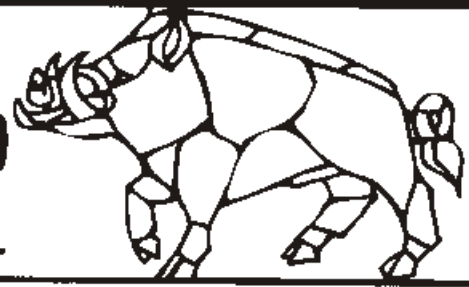


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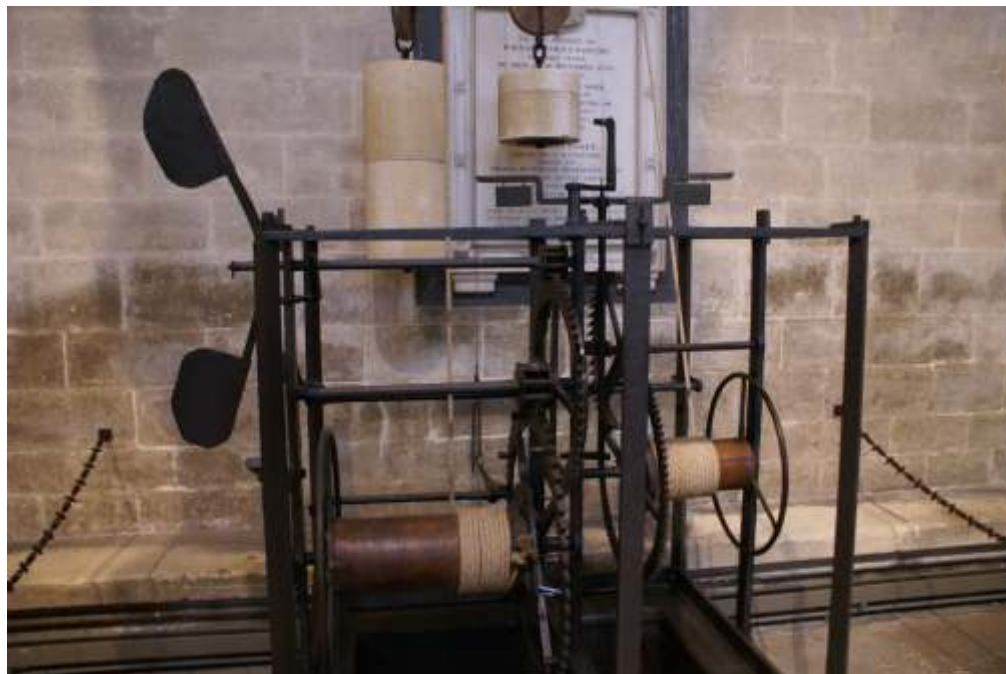


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TIME AND CLOCKS IN THE MIDDLE AGES



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

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

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

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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.

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In This Issue

Message from the Chair	
<i>Wayne Ingalls</i>	4
Vespers to be Held in Colchester	4
Time and Clocks in the Middle Ages	
<i>Elizabeth York Enstam</i>	5
Ricardian Puzzle	
<i>Charlie Jordan</i>	15
2007 Annual General Meeting.	16
Ricardian Reading	
<i>Myrna Smith</i>	17
The Ravenser Cross	
<i>Moira Habberjam, Yorkshire Branch</i>	24
Ricardian Roundup Bulletin Board	
<i>Joan Szechtman</i>	25
RIII Blog	
<i>Laura Blanchard</i>	26
Richard III in Worcester	
<i>Laura Blanchard</i>	26
Generous Ricardians.	27
Welcome to New Members.	27
Chapter Contacts.	28
Membership Application	28

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EDITORIAL LICENSE

Carole Rike

Editor is not a glamorous job, consisting primarily of footwork and nagging. One seldom obtains all one's desires, but every once in a while it happens — and it is *sweet*. Such is the case with our cover story in this issue, *Time and Clocks in the Middle Ages* by Elizabeth York Enstam.

It has been over a year since I initially approached Elizabeth with my curiosity in how time was perceived in the middle ages. I first discussed it with her while a refugee in Houston; since then we have returned to Louisiana and continued with our post-Katrina adventures, while Elizabeth doggedly slogged on through heavy reading material and kept me encouraged that the project was not dead.

This project was approached in the best possible manner: Elizabeth sought to educate herself about time and clocks far beyond what I had anticipated, and has gained for herself a knowledge which she will expand and pursue for some time. Thus, she has grown through the experience, and we are fortunate to share the rewards of her hard work.

This exchange is what I consider to be the true value of membership and involvement in non-profit societies such as ours. I remember how difficult it seemed to become an active member when I first joined the Society in 1973; I made overtures and offers but those I approached always seemed to be totally in control of their bailiwick and not interested in interlopers. Since that time, we have grown steadily more open, yet it remains difficult for some of us to go from being a passive member to one who is passionately involved. It is well worth the effort, and we have plenty of jobs for those passive hands! Contact Peggy Allen (see column at left) and she will direct you to areas where your talents are needed.

Special thanks to my two new friends on flickr.com, Richard Cunningham and Aura Beckhofer-Fialho. Belatedly, we realized we needed artwork for Elizabeth's article and several attempts to obtain photos resulted in pricing we could not justify. An image search on flickr.com located several suitable medieval clock pictures and both gentlemen (who happen to be U.K. residents) kindly agreed to their use (see cover).

You should receive an AGM mailing shortly; be sure to reserve a place for this annual event, which promises to be a full-filled, educational weekend for all.

Until then — with the Summer issue, we will be current again. Thanks for hanging in there!

MESSAGE FROM THE CHAIR



Huzzah, King Richard!

I am excited about our upcoming Annual General Meeting (AGM)! The preparations for this year's AGM in Worcester, MA are well underway, and there are indeed many things to be excited about:

The Higgins Armory, an armor demonstration, the keynote address by noted medieval historian Dr. Lorraine Attreed, a discussion about presenting puppet theatre by Elizabeth Wadsworth, an original Ricardian play written by Maria Torres, and Shallek breakfast speakers Anne Easter Smith and Sandra Worth. You will not want to miss this year's AGM!

I have some good news, some really good news and some bad news. First, the bad news. There is a saying that bad news, unlike a fine wine, does not get better with age. With that in mind, I need to inform you that there is a probability that our membership dues will have to increase in the near future. Our parent Society in the UK has a need to increase membership dues across the board and has been holding the line for some years on the price of the publications (*The Ricardian* and the *Ricardian Bulletin*) sent to us in the American Branch. The price we pay for parent Society publications has not

kept pace with printing costs as well as the increasingly high cost of mailing. The Parent Society has proposed two incremental increases in the costs we pay to them, and the Board is studying the options available.

Now for the good news: Did you know that as a member of the American Branch, you have all the rights and privileges of a member of the Parent Society? It is true. You can attend their AGMs and vote in their elections (currently, one must attend their AGM to vote in an election).

Now for the really good news: Please join me in extending a warm welcome to our new Fiction Librarian, Gilda Felt (email: gildaevf@yahoo.com)! Gilda has the Fiction Library up and running and open for service. Gilda has been a loyal Ricardian for some time and is a frequent contributor on the Richard III Listserve. A couple of months back, Brad Verity (email: royaldescent@hotmail.com) became our new Non-Fiction Librarian. He immediately earned his spurs by re-gathering some of the library from where it had been scattered. Both the Fiction Library and the Non-Fiction Library are available for use by the membership. You may want to check into what these Ricardian Libraries have to offer.

Loyaulte me lie,

Wayne

VESPERS TO BE HELD IN COLCHESTER AUGUST 25, 2007

For the first time in more than 500 years, a Vespers of the Dead service will be held at St. John's Abbeygate — the first service since Henry VIII's Dissolution of the Monasteries. The service is being organized by Richard III member John Ashdown-Hill, who is a PhD history student at Essex University.

The Vespers service will commemorate the men of Colchester and the surrounding area who marched with John Howard at Bosworth. Among activities of the day, a 3:30 tea is being held in the Red Lion hotel, where Howard is believed to have lived.

At 2:15 a wreath laying will occur at the War Memorial in memory of the men from Colchester and surrounding area who fought at Bosworth.

Richard III is known to have stayed at St. John's Abbeygate, in addition to Henry VII and Catherine of Aragon. It was a refuge to Yorkist fugitives following the battle at Bosworth.

Colchester lays claim to being the oldest Roman town in Britain. Legend has it as the seat of King Cole, of the *Old King Cole* nursery rhyme. It is also identified with *Humpty Dumpty*, from a seige during the English Civil War and *Twinkle, Twinkle Little Star*, which was written in the Dutch Quarter by Jane Taylor in 1806.

John advises that the limited seating at the Vespers has sold out, but other activities are open to those who wish to attend. Further:

Anglia Television have asked to film vespers for the dead at St John's Abbey (but I'm not sure that this will be allowed, for safety reasons). Colchester's MP, Bob Russell, has expressed his interest in, and support for the event, and (commitments permitting) may attend some of the day's activities. I can also now confirm that Colchester Castle WILL be flying a white boar standard on 25 August!

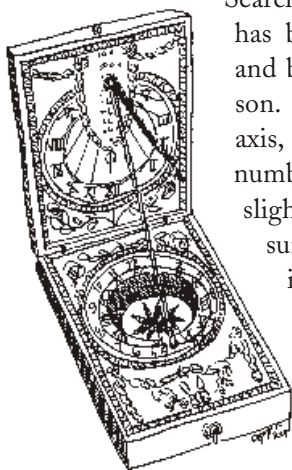
TIME AND CLOCKS IN THE MIDDLE AGES

©Elizabeth York Enstam

What is told by hands, measured in sand, and announced with bells?

The answer to the children's riddle, of course, is time.

But time is itself a riddle, expressed in mathematics and astronomy, described with songs and poetic metaphors, and remembered through the old sayings of folk wisdom. Time is money to us Americans, so we try to make it, save it, and use it well. Once in awhile, we manage to gain time, though more often it seems, we spend it, waste it, and lose it. Like tide, time waits for no man (or woman, for that matter) and on occasion, it just runs out. Time is never neutral, apparently, but always either on our side or against us. When time moves, it mostly seems to fly, unless it creeps in a petty pace from day to day or just stands still. Some say time can heal all wounds and on occasion, that time will tell. Each January 1, time is a newborn baby boy, and he grows very quickly, by December 31, into an Old Father — who, it so happens, has a daughter named Truth.



*Medieval Pocket/
Sundial Compass*
— Susan Dexter

Searching for the truth about time has been a complicated business, and basically, the earth is the reason. With a 23.45-degree tilt to its axis, the earth takes an uneven number of days to complete its slightly elliptical orbit around the sun. For many centuries, these irregularities — the tilted axis, the less-than-round orbit, the 365.25636-day year — have complicated the search for accurate ways to measure time. After the invention of any number of ingenious devices and instruments, only in the latter half of the twenty-

tieth century did scientists develop the atomic clock, which runs endlessly and precisely in exact time — and periodically must be reset, because the regular, perfect changing of its digits gets out of sync with the imperfect, irregular course of the earth. With constant vigilance, then, we achieve what previous civilizations did not. Our timepieces can reflect the solar system's movements, but much of what we know about measuring time comes down to us from the distant past, from the ancient world by way of the European Middle Ages.

