

# Ricardian Register



Richard III Society, Inc.

Vol. 43 No. 1

March, 2012



*Richard, Duke of Gloucester, speaking with his troops during the Scottish Campaign 1482.*

Mary Kelly

Printed with permission • White Boar • Copyright © Mary Kelly 2009

Articles: Was Edward V Sick? ● Margaret Pole ● Warwick's Wars

The History of Foxglove Poisoning: Was Edward IV a Victim?

Inside cover  
(not printed)

# Contents

<b>Was Edward V Sick?</b>	<b><u><a href="#">2</a></u></b>
<b>Margaret Pole</b>	<b><u><a href="#">6</a></u></b>
<b>Warwick's Wars</b>	<b><u><a href="#">11</a></u></b>
<b>The history of foxglove poisoning, was Edward IV a victim?</b>	<b><u><a href="#">17</a></u></b>
<b>Errata</b>	<b><u><a href="#">21</a></u></b>
<b>Reviews</b>	<b><u><a href="#">22</a></u></b>
BOOK REVIEWS	<u><a href="#">22</a></u>
DVD REVIEWS	<u><a href="#">27</a></u>
<b>From the Editor</b>	<b><u><a href="#">30</a></u></b>
<b>Fiction</b>	<b><u><a href="#">31</a></u></b>
<b>Sales Catalog—March, 2012</b>	<b><u><a href="#">32</a></u></b>
<b>Board, Staff, and Chapter Contacts</b>	<b><u><a href="#">37</a></u></b>
<b>Chapter Contacts</b>	<b><u><a href="#">38</a></u></b>



©2012 Richard III Society, Inc., American Branch. No part may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means mechanical, electrical or photocopying, recording or information storage retrieval—without written permission from the Society. Articles submitted by members remain the property of the author. The Ricardian Register is published four times per year. Subscriptions are available at \$20.00 annually. In the belief that many features of the traditional accounts of the character and career of Richard III are neither supported by sufficient evidence nor reasonably tenable, the Society aims to promote in every possible way research into the life and times of Richard III, and to secure a re-assessment of the material relating to the period, and of the role in English history of this monarch.

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

Dues are \$50 annually for U.S. Addresses; \$55 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.

Society Internet address: [www.r3.org](http://www.r3.org)

Web status updates: [r3member.blogspot.com](http://r3member.blogspot.com)

Changes of address and dues payments to:

Amber McVey, Membership Chair  
4681 Angeline Lane, Mason, OH 45040

[Amber@wamber.net](mailto:Amber@wamber.net)

# Was Edward V Sick?

© Annette Carson 2011

In the course of researching and writing my book about Richard III,<sup>1</sup> I was struck by an apparently widespread assumption that the boy Edward V was sickly and, if not despatched by nefarious means, probably died of some kind of illness.

Leaving aside storytelling and wild speculation, there are very few respectable sources to which this misapprehension might be traced. Of these, only one was writing at the time of the events he described, and this was the Italian cleric Dominic Mancini, who reported that ‘like a victim prepared for sacrifice ... [Edward] believed that death was facing him’.<sup>2</sup>

It is generally accepted that Mancini had come to England at the behest of his patron Archbishop Angelo Cato, a key figure in the intelligence-gathering circle of Louis XI of France. His visit coincided with a catastrophic breach in Anglo-French relations, on which Cato was doubtless looking for a first-hand report; instead of which Mancini found himself present during a far more interesting series of events: the death of Edward IV, the accession of his son, Edward V, and the latter’s replacement by Richard III.

Mancini gives a very full description of the twelve-year-old Edward V, his graces and accomplishments, physical appearance, whereabouts and general state of mind. This knowledge is attributed to his access to Dr John Argentine, the physician who attended Edward at his lodgings in the Tower of London after his deposition in the summer of 1483. With such a valuable and free-speaking source of information at hand, Mancini’s report would have been a poor effort indeed if he had not winkled out from the boy’s doctor all possible information about his health – a matter of great interest to the French court in those turbulent times, especially if he was ailing or even quite sick.

Yet Mancini’s comment about Edward’s daily confession ‘like a victim prepared for sacrifice’ is conspicuously devoid of reference to any issue of medical health, on which Argentine would have been the prevailing authority. Rather than suggesting that he was physically ill, it sounds like one of those hints Mancini likes to drop that young Edward was set to meet a sticky end.

Some 25 years later, the French chronicler Jean Molinet also wrote briefly of Edward V, describing him as ‘unsophisticated and very melancholy, aware only of the ill-will of his uncle’, a boy who believed that he and his brother were marked for death. Obviously coloured by the then-current assumption that they had been murdered by Richard III, Molinet’s retrospective account depicts Edward as a pathetic figure but undermines its own credibility with the adjective ‘unsophisticated’, which scarcely chimes with the admiring words of Dominic Mancini, who wrote (presumably quoting the physician Argentine): ‘In word and deed he gave so many proofs of his liberal education, of polite, nay scholarly attainments far beyond his age ... his special knowledge of literature, which enabled him to discourse elegantly, to understand fully and to declaim most excellently from any work whether in verse or prose that came into his hands, unless it were from among the more abstruse authors’.<sup>3</sup>

While mentioning John Argentine, by the way, it need not be taken as significant that Edward’s doctor looked after him during his stay in London, as did also a number of other personal attendants, some of whose names are officially recorded. Rather it may be viewed as a sign of the appropriate care and respect given to his royal person. Indeed, since there is no contemporaneous account of his health, we should probably never have heard of his physician had not Mancini enjoyed Argentine’s confidences.

If Mancini's observations are deficient in crucial specifics, our next source has even less factual evidence to offer. This is Sir George Buck in his *History of King Richard the Third* written in 1619, over 130 years later. Buck was Master of the Revels at the court of James I, and one of those seventeenth-century antiquaries who made it their business to delve into ancient papers in order to find documentary evidence about times past. Buck was a firm believer that the pretender known as 'Perkin Warbeck' was in fact Edward V's younger brother, Richard. Of Edward he admitted knowing almost nothing, assuming that he must have fallen ill and died while still residing in the Tower of London: '[I think the elder] brother Edward died [of sick]ness and of infirmity (for he was weak and very sickly...)' <sup>4</sup>

The best argument Sir George could find to support his theory was that Edward's siblings did not live to make old bones: 'their sisters also were but of a weak constitution, as their short lives showed.' It is difficult to construe what kind of lifespan Buck termed 'short' for a woman, when death in childbirth was a constant hazard. Certainly some of the sisters lived into their late thirties, and Catherine, Countess of Devon, is said to have died in 1527, in her late forties. Their half-brother, Edward IV's illegitimate son Lord Lisle, apparently lived to be nearly eighty.

Another basis for Buck's theory was that no pretender came forward to represent himself as Edward V. This may be so, but very little is known about what lay behind the pretender later dubbed 'Lambert Simnel', crowned in Dublin in May of 1487, and supported by the Earl of Lincoln and Edward's aunt Margaret of Burgundy (and even, perhaps, by his mother Elizabeth Woodville and half-brother Thomas, Marquess of Dorset). Buck may have fallen into the same error as have historians throughout the ages, i.e. the assumption that what he knew then was all there was to know.

Buck's is the first recorded suggestion in so many words that Edward fell sick and died. But his book about Richard III cannot be said to have been widely read. Indeed for 350 years the only printed version was one in such a bowdlerized form that, until a scholarly edition of the original was produced by Arthur Kincaid in 1979, it was virtually dismissed by historians.

So, I wondered, could it be that the common supposition about Edward V's ill-health dates from a source that is much more recent? I am referring to something that attracts considerable scepticism nowadays, and that is Lawrence Tanner and William Wright's 1933 examination of those skeletal remains currently in Westminster Abbey which Charles II decided, in 1674, on no evidence whatsoever, were those of Edward V and his brother.<sup>5</sup>

The anatomist Professor Wright, and his dental adviser Dr George Northcroft – both of whom agreed enthusiastically with Charles II – identified evidence of a disease of the lower jaw in the elder of the two skulls present, which is visible in their published photographs. Thirty years later another anatomist, Dr Richard Lyne-Pirkis, gave a talk to the Richard III Society in which he stated it as his opinion, on the basis of those photographs, that it was probably 'a condition known as osteomyelitis or chronic inflammation of the bone, which was quite a common condition in those days'.<sup>6</sup> Osteomyelitis would have been extremely painful and increasingly disfiguring, and was very likely to have proved fatal in those centuries before antibiotics.

Other experts in a variety of disciplines have offered alternative diagnoses, the most popular being osteitis, an unpleasant and painful inflammatory disease, though not necessarily fatal in itself; unless, of course, it deteriorated into osteomyelitis.

The Tanner and Wright report concluded that the child whose skull they named 'Edward V' suffered from an extensive, chronic condition which had persisted for some years and

had spread so far as to affect the temporo-mandibular joints. From the photographic evidence it can be seen to have produced destruction and malformation of areas of the affected bone. The owner of that jawbone would have suffered from inflamed, swollen and septic gums, as well as constant pain and discomfort. However, the problem remained that the Tanner and Wright examination, using the limited means at their disposal in 1933, failed to establish scientifically whether this owner was prince or pauper, boy or girl.<sup>7</sup>

It seemed to me that the vague assumptions I had encountered about Edward V's illness must have been assimilated by a kind of reverse-engineering process: in other words, extrapolating backwards from the Tanner and Wright conclusions and superimposing them on to the remarks of writers like Mancini and Buck.

I have always favoured holding assumption up to the cold light of logic, so I decided to make the question of Edward V's health, and the apparent link with the bones, one of a number of lines of original research that would be unique to my book.<sup>8</sup> My starting point was to look at the phenomenon from the viewpoint of his contemporaries. Had a royal child suffered chronically in this way, it must have given rise to comment and concern. Doubtless he would have needed specially prepared food as the illness progressed and teeth were lost or removed. And he would have endured the never-ending attentions of not one but a team of physicians whose ministrations were probably quite as unpleasant as the disease itself.

Yet there is no contemporaneous hint of anything of the kind relating to Edward's appearance or behaviour. As Prince of Wales he was constantly visible to members of his household, his retainers and the public at large from the age of three when he was first given his own council at Ludlow. As he grew older he was seen regularly at court and was exhibited by his father, Edward IV, to the gaze of his subjects on numerous public occasions.<sup>9</sup>

Furthermore, Dominic Mancini's description of Edward at the age of twelve (shortly before his alleged death) speaks of 'dignity in his whole person, and in his face such charm, that ... he never wearied the eyes of beholders.'<sup>10</sup> If Edward had really been the owner of an infected and disfigured jaw, Mancini would surely have made certain in his report, delivered in December 1483, to remark less on the charm of his face and more on the cruelty and heartlessness of Richard III's treatment of an ailing boy. This would have been music to the ears of Archbishop Cato and the French court, always looking for vulnerabilities in the English regime, especially as England's most recent Parliament (under Edward IV) had voted funds for renewed Anglo-French hostilities. Yet Dominic Mancini suggests nothing of the sort.

Written material from the fifteenth century is admittedly scanty, and its paucity cannot be held to prove that Edward V was hale and hearty. However, it is equally incumbent on anyone who speaks of his ill-health to back it up with evidence.

It would be fair to expect an exhaustive examination of Edward V's life and person in a biographical work, of which the only one yet published was written by Michael Hicks. Yet Hicks mentioned nothing of illness or disfigurement, and instead described him as 'a very good-looking boy'. He also avoided almost all reference to the bones in Westminster Abbey, and on the two isolated occasions where they were briefly mentioned, he showed no sign of being convinced of their identity.<sup>11</sup>

To conclude my investigation from the standpoint of logic, I turned my thoughts to consideration of how the chronic ill-health of the Prince of Wales would have influenced the way his own heir presumptive – his younger brother – was raised and trained.

Given that diseases of the jaw were not uncommon in Edward's day, it would certainly have been known that such a chronic infection could worsen progressively and even lead to death. Emotion played no part where questions of inheritance were concerned, and this

was a matter that involved succession to the crown of England. Their father the king would surely have stopped at nothing to secure his Yorkist dynasty.

Yet no provision whatsoever seems to have been made for the younger boy, Richard, to receive appropriate training in kingly responsibility. Instead he remained at his mother's side, never taking charge of his own household, even after the appointment of his own council in 1477. Neither was he placed under the tutelage of a suitable nobleman to learn the arts of arms and chivalry. In May 1483, when his brother arrived in London as king, Richard lurked with his mother in sanctuary.

Such lack of interest in preparing the younger brother for the possibility of kingship seems to point fairly conclusively, I would suggest, to absence of any concern for the health of the elder.

*Postscript:* There is still considerable room for research into the findings of Tanner and Wright, including the possibility of facial reconstruction, with which I have found it difficult to make progress. I hope to pursue this further now that I have taken up residence again in England.

