager for the next page.

Here is Richard as I imagine him to be. Neither angel nor devil, but a human man, he is strong, but with doubts, passionate about his family and justice, generous to worthy causes and enemies but too naïve, too trusting, too set in his prejudices.

Here is Anne as I imagine her: frail physically but strong emotionally, compassionate and tender.

Their happiness in the North is as I imagined it. And that happiness gladdens the heart of the reader who knows what is to come. The book, like its predecessor, is rich with authenticity in the evocative settings and emotions. This is a masterpiece.

Lacking Ms. Worth’s gift and being unable to write as beautifully as she does, I would like to tack some ideas of my own on to this review. Richard was the most Saxon of the Plantagenets. His ascension to the throne was in the Saxon mode. The Wistan (the legislative body) chose the king. They chose from within the royal family but were not bound to choose the late king’s oldest son. Thus Alfred succeeded Aethelstan, his brother, without apology to Aethelstan’s children.

Richard’s attitude toward justice harked back to pre-Conquest society, where every freeman prized justice and had access to it. I think post-Conquest England was not fully ready for Richard’s vision. The nobles were too strong. England had to execute one king (Charles I) and depose another (James II) before the bill of rights protecting the ordinary citizen, was made law in 1688. Nevertheless, Richard’s Parliament made amazing progress in the attitudes of the day.

– Dale Summers

Finally, the stand-alone –

 *The Last Queen* – C.W. Gortner, Two Bridges Press, 2006

The best thing about Christopher Gortner’s novel is the sympathy and sense of championship that breathes through its pages on behalf of his heroine, Juana of Castile, known as Juana la Loca. Gortner is deeply devoted to his subject, and it makes sense that he chose to tell the story in first person format, through Juana herself, toward the end of her life. As he explains in his Afterword, Juana is relatively obscure to

English-speaking readers, and hers is an important story, if only because she was the mother of the Emperor Charles V, one of the most powerful men in early modern Western Europe. She is also, like Richard, a person with a great deal of negative contemporary press, which makes it a challenge to uncover the truth about her actual mental condition, and how far she might have been pushed beyond her limits by the men in her life. This novel is a commendable effort in that it succeeds in creating a sympathetic and intelligent woman who is an articulate and urgent speaker to us, her audience.

Unfortunately, the book is marred by several structural and technical defects. Gortner has done his research, and gives us a list of books about Juana and her times which might interest the reader. This is a novel and not a biography, and in fiction the writer has to compress, embroider, or twist events to suit the structure of his fiction. However, what seem like careless errors start to crop up very early on and pepper themselves throughout the book. Some examples:

The first husband of Isabel, Juana’s sister, was not Miguel; it was Alfonso. Miguel was the name of Isabel’s son by her second marriage to Manuel of Portugal.

Juana’s brother, Juan, heir to both of his parents before his death at the age of 19, is called the Infante of Spain by Phillip the Handsome. This is wrong on two counts. 1) “Infante” and “infanta” are terms used for royal siblings not immediately in line for the throne. Juan was never an *infante*, since he was heir apparent from the minute he was born. 2) There was no “Spain” for Juan to be an infante of. There was Aragon and Castile (in a simplified sense). Juan was the Prince of Asturias, a title traditionally given to the heir of Castile, equivalent to Prince of Wales. Phillip, as well as the reader, should have been set straight on this by Juana when Philip brings it up.

Philibert the Fair of Savoy, whom Margaret of Austria marries after Juan’s death, is not a crotchety, impotent old man but a young athlete, born the same year as Margaret (1480).

Juan Manuel, an ambassador to Flanders and an important player after the death of Isabel the Catholic, was not an upstart, as Gortner calls him, but a member of one of the oldest noble families in Castile.

Late in the novel, Juana rejects the chapel of the Cartuja of Miraflores as a resting place for Philip on the grounds it isn’t a fitting place to bury a prince. Juana’s grandparents, Juan II of Castile and Isabel of Portugal, as well as her mother’s younger brother, are all in Miraflores, under extremely ornate sepulchers, as commissioned before 1492 by Isabel the Catholic.

In his Afterword, Gortner writes that Juana’s son was

Charles I of Germany and V of Spain. He was Charles I in Spain; “Charles V” pertains to his office as Holy Roman Emperor.