Clocks, Time, and the Masons in York

York, England, is a particularly convenient place to study the ways medieval people measured and thought about time. A good deal of dependable, basic evidence has survived about this city's past, and those documents give insight into how English urban dwellers organized their days. For time and York, perhaps the best introduction is Chris Humphrey's essay in the book he also edited, *Medieval Concepts of Time*. Among other sources, Humphrey quotes the actual work contract between York Minster and the masons who were building the cathedral in the latter half of the fourteenth century.

The masons' workday was loosely defined, beginning as soon in the morning as they could see to "work skillfully" and stopping with the coming of evening. Thus, their working time varied with the seasons and the weather, lasting significantly longer in summer and on sunny days than in winter or when it was rainy and dark. Other aspects of their workday, also, were loosely defined and from our point of view, vague. During the long mornings of summer, the masons could eat before noon, and they could stop working again for the noon meal. But at no time of the year could they take more than one hour for dinner, or only so long that no "skilful man shall find fault in their absence." What we might call the "afternoon break" was described in yet another way. Whether a mason took his "drinking time" in the Minster lodge or went to his favorite tavern, he was allowed the time needed to walk the distance of half a mile.

Between 1352 and 1370, the workmen at York Minster acquired their own clock to mark the hours, but even so, "clock time" affected the workday only at noon. When their bell struck 12:00 on a regular weekday, the masons stopped for the day's main meal. When the cathedral's bells struck noon on the holy days, they packed away their tools and went home and then, presumably, to worship.

The Minster's contract with the York masons, then, used a combination of three ways to tell — or from our point of view, to estimate — time. The masons' routines were not unique, for everyone in the city, whether merchants, artisans, laborers, or the citizens in general, reckoned the time of day from the position of the sun; from their sense of how long an activity should take, such as eating a meal or walking a certain distance; and from the hours struck by a clock.

The Ancient Beginnings for Knowing Time

Thousands of years before the English masons laid the stones for York Minster, human beings were seeking

ways to measure time. People of a pre-Celtic culture erected Stonehenge, some archaeologists believe, to designate the summer and winter solstices and mark the equinoxes in spring and autumn. Many centuries later and thousands of miles away in New Mexico's Chaco Canyon, ancient Puebloan builders (sometimes called the "Anasazi" or Old Ones) set the mud-brick walls of several major buildings in alignment with the sun's positions at the solstices and carved a spiral onto the canyon wall to trace the nineteen-year cycle of the moon. Similarly, at the site of the Fort Ancient State Park in southwestern Ohio, gaps between the 2,000-year-old mounds indicate the solstices and the northernmost position of moonrise.

By contrast, the late Greco-Roman world did not depend on earthen mounds, standing stones, or the walls of buildings to mark the movements of the heavenly bodies. In 1900, a Greek sponge diver searching for clams for his dinner discovered the remnants of a geared machine in a shipwreck near the island of Antikythera. Dated circa 85 A. D. and known as the Antikythera Mechanism, the instrument is now in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens. After baffling the scientists for years, this ancient astronomical clock at last yielded its secrets in 2005. With thirty interlocking gearwheels, the instrument could predict eclipses, as well as show the movements of the sun, the moon, and the five planets known to the ancient Greeks. Nor was it the only one of its kind. London's Science Museum has the remnants of another ancient geared device, the Byzantine Sundial-Calendar from c. 250 A. D. From these two examples, scholars assume the existence of other mechanical astronomical instruments in the ancient world. For people of all eras, the varying configurations of the sun, moon, and planets, along with the positions of the fixed stars, have denoted the passage of time and, to one degree or another, influenced human activities.

Learning how to mark the hours was more difficult than knowing the seasons or predicting heavenly events. The earliest devices for telling the time of day were the "celestial timepieces" — shadow clocks, shadow sticks, and sundials. Discovered near Qus, Egypt, one shadow clock dates from the tenth century B. C., though so simple a device must have existed long before that time. With a peg standing upright in its center, a board was laid in an east-west position. As the day passed, the sun cast the shadow of the peg along the board's notches or markings, and in this way the shadow clock showed the hour. Similarly, a stick set in the ground at an angle indicated the time of day as its shadow moved along a semi-circle marked in equal segments representing the hours.

No one knows when any of the celestial timepieces were invented, by whom, or in what order. It seems reasonable to assume that the most sophisticated, the sundial, came latest in time. Possibly invented before 1500 B. C., the sundial is deceptive, because it appears to be something anyone could build. Yet in order to accommodate the earth's movements, a sundial must be constructed for the precise latitude of its site. Correctly built, a sundial can be dependable enough for setting a modern watch, at least at noon on sunny days. Working with only these tools — sundials, shadow clocks, and shadow sticks — the Egyptians were first to divide the day into 24 equal hours and first to learn how to calculate the month and day of an individual's birth. They also divided the year into twelve months, a practice the Greeks and the Romans adopted in later centuries.

By the second century A. D. and probably long before, the majority of the Roman population depended on the sundials erected in public places. Made in numerous shapes and sizes, these public sundials might be installed flat on the ground, placed on pedestals, or built vertically onto the walls of buildings. Among the Romans, knowing the hour was a sign of education and social status, perhaps because upper-class citizens owned small, portable sundials. (Modern writers tend to describe these as "pocket dials" even though the Romans did not have pockets. As a feature of clothing, the pocket dates from the eighteenth century in France or perhaps in England. It evolved from pouches either carried or tied around the waist, sometimes beneath the clothing for security.) As an instrument of time and not merely a pretty garden ornament, the sundial continued to be useful for many centuries. George Washington owned clocks and watches, but he also carried a small portable sundial in a pouch or saddlebag. As *Longitude* author Dava Sobel has stated in the January 2007 *Smithsonian*, "a clock can tell the time, but only the sundial can discern time."

However well constructed, celestial timepieces had obvious limitations. At night and when it rained, a marked candle could show the hour, as could a rope with knots tied at equal intervals and dampened to burn at a steady rate. The philosopher Plato, it is believed, invented the earliest water clock, the clepsydra, to time the speakers in the Athenian assembly. Plato's water clock was simply a bowl with holes cut around its base to allow the water to drain away at an even rate. When the bowl was empty, the orator had to stop talking. About a century after Plato's time, a Greek barber-mechanic named Ctesibius invented a far more complex clepsydra in Alexandria. Built with an attached sundial, Ctesibius's water clock was mechanized, with a float, a chain-winch, and a cog-shaft.

St. Benedict, the Monastic Community, and the Hours

By the mid-sixth century A. D., knowledge of the ancient world's mechanized water clocks and geared astronomical devices had apparently been lost in Italy and the West. Once again, knowing the time of day depended on sundials and the simpler water clocks. The origins of modern timekeeping belong with the Roman Christian world, and they may well come as much from an ideal as from implements and devices. Very possibly, our clocks and our system for thinking about time go back to the motivation of one devout man. For his monastery at Monte Cassino around 530 A. D., Benedict of Nursia introduced two ideas that more or less govern our lives, punctuality and the schedule. Both of these concepts are in his Rule of the Order, and while St. Benedict never used the term "schedule," he was explicit about punctuality throughout the monastic day.

When Benedict wrote his detailed set of daily regulations for monastic life, he most likely never imagined he would influence the distant future, for the Rule's basic idea was not a new one. For two hundred years, Christians before him had prayed several times a day, much like the Moslems and the Jews. In addition, some early-third-century monasteries and churches advised prayers not only at morning and evening, but also at the times when the Roman guard changed — the third, sixth, and ninth hours of prime (around 9:00 A. M.), sext (noon), and none (about 3:00 P. M.). By the fourth century, certain Egyptian communities added regular times for work, sleep, and meals, and monasteries in Palestine, Syria, and present-day Iraq adopted these practices. Christians earlier than Benedict, then, had already established orderly, planned hours for the monastic day.

Although Rome's central administration was long gone by the sixth century, the customs lingered in people's habits. For centuries, upper-class Romans had done certain things at specific hours, probably in managing their private affairs and certainly in public life. Ordinary citizens, too, were accustomed to such events as the changing of the guard in the Roman army at regular intervals during the day. In designating the hours for prayer, Benedict's Rule combined the times significant in the natural world — dawn, sunrise, sunset, darkness — with three of the hours when the Roman guard changed — *terce*, sext, and none. At Monte Cassino, the earliest devotions, *matins*, came at dawn and a couple of hours later at sunrise, the first prayers of the day, called "*prime*." The next three prayers — *terce*, sext, and *none* — were the Roman hours. Benedict's monks met again at sunset for vespers, and the day's worship ended

with compline, when the sky was dark and night fully arrived. In accordance with the older practices of the Middle Eastern abbots and bishops, St. Benedict later added the observance of the "night watch" or *vigils*, based on the Scriptural warning that Christ might return at midnight and must not find his followers sleeping. Later still, some monasteries combined vigils with matins, while in others, matins were joined with *lauds*. Like the York masons more than 800 years later, St. Benedict's Monte Cassino was using a mixed system for telling time.

Two elements distinguished Benedict's Rule from earlier practices. The first was, as noted above, punctuality, and that for the entire day, not for prayers only. The Rule designated specific hours for rising, meals, study, physical work, and rest, as well as prayer and worship. Moreover, wherever it was adopted, Benedict intended for the Rule to be mandatory. The Rule itself instructed that every day during mealtime, one monk must read a portion of the Rule aloud while the others ate. Thus, everyone knew what to do when the monastery's bell rang — everyone knew the schedule — and even a forgetful or easy-going abbot would not hamper the functioning of the community. According to German medievalist Arno Borst, nothing like Benedict's "strict temporal order" had ever happened before.

Calculating Time with the Computus

The Roman church adopted the Rule and spread its practices throughout western Europe. Along with St. Benedict's refinement of the monastic day went the desire, or rather the need, to know accurate time. Water-clocks, dampened ropes, marked candles, sundials — although reasonably accurate sometimes, none worked with anything close to precision. Still, with the best information available from these timepieces and their observations of the heavens, medieval clerics calculated dates by means of the "computus."

Such a term seems appropriate for a device or a tool, perhaps something like an abacus or even a kind of compass. Instead, the computus was a method, a procedure — a mathematical formula used by medieval cleric-astronomers to calculate the position of the earth in relation to the heavenly bodies. Originating in the third century A. D. and refined during the fourth, the computus was widely adopted by St. Benedict's lifetime in the sixth century. Roman astrologers may have invented the computus, but medieval monks used it to discern the hours and dates of the Christian holy days, particularly of Easter. Celebrated each year on the Sunday closest to the first full moon after the spring equinox, observance of the Resurrection was a church-wide festival and, once the Roman Church

announced the date, honored each year everywhere in the West. Dating other events of the canonical year, however, depended on the geographical latitude of the individual convent, church, or cathedral. The hours for daily prayers, the local saints' birthdays, the first day of each month, Sundays, weekdays, and the times of fasting — all had to be calculated specifically for local time. For these, the computus was the most effective method available.

To discern the times having religious significance, medieval astronomers had to deal with two kinds of hours, *temporal* and *equinoctial*. Following the practice first used by the ancient Egyptians, Europeans divided each day into two twelve-hour halves, so between sunrise and sunset, an hour was one-twelfth of a solar day. For most of northern Europe, the tilting of the earth's axis makes the solar day as much as fifteen hours long in summer, but only between seven and nine in the winter. Thus, as the seasons pass, the duration of a solar day changes by a few minutes every twenty-four hours. For the Middle Ages, these varying, unequal hours were the *temporal* hours. By contrast, at the spring and autumn equinoxes of March 20/21 and September 20/21 — the two times of the year when the sun is directly over the equator — all twenty-four natural hours are equal in length, with twelve hours of light and twelve hours of darkness everywhere in the world. These were the *equinoctial* hours.