#### ENDNOTES

1. Annette Carson, *Richard III: The Maligned King* (Stroud, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011).
2. Dominic Mancini, *De Occupatione Regni Anglie per Riccardum Tercium Libellus*, ed. C.A.J. Armstrong (Gloucester, 1989) p.93.
3. Mancini, p.93.
4. Sir George Buck, *The History of King Richard the Third (1619)*, ed. A.N. Kincaid (Gloucester, 1979) p.140.
5. *Archaeologia* LXXXIV, 1934.
6. Richard Lyne-Pirkis, *Regarding the Bones Found in the Tower*; speech given on 27 February 1963.
7. A survey of the principal academic commentaries devoted to the subject of the bones, whether by scientists or historians, can be found in Carson, pp.184-200, from which it will be seen that there is no consensus as to their identity, or sex, or age, or antiquity. What gives rise to most dubiety is that any attempt to calculate the age of the elder child is automatically stymied by the need to adjust computations to take account of retardation of development due to his or her chronic jaw disease, but nobody knows how much allowance to make.
8. For the record, examples of other matters explored in depth and generally overlooked by mainstream biographers include examination and reconstruction of the precise location at the Tower of London where the bones were found; a fresh look at the shifting allegiances which preceded the rebellion of October 1483; questions raised by the death of Edward IV; and Richard III's proposed second marriage, particularly its implications as reflected in Elizabeth of York's letter to the Duke of Norfolk.
9. Carson, p.190.
10. Mancini/Armstrong, p.93.
11. Michael Hicks, *Edward V* (Stroud, 2003) pp.176, 191.

# Margaret Pole

## Countess of Salisbury, Edward IV and Richard III's Niece

Elizabeth Dorsey Hatle

Lady Margaret Plantagenet was born into a turbulent century on August 14, 1473 at Farleigh Castle in Somerset. Margaret was only a few months younger than her first cousin, Richard III and Anne Neville's only child, Edward of Middleham. Margaret's mother, Isabella Neville, died when she was three, and her father, George, 1<sup>st</sup> Duke of Clarence, was executed when she was four. Margaret's father was put to death on the orders of her uncle, King Edward IV, in 1478. "He was arrested in June 1477 and privately executed at the Tower of London on 18 February 1478. In just over a year Margaret's parents had both died, and from the security and honour of being the daughter of the 'right noble Prince my Lord of Clarence,' she was now the daughter of an executed traitor."<sup>1</sup> After Clarence's death, Edward IV made his orphaned niece and nephew his wards. He created Clarence's son Edward the Earl of Warwick and Margaret's name is seen in Edward IV's household accounts as our "dear and well-beloved niece, Margaret, daughter unto our late brother, the late Duke of Clarence."

Even at a young age, Margaret was able to survive politically in what must have been trying circumstances. "In September 1486 'my lady Margaret of Clarence' headed the list of ladies attending the christening of the Henry's first-born son, Prince Arthur, and in November 1487 she viewed the coronation of Elizabeth of York on a specially erected stage between the pulpit and the high altar of Westminster Abby in the company of Henry VII and his mother."<sup>2</sup> Margaret is referred to as 'my Lady Margaret Pole' at the christening, indicating that her marriage to Sir Richard Pole had already taken place. King Henry had given Margaret in marriage to Sir Richard Pole, whose mother was the half-sister of the King's mother, Lady Margaret Beaufort. Margaret Pole earned some criticism for marrying a man considered beneath her station, but she was most likely relieved to be out from under Henry VII and his mother's direct control. "At the time of her marriage Margaret was only fourteen, but Richard was twenty-eight or twenty-nine years old. Intelligent, prudent and reliable, he provided his wife with the safe haven not only which Henry VII required, but which she herself must have desired after a somewhat tumultuous childhood. After 1488 when Richard's royal duties in Wales increased, Margaret eschewed her place at court in order to remain close to him, and Henry VII granted them the use of Stourton Castle in Staffordshire."<sup>3</sup>

Margaret's was ten years old when her uncle Richard succeeded to the throne. Richard III kept his brother Clarence's children protected and safe during his reign. Upon Henry VII's accession to the throne in 1485, Margaret was brought to court where her first cousin Elizabeth reigned as Henry's wife and queen. "With this in mind, Henry ordered Warwick and his sister should be conducted to the household of his mother, Margaret Beaufort. Fellow 'guests' of the king's mother included Elizabeth of York and her sisters."<sup>4</sup> Henry VII put her brother into the Tower. Her brother Edward had been allowed by his uncle Edward IV to succeed as 17<sup>th</sup> Earl of Warwick and 7<sup>th</sup> Earl of Salisbury, but as the last male representative of the Yorkist line, was seen as a danger to the new Tudor dynasty. Her brother Warwick's execution for treason shattered Margaret's new found stability. In September 1497, a man named Perkin Warbeck, who claimed to be Margaret's missing first cousin, Richard, Duke of York, son of Edward IV, rebelled against Henry VII. The uprising was quelled but it allowed Henry VII an excuse to eliminate Margaret's brother.

Within days of the Perkin Warbeck rebellion, "the court of the lord high steward

(John de Vere, earl of Oxford, for the occasion) in Westminster Hall considered the findings of a grand jury returned against Edward, Earl of Warwick, found him guilty of treason, which he admitted. A week later he was beheaded on Tower Hill. The most innocent sprig of the white rose was thus lopped off. Tudor reason of State had claimed the first of its many victims.”<sup>5</sup> On the coming of his age in 1496, Edward was legally entitled to inherit a rich manor called Ware through his mother Isabella Neville’s estate. The king’s mother, Margaret Beaufort, “had shown an immediate interest in Ware, on 22 September 1485 securing the right to appoint a steward there.”<sup>6</sup> With his execution, Warwick succeeding to his property or to the throne were no longer possibilities. At the time of her brother’s execution Margaret was three months pregnant with Reginald and “her feelings must have been a mixture of grief and fear. Grief for a brother who should have been one of the great magnates in England but also loss at his losing his liberty at the age of eleven and his life at the age of twenty-four simply because he was Clarence’s son, and fear for the fate of Clarence’s grandsons, her own children.”<sup>7</sup>

After her husband’s death in 1505, Margaret was left with five children, of whom the fourth, Reginald Pole, was to become a Cardinal and Archbishop of Canterbury. Her chief residence was Warblington Castle in Hampshire. Her husband’s death was a huge loss to Margaret. “If Margaret was to ensure that her children received the best start in life through their connections at court, there was only one man to whom she could look,”<sup>8</sup> but he was Henry VIII, who still considered her and members of her family an inconvenient liability, as they had been to his father in 1485. Margaret managed again to survive in a new regime, and in 1513, four years into his reign, King Henry VIII reversed her brother’s attainder, allowing Margaret to succeed as 8<sup>th</sup> Countess of Salisbury. An Act of Restitution was also passed by which she came into possession of her ancestral domains. Margaret Pole and Catherine of Aragon were close and possibly at his wife’s request, Henry VIII granted Margaret her petition for the restoration of the earldom of Salisbury, becoming a countess in her own right. Her estates covered seventeen counties and it has been estimated that this placed her among the top five wealthiest nobles in early 16<sup>th</sup> century England. She had four main residences in the south of England, and her London home stood on the site of what is now Cannon Street station. As the disgraced Duke of Clarence’s daughter, Margaret had grown up in perilous times, seeing terrible things happen to her family. With her family background, and as Edward IV and Richard III’s niece, Margaret had made some ambitious moves to improve her family’s status. She was now one of the most important women in the country.

Margaret had given birth to five children who survived into adulthood: Henry Pole, 1<sup>st</sup> Baron Montagu, John Bouchier, Cardinal Reginald Pole, Sir Geoffrey Pole, Sir Arthur Pole and Ursula Pole who married the 1<sup>st</sup> Baron Stafford. Not unlike her grandmother, Cecily Neville, Margaret had as many of her children escape the typical dangers of childhood and survive into adulthood. At the age of forty-seven, her children grown and married, Margaret became governess to Mary, Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon’s only child. When the countess of Salisbury entered into Mary’s life she was, “Tall, thin and elegant, she boasted the auburn hair of the Plantagenets, and the pale skin which accompanied such colouring. No stain attached to her person or behavior and she had the considerable advantage of knowing the court and its etiquette inside and out. A better choice for Mary’s welfare or role as a princess could not have been made.”<sup>9</sup> Considering that Margaret was the niece of kings, Mary Tudor’s grandmother’s first cousin and cousin of royal Plantagenet princesses and princes, Margaret’s bloodline was impeccable, and it was a significant tribute to her to be Mary Tudor’s governess.

Margaret’s influence was strong upon Mary, and the princess quickly became attached to her. The Countess and Queen Catherine were confidantes. Margaret’s son

Reginald, the future Cardinal Pole, had committed his life to the church. Katherine knew that her daughter's spiritual health would be in good hands with the Countess of Salisbury. "The countess of Salisbury, a devout woman herself, did not need to be told her duty. The princess' spiritual development might be guided by her chaplains but behind them was Margaret Pole, the epitome of a Christian woman."<sup>10</sup> Margaret requested a translation of Erasmus' *De Immensa Misericordia Dei* from Gentian Hervet for Mary. When Henry and Catherine were in France to attend what is now known as the Field of Cloth of Gold between Henry and France's king Francis I, Henry's counselors wrote to him that Mary was "daily exercising herself in virtuous pastimes and occupation."<sup>11</sup> But life at court was changing, and Margaret, who must have felt for the first time in her life that she had some security for her family, was about to lose everything once again.

When Anne Boleyn came between Henry and Catherine, the Boleyn family most likely felt that Mary should be separated from the Countess of Salisbury, as she was a close friend of Catherine's. Margaret was temporarily removed from Mary's presence, but for other reasons. First, as lady governess because Margaret's daughter's father-in-law, the Duke of Buckingham, had crossed Wolsey, who had been accused of conspiring against Henry and had been executed. Margaret had "found herself, not for the first time, mistrusted,"<sup>12</sup> by association. In 1525 she was once again Mary's governess. With no more children from Henry and Catherine's union, King Henry decided it was time for Mary to do what generations of princes of Wales had done before, gain some practical experience of government. Margaret could be counted upon with Mary Tudor to "keep quiet about the real reasons for her absence. Failure to do otherwise would have put her in great peril."<sup>13</sup> Margaret knew from first hand experience how to keep quiet, having survived her Uncle King Richard III's overthrow by Henry VII and survived in a Tudor court afterwards. Living under suspicious kings was a way of life for Margaret. Keeping Mary Tudor away from court was necessary, as the conflict between Henry VIII and Catherine over Anne Boleyn heated up.

Margaret knew which way the wind was blowing at court and kept Mary's life as stable as she could in Wales when Mary's parents separated. Mary at that time was still allowed to correspond with her mother, which most likely meant Catherine was still in communication with Margaret as well. When Mary turned seventeen, her household was dismantled and the countess of Salisbury was dismissed. "Her offers to continue with Mary at her own expense were rebuffed. The king believed that the countess and others of those around Mary were responsible for encouraging her stance and he wanted her separated from them."<sup>14</sup> Margaret's fall from grace over being Queen Catherine's friend affected her financial circumstances. Her oldest son was not welcomed at court. "The precariousness of the succession, compounded by Henry VIII's unpopularity, meant that he did not wish to make too much of Henry Pole; he did not want him to come to court, where he might make strategic alliances and possibly offer an alternative to those disenchanted with the Tudor regime."<sup>15</sup> Margaret was a substantial landowner, with a respectable claim to the throne and four politically active adult sons. It was inevitable that Margaret's family would be drawn into Henry VIII's divorce from Catherine.

Reginald Pole had once been Henry VIII's favored choice for the archbishopric of York. Reginald, now living in exile, had betrayed Henry, happy to encourage a foreign-led invasion to restore traditional Catholicism to England. Reginald's family paid the price for being within Henry VIII's easy reach. The Cardinal's brothers were arrested, brought to the Tower, and stood trial for treason. Margaret returned to Court after the fall of Anne, but in 1530 Reginald Pole sent King Henry a copy of his published treatise *Pro ecclesiasticae unitatis defensione*, in answer to questions put to him on the King's behalf

by Thomas Cromwell, Cuthbert Tunstall, Thomas Starkey and others. Besides being a theological reply to the questions, the book was a denunciation of the King's policies. King Henry was enraged, and though lady Salisbury and her eldest son had written to Reginald in reproof of his attitude and action, Reginald Pole did not retract what he had said about Henry publicly. That left his family in England to pay for the insult done to the king.

In November, 1538, Margaret's eldest son, the 1<sup>st</sup> Baron Montagu, another son, and other relatives were arrested on a charge of treason, though Thomas Cromwell had previously written that they had 'little offended save that he (the Cardinal) is of their kin,' they were committed to the Tower, and in January, with the exception of her son Geoffrey Pole, they were executed. Ten days after the arrest of her sons, lady Salisbury, despite her age, was arrested and examined by the Earl of Southampton and Thomas Goodrick, the Bishop of Ely. They reported to Cromwell that although they had interrogated her for many hours she would utter nothing, and they were forced to conclude that her sons had not made her a sharer in their treason. The brutal coming end of Margaret's life brought with it the execution of one of her sons, the attempted suicide and nervous breakdown of another son and permanent exile of a third son.