The first part of the novel, which deals mostly with personal matters and the developing relationship between Juana and Philip works well. However, from the moment that the young couple is plunged into the political whirlpool started by the deaths in Juana’s family, Gortner’s grip on dialogue and character begin to grow sketchy: arguments between characters are repetitive and poorly-written; intensity of emotions is indicated by quaffs, sashes and pouring of red wine; we get shorthand caricatures of villains instead of a three-dimensional supporting cast. Gortner loses track of key supporting characters, notably Margaret of Austria, and if and when she is widowed from Philibert. Even grammar and technical editing fall off, and the language alternates uneasily between the stately, formally-correct (“methinks,” “was loathe to...”) and the jarringly modern (“snuck,” “like I said about...”) Most disappointing is that, as the book progresses, Gortner loses a sense of Juana to the extent to the extent that at one point she has to take time to explain to the reader how hard she is fighting against impending madness. He would not have to make her do this if the reader had been involved in this interior battle from the moment it started, and it’s jarring because of what, up till then, seemed to be one of Gortner’s central themes.

Gortner seems to want to show that Juana was not insane but was manipulated and outwitted by the ambitious and corrupt people around her. In order to succeed in this, he finishes by having to make a hash out of actual events, most notably an incident that took place in 1503 at the castle of La Mota. It was Juana’s first violent

public meltdown, witnessed by the general public for five days. Because Juana must seem reasonable in the novel, Gortner cannot use this event as it has been recorded. In addition, he needs a scene between Isabel and Juana. To solve these problems, he comes up with a convoluted series of events and motivations, which, among other things, makes Juana seem to be a person who can’t assimilate what she reads. To someone who has some familiarity of recorded events, this comes off not only as clumsy but as an evasion on the part of the author. It is also an injury to the reader who isn’t familiar with these events and is poor preparation for someone inspired to learn more about Juana and her family, especially when this kind of clumsy rearranging of events and motives happens several times in the second half of the novel. One manipulation of history, the culmination of events between Philip the Handsome and Juana could have had a very nice pay-off, both on the emotional scale and the structural, but Gortner doesn’t take full advantage of his own (very plausible invention and mishandles the aftermath.

In the end, this is a sympathetic and commendable effort, which makes a disappointing delivery. Juana, though, is a difficult subject: engaging and thorny, eloquent and mute, beseeching and off-putting. I admire Gortner for making the attempt, and for the quality of his successes within the effort.

- Maria Torres

We are running out of space, so the second in this series on series will be found in our next issue, to include the third book in Sandra Worth’s trilogy, and many more. .

TO BE CONTINUED.....



In Memoriam

Anne Neville Regina

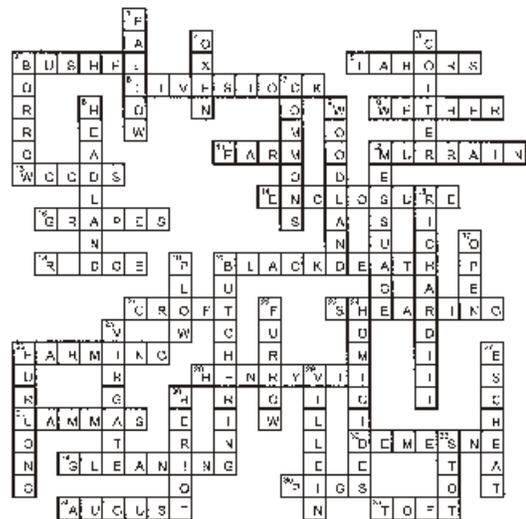
Richard III Society - 2007

16 March

is the anniversary of the death of
Queen Anne Neville

Above is the design of the “In Memoriam” card
which will accompany this year’s wreath for
Queen Anne’s tomb at Westminster.

The picture is ‘The Queen of Roses’,
from a late medieval pack of playing cards.



SCATTERED STANDARDS

Michigan

The Michigan Chapter of the Richard III Society continues to prosper thanks to the hard work and dedication of our members. Our last meeting was at the Baldwin Public Library in Birmingham where Larry Irwin discussed the kings of France during Richard III's lifetime: Charles VII, Louis XI and Charles VIII. Our April meeting will feature Janet M. Trimbath speaking on the latest developments on the Bosworth Field controversy. We have adopted Little Malvern Priory as our recipient of the Ricardian Churches Restoration Fund and have given several hundred dollars over recent years and maintained a gracious correspondence with Priory staff members. We also have a cordial relationship with the Toronto branch, with Stratford meetings, loaning of DVDs and similar items. We have a regular rotation of libraries for our library display but are looking to add more. While our core membership of regular meeting participants and officers has remained constant, we have added some younger members in the past year: an encouraging trend. We are hopeful about the future.