Given this alternating of equal and varying hours throughout the year, a European monk had to be able to calculate both the dates and the times of each day for his community's schedule. For this reason, every medieval cleric studied the computus as part of the advanced subjects of the quadrivium, which were arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music. The first, more elementary, studies of a medieval education were called the "trivium." Its subjects were logic, and Latin grammar and rhetoric. To us, perhaps, the medieval education seems arcane and even elitist, a plan designed to educate priests and the ruling class. In truth, this course of study included skills necessary to medieval life: the priests and monks had to be able to calculate time. In order to do so, they needed to know how to use the computus with some degree of expertise and be able to read the Latin texts which explained the current understanding of the natural world. Particularly important were the scientific writings of Aristotle, as well as the works of the Christian scholars.

Theological Problems with the Computus and Computing Time

Periodically and persistently through the centuries, theology complicated the ways Europeans thought about

time. More than a century before Benedict wrote his Rule, prominent Christian leaders were deeply uneasy with the idea of calculating the days and the hours, much less the years and the centuries. The reckoning of time, they believed, was pagan and Roman, whereas time belonged to God. In their view, Christian time began with the Resurrection or, as the later generations believed, with Christ's incarnation at the moment of conception. Time would end with Christ's return, and only unbelievers or arrogant and ignorant persons would presume to subject God's will and God's order to anything so profane as numbers. Giving a number to the year of Creation and, worse, calculating the year of the world's end were only astrology, these churchmen believed, attempts to tinker with God's domain and interfere with God's will. The early churchmen also had issues with calculating the hours, for, they charged, measuring even the smaller segments of the day gave men the illusion that they controlled the time of their lives.

Other Church leaders, however, saw numbers and numerical relationships as belonging among God's miracles and therefore appropriate for Christians to use and study. These more liberal bishops and scholars argued that God had designated the holy days, and the holiest of these was Easter. In order to know when to celebrate the most sacred of Christian festivals, churchmen had to be able to discern the important times of their faith. This they could only do by means of mathematics, that is, with the computus. In 789, Charlemagne squelched the argument, at least for his reign, by first ordering all priests to learn the computus and then by himself taking up the study of the complex mathematics for discerning time.

The Arabs And The Chinese — But Still No Mechanical Clock

Despite its usefulness, the role and influence of the computus began to wane by the late tenth century. Around that time, northern Europeans acquired two devices from the Spanish Moslems, the astrolabe and the solar quadrant. Both instruments simplified astronomical and mathematical calculations, though neither did away with the need for geometry, arithmetic, and astronomy. Invented by the Greeks and improved by the Arabs, the astrolabe and, during the thirteenth century, the solar quadrant, simplified astronomy and made observations more accurate. The result of their adoption — especially that of the quadrant — led to the decline in use of the computus and gradually to its discontinuation.

Also from the Arabs in Spain, the northern Europeans regained knowledge that had been lost to the West for centuries. By the twelfth century and perhaps earlier, the Europeans were reading and studying the

ancient Greek thinkers, particularly Aristotle's works in science. Scholars like Thomas Aquinas wrote learned critiques of the ancient ideas, as well as criticism of the books by the Moslem philosophers Averroes (Spanish-Arab, 1126-98) and Avicenna (Persian, 980-1037). Both these men, perhaps the best known of medieval Arab scholars, had written commentaries on Aristotle. Early in the fourteenth century, Europeans also accepted the so-called "arabic numerals" originally developed in India and then adopted by the Moslems. Previously, western bankers, merchants, and mathematicians worked with the cumbersome Roman numbers.

For some time, historians have speculated that more than Greek books and implements reentered western Europe through Arabic Spain, and in his article "Fragmentary Knowledge" in the May 14, 2007, issue of *The New Yorker*, John Seabrook reminds readers of this theory. Seabrook cites current reasoning that the ancient knowledge of the principles of gearing may well have passed from the Spanish Moslems into the north during the thirteenth century—the time when Harvard scholar David Landes believes the earliest mechanical clocks appeared. The technical expertise that produced the Antikythera Mechanism and the Byzantine Sundial-Calendar was once again available to the West.

By all reasonable expectations, perhaps, the mechanical clock should have come from either the Arabs or the Chinese. Both cultures were more advanced in technology than the Europeans. Well before the fourteenth century, the Chinese had invented movable type and the magnetic compass, as well as paper, porcelain, and gunpowder. By the eleventh century, the emperor owned an astronomical clock, but within a generation, the knowledge of its mechanism was lost in a war. The Chinese forgot about mechanical clocks until the sixteenth century, when an Italian Jesuit working through a Portuguese mission took one to the imperial court. Apparently, neither the Chinese or the Moslems felt an interest in timekeeping that equaled the urgency of the western desire for punctuality. For the Chinese, only the emperor and his astrologers needed to understand the movements of the heavenly bodies and on occasion, be able to predict an eclipse. The temporal hours of the sun seemed adequate. The Arabs prayed five times a day, though without the exact requirements of the Christian devotions.

Who's Going To Wake Us Up for Prayers?

No one knows who invented mechanical clocks or where. By the twelfth century and probably decades earlier, the monasteries used automated alarms to wake the sacristan, or bellringer, who sounded the community bell manually to

summon the other monks for the early prayers. Powered either by clepsydras or by small weights, such alarms could be set to run only for several hours. They were somewhat like modern cooking timers. One such device, dated around 1450, has survived. With a twenty-four-hour dial and one hand, the alarm (pictured in Landes, *Revolution in Time*, Figure 4) has no surviving case or housing, so its entire mechanism is visible. With a verge and crown wheel, an alarm train, and a bell, this type of alarm-timer, historians believe, may have been the immediate forerunner of the mechanical clock.

Building The Mechanical Clock

As the learned men in Europe were writing books about computing time and then writing commentaries on each other's books, some among them were searching for ways to build a practical instrument for marking the hours. The quest for accurate timekeeping, of course, was never merely theoretical, but also physical in nature. In 1271, an English scholar/monk named Robertus Anglicus created a near-perfect design for a mechanical clock powered by a descending weight. His plan's only weakness lay with his conception of the escapement, which was a crucial part of the mechanism: the escapement regulated the movement of the gear wheels which controlled the descent of the weight that turned the clock's shaft to move the hand.

The clock Anglicus envisioned was never built, and the designers of the earliest mechanical clock seem not to have read his book. They were, modern scholars have guessed, a group of monks and blacksmiths who combined their skills and knowledge. Certainly, they must have known the current theories about making clocks, though their escapement was not as effective as the one designed by Anglicus would probably have been. Their apparent ignorance of his work is a good example of how, on many occasions in the past, numerous people have thought along the same lines before one of them solved the problem or made the discovery.

The Earliest Mechanical Clocks

Most modern writers believe the mechanical clock was invented around 1300, but David Landes argues for a date closer to 1260. By then, he has found, Europe already had too many working clockmakers for clocks to be rare. Through the years, the clocks broke down, wore out, were replaced or discarded, so the evidence for their existence lies in the records and papers of the religious houses, churches, and cathedrals. Bills, receipts, and work orders for clock building, installation, repair and maintenance — these, Landes writes, attest to the existence of numerous mechanical clocks well before 1300.

Clockmakers may have been able to make a living by the late-1200s, but the surviving medieval English clocks date from early in the next century. Mechanical

astronomical clocks were installed in the cathedrals at Norwich and Lincoln between 1321 and 1324, and around 1327, Richard of Wallingford, Abbot of St. Albans, designed one for his abbey. An astrologer in his spare time — regardless, apparently, of the Church’s disapproval of that practice — Abbot Richard was also a mathematician, and he made a number of significant and original contributions in trigonometry. He died before the clock was completed, and because his successor altered the design, it may never have worked as he intended. Still, Abbot Richard’s clock predicted lunar eclipses accurately and, with rotating discs, indicated the positions of the sun, moon, and stars. Standing more than eight feet tall from the floor to the top of its bell, it may even have shown the tides. As the unnamed writer for the Oxford University Press website has noted, the St. Albans clock did “just about everything except tell the time.” With the Abbot’s own detailed instructions, twentieth-century scientists were able to build one full-sized model and at least one in scale. Judging from a photograph of the quarter-size model, the clock resembled a neat and orderly series of hoops in several sizes (the gears), all within an open metal framework. It did not resemble anything we would recognize as a timepiece.

Two very early English clocks have survived into the twenty-first century, at the cathedrals in Salisbury (dating from 1386) and Wells (1392). Believed to be the oldest working example, the hand-wrought iron clock at Salisbury originally stood in a bell tower separate from the Cathedral. Intended only to strike the hours, it had no face or dial and so, apparently, did not indicate movements of the sun and moon. Without any sort of casing



Wells Cathedral Clock Dial

— Wikipedia

or cover, its heavy gears, shafts, and weights resemble a gigantic printing press.

Nor does the astronomical dial at Wells Cathedral look much like a clock. Dated between 1386 and 1392, the original mechanism still works, but since 1884, has been in London’s Science Museum instead of its proper home above the arched, outside door of the north transept at Wells. Restored several times over the centuries, the clock’s original face has three dials, one atop the other. The largest shows the twenty-four-hour day in Roman numerals, while the middle-sized disc mounted on top of it displays the sixty minutes of the hour in Arabic numbers. The third and smallest disc represents the Ptolemaic, geocentric universe with the sun, moon, and planets revolving around the earth. When the clock’s face and its mechanism were installed, the single hand indicated not the hour, but the current phase of the moon in its thirty-day cycle. The clock at Wells was entertaining, too. When it struck each quarter-hour, a set of painted toy knights on horseback rode around the platform above the dial. On the wall beside the doorway, a jointed wooden doll sat in his niche and hit his little bell when the clock struck. Called Jack Blandifer, this puppet-like figure is something of a mystery. Its origin and significance are unknown.

Abbeys and cathedrals were not the only customers for mechanical clocks. During the fourteenth century, large towns commissioned clocks and built centrally-located towers for them. Requiring at least a year to construct and install, the clocks were expensive symbols of civic pride and community success. Like that at Wells Cathedral, the town clocks often put on a show. When the bell rang, a little door opened and a platform revolved into view to display carved and painted figures. In a society with a low literacy rate, the clocks taught simple lessons, in religion when the figures were saints, angels, or church fathers, and in astronomy when discs on the clocks represented the heavenly bodies. Whatever their social roles, the bells of the town clocks tolled the half- and quarter-hours as closely as their builders could manage, usually within fifteen minutes either way. Accuracy had to wait for the pendulum clock in the seventeenth century. Aside from precise timekeeping, the clocks owned by the towns probably helped, more even than those of the religious institutions, to accustom people to the regular, equal “hours of the clock.”

Equal Hours All Year Long — Just Not Right Away

Although the need for light continued to influence people’s awareness of the natural times of day, the concept of equal hours was hardly a new idea in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Nor was it difficult to grasp.