The following May, Cromwell introduced a Bill of Attainder against her, which was hurriedly read. At the third reading Cromwell produced a white silk tunic found in one of her coffers, embroidered on the back with the Five Wounds. This connected her with the Northern Uprising. She was 'attainted to die by Act of Parliament' and also lost her titles. The other charges against her, to which she was never permitted to reply, had to do with the escape from England of her chaplain and the conveying of messages abroad. Margaret's only chance of survival was utter submission to Henry's will. "In addition, her dogged determination in the face of Henry's growing disapproval might have been a manifestation of the resentment she felt, but never openly expressed, over the fate of her brother and her own impecunious circumstances following the death of her husband. Naturally, when she found herself in a position to regain her family's lands, she felt justified, even duty-bound, to try and retain everything to which she believed was entitled."<sup>16</sup> As she had done all her life before, putting common sense before emotional reasoning, this time she didn't. Margaret had also underestimated the king. A bond of kinship meant nothing to a Tudor.

After the passage of the Act of Attainder, the elderly Margaret was removed to the Tower, and for nearly two years was tormented by the severity of the weather and insufficient clothing. She remained staunch in the defense of herself and her sons, declaring, "that if ever it be found and proved [I her],\* that she is culpable in any of those things, that she hath denied, that she is content to be [blasmed]\* in the rest of all the articles laid against her."<sup>17</sup> Margaret's long battle, was now lost and the earldom of Salisbury, was forfeited to the crown. Everything she had worked so hard to achieve was destroyed. In April, 1541, there was another insurrection in Yorkshire, and it was then determined to enforce without any further procedure the Act of Attainder passed in 1539. In some sense her 1541 execution was the continuation by King Henry of his father's program of eliminating possible contenders to the throne. Her son, Reginald Cardinal Pole, said that he would "...never fear to call himself the son of a martyr". Margaret was the last victim of the Wars of the Roses to be executed at the command of a Tudor, by King Henry VIII, her first cousin's son.

\*Editor's note: In both instances, the bracketed words are shown here as they appeared in the referenced source.

Endnotes:

- <sup>1</sup> Piece, Hazel, *Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury, Loyalty, Lineage and Leadership*, University of Wales Press, Cardiff, Great Britain, 2003, pg. 6
- <sup>2</sup> Piece, Hazel, *Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury, Loyalty, Lineage and Leadership*, University of Wales Press, Cardiff, Great Britain, 2003, pg. 13
- <sup>3</sup> Piece, Hazel, *Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury, Loyalty, Lineage and Leadership*, University of Wales Press, Cardiff, Great Britain, 2003, pg. 17
- <sup>4</sup> Piece, Hazel, *Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury, Loyalty, Lineage and Leadership*, University of Wales Press, Cardiff, Great Britain, 2003, pg. 12
- <sup>5</sup> Chrimes, S. B., *Henry VII*, University of California Press, Berkeley and Lost Angeles, 1972, pg. 92
- <sup>6</sup> Jones, Michael K. and Underwood, Malcolm G. *The King's Mother-Lady Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby*, Cambridge University Press, New York, New York, 1992, Pg. 102-103
- <sup>7</sup> Pierce, Hazel, *Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury, Loyalty, Lineage and Leadership*, University of Wales Press, Cardiff, Great Britain, 2003, pg. 25
- <sup>8</sup> Pierce, Hazel, *Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury, Loyalty, Lineage and Leadership*, University of Wales Press, Cardiff, Great Britain, 2003, pg. 27
- <sup>9</sup> Porter, Linda, *The First Queen of England*, St. Martin's Press, New York, New York, 2007, pg. 17
- <sup>10</sup> Porter, Linda, *The First Queen of England*, St. Martin's Press, New York, New York, 2007, pg. 41
- <sup>11</sup> Porter, Linda, *The First Queen of England*, St. Martin's Press, New York, New York, 2007, pg. 18
- <sup>12</sup> Porter, Linda, *The First Queen of England*, St. Martin's Press, New York, New York, 2007, pg. 25
- <sup>13</sup> Porter, Linda, *The First Queen of England*, St. Martin's Press, New York, New York, 2007, pg. 26
- <sup>14</sup> Porter, Linda, *The First Queen of England*, St. Martin's Press, New York, New York, 2007, pg. 92
- <sup>15</sup> Pierce, Hazel, *Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury, Loyalty, Lineage and Leadership*, University of Wales Press, Cardiff, Great Britain, 2003, Pg. 31
- <sup>16</sup> Pierce, Hazel, *Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury, Loyalty, Lineage and Leadership*, University of Wales Press, Cardiff, Great Britain, 2003, pg. 97
- <sup>17</sup> Pierce, Hazel, *Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury, Loyalty, Lineage and Leadership*, University of Wales Press, Cardiff, Great Britain, 2003, pg. 137-138



*It is my pleasure to introduce one of our younger members of the Richard III Society by way of this article. Vhalla Otarod is currently a high school senior who is looking forward to studying medieval history in college.—Joan Szechtman*

## Warwick's Wars

Vhalla Otarod

Perhaps second only to Richard III in fifteenth-century controversy is Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick. While he leaves his imprint on the history of the Wars of the Roses, there are few who can say with certainty and evidence what manner of man the earl was. Warwick is often viewed as an ambiguous quantity. A perplexity of character and a record of sometimes contradictory actions make definitive characterization nearly impossible. Yet the same could be said of many historical figures who have nevertheless stood scrutiny to the analysis of historians; some figures are even attributed distinct motivations which are widely accepted as historical canon. What is it about the Earl of Warwick that prevents an untangling of facts and legends to reach the heart of his motivations?

To the common people of his day, Warwick was a champion. He was popular with the lower and middle classes in London especially, riding through the streets to cheers of “Warwick! Warwick!”<sup>1</sup> This was due in large part to the earl’s natural political cunning and showmanship but also a genuine charisma. Today, the earl is conventionally viewed in a less sympathetic way. Popular imagination paints him as a greedy opportunist, turncoat, megalomaniac, and even as a bad father to his daughters, the heiresses Isabel and Anne. But there are modern historians who have undertaken to rehabilitate his character. Both Michael Hicks and Paul Murray Kendall, two historians of usually diametric style and opinion, have written biographies entitled *Warwick the Kingmaker* where the earl’s life receives relatively favorable treatment. Perhaps a new wave of interest in the earl’s character is deserved.

Warwick and his father, the Earl of Salisbury, began their political lives as king’s men—in other words, Lancastrians. It would seem that the Nevilles had a keen eye on self-preservation, for when several members of the court rose in Henry VI’s favor—including the Duke of Somerset, already an enemy of sorts—Warwick probably saw that his own and his father’s power was slipping. Furthermore, as Hicks points out in *Warwick the Kingmaker*, their lands, so newly won in a complex inheritance debacle, may have been at stake.

Because the nature of the threat Warwick faced was a purely material one, his defection may stand as evidence to support the idea of Warwick’s avarice. (Somerset and another court member, the Earl of Shrewsbury, were married to the Beauchamp half-sisters of Warwick’s wife and contested her inheritance of her brother’s lands.<sup>2</sup>) It would be simplistic, however, to view this as a substantive indicator of his character. Warwick had the ambition of any fifteenth-century noble; there was nothing extraordinary in his desire to gain power. Moreover, his final decision to break with the Lancastrians was a logical one, given the issues at hand.

King Henry VI’s bad governance was highlighted by either a powerlessness or unwillingness to stand up to his ministers and their self-interests. It was this lack of firmness in the face of influence that led Henry to contradict some of Warwick’s claims to the Beauchamp lands *after* granting him royal permission to install offices related to the inheritance.<sup>3</sup> The problem was complicated by the fact that Henry’s queen, Margaret of Anjou, had firmly taken the side of those in the court who most threatened Warwick’s interests.<sup>4</sup> To have the queen’s friends against one is a hard situation. Even if only through

sheer proximity, the queen has a unique position of influence, and in Henry's case, Margaret's friends became his as well.<sup>5</sup>

It is quite possible that Warwick was unsettled by this strengthened opposition to his status in court, especially since Henry's Welsh Tudor brothers, who had entered the charmed circle as well, were beginning to gobble up even more of the available power. Edmund Tudor, for instance, was granted the earldom of Richmond, along with its honor, which the Nevilles had hoped to gain for themselves.<sup>6</sup>

Loss of power such as this was dangerous and even fatal to a baron who hoped to remain relevant at court. At the time when Warwick and his father Salisbury were most vulnerable to such anxieties, the Duke of York, a power in the land with royal blood in his veins, began a "reform movement" to rid the king of his grasping councilors, especially the Duke of Somerset. It was at this juncture, before any true rebellion had commenced, that Warwick and his father joined York's cause.<sup>7</sup>

While the switch was by no means an altruistic move, it is hard to say that Warwick did not have a good reason. He had risen to a great status, not through his own bloodline, but through his marriage and some exceptionally good luck, not to mention several lawsuits.<sup>8</sup> To abide his rivals' rise was to forfeit his own gains in both property and power. Taking measures to prevent such a loss is hardly "greedy." It is also helpful to note that since, at this time, the Duke of York had not yet declared war on the crown, the sudden alliance with him might have seemed a less drastic measure than we now realize it was in hindsight. History tells us Warwick joined a rebellion, but a contemporary may not have seen anything rebellious in the movement as it was then.

As the Duke of York rose, so did Warwick. In 1456, Warwick began his command as Captain of Calais.<sup>9</sup> The position was a challenging one. Calais was the last English bastion in France and was constantly threatened by the looming presence of the French King Charles VII's army. To make matters more perilous, support from the royal coffers in England was not forthcoming. Because of the political strife at court, hardly anything was done to provision the navy protecting Calais, leaving the English exposed to attack on the seas.<sup>10</sup> To do a good job as captain meant battling these disadvantages. As it happened, Warwick was more than suited to the task.

It was as Captain of Calais that Warwick won the most popular support of any time in his career. His exploits gained the Yorkists valuable connections while bolstering the legendary image with which the commons already viewed him. After securing the garrison and ensuring its loyalty, first and foremost, to himself, he began a clever campaign of propaganda. He famously pirated the ships of foreign merchants, knowing how hostile the London merchants were to foreign competition. A brush with the Hanseatic League got him into trouble with Queen Margaret's court; it is possible that an attempt to assassinate him ensued, which was all the better for Warwick and the Yorkists, since it only turned English hearts further from their queen. Finally, he intrigued with the Duke of Burgundy, charming him over to the Yorkist cause.<sup>11</sup> Warwick was undeniably the main mover of the York faction in those early days of rebellion.

Yet this same great Yorkist earl would live to betray a son of York. In the minds of some, it is that second change of allegiance that warrants Warwick's bleak reputation.

When the Duke of York fell in battle at Wakefield, his son Edward succeeded him as leader of the Yorkists. It was for helping Edward, not his father, to ascend the throne of England that Warwick earned the name "Kingmaker" in the generations after his death. Despite his mangling of the second battle of St. Albans, Warwick brought significant clout

to the eighteen-year-old Edward's bid for the crown. A brilliant warrior, Edward alone won victory at Mortimer's Cross and turned the tide of the civil war.<sup>12</sup> Yet it was with Warwick leading the center of Edward's army that the Yorkists defeated the Lancastrians in that decisive Battle of Towton.<sup>13</sup> Warwick was technically the premier servant of Edward, now King Edward IV of England.

What Warwick seemed to have wanted in return from this new king was a pliant ruler who would function as the instrument of Warwick's plans and nothing more. Edward was not this puppet. Though Warwick had been a valuable ally and had the potential to become a great counselor in the new government, Edward would ultimately prove to be his own master.<sup>14</sup>

At first, Warwick seemed to have been satisfied with his role in Edward's government. He was given numerous and great responsibilities; for the first few years of Edward's reign, his chief task was to squash Lancastrian uprisings on the Scottish border.<sup>15</sup> He also conducted most of the king's political affairs, especially in foreign matters, and was called the "conductor of the kingdom under King Edward," possibly the role Warwick had fancied for himself all along.<sup>16</sup> In his letter to John Paston, John Russe mentions Warwick in the same breath as the king, claiming that only they two, out of all men, could gain entry from the "wild" soldiers of Calais.<sup>17</sup>

Though Edward was king in name, Warwick was his right hand controlling matters of state. Even off the field of battle, Warwick was more than just a favored subject. He was the foundation of Edward's government. This was not, however, to hold true throughout Edward's rule.

Of course, a desire for full control was only a king's prerogative. After all, it was Edward and not Warwick who held the blood claim. In such a situation, a disagreement of some sort between the anointed king and the mighty earl was almost inevitable. The trouble was that Edward had hitherto been apparently willing to lend Warwick the reins of government while he enjoyed the pleasures of kingship. Though this control was merely shared and not granted as a right, Warwick's domain of influence was considerable, and that was the established routine. A break in this division of power may have clashed with Warwick's sensibilities.