New England

In November 2006 the New England Chapter of the Richard III Society sponsored a month long educational initiative at the Portland Public Library. The objective of the initiative was to introduce the public to Richard III and to make people aware of the existence of the Richard III Society. The theme of the initiative was the

mystery of Richard III and the princes in the Tower. This theme was chosen for its sensational subject matter and its place in popular culture. Though few people are familiar with the events of 1483, many high school graduates recall studying Richard III's usurpation and the subsequent disappearance of his nephews. This, in conjunction with the popularity of William Shakespeare's Richard III and its many Hollywood permutations, made the topic an ideal vehicle for the New England Chapter's educational goals.

To capture the imagination of the general public, the display was prepared in a "whodunit" format. This format was chosen due to the popularity of television programs such as CSI and History's Mysteries. A pithy introduction to the case was followed by mug shots and rap sheets for each of the suspects. Visual representations of the victims and crime scene were also included to provide additional context. By not issuing a verdict in the case, the viewer was challenged to draw his or her own conclusion and to explore the subject further with the help of the library's many resources.

In tandem with the library display, the New England Chapter launched its website. The website includes the library exhibit, a tour of Leicester, and many beautiful photographs of Middleham, Sheriff Hutton, and a reenactment at Bosworth. The site can be found at www.r3ne.org.



Library Exhibits by the New England Chapter



FALL COLORS AND FUN WITH FELLOW RICARDIANS

Keynote Speaker: Lorraine C. Atreed, Ph. D.
 Professor of History at College of the Holy Cross, Worcester and Schallek Scholar

Schallek Breakfast Speaker: Anne Easter Smith, author of *A Rose for the Crown*

**Saturday Evening Presentation by Elizabeth Wadsworth
 and the performance of a play by Maria Elena Torres.**

Venue: The Hilton Garden Inn, Worcester, 35 Major Taylor Blvd., Worcester, Massachusetts 01608

Phone: +1-508-753-5700 (See www.worcester.stayhgi.com) for photos of this new hotel! Take extra time to enjoy the famous fall colors, Sturbridge Village, the Johnny Appleseed Trail, and much more!

When making reservations, please mention that you are with The Richard III Society to get the special rate of \$109 + tax.

The hotel amenities include a complimentary fully-equipped fitness center, an indoor heated swimming pool, a hot tub, a complimentary business center, and a 24-hour pantry & 24-hour guest laundry. Each room has a refrigerator, microwave, coffeemaker, 32" plasma screen TV with premium cable, a clock radio which can play an mp3 player, an ergonomic chair, and "sleep comfort bed." There is an UNO's Chicago Bar and Grill on-site for lunch and dinner for those extra days, room service, a full bar, and the Great American Grill for breakfast.

- Friday, September 28 6-10 pm Welcome Reception: This includes hors d'oeuvres and a cash bar.

- Saturday, September 29 8-9:30 am Executive Continental Breakfast: Coffee, tea, chilled juices, assorted pastries, bagels and cream cheese, fruits, and yogurt.
- Saturday, September 29 10 am- 12:30 pm Visit to Higgins Armory — Arms, armor, and displays of combat are featured. (See www.higgins.org.)
- Saturday, September 29 1:30 pm Hot Lunch Buffet: Tossed salad, a choice of 2 of the 6 entrees (some vegetarian), rolls & butter, potato or rice & vegetables, cakes & desserts, and coffee.
- Saturday, September 29 6:30-9 pm, Evening Banquet. Dress up in your finest medieval or modern clothes and enjoy your choice of a fish, beef, chicken, or vegetarian meal. A variety of exotic desserts will top it off as we enjoy the entertainment!
- Sunday, September 30 8 am-11am Schallek Breakfast. Breakfast includes Saturday morning items plus fluffy scrambled eggs, French toast, bacon, sausage, and breakfast potatoes.