Everyone could see, twice a year during the equinoxes, the twelve equal hours of light and twelve of darkness. From time to time over the centuries, individuals had arranged their days in a schedule of twenty-four equal hours. As early as the late-tenth century, King Alfred the Great had divided the day into three periods of eight hours each and assigned himself specific activities for each period. Such a self-imposed daily schedule was only an oddity, for most people relied on the seasonal, temporal hours of the sun. By the fourteenth century, the presence of public clocks with their (more or less) regular tolling bells must have begun affecting the way people thought about time. Almost simultaneously with the mechanical clocks, the hourglass came into use, and its appearance suggests yet another way for people to get used to a standard, year-round length for the duration of an hour.

Well before the reign of King Richard III, the citizens at York heard three mechanical clocks toll every day. St. Mary's Abbey installed a mechanical clock c. 1324 and by 1355, York Minster also had done so. For all the emphasis on punctuality, the Church relied, longer than any other institution, on the familiar combination of temporal and clock (or Roman) hours used since the time of St. Benedict. Sacristans continued to ring the bells manually when the automated timers clanged.

David Landes calls the mechanical clock perhaps the most readily adopted invention in history, and simple convenience would seem to be the reason. For our world, the only acceptable way to measure time is with equal hours, regardless of the daylight or darkness. We pay little attention to whatever the sun is doing. By contrast, the majority of fourteenth- and perhaps fifteenth-century Europeans may, as a general rule, have preferred the seasonal, temporal hours, but medieval clocks worked in equal (equinoctial) hours because they more or less had to. The mere size of their weights made them difficult to regulate, and altering the clock's mechanism each season to indicate the sun's movements would have been expensive. Once the clock was set, a city government or an archbishop was reluctant to call back the mechanics without serious reason.

Most people changed their habits gradually and merely added clocks to their experience of the natural hours. In 1301, the bells of even the major religious institutions in York were still manually rung upon the signal of an automatic timer, and the city council, also, used the temporal hours in passing an ordinance governing the fishmongers. The city required the fishmongers' guild to close their stalls at sunset when they heard the bells ring for vespers at the Church of St. Michael's on the Ouse Bridge. They could sell fish again when the Minster's bells announced prime the next morning at

sunrise. More than a century later, by 1428, the city of York had installed its own clock on the Ouse Bridge, but the citizens were still expressing the hours of the working day in terms of religious services. New regulations for the butchers permitted them to open their shops on Sundays when the St. Michaels' clock struck eight and close when their parish church (which most likely did not have a mechanical clock) rang vespers. After the evening services, they could reopen and sell meat again, presumably until compline and complete darkness.

As the merchants and craftsmen came to use clock time to designate the workday's terms and hours, universities and the government also found the regular, equal clock hours more convenient than the changing seasonal hours. During the decade of the 1350s, King Edward III began installing clocks in the English royal palaces. The kings and parliaments, courts of law, merchants, and craftsmen came more and more to rely on clock time for their business, yet simple chronology gives evidence for the medieval clock's religious origins: the first social institutions to use mechanical clocks on a wide scale were the monasteries and abbeys and close behind them, the cathedrals and churches. As the most widespread and wealthiest institutions, the various foundations of the Church possessed the means to install and maintain expensive timepieces at dates earlier than any other social organization. However uneven the cutting edge of progress, by the end of the fourteenth century, Europeans had the elements of a modern system for measuring, telling, and thinking about time.

Time in Richard III's Day

In the 1400s, historians are sure that wealthier people everywhere in Europe owned domestic clocks. Nearly a hundred years earlier, the French poet Jean de Meun wrote about clocks that chimed "through halls and chambers" in his version of "The Romance of the Rose." By the fourteenth century, the household accounts and inventories of wealthier families listed clocks along with furniture, tapestries, and plate. Weight-driven like the tower and cathedral clocks, these early private timepieces were only "small" by comparison. They were still so large they had to be disassembled if moved. Once thought to have come later than the large community mechanical clocks, the indoor clocks, scholars now believe, likely appeared around the same time.

Early in the fifteenth century and certainly before 1430, Europeans learned to make still smaller timepieces, table clocks that could be moved even while running. New methods in metalworking produced materials that were more suited to delicate mechanisms, and around the same time, someone adapted an already-known device, the fusee wheel, for use in clocks.

Shaped like a cone and resembling a child's top, the fusee wheel functioned, essentially, as an escapement by controlling the unwinding of the mainspring that powered the shaft and turned the hand. The new materials and different mechanism required, in turn, another kind of craftsmen rather than the mechanics and blacksmiths who built the great tower and cathedral clocks. The manufacture of domestic table clocks fell to jewelers, silversmiths, and goldsmiths.

The advances in technology and metalworking also enabled artisans to make timepieces in the size range of modern pocket- and wristwatches. Very wealthy individuals may have worn timepieces in the late fifteenth century, but the earliest one on record belonged to Francis I of France around 1518. Given the fact that the entire technology for clocks seems to have developed considerably earlier than the dates of any surviving examples, Richard III might possibly have owned a watch. We have, of course, absolutely no direct reasons to believe that he did so. Yet as a general rule, the historical evidence most difficult to find are records for the routine, ordinary details of daily life and personal habits. People have rarely bothered, in any era, to record what they take for granted, the things so common that "everybody has them." If so few examples of the cathedral and town clocks have survived, we have even less reason to expect to find the smaller, more delicate portable clock and less still can we hope to discover a personal timepiece.

We can be sure Richard III grew up with clocks and as both duke and king, most likely managed his day "by the clock," if less rigidly than we schedule time. Anyone with an appointment to see the Duke of Gloucester, and later King Richard, would not care to keep him waiting. Those who were expected at audiences, along with those who came with their requests and petitions without appointments, arrived early and waited in an antechamber or hallway until they were called, or until the allotted time for petitioners ended for the day. For the king's business as with other aspects of life, the day was increasingly divided by the mechanical, (more or less) regular hours of the clock.

Similar to whether Richard III wore a watch is the question of whether he had a clock at Bosworth Field. Most likely he did, and like the surviving example of a fifteenth-century alarm, his clock would have had chimes



Queens College,
Cambridge
— Pam Butler

but not necessarily a face or dial. It also would have had one hand: the minute hand was not invented until 1577. Such a clock would have been called a "watch," and Shakespeare gives Richard one that runs slow. When Ratcliffe enters in Act V, scene 3 of "The Tragedy of King Richard III," the king has overslept. The Earl of Richmond, of course, is already in full harness to observe the fighting from the sidelines — as William Shakespeare may have known, but could not write.

The Lingering of Traditional Thinking About Time

Technology changes people by changing their habits and how they get through the day, yet the old ways survived alongside the convenient, orderly hours of the clock. For many people, time continued to be organized by light. In town and countryside alike, farmers, craftsmen, artisans, dressmakers and milliners and homemakers as well, rose when the rooster crowed to begin working at sunrise regardless of what the clock tolled. Town dwellers continued to keep livestock, including chickens, within the city limits, and ordinary soldiers took roosters to war with them to signal the dawn. The wealthier families who could afford clocks, and anyone who lived close enough to hear the town or the abbey clock's bells, would know the hour of sunrise and sunset, but few, it seems, forgot the age-old ways of estimating, at any given time of day, the hours of light remaining before nightfall.

The old "mixed" system persisted surprisingly long in North America, too, and for centuries after most private homes had clocks, people continued to use natural time. In 1856, when Dallas, Texas, had a population of approximately 350 persons, the county's Pioneer Association met once a month in the town's Masonic Hall "at early candlelight." A considerable number of those earliest residents were, judging from their wills and the occasional advertisements they placed in the local paper, well-off. A few were wealthy and some undoubtedly owned clocks. Given the fact that the hours of daylight vary with the season's progress, family clocks would tend to be fast or slow, so "early candlelight" was an acceptable, even a practical time. Everyone could see the waning of the light.

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And from the Net:

For Salisbury Cathedral’s clock:

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<http://www.nicholaswhyte.info/row.htm>;

See especially

<http://www.answers.com/topic/richard-of-wallingford> for the entry by Oxford University Press. Also, see

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<http://www.florilegium.org/files/nicolaa/time-art.html>.

From the Author

I volunteered to research and write this essay because I thought I might be able to understand Richard III and his times more clearly if I understood how he and his contemporaries thought about time, measured time, and told time. Very quickly, the article turned into one of those things I’m glad I’ve done only after it’s finished. I always assumed telling the time accurately was a simple matter of counting the hours and minutes. In reality, it’s much more complex than I ever imagined, but far, far more interesting.

As for “understanding Richard,” well—I feel that I do, though in some indirect, almost inexpressible way. Maybe I’m a little closer to comprehending the mindset of the late fifteenth century, but I won’t know that until I’ve read a lot more