Unfortunately for the earl, history was to repeat itself. Warwick, who had risen so high with Edward's crowning, was to be pushed aside again—for a new group of upstarts who found themselves in the favor of the king. These were the Woodvilles.<sup>18</sup>

Edward's character and the issue of the Woodvilles deserve another discussion to themselves. The historical community may argue continuously over Elizabeth Woodville's reputed avarice and caprice—there is by no means a unity of thought on the qualities of Edward's queen—but one thing is undisputed: Edward's marriage to her was astoundingly unwise. Edward is not often described as a foolish king. He did, after all, manage to die with his kingship still intact, no mean feat in the days of the Wars. Yet marrying a widow with no political or financial advantages was foolish.

Elizabeth Woodville was the daughter of Earl Rivers, a minor nobleman, and the widow of Sir John Grey, a mere knight.<sup>19</sup> She was beautiful but completely unsuited to the position of queen consort. Worse, Edward's marriage to this woman brought an end to the negotiations for the hand of Bona of Savoy and an alliance with France that Warwick had been so painstakingly devising.<sup>20</sup> Furthermore, Edward had not disclosed the marriage to Warwick, making Warwick seem the fool for advocating a French marriage when his liege

was already married to a common Englishwoman.<sup>21</sup> And all this after the earl had secured for Edward his Scottish border against the forces of Margaret of Anjou! This was, for the earl, the height of ingratitude.

It must have seemed like the Lancastrian court all over again for Warwick, who watched as Elizabeth Woodville's family infiltrated Edward's inner circle. Again, as in those earlier days, there were others who sympathized, a great many others in fact.

The Croyland Chronicle says this of the secret marriage: "This the nobility and chief men of the kingdom took amiss, seeing that [Edward] had with such immoderate haste promoted a person sprung from a comparatively humble lineage, to share the throne with him."<sup>22</sup> Yet consequences may not have been so dire had it not been for the antagonism of another powerful lord, already a friend to Warwick and the king's own brother, George, Duke of Clarence.

Clarence had the makings of a malcontent before Elizabeth was ever queen of England. Kendall, in *Warwick the Kingmaker*, suggests that Clarence's consciousness of his second-rate status to Edward was the root and cause of the strain. If that is the case—and such a syndrome is not uncommon in those next-in-line persons to the throne—Elizabeth's arrival could only have exacerbated the situation, for she brought with her the possibility of legitimate heirs of the king's body. Thus Clarence's hopes for the crown were all but dashed.

Warwick knew an opportunity when he saw one, and sought to cultivate Clarence for his own purposes.

One must pause to consider the earl's possible frame of mind at this time. He had rebelled against his ordained ruler, Henry VI, to join the late Duke of York's cause. The Duke of York was a reformer, a man who perhaps would not have laid claim to the throne if the obstinacy of the court party had not left him without another option. When the duke died, Warwick supported his son *in lieu of him*, but Edward was no reformer. His kingship could not have been more disappointing to the earl. He allowed Elizabeth Woodville to play the part of Margaret of Anjou, the unpopular queen who antagonized nobles and commoners alike—again, itself another debate, though it is quite safe to say Elizabeth was not beloved.

Furthermore, after squashing marriage negotiations, Edward later refused to make a stable peace with France, something on which Warwick was insistent. So insistent was he, in fact, that he did not hesitate to make promises of alliance with France and war on Burgundy without King Edward's express consent.<sup>23</sup> Evidently, it was not only personal slights that angered Warwick; implicit in his actions regarding foreign affairs was the judgment that Edward was simply a bad ruler.

Two important events occurred. In the spring of 1467, the king, confident in his power, discharged Warwick's brother, the Archbishop of York, from the Lord Chancellorship of England. The archbishop had intrigued on Warwick's behalf; among other offenses, he was working toward a papal dispensation for the marriage of the Duke of Clarence and Warwick's eldest daughter Isabel.<sup>24</sup> His brother's dismissal, therefore, was a clear repudiation of Warwick's ambitions. The next year, Edward married his sister to the duke of Burgundy, a political rival of France with relations to the Woodvilles.<sup>25</sup> By the time of the wedding in 1468, however, Warwick had already begun to plan his second rebellion against a crowned monarch.

His first step was to wed his eldest daughter Isabel to the king's discontented brother Clarence, binding the young duke to himself through marriage. His intention was clearly to place his own daughter, along with her husband, on the throne in Edward's stead. Shortly before wedding, the soon-to-be bridal pair joined Warwick in setting sail for Calais, the

earl's stronghold across the channel.<sup>26</sup> There, they were married, though the king had forbidden their union.

This is the moment when the earl's two daughters became important in the grand scheme of English politics. Isabel and Clarence were primed to gain the throne should Warwick's rebellion succeed. At least, this seems to have been the original plan. But it soon became apparent that the mercurial and perhaps immature Clarence did little to evoke the support of his countrymen. Seeing it would not work, Warwick abruptly dropped the plan to crown them.<sup>27</sup> This is *not* evidence of any lack in paternal feeling in Warwick. He had made for Isabel a fantastic match and spared her the anguish that would have come of a failed attempt at queenship. Perhaps the sudden change in plans was a disappointment to her, especially since the focus of the second plan was her younger sister Anne, but it was ultimately what Warwick thought to be the right choice, both for his rebellion and his daughter.

What ensued, of course, was a disastrous Lancastrian alliance, with the desperate earl seeking uneasy reconciliation with Margaret of Anjou. Another marriage was negotiated, that of his daughter Anne to Margaret's disinherited son, Edward of Lancaster.<sup>28</sup>

This second attempt at Edward IV's overthrow resulted in the death of Anne's husband, the end of Margaret of Anjou's campaign, and the quelling of the last threat to Edward's crown. Anne and Isabel went on, some say to meet tragic ends, but they experienced no more than the lot of any medieval woman. Their father had involved them in his political game, but had they been pawns?

It is hard to say, since so much of the answer depends on the emotions of the girls themselves, and those can only be guessed at with difficulty, given the barrier of time. The Earl of Warwick was an ambitious man, and he brought his daughters up with him. It is hard to imagine either Isabel or Anne having any serious objections to being queen or marrying princes. That was about as much luck as a woman of those times could have. Perhaps the only reason Warwick is sometimes called a bad father is because fortune turned against him and his daughters were dragged along in his wake.

Warwick himself died at the Battle of Barnet, on Easter Sunday, 1471.<sup>29</sup> He would no longer raise rebellions or intrigue against kings. Did defeat seal the fate of his reputation? As Winston Churchill had said, "History is written by the victors." The Earl of Warwick, threat to all and friend only to himself and his own, had little hope of obtaining a favored place in the accounts written by his victorious enemies, both Tudor and Yorkist. Yet was that not the same fate Richard III's repute faced after his demise? Warwick deserves the same scrutiny. In many ways, he is nothing the traditional history describes him to be, nor is he the opposite.

While coming short of real avarice, the earl's ambition led him to failure, but he was also apparently led by his desire to "set things right" in government, to support only a king who would rule the way Warwick thought was best. The first such had been the Duke of York. After his death, Warwick did not find another equal to the task, though he kept searching.

The earl was, indeed, a traitor, but had he deposed Edward IV, history might have seen him as a proponent of justice, or at the very least, an able statesman. Because Edward prevailed, the story instead became that of the villainous Warwick against the valiant king.

The earl may have been an overbearing father, but this was nothing more than the norm. He arranged great marriages for his daughters and planned to raise them higher still. There is nothing he did, other than dying, which directly harmed them, or in any way indicated carelessness for their well-being. The greatest hurt he did them was to join in a battle that was ultimately doomed. Their later travails were caused by the fact that they were the

heiresses of a dead traitor's wealth and not by any malice or neglect on his part.

So much of the Earl of Warwick's personality seems clouded in gray shadow. There are the known facts. The greater insight into his character lies in his motives, but there are no concrete ways of establishing these. One may only speculate and come to the safe conclusion—that the Earl of Warwick was neither a black hat nor a white hat, but like most men, something in between. In spite of this ambiguity, it is reasonable to suspect the tarnishing of his name and judge him a better man than history has judged him.

Endnotes:

<sup>1</sup> Paul Murray Kendall, *Richard the Third* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2002), 64-65.

<sup>2</sup> Michael Hicks, *Warwick the Kingmaker* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1998), 76-78.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, 77.

<sup>4</sup> Paul Murray Kendall, *Warwick the Kingmaker* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1957), 22.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, 22.

<sup>6</sup> Hicks, 82.

<sup>7</sup> Kendall, *Warwick the Kingmaker*, 24.

<sup>8</sup> Hicks, 77.

<sup>9</sup> Kendall, *Warwick the Kingmaker*, 37.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid*, 37-56.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid*, 89.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid*, 101.

<sup>14</sup> Alison Weir, *The Wars of the Roses* (New York: Random House, 1995), 302.

<sup>15</sup> Kendall, *Warwick the Kingmaker*, 109.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>17</sup> John Russe to John Paston, August 1462, *The Paston Letters*, ed. Norman Davis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963), 97.

<sup>18</sup> Kendall, *Richard the Third*, 46.

<sup>19</sup> Weir, 323.

<sup>20</sup> Kendall, *Warwick the Kingmaker*, 161.

<sup>21</sup> Weir, 329.

<sup>22</sup> "Croyland Chronicle: Part III", Richard III Society Website, <http://www.r3.org/bookcase/croyland/croy3.html>.

<sup>23</sup> Kendall, *Warwick the Kingmaker*, 220.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid*, 233.

<sup>25</sup> Desmond Seward, *The Wars of the Roses: The Bloody Rivalry for the Throne of England* (New York: Carroll & Graf, 2007), 186.

<sup>26</sup> Kendall, *Warwick the Kingmaker*, 278.

<sup>27</sup> Weir, 365.

<sup>28</sup> Kendall, *Warwick the Kingmaker*, 310.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid*, 362.

# The history of foxglove poisoning, was Edward IV a victim?

Peter Stride, University of Queensland School of Medicine, Australia.

Fiona Winston-Brown, Librarian, Redcliffe Hospital, Australia.

## Abstract

Edward IV, having been obese, but otherwise apparently in good health, died after an acute illness of only a few days in April 1483. Ten years previously he had been a supremely fit warrior king. The cause of his death has never been clearly established, though in those turbulent times with other claimants to the throne, poisoning inevitably has been suggested. The possibility of foxglove toxicity as suggested in a recent novel is examined.

## Introduction

*“Will you order ground glass in my meat and foxglove powder in my wine”*<sup>1</sup>

Edward IV, the White Queen

*“She gave me something cool to drink and that was it for me”*<sup>2</sup>

Foxglove lyrics, Murder by Death

Philippa Gregory’s novel, *The White Queen*, about Elizabeth Woodville, wife of King Edward IV, raises the possibility of foxglove poisoning as the cause of Edward IV’s death. Although Gregory lists forty books in her bibliography including the standard sources of information used by the Richard III Society members and other 15<sup>th</sup> century historians today, she is not able to reference or substantiate this possibility.<sup>1</sup> The question addressed in this paper is whether foxglove poisoning was well known and described in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century, and whether Edward’s final illness was compatible with this possibility.

Curiously for Ricardians, the foxglove, prior to 2001 a member of the Scrophulariaceae, now has been reclassified to the family Plantaginaceae, a group of flowering plants in the order Lamiales. The common or purple foxglove plant, known scientifically as *Digitalis purpurea*, has been well known as a poisonous plant, as well as containing a useful drug for over two centuries. In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, medical science introduced the dried powder biological assay by experimenting on cats, frogs and guinea pigs. This was the dose per kilogram of cat weight, which would kill the cat, from which the patient’s dose of digitalis in ‘cat units’ could be calculated!<sup>3</sup>

## Edward’s death

Edward IV, having been obese, but otherwise apparently in good health, died after an acute illness of only a few days in April 1483. Ten years previously he had been a supremely fit warrior king. The possibility that Edward’s sudden death was due to poisoning was suggested at the time, for example by Jean de Roy, *“others say he was poisoned by some good wine from the cellar at Claillot that the King (Louis XII) had given him, of which he drank in such great abundance that he died of it”*<sup>4</sup> and by Polydore Vergil, *“there was a great rumour that he had been poisoned”*<sup>5</sup>

Collins<sup>4</sup> provides a comprehensive analysis of suspects, motives and opportunities, but including several historical inaccuracies and medical errors, with the improbable conclusion of asymptomatic arsenic poisoning. He excludes diabetes, without clearly distinguishing between the two major types, when type II diabetes related to obesity, as is also suspected in Edward’s grandson, Henry VIII, is extremely probable.<sup>6</sup>

## Roman, Anglo-Saxon and Mediaeval Knowledge

The foxglove may have originally received its name from the Anglo-Saxon term *fox-glees*, a musical instrument composed of bells on an arch, or alternatively from *folk glove* with ‘folk’ referring to the faeries or little folk. Woodland nymphs of Northern Europe are said to have given them to foxes to wear as shoes to soften their step while hunting. The foxglove is reputed

to have been used as a therapy by the ancient Druids of Ireland, but unfortunately any written knowledge from Druid times was probably destroyed by the Romans.