NEW MEMBERS

SEPTEMBER - DECEMBER 2006

Neil Baldock
Donna Barker
Victoria Boehm
M.C. Cain
Beverly Connor
Tom Duffy
Al Franco
Welene Worthington Goller
Christopher Graham
Linda Lettieri
Mary F. Lynk
Jim Middleton
Timothy Nimz
Kae and Dominic Oliver
Paul O'Neill
Janice Pike
John Powell
Lynda Tanner
Anne Teyssier
Barbara Walter

JANUARY - MARCH 2007

Lori Braunhardt
Alexander J. Brown
Ruth Dean
Dierdre Heffernan
Diane Jester
Herbert W. Lockwood
Dr. David Lowell
Judith and Donald Machen
Mike McDonald
Marianne Willers Miro
Gay Reno
Theresa Sheehan & Thomas Turrentine
Lynn Irwin Stewart
Jan Swanson
Beth Topping

GENEROUS RICARDIANS

PLANTAGENET ANGELS
Mr. and Mrs. Anthony C. Collins

BOSWORTH LEVEL
J. Bowman Cutter

MIDDLEHAM LEVEL
Judy Pimental Jeffrey R. Sommer

FOTHERINGHAY LEVEL

Diana K. Ayers

Brandy Barton

Phil Goldsmith

Lorelle J. Hunt

Carrie J. Johnson

Margaret M. Mayce

Henry Mulloy

Eileen and Hans Prinsen

Elizabeth N. Ray

Maria Elena Torres

OTHER GENEROUS RICARDIANS

Angela P. Braunfeld

George B. Crofut

Sarah (Sally) Foulkrod

Marion Harris

Robert Niemeyer

Janet Trimbath

Diana Waggoner

Sandra Worth

FEEL FREE TO PAY IN ADVANCE!

Paying in advance saves both the Society and the member some postage costs, plus time and effort. If you would like to do this, no special procedures are needed — our database can handle it!

Simply make out your check for as many years' dues as you wish and write a note on the renewal card to the effect that you wish to pay for that many years in advance.

CHAPTER CONTACTS

ARIZONA

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

EASTERN MISSOURI

Bill Heuer
111 Minturn • Oakland, MO 63122
(314) 966-4254 • E-mail: bheuer0517@sbcglobal.net

ILLINOIS

Joyce Tumea
4040 Venard Road • Downers Grove, IL 60515
E-mail: JoyTumea@sbcglobal.net

MICHIGAN AREA

Larry Irwin
5715 Forman Dr. • Bloomfield Hill, MI 48301
E-mail: katycdc@yahoo.com

MINNESOTA

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

NEW ENGLAND

Kirsten Moorhead
14 Bramblewood Drive • Portland, ME 04103-3789
E-mail: erincaceus27@earthlink.net
Tel: 207-878-8890

NEW YORK-METRO AREA

Maria Elena Torres
3216 Fillmore Avenue • Brooklyn, NY 11234
E-mail: elena@pipeline.com

NORTHWEST

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

ROCKY MOUNTAIN

Chapter moderator wanted
Please contact: Editor, Eileen Prinsen
16151 Longmeadow St - Dearborn MI. 48120
313-271-1224 • E-mail: eileenprinsen@sbcglobal.net

SOUTHEASTERN PENNSYLVANIA

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

SOUTHWEST

Roxane C. Murph
3501 Medina Avenue • Ft. Worth, TX 76133
(817) 923-5056 • E-mail: afmurph04@aol.com

*If you are interested in forming a chapter, contact Eileen Prinsen,
Chapter Co-ordinator (see page 3 of this issue)*

MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION/RENEWAL

Mr. Mrs. Miss

Address: _____

City, State, Zip: _____

Country: _____

Phone: _____

Fax: _____

E-Mail: _____

- | | |
|--|---------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Individual Membership | \$35.00 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Individual Membership Non-US | \$40.00 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Family Membership \$35 + \$5/member | \$_____ |

Contributing & Sponsoring Memberships:

- | | |
|---|----------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Honorary Fotheringhay Member | \$ 75.00 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Honorary Middleham Member | \$180.00 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Honorary Bosworth Member | \$300.00 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Plantagenet Angel | \$500.00 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Plantagenet Family Member \$500+ | \$_____ |

Contributions:

- | | |
|--|----------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Schallek Fellowship Awards: | \$_____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> General Fund (publicity, mailings, etc) | \$_____ |
| Total Enclosed: | \$_____ |

Family Membership \$35 for yourself, plus \$5 for each additional family member residing at same address.

Make all checks payable to Richard III Society, Inc.
Mail to Pamela J. Butler
11000 Anaheim Ave. NE • Albuquerque, NM 87122-3102