Across

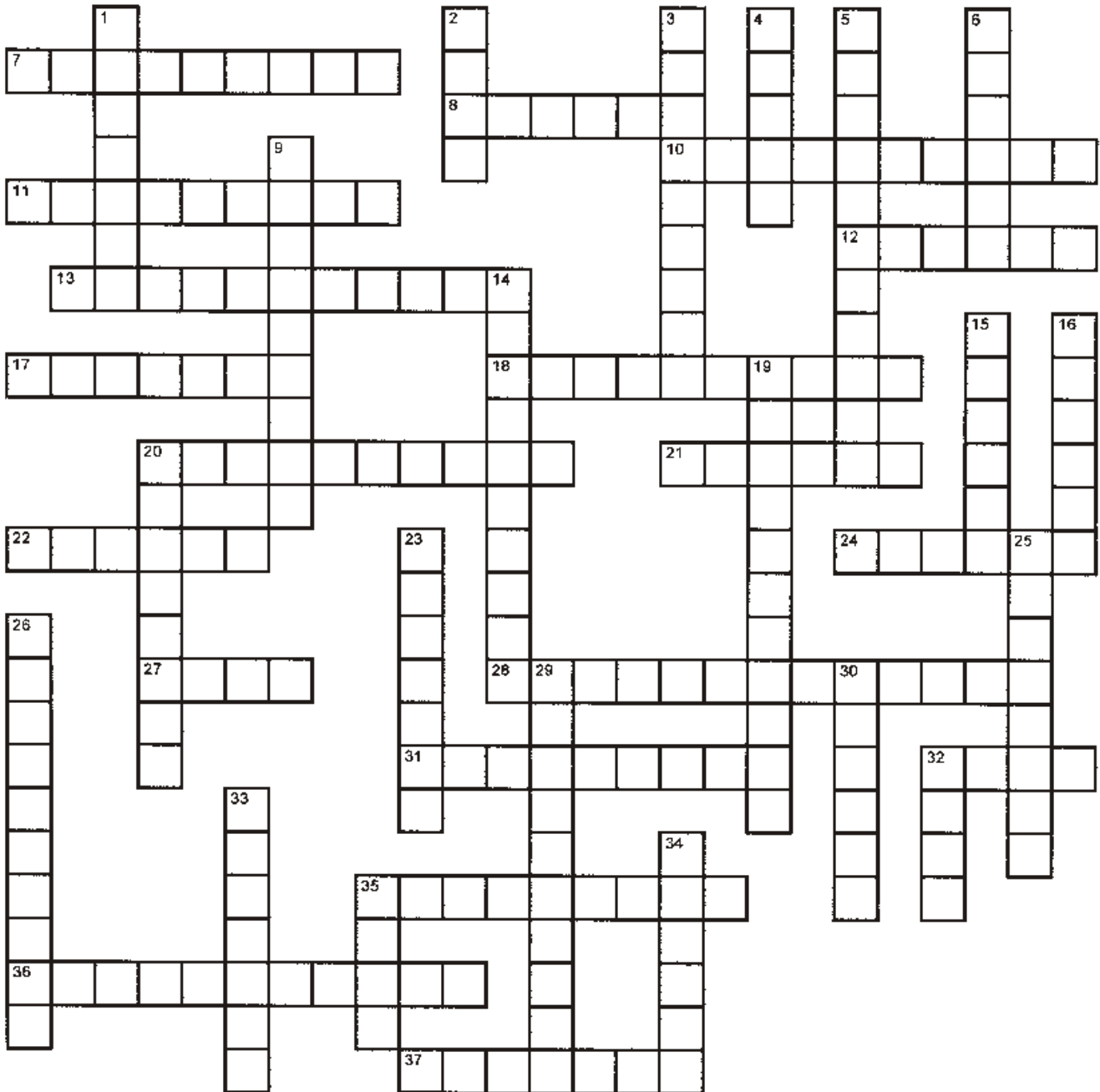
7. Convicted of witchcraft, Eleanor Cobham, disgraced duchess of Gloucester, spent the last three years of her life imprisoned at _____ Castle.
8. Walls and towers were built with sloping bases called a _____ for added strength and to allow defenders to bounce missiles from the tops of walls toward attackers.
10. Could be lowered to allow access to the castle
11. A building or complex of buildings designed to protect entryways to the castle.
12. The solid part in a crenellated wall.
13. A pattern in stone battlements that alternated open spaces and protective wall; sometimes with two "I"s.
17. High wall surrounding the castle keep.
18. Ralph, 3rd Lord Cromwell and Henry VI's treasurer, built this castle in 1434; the widely imitated _____ Castle combined architectural innovations with up-to-date comforts and practical defense.
20. Wood grating which could be encased in iron sheeting; lowered to restrict access.
21. At the Tower of London, this is called St. John's _____.
22. The open space in a crenellated wall.
24. Richard, duke of Gloucester, supported the Harrington family against the Stanley family at the siege of _____ Castle in Lancashire.
27. _____ Castle defended "the most English" town in English-occupied Normandy.
28. This innovation evolved from wooden overhangs into stone projections with holes at the bottom to allow defenders to aim missiles at attackers.
31. Like Birnam Wood coming to Dunsinane, English besiegers brought a forest-load of wood to construct shelters for their artillery on the flats surrounding _____ Castle; after a 5 month siege, the French surrendered on St. Michael's Day 1418.
32. Windsor Castle has both an upper and lower ____; open space or courtyard within a castle's walls.
35. _____ Castle in Wensleydale, belonged to the Neville family before Edward IV granted it to Richard, duke of Gloucester.
36. Generally, a surrounding wall made of outer stone filled with rubble.
37. After his 1436 defeat at Calais, the duke of Burgundy planned to besiege _____ Castle, one of 4 vital components in Calais' defense system.
2. The Neville family's principal stronghold and birthplace of Richard III's mother, _____ Castle displayed Neville power and pride in its machicolated gatehouse."
3. Generally embedded in a castle's wall, this served as a latrine.
4. A portion of a castle's hall that provided privacy often sectioned by a tapestry or curtain; later, term used for any private room in a castle.
5. Construction on _____ Castle stopped abruptly when news of Lord Hastings' execution arrived.
6. At the Battle of Wakefield, Lancastrian forces killed the duke of York, the earl of Rutland, and two members of the Harrington family outside of _____ Castle.
9. Small hole generally found in castle prison into which prisoners were crammed and often left to starve.
14. _____ Castle was Richard III's principal military base, where he ordered the addition of a massive tower. News of their son's death reached Richard and Anne here in April 1484.
15. The keep or central stronghold of a castle.
16. aka "ward".
19. _____ Castle guards the town where Richard III directed his successful naval campaign against the Scots in 1484.
20. Covered external walkways that joined chambers.
23. Richard started, but did not complete, construction of the Tower House which included the Clarence and Bear Towers at this castle.
25. On June 26, 1483, Richard, duke of Gloucester was petitioned to accept England's crown at _____ Castle, his mother's residence on the banks of the Thames.
26. Only 10 miles from Sandal Castle, _____ Castle was the execution site of Anthony Woodville, Sir Thomas Vaughn, and Lord Richard Grey.
29. Slits in a castle's walls, these were generally splayed on the interior side to allow archers a wider field of fire.
30. Walkway adjoining a castle's curtain walls.
32. Essential to the survival of castle occupants, the _____ was dug in the inner ward to prevent poisoning of the castle's water supply.
33. In 1482, Richard, duke of Gloucester's recapture of _____ Castle raised English morale.
34. _____ Castle protected England's wool trade and the narrow seas between Dover and northwest Europe; Warwick the Kingmaker served as captain of the town and castle between 1456-1461.
35. Ditch surrounding many castles; when filled with water, _____s provided protection against sappers.

Down

1. Built by Sir John Fastolf with profits made in France, _____ Castle became a source of conflict between the Paston family and the duke of Norfolk, who besieged it in 1469.

CASTLES

The Ricardian Puzzlers are Charlie Jordan, Lorraine Pickering, Marion Davis, and Nancy Northcott. The Ricardian crossword puzzles are intended as a fun method of learning about Richard and his life and times. Each puzzle will have a theme and clues are drawn from widely available sources. Suggestions are welcomed; please send comments to Charlie at charlie.jordan@earthlink.net.



Solution on page 27

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING WAR AND REMEMBRANCE

SEPTEMBER 28-30, 2007
HILTON GARDEN INN • WORCESTER, MA



LORRAINE C. ATTREED RICARDIAN STUDIES: A SCHOLAR'S PERSPECTIVE

Dr. Attreed is the editor of the remarkable two-volume set known as the *York House Books 1461-1490*, the touchstone for anyone researching the body politic in this important Northern city during our period. She broadened her research field to include several English towns in the later medieval period. While in graduate school, she won a prestigious Marshall scholarship and was also our first Schallek award recipient, in 1980. When the Schallek program was revived in the early 1990s she joined the selection committee, where she remained until administration of that program was transferred to the Medieval Academy of America in 2004-05.

Lorraine Attreed is a professor of history at The College of the Holy Cross in Worcester. With her husband, historian James Powers, she has also taught *War and Cinema*, a class on the middle ages in film .

All meals & events will take place within the Perennials A & B Meeting Rooms, other than the Saturday morning field trip to Higgins Armory.

Friday, September 28 6-10 pm

Registration and Reception: Sign in, get materials, and enjoy hors d'oeuvres as you meet new and old friends! Take advantage of the cash bar!

Saturday, September 29

8-9:30 am	Executive Continental Breakfast
9:35-9:45 am	Drive to Higgins Armory
10 am- 12:30 pm	Visit to Higgins Armory
12:30-1:00 pm	Return to Hotel, Short Break before Lunch
1:00 pm-3:30 pm	Hot Buffet Lunch and Annual General Meeting.
Keynote Speaker:	Lorraine Attreed, <i>Ricardian Studies: A Scholar's Perspective</i>
6:30-10:00 pm	Banquet
Presentation	Elizabeth Wadsworth speaks of presenting medieval and Renaissance theater pieces for puppets, including Shakespeare's plays, and costume design.
Second Presentation:	<i>Petitions</i> , a play by Maria Elena Torres about a libel case brought by Richard III against Shakespeare will be performed by a local group under the direction of Gino diOrio, an Associate Professor of Theater at Clark University in Worcester, where he teaches both acting and playwriting. His own plays have been produced in New York and in other locations around the world.

Sunday, September 30

8:00-11:00 am	Breakfast
Speakers:	Anne Easter Smith & Sandra Worth. present "A Novel Road to Richard."

Register online and pay by credit card:

<http://www.r3.org/form/agm2007.htm>



RICARDIAN READING

Myrna Smith

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

Experience enables you to recognize a mistake
when you make it again.

This is the second and last in a series on books in a series, with the odd singleton thrown in here and there. To start with, a few mysteries and other 'light reading.'

📖 *Matilda Bone* – Karen Cushman, Clairon Books, NY, 2000

One of a series of novels for young girls, but not 'chick lit.' Matilda acquires her last name after moving to Blood and Bone Alley, where bonesetters, bloodletters and herbalists congregate. Matilda is apprentice to a bonesetter, and feels very much out of place, as she is the daughter of a clerk and former ward of a priest. She can read and write (in Latin, even!), but these are skills that seem to have no utility in her present circumstances. Yet she comes to respect and love her new companions, and finds that her talents may not be so useless after all.

Ms. Cushman's other books include *Catherine, Called birdy*, and *The Midwife's Apprentice*, both with a medieval setting, and *The Ballad Of Lucy Whipple* (old West). They introduce sympathetic characters in a realistic setting, and are interesting reading, even for adults, unless you insist an "adult" novel (i.e. a bodice-ripper).

— M.S.

📖 *Master Of Souls – A Mystery Of Ancient Ireland* – Peter Tremayne, St Martin's Minotaur, NY, 2005

This, the 14th in the Sister Fidelma series, takes its title from a quotation from Brehon Morann: "He who despises his own life is soon master of another's — beware, for such a man can become master of souls." It starts with a shipwreck and builds from there. There's a touch of piracy and a criminal mastermind. There's kidnapping, and the murder of a universally beloved scholar — or is he?

Most of this series can be enjoyed as stand-alones, whether one has read the other books in the series or not. In this case, it helps to have read the previous book, *The Leper's Bell*, as frequent reference is made to events in that novel. And it is well not to take the title "Master of Souls" too literally.

Fidelma and Eadulf have left their young son with a nursemaid, as they can't say no to a request by Fidelma's brother, the King. Let's hope this nursemaid is more fortunate than her predecessor!

— M.S.

📖 *Murder Most Medieval* – Martin Greenberg and John Helfers, Eds., Cumberland House, Nashville, TN, 2000

The introduction to this collection points out the hardships of the medieval world, "a world of dirt and struggle.." Murder is committed in these stories for many of the same reasons that murder is committed today. This is true because despite our technological advances, human nature has not evolved.

There were a few familiar names in the table of contents: Peter Tremayne, Margaret Frazer, Edward Marston, Michael Jecks, and – best till last – Ellis Peters.

The first tale to capture my fancy was "A Horse for My Kingdom." However, it concerns the Battle of Mortimer's Cross. Margaret Frazer's excellent story concerned a trap laid by Henry VI's sycophants to catch the Duke of York in treason. He was saved by a pedantic cleric, Bishop Peacock, who used simple logic to catch out the culprits.

Kristine Kathryn Rush contributes a story about a widow who takes control of her manor despite the disapproval of her male staff, and makes a difference for the lest fortunate women of the area.


"Cold As Fire" is a very well written, well-plotted story about a prediction of the death of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury. The 'cold' is his personality and naked ambition. The 'fire' is his zeal in protecting what he perceives as the persecution of the church. The prediction by a simple woman is eerily accurate.

The last story in this collection is probably familiar to the reader of murder mysteries. It is "A Light on the Road to Woodstock" by Ellis Peters. In it Cadfael, soldier and crusader, completes his contract with Roger Manduit after rescuing the Prior of Shrewsbury, alerts Roger to his ongoing danger, and gives up the soldier's life to become a monk, Brother Cadfael.

There are several more stories, some eerie, some fanciful, some simple mysteries. All are well-written and fun to read.

— Dale Summers, TX


Anne Gazollo e-mailed this under the heading of Not quite Ricardian Reading from her address of FrodoandSam — guess what her favorite series is!