The foxglove was given its current Latin name, *Digitalis purpurea* by Fuchs, a German physician and botanist in 1542 in his authoritative illustrated book, *De Historia Stirpium*.<sup>7</sup> Identification of the foxglove in texts written before Fuchs remains nearly impossible as it may not have been called foxglove or Digitalis. In the past some plants had several names; some names were used for several different plants, making clear identification virtually impossible.

The limited available knowledge suggests the foxglove has grown abundantly in England throughout recorded history, and its use emerges in myths and legends through the mists of time. In Roman mythology, Flora taught Juno that touching her belly and her breasts with a foxglove would impregnate her without having intercourse, such that she gave birth to Mars. Edward IV may not have approved of this form of conception.

Foxglove was possibly in the list of herbal remedies in Roman times. The work of Pliny and Dioscorides, a Greek physician, was collated and documented in the Herbarium of Apuleius Platonicus, an illustrated guide to medicinal plants in 1 AD, which was still the authority during the Yorkist era. Problems with translation and pictures not matching adjacent descriptions generate some debate about the identification of the foxglove in this herbarium.<sup>7</sup> The picture in the Bodleian Library attributed to Dioscorides and Apuleius and translated as foxglove does not resemble *digitalis purpurea*.<sup>8</sup> Robinson does not think this is the foxglove.<sup>9</sup> Medicinally, the foxglove seems to have attracted relatively little attention from Arab physicians at the high point of Islamic culture a millennium ago when they led medical and scientific knowledge.

The foxglove was well known to the 13<sup>th</sup> century physicians of Myddvai<sup>10</sup> in Wales, who knew it as *Menygellylon* in Old Welsh and used it as a dermal plaster or poultice to treat conditions such as headache, bruises and cancers of the skin and stomach. They did not report toxic effects of the foxglove, as they used the plant only as dermal therapy, perhaps showing greater wisdom than today's physicians who give this potentially toxic drug orally! The drug was known to some in herbal folklore as a cure for heart failure or dropsy, and it was used in Celtic folk medicine, particularly as a laxative, an effect known today to indicate toxic levels.

The foxglove is mentioned in a list of plants in the time of Edward III. The herbarium of Apuleius Platonicus became the first printed herbarium when published in Edward's last year of life, 1483. Knowledge of botany was developing and spreading rapidly in the final years of the Yorkist kings, but there is little evidence that it was seen as a poison.

### **The Renaissance period**

Lucrezia Borgia, 1480 – 1519, the illegitimate daughter of Rodrigo Borgia, who later became Pope Alexander VI, was known for her lurid sexual exploits. She was reputed to have poisoned men who were no longer desirable with a powdered concoction of poisons, perhaps including the foxglove, kept in her hollowed-out ring. There are two widely cited texts of poisons at that time, *The Book of Venoms* (1424) by Magister Santes de Ardoynis and *Neopoliani Magioe Naturalis* (1589) by Giovanni Battista Porta. *The Book of Venoms* had restricted availability when published, but is available today online.<sup>11</sup> It includes details of poisons derived from plants and minerals (*de venenis ac mortiferis medicinis*][*de venenis in sp[eci]ali sumptis ex mineralibus* and *de venenis in sp[eci]ali sumptis ex plantis*]), but none can be identified as the foxglove. *Neopoliani Magioe Naturalis* was banned by the Vatican and many national governments. It is also not available today, though secondary sources list a favourite poison of Porta in which wine is laced with a deadly concoction called *Veninum Lupinum*, composed of aconite, *taxus baccata*, caustic lime, arsenic, bitter

almonds, powdered glass and honey, and shaped into walnut-sized pills, but the foxglove is not mentioned.

### **Bock, Fuchs, Gerard and the London Pharmacopeia**

It is generally accepted that the first medical or botanical references to the foxglove is that of Heronymous Bock (Tragus) in his *Kreutterbuch*, an herbal of 1539. Greater detail came from Fuchs, a German physician and botanist who compiled an illustrated book, *De Historia Stirpium*, listing all known plants at the time in 1542.<sup>7</sup> This seminal work, with beautiful and accurate woodcut illustrations, is still perceived today as an enormously important step in the evolution of botanical and medical knowledge. He gave the foxglove plant its current Latin name, *Digitalis purpurea*, and as previously stated, identification of the foxglove in original Latin or other texts written before Fuchs remains nearly impossible as it may not have been called foxglove or Digitalis. Fuchs listed the uses he perceived to have been described by Dioscorides, which included a recommendation for chest diseases but did not mention toxicity. Fuchs was appointed physician to Prince Georg of Brandenburg, and developed a cure for the sweating sickness which so terrified Henry VIII.

John Gerard 1545-1612, a botanical expert and garden superintendent to William Cecil, Queen Elizabeth I's adviser, wrote that the foxglove could be used to clean the breath and as an expectorant, but did not warn of its toxicity, and thought the drug of little medical use.

The London Pharmacopeia, first published in 1618, initially listed digitalis purpurea in 1650, but did not document its properties. It was probably still used externally by herbalists and in folk medicine to treat skin complaints. Digitalis was often omitted from this Pharmacopeia because of the perception that it was therapeutically inert until Withering defined its effects and digitalis was reintroduced in the 1783 Pharmacopeia.<sup>12</sup> Deaths from therapeutic overdose were recorded in medical literature by Joet in France in 1834<sup>13</sup>, but there is no evidence that it was ever used deliberately as a poison until the medical profession clearly documented its toxic side effects.

### **William Withering**

Withering, an English physician resident in the Midlands, remains esteemed in medical circles to this day as the first doctor to document the medical use of the foxglove in 1785, specifically for dropsy or heart failure.<sup>14</sup> He believed Fuchs to be the first author to notice the foxglove, and did not mention its use prior to the 16<sup>th</sup> century, nor refer to its deliberate use as a poison. Withering was a knowledgeable botanist and the first to prepare safe therapeutic doses from the plant by commencing with small doses and adjusting these carefully upwards. He described the clinical improvement of many of his patients, and counselled against the use of higher doses, recognising the potential for lethal side effects. He noted that a turkey given excessive amounts of foxglove, *became drooping and melancholy... refused to eat more...was seized with convulsions...walked as if drunk*, developed white, yellow green and black excrements, and *...died, greatly reduced in weight*. He was the first to be clearly aware that the lethal dose was only twice the therapeutic dose.

The English statesman Charles James Fox may well have had his terminal illness with cirrhosis shortened by the inappropriate prescription of digitalis. One of the well known side effects of digitalis toxicity is the perception or hallucination of coloured haloes around objects, and it is suggested that the yellow swirls painted by Vincent Van Gogh may also have been due to digitalis poisoning.

### **Homicides, frauds and fiction**

Digitalis has been used in many murders, often with a sexual motive, for suicides, to evade military service by causing irregularity of the heart and once as an insurance scam

to mimic heart disease, regrettably with the support of some fraudulent doctors. Charles Cullen, a serial killer, used digoxin predominantly to kill forty patients in the USA before being sentenced to eighteen consecutive life sentences in 2006.

Shakespeare, a noted devotee of poisoning and medical issues, does not mention the foxglove. Two books, *Precious Bane* by Mary Webb, and *Silas Marner* by George Eliot, written in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, describe the use of digitalis, the former book with a fatal outcome and the latter with benefit. In her murder mysteries, Agatha Christie had digitalis as the fatal drug in six of her eighty-three poisonings.

### **Modern medicine**

The active medical constituents obtained from digitalis were initially named digitalin in 1837, before modern research separated and purified the chemical components of the leaves into the cardiac glycosides, with digitoxin and digoxin being the predominant forms. Intentional poisoning became a problem only after the separation and isolation of digitalin, and appears unknown previously.

Digitalis is known to increase the strength of the cardiac pump while reducing the heart rate. It still has a place in modern medicine, though with considerable care, and is still produced from the foxglove by current pharmaceutical manufacturers.

Digitalis poisoning occurs occasionally in medical arenas, sometimes through the unintentional prescription of an excessive dose or a dose that has become excessive due to deterioration of kidney function, sometimes through accidental or deliberate ingestion of foxgloves. Bain<sup>15</sup> described a case of a 70 year old man who consumed foxglove tea in the belief that he had made his brew from the similarly appearing comfrey leaves and required treatment with a heart pacemaker.

Colls<sup>16</sup> described three men in New Zealand who consumed foxglove leaves in a salad also believing these were comfrey leaves, and two of them required kidney dialysis to recover. Rich<sup>17</sup> described a suicidal attempt by a man who consumed three wheelbarrow loads of foxglove leaves, crushed and mixed with vodka, but survived with intensive therapy including treatment with digitalis antibodies, the current optimum therapy. However, a search of medical literature fails to find any cases of homicide.

### **Digitalis Toxicity**

Mild toxicity can cause non-specific general malaise and headache. Abnormal heart rhythms occur with initial slowing of the heart rate, followed by more severe blockage of electrical cardiac impulses or rapid irregular heart rhythms leading to cardiac arrest. Toxic levels also upset the gastrointestinal tract with nausea, vomiting and diarrhoea, and the nervous system with confusion, hallucinations and delirium. Visual disturbances with abnormal colour perception and the appearance of yellow, blue and green haloes around lights occur.

### **Conclusion**

There is almost no evidence to support the use or recognition of Digitalis as a poison, or that it was commonly taken orally before the times of Withering in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century. It was largely seen as an herbal remedy for external application only. Digitalis leaves have a bitter taste and cause vomiting, hence it would be difficult to administer powdered leaves in sufficient quantities to cause poisoning. The toxicity of the foxglove and digitalis does not appear to be common knowledge until 300 years after Edward's death, once the medical and pharmaceutical experts had extracted the active principal and made available crystalline digitalin with its defined benefits and hazards.

The available information on Edward's death does not mention any gastrointestinal symptoms, or delirium with headache or visual disturbance. The lack of specific symptoms

appears to exclude digitalis poisoning in the same way as arsenic poisoning seems highly improbable. The probable cause remains a pneumonia following a viral upper respiratory infection in a man with poor health, obesity and perhaps diabetes increasing his susceptibility and reducing his immunological response to infection.

## References

1. Gregory P. *The White Queen*. London: Simon and Shuster, 2009.
2. Murder by Death. *Foxglove lyrics* 2010 Catalogue: VR591, Sku: 2146412
3. Podolsky E. The search for heart remedies. *Can Med Assoc J* 1934; 3(3):310-5.
4. Collins R. *Secret History Part II*. Suffolk, UK: Plantagenet Publishing, 1996.
5. Vergil P. *The Anglica Historia of Polydore Vergil, A.D. 1485-1537* (translated by Denys Hay). London: Office of the Royal Historical Society, Camden Series, 1950.
6. Stride P Edward IV King of England 1461-1483, the original type two diabetic? *Ricardian Register* 2011; 42 (3): 14-19
7. Fuchs L *De Historia Stirpium Commentarii Insignes*. Basel, 1542. p892
8. Ps.-Apuleius, Dioscorides, *Herbals* (extracts); *De virtutibus bestiarum in arte medicinae*, in Latin and English England, Bury St. Edmunds. 11<sup>th</sup> Century late Bodleian Library.
9. Robinson V. *The Story of Medicine*. New York: Tudor Publishing Co., 1935.7 8
10. Myddfai M. *The physicians of Myddvai, the medical practice of the celebrated Rhiwallon [c1250]* (translated by John Pughe). London: D. J. Roderic; Longman & Co., 1861
11. Ardoynis S. *Liber de venenis quem magister Santes de Ardoynis de pésauro*. Venetiis: Bernardini Riccii, 1430
12. Marriott J, Wilson K, Longley C. *Pharmaceutical Compounding and Dispensing* London: Pharmaceutical Press, 2006.
13. Thompson A. *The London dispensary*. London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green and Longman, 1837.
14. Withering W. *An account of the foxglove and some of its medical uses*. London: G. G. J. and J. Robinson, 1785.
15. Bain RJ. Accidental digitalis poisoning due to drinking herbal tea. *Br Med J (Clin Res Ed)* 1985;290(6482):1624.
16. Colls BM. Three very unwise men. *Br Med J* 1999;318(7200):1729.
17. Rich SA, Libera JM, Locke RJ. Treatment of foxglove extract poisoning with digoxin-specific Fab fragments *Ann Emerg Med* 1993; 22(12):1904-7.



## Errata

Many thanks to Robert Vivian for catching my omission of Edward of Lancaster's signature in *The Boy Who Did Not Become King* by Susan Higginbotham.

Vivian wrote, "On page 17, third paragraph from the bottom, the first sentence reads, 'Other than this letter, from which the signature shown in this article is taken...'"

Susan Higginbotham had provided an image of Lancaster's signature, which is reproduced here.



# Reviews

## BOOK REVIEWS

Myrna Smith

### DYNASTY

**THE RELUCTANT QUEEN**—Jean Plaidy, Three Points Press, NY, 2007 (reprint)

Plaidy was a prolific writer of books on English history, and this is one of her better efforts. She tells the tale in the first person, as Anne Neville recounts her life. This Anne is no adoring daughter of her powerful father. She is precociously aware of his ambition and hunger for power. She develops a close personal relationship with Richard of Gloucester as a child. (There is a passing reference to Richard's back not being as straight as it ought to be.) The romance between Richard and Anne develops after he rescues her from a cookshop where George of Clarence hid her.