 ***The Fyre Mirror* – Karen Harper, St. Martins, NY**
 In her seventh outing as detective, Elizabeth I once more convenes her Privy Plot Council to solve the mystery of who murdered one of the artists who was painting an official portrait of her. Will Kendale and his servant boy were burned to death in their tent and the queen must find out how, who and why. The ‘how’ is the easiest to discover — the murderer used a mirror to refract the sun’s light to start the fire and that fire is not the only one that is used to kill. The ‘why’ is somehow connected to the construction of Nonesuch Palace that Henry VIII had built. The ‘who’ is the most interesting part.

Adding to the mystery is the enigma of the running boy who may or may not be a ghost and whose appearance is said to foretell a death. There is also the threat of Mary, Queen of Scots, looming over Elizabeth and her throne. News comes that Mary likes to look in the mirror and says she sees the next queen of England. If that wasn’t enough stress for Elizabeth, she also has the anguish of knowing her beloved Kat Ashley, her former nurse, surrogate mother and very dear friend, is now senile, and Gil Sharpe, the young artist Elizabeth has taken under her wing, who resembles the queen’s deceased brother, Edward, is hiding something from her and she is forced to consider him a suspect in the murders.

I was pleased to read another book in this series. I like Gil a lot. I am rather proud of myself that I figured out who the murderer was, someone Elizabeth trusts and discovers the truth about almost too late to prevent a greater tragedy than the one that occurs already.

— Anne Marie Gazzolo, *IL*.

 ***The Guilt Of Innocents* – Candace Robb, William Heinemann, London, 2007**

This is the ninth Owen Archer mystery. Lucie, Owen’s wife and a practicing apothecary, is expecting again and a stay-at-home, so this is pretty much a ‘police procedural,’ showing how Owen and his staff go about solving the murder of Drogo, ship’s pilot and bargeman, who might have been involved in something unsavory. There is also the matter of the disappearance of Hubert, a younger schoolmate of Owen’s foster-son, Jasper. When he is found by Owen and Jasper, it seems to be a case of an abused wife and child. Things are not that simple. Hubert’s mother, Ysenda, is an especially compelling character.

The private lives paralleling the plot are as interesting as the detection, if not more so. Jasper and Owen reach a new stage in their relationship. Alisoun Ffulford


(stet), the Archer children’s hoydenish nursemaid, is being tutored in grammar by a man who may be a heretic. Love’s young dream may be blossoming for Alisoun, and love’s not-so-young dream for Owen’s deputy George Hempe and his Lotta.

It’s nice to renew old acquaintance with the Archer family. Maybe in our next, I will be able to report on the further adventures of Robb’s other protagonist, Margaret Kerr.

— M. S.

Humor is like history; it repeats itself. - anon

With me a change of trouble is as good as a vacation.- William Lloyd George


 ***The Worst- Case Scenario Almanac: History* – Joshua Piven, David Borgenicht, Piers Marchant & Melissa Wagner, Illus by Brenda Brown, Chronicle Books, San Francisco, 2006**

This is one of a series of *Worst Case* books, updated frequently. The authors issue a disclaimer for “any use that may result from the use, proper or improper, of the information contained in this book.” In any case, if you do follow their advice on e.g. being thrown to the lions, and find it faulty, you are hardly likely to be able to tell them they’re wrong. But if you want to know how to survive in a dungeon (“Stay Positive.”) or defeat the Spanish Armada, or escape from the Tower of London, this is your handbook.

More seriously, it also contains useful timelines, vignettes of history, and short biographies of, well, interesting persons, such as Vald the Impaler, Joe Stalin, and Elizabeth Bathory among others.

— M.S.

Somebody who could have used a guidebook similar to this, is the hero and narrator of:

 ***Every Inch A King* (Harry Turtledove, Ballentine, Del/Ray, NY, 2005)**

Otto of Schlepsig, erstwhile circus acrobat, and his good buddy, Max of Witte, get into some scrapes that aren’t even covered by the *Worst Case* authors. Otto has only himself to thank, for when he finds out he bears a remarkable resemblance to the heir to the Kingdom of Shquiperi, he conceives a daring scheme — ah, haven’t we read something like this before? Yes, but not nearly so funny, or punny.

It takes place, of course, in an alternate world, peopled by such as the Hassock, the Albionese, the Torinians, and the denizens of Vespuiciland “across the seas.” It will help to know a little about Balkan history, would probably help even more to know a lot about it, but the reader doesn’t have to know anything about

it. Things are done by magic that require material means in our world. Consolidated Crystals, for instance, has communications sewed up. That's crystals, as in crystal balls. Otto and Max also have run-ins with vampires, werewolves, trolls — you name it.

The only reason I have for reviewing this, aside from the tie-in with the previous book, is that I am becoming a Turtledove fan, as you may deduce from reading previous reviews. If you enjoyed the Shrek movies, you will enjoy this, but it is definitely not for the kiddies.


Some samples:

- “Several frogs jumped off of rocks and...swam away. They must have taken us for Narbonese.” (since he is not writing about our world, Mr. Turtledove doesn't feel he needs to be politically correct.)
- “...he eyed Max with the dismay clothiers have eyed him with since he was fourteen years old. “Your friend, I am afraid, will take a little longer.” “My friend is a little longer,” I agreed. “(He is – 6'8”).”

This may be a one-off, but with Mr. Turtledove, who knows?

— M.S.

It's easy to spot a well-informed man — his views coincide with yours. – source unknown

 *Isms & 'ologies – The 453 Basic Tenets You've Only Pretended to Understand – Arthur Goldwag, Madison Park Press, NY, 2007*

Why 453? The author doesn't explain. He does explain the why & wherefore of his dictionary: “How many of us would take it upon ourselves to explain to a room full of our contemporaries just what it means to be existential?” Not me, for sure, even after looking it up in this volume. But it does give a good brief overview of that and many other, er, isms. They are divided into sections: Politics & History, Philosophy & the Arts, Science, Economics, Religion, Sexual Perversions, Eponyms, Laws, Foreign Words, and of course there is an alphabetical list for easy reference. Under Politics & History, for instance, is the entry on Feudalism, which refers you to the entry on manorialism. “.. a number of historians have argued that feudalism was nowhere near as universal — or as straightforwardly hierarchical — as it was once believed to be.” Right next door, on “Garvyism,” we learn that Marcus Garvey was a supporter of the Ku Klux Klan. That's one of the hazards of looking something up in a reference work — you keep getting distracted by what's across the page.

Dip in at any page and you'll find something interesting. Look for Occam's Razor (under Science) and you will be attracted or distracted by a discussion of Phlogiston theory. I'm still not sure what that is, but as it doesn't exist, I'm not going to worry about it.

Read this and be incredibly well-informed, or at least be able to talk a good game.

Want to sound incredibly well-informed about economics? Read: *On The Wealth Of Nations* — not the Adam Smith one, but a précis/explanation by P.J. O'Rourke. This is one of a series of books about Books That Changed the World, including *Darwin's Origin Of Species*, *The Qur'an* and *Das Kapital*, with such as Plato's *Republic* and *The Prince* to come. The editors feel that they are doing the public a service, and as regards *Wealth*, this may well be the case. Who has the patience to slog through 900 pages, not even counting Smith's previous work *The Theory Of Moral Sentiments*? O'Rourke has done it, but then he was paid to do it.

All the usual sound bites, or aphorisms, which may be all you remember of Adam Smith, are here:

“People of the same trade seldom meet together...but the conversation ends in a conspiracy against the public.”

“It is not from the benevolence of the butcher, the brewer, or the baker, that we expect our dinner, but from their regard to their own interest.”

And some less well known:

“We are even put out of humour if our companion laughs louder or longer at a joke than we think it deserves.” (Yes, Smith did have a sense of humor.)

Along with this are some of O'Rourke's own one-liners:

“Wealth is not a pizza. If I have too many slices, you don't have to eat the Domino's box.”

For all his wisecracking, Mr. O'Rourke has done his homework, delving into Smith's very private life, his relationships with his fellow intellectuals, especially David Hume, his opinions of the fledgling American nation, of feudalism, of things in general. If you want to know what he thought about feudalism, the answer is not much. If you want to know more than that, hunt up the original in the library, or get a copy of O'Rourke on Smith *On The Wealth Of Nations* (Atlantic Monthly Press, NY, NY, 2007) It's cheaper and easier to carry.

— M.S.

**Writing is no trouble; you just jot down ideas as they occur to you. The jotting is simplicity itself — it is the occurring which is difficult.-
Stephen Leacock**

 *Malory – Christina Hardyment, HarperCollins, NY, 2005*

Almost as daunting as Adam Smith's opus, if less esoteric, is Malory's *Morte Darthur*.

His book fills between 800 and 1000 pages. Some of the adventures are told at inordinate length, others shrugged off in a line. There is barely a chapter without a joust, far too many severed heads (often those of damsels), and very few satisfactory love affairs. Digressions are frequent, characters innumerable and confusingly similar in name – Sir Galahad, Sir Galagars, Sir Gabalantine...King Pelles, Sir Pelleas, Sir Pellounes, Sir Palomides and Sir Pellinore....Many of them are only mentioned once. Some are killed only to turn up again later.”

Yet it, or its adaptations, has entertained millions for over five centuries. (And Malory’s tales, as he admits, were adaptations themselves, “drawn from the French.”) Sandra Worth’s characters, for example, quote liberally from Malory, and she uses lines from “Idylls of the King” as chapter headings.

No known portrait of Malory exists, but the author compensates by attempting to give us what Robert Louis Stevenson would call “a portrait of his spirit”, as well as a portrait of his times, even to a plan of his manor house, which is now a training college for H. M. Prison Service, ironic given the time he spent as a ‘guest’ of the monarch.

Which brings up the question which has puzzled scholars for generations: How could a man guilty of treason, rape, and other violent crimes, have written so beautifully of love and chivalry? As Ms. Hardyment says: “Chivalry was the fifteenth-century equivalent of today’s liberal democracy: a great ideal, to which many people paid lip service but which was by no means universally observed.” All the same, such a gulf between belief and practice would almost indicate a split personality. Being charged with treason was difficult for a gentleman to avoid in the 15th century, but rape would seem to be a different matter. But as the author points out, and as has also been covered in the pages of our periodicals, a charge of rape, if not brought by the woman herself, could mean nothing more than running away with a man and/or “carnal knowledge,” even then regarded more as a sin than a crime. The crime would consist of taking her clothes with her, as they belonged to her husband. Hardyment makes a good case here for the defendant.


At any rate, his time in the Big House gave Malory leisure to write, and his relatives no doubt brought him supplies. Considering how much trouble he was already in, he was prudent not to turn his pen to contemporary events, but they must have been at the back of his mind.

Writing as he was in the late 1460s, he must have been well aware that the four sons of the ill-fated Duke Richard of York, Edward, Edmund, George and

Richard, might be thought to parallel the four sons of the murdered King Lot of Orkney, and that their widowed mother Cecily Neville...was as strong-minded and subtle a politician as Margawse, the widowed Queen of King Lot...”

If reading Ms. Hardyment’s book sends you back to the tales themselves, even in a modernized form, and gives you a new appreciation of their author, it was time well spent.

— M.S.

 *Players; the mysterious identity of William Shakespeare* – Bertram Fields, Regan Books, NY, c. 2005

William Stanley, earl of Derby, was a descendent of Thomas Stanley, husband of Margaret Beaufort, Henry Tudor’s mother. Because William Stanley observed events at the court of Navarre that seem to reappear in the plots of *Hamlet* and *Love’s Labour Lost*, French scholars have proposed him as a candidate for authorship of Shakespeare’s plays. In *Players; the mysterious identity of William Shakespeare*, Bertram Fields compares evidence for and against William Stanley’s authorship of Shakespeare’s plays with evidence for and against six other authors. Although Fields doesn’t suggest that William Stanley’s ancestry caused him to portray Richard III as an archetypal wicked uncle, he does identify William Stanley’s great-great-great grandfather as “the Stanley who betrayed Richard at the Battle of Bosworth Field and crowned Henry Tudor Henry VII after the battle.”


The six players opposing William Stanley in the Shakespeare’s identity competition are: 1) “the Stratford man;” 2) Edward de Vere, 17th earl of Oxford; 3) Christopher Marlowe; 4) Francis Bacon; 5) Roger Manners, earl of Rutland; and 6) Queen Elizabeth I. By labeling William Shakespeare (or Shaksper, Shaxpere, Shackspere, or Shagspere) “the Stratford man,” Fields emphasizes the evidence against his authorship of the plays and encourages readers to consider the case for other candidates. By the time readers reach the chapters about other candidates, they may be persuaded that “the ‘Stratford man’ couldn’t possibly have written the plays attributed to him, yet they may find the evidence presented for other candidates unconvincing. A chapter on group authorship and collaboration theories presents interesting possibilities, but Fields has found no proof for any of them. The final chapter presents Fields’ authorship theory, concluding that new evidence would change Fields’ views on a mystery that may be unsolvable.

Readers who are very familiar with the Shakespearean authorship controversy may find little new in *Players*. But readers who are new to the subject should find *Players* a clear and readable introduction that might lead

them to deeper investigations. Ricardians may want to recommend *Players* as evidence against the Tudor version of events, which has been so effectively popularized by Shakespeare's melodrama. Since the playwright who contributed so much to falsifying Richard III's character might have falsified his own identity, readers may well ask: Should anyone buy a used myth from this man?

— *Marion Davis*

The following should perhaps belong with the mysteries above, but because of the 'players' tie-in, I'm putting it here.

 *The Princess Of Denmark* – Edward Marston, St. Martin's Press, NY, 2006

The patron of Lord Westfield's players, Lord Westfield himself, is getting married again, for the third (or subsequent) time, and has chosen a prospective bride from Denmark, which explains why he is visiting that country in wintertime. It also explains why the players accompany him. They are glad to be indoors and working during their winter hiatus. Of course, trouble ensues, including a murder mystery for Nicholas Bracewill to solve.

One of the plays they have decided to present for the occasion is "Sir Thomas More." Leading man Lawrence Firethorn speaks:

"I've been reading your latest play again, Edmund. I know that it did not favor with the Master of the revels but it might have a kinder reception in Denmark."

"I doubt it... Sir Thomas More will be a poor play if I take out all the lines that offended the censor. He backed it to pieces. ... Our celebrated Master of the Revels sliced the play wide open."

"Only because he thought it politic to do so."

This may explain why Richard III ended up the way it did – and the genesis of Hamlet!

— *M.S.*

You must not pay a person a compliment and then straightway follow it with a criticism.

Mark Twain.

 *The Rose Of York: Crown Of Destiny* - Sandra Worth, End Table Books, US/ Australia, 2005

 *The Rose Of York: Fall From Grace* – Sandra Worth, End Table Books, US/ Australia, 2007

It's always ticklish to review the books of a friend, particularly when your name is mentioned in the Acknowledgements of one of them. Praise them too much, and your praise will be discounted as being prejudiced; too little, and you run the risk of hurting your friend's feelings. If you find little to criticize without being nit-picking, the

nits will jump out at you, even the ones that are obviously typos or errors in proofreading. ('Mute point' instead of 'moot point.')

Further, the reviewer cannot help bringing his or her own feelings and background into the equation. I, personally, find Richard and Anne's relationship just a tiny bit too lovey-dovey, but that may be because nobody has ever called me 'Flower-eyes.' (Nor are they likely to — my eyes are green.) Certainly it's better as a pet name than 'Babe,' or 'Little girl,' which nobody ever calls me either — and they'd better not!

My first impression was that there was too much in the way of explanation, "what went before," afterwords, etc., mainly because I know it all — or thought I did. But even the experienced Ricardian should not skip them. Especially in the last book of the series, there are interesting sidelights. Was Elizabeth of York a vegetarian? Did Francis Lovell have a clubfoot? Is it just coincidence that Shakespeare chose the name Montague, one prominent in Richard's family tree, for the hero of his most romantic play? Above all, Whodunit?

Whether you agree with her 100% or not, these are stories that should not be missed.

But I would still like to see a review written by someone who does not know Sandra personally. Please, send them along.

And here we are:

The final installment of Sandra Worth's *The Rose of York* series is *Fall from Grace*. This novel's focus is the last two years of Richard's life, beginning with his coronation to Bosworth Field.

Ms. Worth skillfully weaves Richard's character from the first installment of the series *Love and War* to its crescendo in the final installment *Fall from Grace*. The reader is drawn tight into Richard's development from a young boy to a tormented man. Ms. Worth's Richard employs much self-examination which really engages the reader into understanding what he is facing and feeling. In *Fall from Grace*, the reader joins Richard in his downward spiral as Tudor's propaganda increases, Ned has died and Anne's health declines. One feels absorbed in his jumbled thoughts as he begins to question if he has done something to anger God or is it cruel fortune. You see Richard begin to almost become obsessed with Henry Tudor as he can easily blame Tudor as the cause of all his misfortune.

Richard's character is so finely crafted with detail of what history has preserved for us it just reinforces Ms. Worth's extensive research into her characters and time periods. Ms. Worth develops Richard's personality through the dialogue of the principal players. Bishop Morton exhorts Richard to Buckingham, ruthlessly pointing out that Richard has "declared himself a

champion of the poor, yet the poor cannot help him....an honorable king is a dangerous king.” Sir Ralph Ashton declares “My Lord, you are too merciful!” and at the end, through Francis Lovell, we know that Richard is “moody, distracted and irrational.”

One of the underlying currents is the unfolding of treachery at the Court. I really enjoyed when Ms. Worth took us “inside” the secret meetings between the Stanleys and Morton. It was a fresh outlook on how much of an involvement they really had in Richard’s downfall. One has to question Richard’s terrible judgment in these situations surrounding him as he pardons time and time again men who have proven themselves traitors. Richard fully believes the answer to uniting his kingdom and to keeping his subjects loyal is to be merciful and load them up with wealth and titles so that his potential enemies have too much to lose by supporting Tudor.

I have always liked that Ms. Worth does not spoon feed us the story. She often uses action to depict her scenes rather than words. A prime example of this is when Richard and Anne’s son Ned dies. Anne and Richard immediately see the noble Countess of Warwick as she enters the room during a banquet. As she strides towards Anne and Richard, the reader lives that sense of foreboding that accompanied the Countess of Warwick being there. Ms. Worth details “She <Countess of Warwick> had never left Ned’s side in all these ten years.” That is all the words needed for the reader to know that Ned has died. Ms. Worth’s also turns this novel into a page turner with the foreshadowing of doom from the very first pages. Anne Neville introduces this to us at the coronation of her husband. Anne “...felt a sudden chill. In the dimness, Margaret Beaufort’s narrow wolfish face had taken on a cruel look. Her smile seemed forced, strangely twisted, and her deep-set eyes glittered with menace.” Anne chastises herself for the “imaginings” and explains away her thoughts with the light and shadows playing tricks on her sight.

What I found to be one of the most fascinating aspects of the novel is how Ms. Worth develops the relationship between Elizabeth of York and Richard III. Anne Neville as the instigator has come to know Elizabeth of York when Elizabeth is a member of her household during Richard’s reign. Elizabeth reminds Anne much of herself as a young woman, and as Elizabeth helps Anne through her last days, Anne sees her inner qualities that make her suitable to be the Queen of England. Anne encourages Richard to be happy in such a marriage as soon as she knows she will die. Believably, she steers Richard to notice Elizabeth of York as a

suitable candidate. On her death bed, Anne appeals one last time to Richard to accept Elizabeth as a wife. Anne’s death bed scene is one of the most emotional I have ever read. You feel their love, you feel Richard’s pain, hurt and confusion, and you can also feel Anne’s desire to now finally see her Ned. I cannot even remember the last time I cried at a scene like this in a book. It is amazingly done.

Finally, Ms. Worth nicely ties all three novels together in the meeting at Bosworth. Richard recalls past conversations with John Neville and ponders a different outcome if Edward IV had not taken the Earldom of Northumberland from John and returned it to Percy. Richard is seeing his life in “full circle” and realizes that he is standing where John had stood before at the Battle of Barnet, at the “end of the road.”


Although the reader feels Richard’s resignation to what lies ahead, you never feel he is sacrificing his men and is content just to die. Richard’s trust is the normal thought pattern of the time, that the victor is the one ordained by God to be King.

Ms. Worth’s epilogue, which fast forwards the reader to 1503 and the end of Elizabeth of York’s life, is so dramatically crafted I would not want to even reveal a hint of it. It is an unforgettable ending that one could not even begin to describe. You must read it for yourself. The three novels are all brilliant and we can all look forward with eager anticipation to her future novels.

In quoting Dale Summers’ words from her review of the second installment *Crown of Destiny*, “this is a masterpiece.” As a result of reading the first novel of Ms. Worth’s series, *Rose of York: Love and War*, I became a member of the Richard III Society and have dedicated myself to beginning a Chapter in New Mexico. She is amazing, accurate and riveting as an author and I encourage everyone to take the time to read her novels. It will change your life.

—Lori Braunhardt

Depend upon it that if a man talks of his misfortunes there is something in them that is not disagreeable to him.- Samuel Johnson

 *Rewriting The Wars Of The Roses: The 17th Century Royalist Histories of John Trussell, Sir Francis Biondi and William Habington – Roxane C. Murph, McFarland, North Carolina, 2007*

Much of what I have written above about reviewing Sandra Worth’s novels applies here also. Roxane has written or edited a series of books about Richard III (*Richard III: The Making Of A Legend, The Wars Of The Roses In Fiction: An Annotated Bibliography*, Maxwell Anderson’s *Richard And*

Anne), plus one non-Ricardian bibliography, *The English Civil War Through The Restoration*, and I have seen her through three of these. Every time one is published, she swears she will never do it again, but somehow she comes back for more punishment. It's not a case of 'publish or perish.' She is an independent, not associated with a college or university. She is not after the glory of a place on the New York Times best-seller list; scholarly books never reach that pinnacle, nor aspire to. And while I'm sure she can find a use for the money, she won't become a millionaire, nor starve in a garret without it. (Houses in Ft. Worth don't commonly have garrets, anyway.). I can only conclude that on some level, she considers it worth it, just as a mother considers her pre- and post-partum problems worth it in her child. (Producing a book takes much longer than nine months, though!)