Toward the end, Anne, physically frail and mentally exhausted, longing for Middleham and consumed with worry over her son's health, is indeed the most reluctant woman to be crowned Queen of England. In contrast, she believes that Richard is enthralled with the idea of kingship. Anne sees in him an ambition that rivals Edward's and destroyed George. "He rejoiced in it. He was born to govern and he could now use his talents to their full."

Anne retreats emotionally from the glitter of public life, and concerns herself more with her son than with Richard. She becomes obsessed with her barren state and imagines that Richard is rejecting her and even considering marriage with his niece. After young Edward's death, knowing she cannot bear her husband another child, Anne imagines resentment in Richard and believes the whispers that he is poisoning her. Richard's tenderness and devotion for a moment drive her doubts away, but they return. When the eclipse comes, Anne accepts her death.

Of the fate of Edward IV's sons, nothing is solved. Richard is shown to be concerned with their appearance inspiring revolt, and he decides to withdraw them from public view, but to where and how is left an open question.

Plaidy makes the same mistake that many novelists make in having her characters call the conflict "The Wars of the Roses." The Yorkists did have the white rose as one of their symbols, because it was the symbol of the city of York. John of Gaunt had the red rose, but he had been dead for many years. The leading Lancastrians each had his own personal heraldic symbol. It was Shakespeare, in **Henry VI**, who dubbed the dynamic conflict with its horticultural name. Plaidy goes farther than most novelists, in lifting the entire scene from Shakespeare in which Somerset picks a red rose and declares for Lancaster while Warwick picks a white one and declares for York. The series of battles has been called the Wars of the Roses since, such is Shakespeare's genius, though he named it nearly a century after the actual events.—Dale Summers

### DAYS OF OUR LIVES

**THE HOUSE OF LANYON**—Valerie Anand, MIRABooks, Ontario, Canada, 2007

**THE HOUSE OF ALLERBROOK**—Valerie Anand, MIRABooks, Ontario, Canada, 2008

Valerie Anand has given Richard III very sympathetic treatment in **Crown of Roses**, (St Martins Press, NY, 1989) a stand-alone novel, but she has also indulged in a couple of family sagas. These stories are subtitled "**A Novel of Exmoor**," and Exmoor (and its ponies, especially a dapple-grey) feature strongly, as well as the farmhouse where the Lanyons live, in **The House of Lanyon**. It really seems almost a living character in itself. But there

are plenty of viable human characters : The Dyers, the Weavers, the Shearers (professional as well as family names), the Hudds, and, most importantly the gentry Sweetwaters and the peasant Lanyons. When the former family rides across the latter's lands in pursuit of a stag, and in doing so disrupt a funeral and cause Richard Lanyon's mistress to catch a cold which leads to her death, annoyance develops into a full-grown feud. At first, Richard would gladly see all the Sweetwaters in their graves, but discovers much more satisfaction in outbuilding them. The farmhouse eventually becomes, with additions here and tear-downs there, a manor house, Allerbrook.

While this is slowly going on, life goes on for Liza Weaver and Peter Lanyon, who do not love each other. Liza's former suitor is a priest, and Peter's sweetheart apparently just disappears. Peter and Liza make a second-best match with each other, which is happy enough, even though Peter's father, Richard, is not an easy man to live with. But if you think this is going to be an atmospheric novel, in which nothing much really happens, think again. There is plenty of incident. Both families get involved in the Wars of the Roses. In fact, much of the Lanyons' wealth is due to a gift from Richard of Gloucester, for bringing him a horse in battle. Royals do make occasional appearances here, but the main focus is on more ordinary folk.

Eventually, the feud is settled with a marriage and a christening, but there is still one more secret to be uncovered, with a dramatic outcome.

Nearly all the characters are treated with sympathy, even and especially the snobbish Sweetwaters and the striving Lanyons. The dialogues ring true: "I'm seventy years old and won't be called boy by anyone." "He's so ham-fisted he could break threads in chain mail." "...she's up in the attic annoying the rats," even "Nobody kicks me from behind and gets away with it." A long book, but the reader will quickly become immersed and be sorry when it ends.

**The House of Allerbrook** ( Valerie Anand, MIRABooks, Ontario, 2008) opens with a description of the manor house of Allerbrook, which is now, in 1535, the residence of a later generation of Sweetwaters, the grandchildren of the peacemaking couple of **The House of Lanyon**. They refer to themselves as yeomen, but have gentry aspirations. Francis Sweetwater has managed to wrangle a position for one of his sisters as a maid-of-honor at court. Imagine the family's embarrassment when the proposed maid-of-honor turns up pregnant, by a married tenant farmer. She is sent off in disgrace to a relative, and her younger sister sent to court in her place. But young Jane catches the eye of Henry VIII, and leaves court to protect her own virtue. Is her brother happy? He is not. Having turned out one sister for not saying no, he now wants to punish another one for saying no. He disparages her by marrying her to a tenant farmer, Henry Hudd, a rather unprepossessing character, though he turns out to be one of the good guys in the end. Somewhat older than Jane, he leaves her a prosperous widow.

Jane takes in her nephew, Stephen, the son of her wayward sister. Eventually, he goes to the New World and marries an Algonquin woman. He returns to the family homestead with his half-Algonquin daughter, who immediately and reciprocally falls in love with Jane's grandson. But this is not just a romance. As in the previous book, where the characters got involved in dynastic quarrels, later generations get involved in the religious battles of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, with sometimes tragic results.

Some Lanyons again feature in this, but Lanyon and Sweetwater and Hudd have become subsumed in Allerbrook, and the house has given its name to the family, instead of vice versa. The reader can also become quickly submerged in its story and the story of its family.

Valerie Anand, who writes mysteries as Fiona Buckley, has also authored the Bridges Over Time Series, recounting the ups and downs of Ivon de Clairpont, both knight and slave

in his time, and his descendants, villiens, yeomen, gentry and businesspeople, over nearly a thousand years. The books I will review here are the third, **WOMEN OF ASHDON** (1992) and the sixth and last in the series, **THE DOWERLESS SISTERS**, (Headline Book Publishing, London, 1995) (Consult Google or another search engine for a full list of her works.)

**WOMEN OF ASHDON**, the first of Ashdon's women is Susannah Whitmead, a yeoman's daughter who marries very well, three times. Two of her husbands have handles to their names. The other is a gentleman, but unhonored, which may be part of the reason that he supports Perkin Warbeck, and pays the price for it. One side note is the suggestion that Elizabeth of York was kept from meeting Warbeck by her own request. This is novelist's license but it is certainly possible. There must have been many with divided loyalties, though few as highly placed as she was. She must also have been well aware that either recognizing Perkin as her brother, or recognizing that Perkin was not her brother, would be signing his death warrant.

Back to the story: Susannah's third husband was her childhood sweetheart, and her son, presumably by her second, bears a striking resemblance to him, a resemblance not lost on his elder sisters. This opens up the opportunity for a little intra-family feuding and scandal. A bit of intra-family matchmaking begins the second part of the book, with Susannah's granddaughter, Christina, marrying a Whitmead cousin. The love of her life is, however, the house, which she can't stop remodeling and tarting up and spending money on, till her husband has to take drastic steps. It is almost by accident that she becomes involved in the dynastic-religious wars of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Richard III is offstage in these novels, but various Tudors do have speaking parts.

In the last book, **The Dowerless Sisters**, two of Susannah's distant descendants find themselves virtually penniless on the death of their spendthrift father. Rather than accept the cold charity of an uncle, their mother apprentices them, with their consent, to a more distant relative who owns a draper's shop. This turns out to be a perfect fit for Charlotte, the business head, and Victoria, the artistic one. Over the course of their long lives, (in Charlotte's case, a full century) they start and build up their own businesses, and, though they never marry, lead full emotional lives - more than just emotional for Vicky. There are plenty of relatives for them to interact with, plenty of occasions for them to be involved with the outside world—votes for women, two world wars, and much more. Charlotte is determined to live long enough to see a man walk on the moon, and does.

Some loose ends are tied up here, thanks to a relative who is into family history. Ashdon House comes back into the family again, through a marriage. (The reader will be turning back to the gemological charts fairly often.) Does this matter? As Charlotte Whitmead says:

“As a very small girl, I can just remember—I *think*—seeing my own Great Aunt Sophia. I was only three and she was over ninety. But she was born in 1781. I think it is quite amazing that someone born in the eighteenth century and someone who is going to live on into the twenty-first century could both have met the same person. But I met my Great-Aunt Sophia, and even if he never remembers it, I have held Mike. I went to his christening. I think it matters.”

The book ends in true daytime-drama fashion, with the possible pregnancy of a great-niece, the brain tumor of a great-nephew, and a telephone, still ringing in the final paragraph. This is soap opera, written by, for, and about women, and concentrating largely on relationships, though history and even battles are by no means ignored, and there are many admirable male characters. But it's first-class soap opera, and something more. The author dedicates this book to the memory of her own great-aunt Clara “whose long life

inspired this series, and on whom the character of Charlotte is to some extent based.” This may be one reason that the characters, even the centuries-distant ones, are so real.

**THE LAST DAYS OF RICHARD III** - John Ashdown-Hill. The History Press, Stroud, Gloucestershire, England, c2010

Making “a conscious attempt to avoid the deepest and best-known ruts of the Ricardian controversy, seeking new ways of understanding Richard and the events of his short reign,” John Ashdown-Hill has focused on the *minutiae* of Richard III’s last days. This focus is intended to present a more accurate and colorful portrait of Richard III as man and king.

Readers will find a refreshing combination of familiar and unfamiliar facts. In fourteen chapters and five appendices, Ashdown-Hill covers: proposed marriage alliances between Richard III and Joana of Portugal or Isabel of Castile and Aragon; daily routines and less-routine activities; Richard III’s itinerary for 1485; Richard III’s interactions with various lords and servants; the battle of Bosworth and its consequences. Coverage of Bosworth’s consequences takes readers well beyond the last day of Richard III’s life. Ashdown-Hill also discusses Richard III’s burial, his tomb, his epitaph, secularization of his burial site, probable location of his remains, and current DNA research intended to identify Plantagenet family members. The text ends with the hope that a fair and accurate study of Richard III’s remains—when found—will answer long-standing questions about this controversial king.

Although Ashdown-Hill hopes to avoid Ricardian controversy, readers may find some of his interpretations debatable. Acknowledging that “on occasions the first Tudor monarch told lies or rewrote history,” Ashdown-Hill disagrees with a frequently stated claim that Henry VII backdated his reign to August 21, 1485. The passage of Crowland Chronicle cited in support of the backdating claim “does not, in fact, say that Henry antedated his accession, and there is no evidence to support such a claim in the surviving acts of attainder against Richard III’s supporters.” While some readers may continue to accept the current views on backdating, others may reconsider their understanding of the Crowland Chronicle and attainders. Such reconsideration could lead to new insights about medieval documents and their interpretations. Since various historians have understood the Crowland Chronicle to say that Henry VII backdated his reign, it’s worth the effort to understand why Ashdown-Hill’s interpretation might be more accurate. Why might some historians have misunderstood what the Crowland Chronicle wrote, and what has enabled Ashdown-Hill to translate the questioned passage more accurately?

Another debatable interpretation concerns Henry VII’s treatment of Richard III’s body. After considering how the bodies of Charles the Bold and James IV of Scotland were treated after they died in battle, Ashdown-Hill concludes that Henry VII did not show exceptional contempt for Richard III’s body. Again, readers have an opportunity to reconsider other historical sources and decide what to think for themselves. Those who enjoy historical detective work may appreciate the incentive that Ashdown-Hill provides for further investigation, as well as the unexpected defense of Henry VII’s reputation. Has Henry VII been unfairly criticized in these cases? If so, Ricardians may want to modify their opinions of Henry VII. If not, Ricardians can still benefit from comparing diverse interpretations of medieval Latin and the fates of English, Burgundian, and Scottish leaders. Such comparisons help replace limiting stereotypes with more accurate, yet flexible, views of history.

Readers who skip footnotes will shortchange themselves. Among the contributions to a more colorful portrait of Richard III is footnote 13 to chapter 7, which compares a folktale character to the beggar woman said to have predicted that Richard III’s head would be broken where his spur struck Bow Bridge. Ashdown-Hill compares this beggar woman to the Celtic *Washer at the Ford*, an otherworldly laundress who appears to someone who is

about to die. This comparison is worth considering in connection with Brackenbury's priest, who performs superhuman feats reminiscent of Tom Hickathrift or Jack O'Kent in More's **History of King Richard III**. It's worth exploring the misty boundaries between fiction and fact in the context of anyone's life story. As long as good stories are not mistaken for facts, they can contribute color and zest to historical studies. But it's essential to recognize the difference between fiction and fact. In Richard III's case, those boundaries need extra cautious exploration. Ashdown-Hill contributes to the process of distinguishing fiction from fact throughout **The Last Days of Richard III**. His investigations into marriage negotiations, the Blue (White?) Boar Inn, Richard III's beds, and the horse trough need not dull anyone's view of history. Accurate understanding of the creative process, which transforms so-called "dull facts" into "colorful stories" can enhance any reader's experience.