Still, one child has to be the youngest, and one book has to be the last. If indeed this is Roxane's last, it's a fitting coda, and an excellent one. The cover bears, besides a red rose and a white one, a reproduction of a portrait of Charles I from three angles, and the body of the text is that as well. John Trussell was a lawyer, who at least once was a defendant (on a charge of 'unfitting speech'), but whose avocation was historical research and writing, as well as poetry. Sir Francis Biondi, nee Giovanni Francisco Biondi, formerly Biundovic, an Italian-Slav

cosmopolite, was a royalist but also a follower of the Reformation. He wrote in Italian. Habington was born to an English Catholic family on Guy Fawkes day (or at least on the day the Big Bang was supposed to occur), to a father deeply implicated in the plot. (He was not executed, however.) Roxane considers how their backgrounds may have affected their viewpoints, what sources they may have used, and gives an overview of each history.

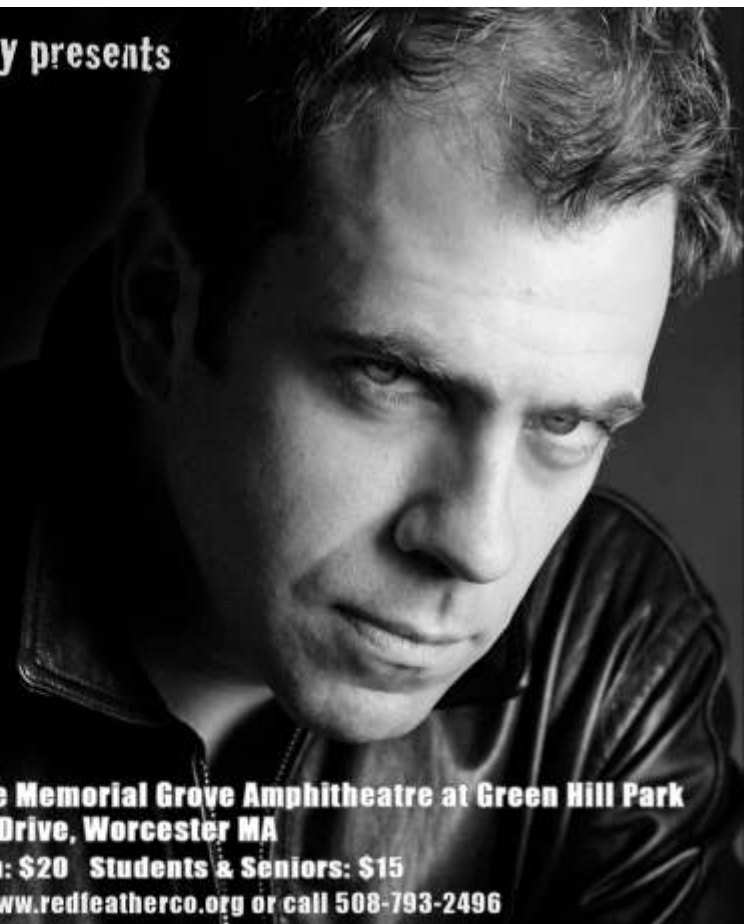
Whether this is the last of her output, or the penultimate, or wherever it may fit, she may well be proud of it.

—M.S.

Does it strike you as odd that one chapter – the Southwest – should have two authors (so far) and one critic? It strikes even me, the critic, as disproportionate, but is better, I suppose, than the other way around: one author and two critics!

I leave you Gentle Readers with this thought:

Good to begin well, better to end well. – good old source unknown, again.



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THE RAVENSER CROSS

Moira Habberjam,
from *Blanc Sanglier*, journal of the Yorkshire Branch

Many years ago I was asked by a fellow Ricardian, a Yorkshire lady then living abroad, if I knew what had happened to the Ravenser Cross commemorating Edward IV's return from Burgundy, which she remembered seeing in Hedon as a child. Was it still there? Consternation. I hadn't even heard that there was such a cross, but I promised to check it up and report back with a photograph — a promise I did not keep.

Later, when I thought about it, I couldn't believe that Edward IV would ever have felt the urge, or bothered himself, to raise a monument to a somewhat ignominious event ... hardly a triumphal re-entry into his kingdom. ... It seemed much more likely to me that the cross had been raised to commemorate Henry of Lancaster's landing in 1399, on *his* return from exile, and this turned out to be the general verdict, though it was clear that some time later Edward IV's name had come to be associated with it.

The cross itself, a piece of undoubted medieval stonework, was last seen in all its pristine glory by the men who erected it near to Bolingbroke's landing place in Holderness. ... There is no record of any inscription which might have helped us to identify it, though there is anecdotal evidence that '99' had somehow been deciphered as the final numerals of a date — thus nicely confirming the Bolingbroke scenario. How convenient. Believe it if you like.

Another thing that puzzled me was the initial placing of the cross at Bolingbroke's supposed landing place of Ravenser (or Ravensrod), since I knew for a fact from my reading of the Meaux Abbey Chronicle that Ravensrod village had been dramatically submerged *c.* 1360 in one of the frequent storms that hit the area. I remember how it described how the bones of those buried in the village church were seen to float away in the rush of waters as the building disappeared. So Ravensrod did not exist in 1399, and very definitely not in 1471 when Edward IV arrived. But it was obviously somewhere near to the peninsular landmark known as Ravenspur that both exiles landed, and that is probably as near as we shall get to the precise location now.

In *The Arrival*, which is the contemporary Yorkist account of Edward IV's return, it states that Edward disembarked 14 miles from Earl River's landing at Paull, which according to my estimation would put him about 7 miles along the north bank of the Humber from Spurn



'Ravespur' Cross today
© Copyright [Paul Glazzard](#)

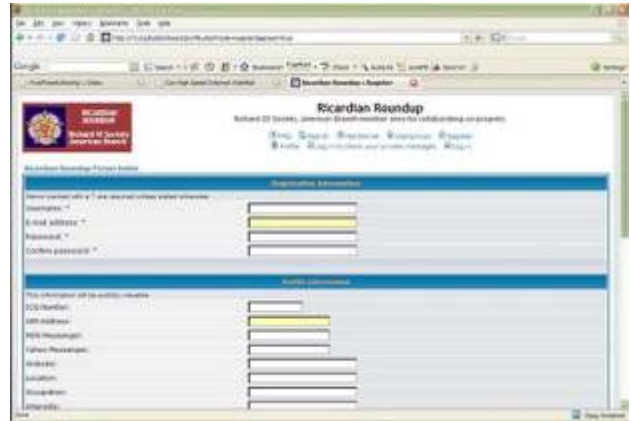
Point. I would be very grateful if somebody competent would verify that for me!

So according to tradition, the cross was erected at 'Ravespur' to commemorate either Henry of Lancaster's return from exile in 1399, or that of Edward IV in 1471 (or both!), and there it remained till *c.* 1500 when it was moved to Kilnsea. It stood upon the cliff top at Kilnsea, rather precariously one would imagine, till the decision was made to move it somewhere safer. That was in 1818, when the Constable family took it to their park at Burton Constable. Unfortunately, by then the cross must have been far too damaged and eroded by the elements for the Victorian antiquarians to be able to establish its likely provenance. ... [It was] subsequently re-erected in a little enclosure by the market square of Hedon — the town where it still remains. Its final resting place was the garden of Hollyrood House, a nursing home in Hedon, where it still remains to this day — though merely a skeleton of what it must have been in medieval times.

THE RICARDIAN ROUNDUP BULLETIN BOARD

Joan Szechtman

A little over a year ago, Laura Blanchard added this Bulletin Board for the convenience to members who were engaging in special projects on r3.org business. Recently, Laura expanded it to include a section for the chapters of the Richard III Society, American Branch. As of July 8th, the section includes New England, Michigan, and New York metro chapter forums. If your chapter isn't represented, please contact Laura at lblanchard@rblanchard.com. Ricardian Roundup can be found at [://www.r3.org/bulletinboard/index.php](http://www.r3.org/bulletinboard/index.php). The web site should have a similar appearance to:



- You must fill the top section in, and note what your password is as the administrator can't retrieve that information. The following screens show a sample of how one might fill in the fields:

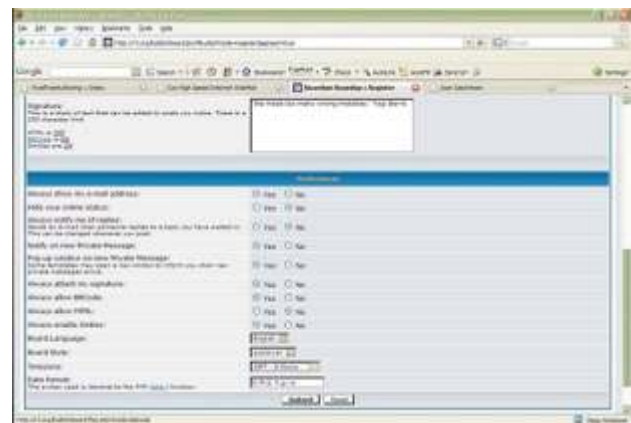


The first thing you may want to do is get a user id. Here's how you do it:

- make sure you can accept cookies from this site;
- click on 'Register' and you should get this screen:



- In order to register you must agree that you are either 13 years old or older or under 13. If you don't agree to the terms, then you won't be able to register. Agreeing to the terms will bring you to this screen:



- click on submit. If successful, you'll be brought to this screen.



- You should also get an email from the administrator welcoming you to the site and it will contain your user id and password.
- Log in with your user id:



- Note: I've checked log me on automatically each visit. Only do this if you're signing in from the same computer (or computers) each time. If you use the library's computers for example, you will want to log in each time you access this site. Also, some libraries and other sites will block cookies, preventing you from establishing a session. If that's the case, use guest and perhaps identify yourself when you post.
- Once you have a user id and establish a session, you can add things to your profile such as an avatar (just follow the directions on the screen for it), or change information, such as your time zone, signature, email, password, etc.

I look forward to seeing more Ricardians at the Roundup. I hope this helps you to sign in and participate.

WHEN ALL ELSE FAILS, CHECK THE BLOG

Laura Blanchard

Back in June, our web site went down for an entire weekend. That also meant that our listserv went down, and there was no way for members to know what was up.

I've put up a blog where we can post information on website outages, etc. No point having such a good tool go to waste, of course, so I've put up a couple of news items, including one about the August production of *Richard III* in Worcester, MA, our AGM site, by Redfeather Productions. You can check it out at [Http://www.r3member.blogspot.com/](http://www.r3member.blogspot.com/)

Don't forget the Ricardian Roundup can be accessed at [://www.r3.org/bulletinboard/index.php](http://www.r3.org/bulletinboard/index.php).

I'm the only one who can post messages at the moment, but anyone with a connection to the internet can comment (that's the reason for the legal disclaimer at the bottom of the blog). Stay tuned for further developments!

RICHARD III IN WORCESTER

Laura Blanchard

Our AGM keynote speaker tipped us off to this production of *Richard III* in Worcester from August 1-19. Pam Butler craftily built up a rapport with the manager, thinking that some publicity via their production might bring some local residents to our AGM.

We purchased an ad in their playbill with the headline "You're watching the play - now meet the man." The ad talks about further resources on our website and also provides information on the AGM and the web address for the New England Chapter.

Redfeather also asked us for an article about the historical Richard. Time was tight, but Anne Smith stepped into the breach and did a fine summation, based on presentations she has given at other productions of *That Play*. Maybe we'll get some converts!



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MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION/RENEWAL

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Address:

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Contributing & Sponsoring Memberships:

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 Honorary Middleham Member \$180.00
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 Plantagenet Angel \$500.00
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- Schallek Fellowship Awards: \$_____
 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.
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