A generous selection of black and white illustrations accompanies this text. The careful drawing of the Bosworth Crucifix and the elegant calligraphy of the two versions of Richard III's epitaph are noteworthy. Their craftsmanship suggests that the wicked uncle stereotype hadn't eclipsed all respect for Richard III and his achievements. More evidence of surviving respect for Richard III appears in footnote 8 of chapter 12, which describes the Commons' objections to Cardinal Wolsey's effort to reinstate "benevolences," the ironically named taxes. To Wolsey's amazement that "you speak of Richard III, which was a usurper and murderer of his own nephews," the Commons replied: "Although he did evil, yet in his time were many good Acts made."

*Readers who are new to Ricardian studies might benefit from reading P.M. Kendall's **Richard III** and J. Potter's **Good King Richard** first. Those who have read these books will be better prepared to appreciate the wealth of detail and references to Ricardian controversies in **The Last Days of Richard III**. Readers who have some experience with Ricardian questions may welcome challenges to their present beliefs about Henry VII, as well as the results of recent studies. At any level of experience, readers who enjoy careful analysis and generous detail can benefit from this book.—Marion Davis*

**PORTIA FACES LIFE** (that heading really dates me!)

**THE CHALICE OF BLOOD: A Mystery of Ancient Ireland**—Peter Tremayne, St. Martin's Press, NY, 2010

At the opening of this book, Sister Fidelma and her husband, Eadulf, are separated. He has grown restive with being regarded simply as Fidelma's husband, with some reason. He has progressed from being her Watson to being an almost equal partner in detection, but doesn't feel he is getting credit, and as a Saxon has never felt at home in Ireland. Fidelma is just plain antsy. Being a stay-at-home mother and religieuse doesn't suit her. She can't retire from motherhood, but determines to leave her religious order, while Eadulf wishes to stay. She yearns for a good meaty legal case. She gets her wish, and she and Eadulf team up for at least long enough to solve the mystery at Lios Mor. It actually is a locked-room mystery, with what seems to be a rather modern M.O., but there is no reason why it couldn't have worked perfectly well in the 7<sup>th</sup> century. The story also involves a crisis of faith and a family dysfunctional enough to make her husband and young son look much more attractive to Fidelma—heck, this family would make the Borgias look good, if not quite the Bathorys.

At the books end, Fidelma has made a decision about her private life, but we won't know what it is until the next book in the series comes out.

**AS THE WORLD TURNS**

**MAPHEAD**—Ken Jennings (Scribners, NY, 2011)

My first impression on reading this book was "Who knew that the buttoned-down *Jeopardy!* champion had such a raucous sense of humor?" His taste for trivia comes as no

surprise, however. The author frequently goes off into digressions, many embedded in footnotes. When you read this book, do *not* ignore the footnotes. Through Mr. Jennings, the reader will meet geographic prodigies and geographic bee winners, geezers and geezerines who simply want to see as many countries as possible, and specialists such as highpointers (read the book and find out), geocachers (Jennings is one) and people who invent and map their own worlds, such as Thomas More and Ken Jennings as a child—obviously a maphead almost from birth.

And there are, of course, the maps, reproduced in black and white, including one that shows Australia Up Above. Of interest to Ricardians and history buffs generally is Martin Waldseemuller's 1507 map of the world, (our "long-form birth certificate") which the Library of Congress obtained for a mere 10 million dollars. "The map depicts a Western Hemisphere divided into two continents, north and south, separated by a narrow strait and the Caribbean Sea...The western coast of South America hadn't been explored at all yet, but Waldseemuller's simple rendering is extraordinarily accurate...And in the northern part of modern-day Argentina was inscribed the fateful word: 'America.'" The author calls Amerigo Vespucci "a Renaissance rock star [and self-promoter, who] had managed to get 28 percent of the earth's land area named after him—in *his own lifetime*." But at least he knew, as Columbus did not, that the continent he had visited *was* a continent.

An amusing way of spending whatever odd time you may have, even if, like me, you really don't care for maps all that much. (Why do they have to have such small print?) If you collect odd place names, as I do, you will find a good selection here. (Ding Dong? Cheesequake? Scratchy Bottom?) In addition, you might even learn something—painlessly.

Next time, a review of Michael Hick's latest, which may not be quite so painless! Tune in, in three months.

## DVD REVIEWS

### The Story of Medieval England

Marion Davis

The Story of Medieval England; from King Arthur to the Tudor Conquest, by Jennifer Paxton, Phd. 36 lectures of 30 minutes each on 3 DVDs, Course #8410. Pub. By: The Teaching Company, c. 2010. <http://www.thegreatcourses.com>.

Dr. Paxton's version of English medieval history is complex. It balances military, political, economic, and cultural life manifesting in war and peace, foul weather and fair. In her version, human creativity shapes events, which inspire new creations. Ivory images, cathedrals, tawdry lace, illuminated manuscripts, pipe rolls, checkered cloth functioning as an accounting tool, administrative records, printed books--all are made and influence their makers, generation after generation. Beginning with the Roman invasion of Britain, Paxton describes how people and their stories changed. After gradually displacing the British and outlasting two centuries of Viking pressures, the Anglo-Saxons assimilated their Norman French conquerors to create a new English identity. Beyond Anglo-Saxon borders, British descendants told stories about a war leader who delayed the Anglo-Saxon advance; as these stories were told and retold, the war leader became King Arthur. Circulated around Europe, recorded in Latin and French, these stories made King Arthur 13<sup>th</sup> century Europe's most popular literary figure. In the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, the adventures of King Arthur's knights inspired royal fellowships such as Edward III's Order of the Garter. While facing a variety of hardships, the English made their stories, language, political institutions, and economy sources of national pride. By the late 15<sup>th</sup> century, many English men and women were literate and prosperous enough to read their King Arthur stories in English prose printed at

Westminster by William Caxton, a retired mercer enjoying a second career as England's first printer.

Paxton's approach to complexity includes modern and medieval viewpoints. Some of her lectures contrast current archaeological and genetic research with medieval chroniclers' versions of events. About 570 AD, Gildas wrote that the British appealed in vain for Roman aid against the Anglo-Saxons: "Barbarians push us back to the sea; the sea pushes us back to the barbarians; between these two kinds of death, we're either drowned or slaughtered." Archaeologists have found no evidence of such slaughter, although DNA studies suggest that some Anglo-Saxons killed British men and married British women. Paxton says some combination of chroniclers' and scientists' versions must be correct. In the 8<sup>th</sup> century, the Venerable Bede described Angles, Saxons, and Jutes invading 5<sup>th</sup> century Britain. Twentieth century historical atlases, such as *Anchor Atlas of World History*, seem to repeat Bede's version: in their maps illustrating 5<sup>th</sup> century migrations, colored arrows represent the three tribes invading England. But archaeologists have found only evidence for small, independent groups of farmers settling in dribs and drabs; these Anglo-Saxon farmers harmonized British farming methods with their own and grew more pigs. So far, no evidence of the tribal take-overs Bede described has appeared. Paxton says Bede's version may be too tidy, and archaeologists' versions are more likely to be true.

In her lecture on the Black Death, Paxton describes a project in which 21<sup>st</sup> century scientists have used 14<sup>th</sup> century descriptions and records in their work. Geneticists have extracted DNA from 14<sup>th</sup> century plague victims to compare with the DNA of *Yersinia pestis*, the confirmed cause of a 1911 plague outbreak. At the time of Paxton's lecture, research was still in progress and scholars disagreed on *Yersinia pestis*'s responsibility for the Black Death. Paxton comments: "This is the kind of question that really riles up the scholarly world." After these DVDs were released, the *New York Times* reported that a team of medical geneticists at University College, Cork have confirmed that *Yersinia pestis* caused the Black Death. Originating in China, spreading along Silk Road trade routes, *Yersinia pestis* also caused plague outbreaks in Justinian's reign, 1665/66 London, and the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Cooperating historians, archaeologists, and geneticists have reconstructed both a *Yersinia pestis* family tree and "the routes of bacterial disease over centuries."

Paxton warmly acknowledges historians' debts to records, manuscripts, and those who have preserved them. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, *Domesday Book*, Henry I's pipe rolls, royal writs, manor court records—all provide historians with essential details of medieval English life. Gaps in the record are also informative: selective destruction of records during the 1381 Peasants' Revolt and 1450 Cade's Rebellion reflects the rebels' rational view of documents used by property owners to take advantage of laborers; in their thoughtful choice of records for destruction, rebels distinguished themselves from indiscriminate continental mobs. Surviving poems, such as *Beowulf* and *The Battle of Maldon* tell historians about audience sophistication as well as military and political mores. The numerous extant copies of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain* demonstrate the popularity of King Arthur stories. The first preserved Englishwoman's autobiography, dictated by the intrepid Margery Kempe, offers historians an exceptional pilgrim's view of 15<sup>th</sup> century life. The Paston Letters reflect the hopes and vicissitudes of a gentry family struggling to maintain its status in turbulent 15<sup>th</sup> century Norfolk.

Warning her audience that boundaries between fiction and fact can be blurry, Paxton says that she hopes the story about Edward I and the Earl of Warenne is true. Edward I wanted to close some manor courts and assign their cases to royal courts. He ordered the barons to present the charters that authorized their courts. When the Earl of Warenne's turn came, he unsheathed a rusty sword and said: "Here, my lords, is my warrant. My forefathers came over with William the Bastard and conquered the land with this sword, and I will

defend my rights with this same sword against anyone who tries to take them from me. The king didn't conquer and subdue this land alone. Our ancestors were his comrades and confederates." Paxton says Edward I's decision to exempt courts as old as Warenne's and allow other barons to buy royal charters for their courts was politically astute. Whether Warenne presented his rusty sword instead of a charter, Edward I's compromise increased royal authority over some courts, brought the king some money, and kept the peace.

The Earl of Warenne's answer to Edward I displays the attitude that created the Magna Charta and drove the parliaments modeled on Simon de Montfort's. Barons continually asserted that kings should listen to barons' advice, distribute patronage equably, spend tax money responsibly, and respect inheritance rights. Fourteenth and 15<sup>th</sup> century parliaments deposed three incompetent, recalcitrant kings-- Edward II, Richard II, and Henry VI. By the late 15<sup>th</sup> century, precedent was established for the controversial deposition that created medieval England's most famous mystery.

Throughout her lectures, Paxton asks many questions. She answers some and says that others are unlikely to be answered. Sometimes she points out blurry boundaries between fiction and fact. This is a good way to present the complexities of historical research. Unsolved historical mysteries provide ongoing sources of scholarly conflict. Paxton considers William Rufus's death in the New Forest medieval England's second most famous historical mystery. Was this a hunting accident or a conspiracy? After presenting alternative views, she explains why she believes Rufus's death was accidental.

Paxton's views on medieval England's most famous historical mystery are foreshadowed in her lecture on Alfred the Great. Paxton says that Alfred the Great's decision to displace his young nephews was what "any king later called 'The Great' would have done. He shunted his nephews aside, and he took the throne." Her view of Alfred the Great's decision contrasts with her view of Richard III's: apparently Alfred the Great's long reign validated his decision, while Richard III's short reign invalidated his. Paxton describes Richard III's claim to the throne as a semi-successful propaganda campaign that gave parliament a pretext for deposing Edward V, without satisfying public opinion. Those who saw Richard III's accession as a power grab withheld their support, allowing Tudor to defeat Richard III.

What happened to the sons of Edward IV? Although Paxton considers Richard III responsible for the deaths of his nephews, she says "that doesn't mean everything we've been told about Richard III is true." She acknowledges that Tudor calumnies were intended to strengthen Tudor's weak claim to the throne; and that Shakespeare popularized those calumnies in his so-called history plays. Yet her description of Tudor as the "last best Lancastrian hope" seems to blur rather than clarify boundaries separating fiction from fact. Although some may feel that a description of Tudor as the "last best Lancastrian hope" seems as fictitious as Shakespeare's portrayal of Richard III, this lapse shouldn't discredit Paxton's whole presentation. Many boundaries separating fiction from fact *are* clarified in these 36 lectures.

William Caxton's comment introducing Malory's *Morte d'Arthur* is true of Paxton's lectures as well: "And for to pass the time this book shall be pleasant to read in, but for to give faith and believe that all is true that is contained herein, you be at your liberty." These lectures are pleasant viewing: they are enlivened by good stories, current research, documented facts, intriguing questions, historical mysteries. Paxton's research team deserves credit for the diverse, and sometimes surprising, illustrations. Paxton deserves credit for presenting a complex version of English medieval history with enthusiasm and good humor. Anyone who appreciates a well-crafted, audience-friendly lecture series can benefit from watching these DVDs.

## From the Editor

*Joan Szechtman*

I am excited to announce Ricardian Register blog at [ricardianregister.blogspot.com/](http://ricardianregister.blogspot.com/) a new online feature for reprinting past register articles to enable discussion. The blog will not be limited to members, but will be open to the public. The first article is an update of Annette Carson's article on Henry Wyatt—originally printed in the September, 2011 issue of the Register.

This issue of the Register finds us in need of a Web Content Manager still. This position is important to fill as Lisa Holt-Jones, webmaster, undertakes the Herculean task of maintaining the American Branch Website. One of the first tasks is to determine which pages need to be culled from the site as there are an unknown number that are not currently linked to as well as those that are out of date.

The website is important to our organization as this is a major presence to non-members interested in learning more about Richard III and the Wars of the Roses, as well as containing research materials, an online library, and bibliographies that have been compiled over the years. The following list is a small sample of what can be found at the r3.org online library and is presented here to encourage further exploration of our website.

- Partial reprint of the nineteenth century public domain Croyland Chronicles;
- The Ballad of Bosworth Field;
- Edward IV Roll;
- Excerpts from Jane Austen's History of England;
- Robert Fabyan's The Concordeance of Hystories;
- Titulus Regius; and
- Horace Walpole's Historic Doubts.

The members' only page has, among other goodies, back issues (to 1991) of the Ricardian Register in PDF format. Members interested in accessing the members' only page should contact Pam Butler at [sarabandelabere@gmail.com](mailto:sarabandelabere@gmail.com) for a user name and password.

In addition to the online PDF format currently available on the members' only page, we are currently looking into producing electronic formats that can be loaded on ereaders, such as Kindle, Nook, and devices like iPad and android that can run apps that support these two formats.

For your reading pleasure, I'm introducing a bit of light fiction that immediately follows my note, and by way of this piece of whimsy, I invite readers to submit short pieces of fiction, having in some way to do with the Wars of the Roses, fifteenth century culture, and historical characters connected to Richard III.

## Fiction

### Newly discovered letter from a private collection

*Judy Gerard Thomson*

Righte trusty and welbeloved Richard duc of Gloucestre

I grete you well and hope you previously received the shippement of the amazing Scottish devize, called i Mac. Music I have enclosed on a disc d'argent for your especial plesir.

Are there tiny, invisible musicians? Ghosts in the machine? Ah, well you do to ask - 'tys all very mysterious and like unto sorcerie, dere frende. The contrapcion mayte be loaded, as I am told, with music enow, you wol be tapping your poulaine till Chanticleer does crowe. Fear not; the Pope has one.

Clever, those Scotsmen.

Kind regardez to Anne and little Edward. Anna baked the wafers; they are best employed to level that wobblie chair in the solar.

Alas! She has been going on & on about that beauteous stone Boare you hadde carved over the window at Barnardes castel. I say to her, would not draperies serve, may be a nice baldequin or portiere with gould thraid tassels? but you know how these women want everythinge their frendes do haff. I asked prices for full sized stone wolfhoundes. Godes dental worke! Mayhap she wol be welcontent with a very smalle gryphon puppie, but I doubt it. Beste to kepe the matri-monial peax.

Youre Loyel frende,

Ffraunceys

Must do something about the doore to the oundrecroft. The locke needeth oiling. Spent over an houre alone doun there whan itt jammed.

**Sales Catalog–March, 2012**  
**Richard III Society, American Branch**

**Merchandise**

Item Description	Item #	Price (USD)	Shipping (USD)	Image (where available)
<b>"Leaves of Gold" CD.</b> This is the CD-ROM that accompanied the exhibition in Spring, 2001, at the Philadelphia Museum of Art, suitable for viewing on Windows or Mac computers. This exhibition included the Lewis Ms. genealogy of Edward IV, the conservation of which was financed by the American Branch of the Society.	1	\$10.00	\$1.00	
<b>Sweater.</b> Blue with embroidered boar logo. UK size 34. Acrylic. (UK 34 = US "Very Small.) <i>Only 1 available.</i>	2	\$10.00	\$5.00	
<b>Sweater.</b> Black with embroidered boar logo. UK size 34 only. Acrylic. (UK 34 = US "Very Small".) <i>Only 1 available.</i>	4	\$10.00	\$5.00	
<b>Boar badge (pin).</b> Made from lead-free pewter each board badge is approximately 1 5/16" long and 5/8" inch high.	156-1	\$11.00	\$3.75	
<b>"Loyalty - standard" postcard.</b> Postcard 4 1/4 x 6" (set of 5)	56-1	\$2.50 per set	\$1.00	
<b>Window sticker.</b> Blue background with white boar logo; 3" diameter. Apply on window facing out.	54-1	\$2.50	\$1.00	

Item Description	Item #	Price (USD)	Shipping (USD)	Image (where available)
<b>Window sticker.</b> Red background with white boar logo; 3" diameter. Apply on window facing out.	54-2	\$2.50	\$1.00	
<b>"Loyalty - coat of arms" postcard.</b> Postcard 4 1/4 x 6" (set of 5)	55-1	\$2.50 per set	\$1.00	
<b>Pendant, black.</b> Black background with enameled boar logo. 1" diameter. Has loop for chain (not included). *TEMPORARILY OUT OF STOCK*	63-1	\$5.00	\$1.00	
<b>Pendant, blue.</b> Blue background with enameled boar logo. 1" diameter. Has loop for chain (not included). *TEMPORARILY OUT OF STOCK*	67-1	\$5.00	\$1.00	
<b>Scarf.</b> 25" x 27" blue background with boar logos patterned on scarf. Polyester. <i>Very limited quantities.</i>	65-1	\$7.50	\$1.00	
<b>Pendant, blue (pin).</b> Blue background with enameled boar logo. 1" diameter. Has pin latch.	67-2	\$5.00	\$1.00	
<b>Scarf – quincentenary.</b> 25" x 27" blue background with crown, boar, and rose logos. Polyester. <i>Limited quantities.</i>	52-1	\$7.50	\$1.00	

## Books and Periodicals

Item Description	Item Number	Price (USD)	Shipping (USD)
<b>The Encomium of Richard III.</b> Paperback; 33 pages; edited by A N Kincaid; introduced by A N Kincaid & J A Ramsden; by Sir William Cornwallis the Younger; The earliest defense of King Richard III by a contemporary of Sir George Buck.	5-1	\$8.00	\$2.75

Item Description	Item Number	Price (USD)	Shipping (USD)
<b>The Ricardian: Tant D'Emprises So Many Undertakings</b> , Essays in Honour of Anne F. Sutton. Edited by Livia Visser-Fuchs. Volume XIII 2003.	135-1	\$12.50	\$5.00
<b>The Royal Funerals of the House of York at Windsor</b> . Paperback; 138 pages; by Anne F. Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs with RA Griffiths; Publisher: Richard III Society (2005); ISBN 0904893154	143-1	\$20.00	\$5.00
<b>This Time</b> . <i>This Time</i> rediscovers the fifteenth century Richard III as he attempts to unravel the mysteries of the twenty-first century. By R3 member, Joan Szechtman. Paperback. ISBN 978-0-9824493-0-1. <b>Signed by author.</b>	16	\$15.00	\$4.00
<b>Loyalty Binds Me</b> . Arrested for a 500 year-old murder, Richard III must defend himself without revealing his true identity. By Joan Szechtman. ISBN 978-1-935188-25-4. <b>Signed by author.</b>	17	\$12.00	\$4.00
Purchase both books by Joan Szechtman for \$25 plus \$6 for shipping and handling.			
<b>One Too Many Times</b> . A delightful romp over five centuries, as the 15th-century King Edward IV and his younger brothers, George and Richard, followed by a love-struck Lisbet Woodville, travel to the year 2011 and proceed to change history. By R3 member, Diana Rubino. ISBN: 978-1451523775. <b>Signed by Author</b>	18	\$12.00	\$4.00
<b>Destiny Lies Waiting</b> takes place in Richard III's England and center on Denys Woodville and Sir Valentine Starbury. ISBN: 1-58345-078-5 By Diana Rubino. <b>Signed by author.</b>	19	\$12.00	\$4.00
<b>Thy Name Is Love</b> . Sequel to <b>Destiny Lies Waiting</b> continues the adventures of Denys and Valentine. ISBN: 1-58345-079-3 By Diana Rubino. <b>Signed by author.</b>	20	\$12.00	\$4.00
Purchase any two books by Diana Rubino for \$22 plus \$6 for shipping and handling or purchase any three for \$33 plus \$6 for shipping and handling.			
<b>The Bulletin</b> : Spring 2006 (Item Number 8), Summer 2006 (Item Number 9), Spring 2009 (Item Number 10), December 2009 (Item Number 11), Spring 2008 (Item Number 12), Winter 2008 (Item Number 13)		\$3.00 ea. issue	\$1.00 ea. issue
<b>The Ricardian</b> : Volume XV 2005 (Item Number 5), Volume XIV 2004 (Item Number 6), Volume XVII 2007 (Item Number 7)		\$3.00 ea. Vol.	\$1.00 ea. Vol.

Item Description	Item Number	Price (USD)	Shipping (USD)
<p>The following books will no longer be regularly stocked in the US sales office, but are still available from the UK. To order from the UK see <a href="http://www.richardiii.net">www.richardiii.net</a> and select Society Shop and then Catalogue for UK pricing and ordering details. Or contact US sales for assistance.</p>			
<p><b>Richard III: Loyalty, Lordship, and Law.</b> Paperback; edited by PW Hammond; ISBN 1900289377. Paper from the second Richard III Symposium in April 1984.</p>			
<p><b>British Library Harleian Manuscript 433, 4 vols.</b> Hardback; edited by Rosemary Horrox and Peter Hammond. "The most important source document for Richard's reign with transcripts of his grants, letters, etc. Sold as a four-volume set with detailed name and subject indexes."</p>			
<p><b>The Alien Communities of London in the Fifteenth Century:</b> The Subsidy Rolls of 1440 and 1483-4 Hardback; edited and introduced by J.L. Bolton; ISBN 1900289156; "The Alien subsidy was a poll tax on foreigners living in England. This study with calendar, looks at the fifteenth-century rolls, at the geographic origins, social organisation and economic role of the migrants within London and considers the question of how Londoners regarded these aliens. Includes short biographies."</p>			
<p><b>The Merchant Taylors' Company of London: Court Minutes 1486-1493.</b> Hardback; edited and introduced by Matthew Davies; ISBN 1900289369</p>			
<p><b>The Beauchamp Pageant.</b> Hardback; edited by Alexandra Sinclair; ISBN 190028961X. The latest publication from the Richard III &amp; Yorkist History Trust. A facsimile in full color of the British Library Manuscript illustrating the life of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, made in 1483-84. With an instruction to the life of Richard Beauchamp and commentaries o to all 55 folios of line drawings.</p>			
<p><b>The Logge Register of PCC Wills, 1479 to 1486.</b> 2 volumes; Hardback; edited by Lesley Boatwright, Moira Habberjam, Peter Hammond; vol 1 ISBN 978-0-904893-16-8; vol 2 ISBN 978-0-904893-18-2</p>			

Item Number	Item Description	Qty	Price (ea)	S & H (ea)	Total
Shipping Charges: All items shipped US Postal Service (parcel post or media). No international shipping.			<b>S &amp; H total</b>	Subtotal (include shipping)	
				If using PayPal, add 3% x subtotal	
				<b>Total:</b>	

**Payment:** For fastest delivery, e-mail your order to [sales@r3.org](mailto:sales@r3.org). We'll confirm availability and send instructions about paying online by credit card or bank account debit through [www.Paypal.com](http://www.Paypal.com). Or complete this form with check or money order payable to "Richard III Society, Inc." and mail to the address on the order form. Please allow 2-4 weeks for delivery.

**Please send my R3 purchases to:**

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Address: \_\_\_\_\_

City: \_\_\_\_\_ State: \_\_\_\_\_ Zip: \_\_\_\_\_

**Mail to:**  
 Richard III Society, American Branch  
 c/o Charlie Jordan  
 3870 Highland Bluff Drive  
 Groveport, OH 43125

## Advertise in *The Ricardian Register*

Your ad in the *Register* will reach an audience of demonstrated mail buyers and prime prospects for books on the late medieval era, as well as for gift items and other merchandise relating to this period. They are also prospects for lodging, tours and other services related to travel England or on the continent.

Classified advertising rates for each insertion:

Back Cover color (about third page size): \$80, Full Page: \$80; Half Page: \$40; Quarter Page: \$20, dedication box (2.25" x 1" approx.): \$10; memorial box (to fit): optional donation.

Send copy to Joan Szechtman, 917 Ward Lane, Cheshire, CT 06410 with your remittance payable to Richard III Society. Send digital files to: [u2nohoo@gmail.com](mailto:u2nohoo@gmail.com).

### Copy Deadlines:

March • January 15 / June • April 15 / September • July 15 / December • October 15

## Board, Staff, and Chapter Contacts

### EXECUTIVE BOARD

CHAIRMAN: **Jacqueline Bloomquist**  
1829 Corleone Drive, Sparks, NV 89434  
(775) 355-1704 • [bloomquistbloom@gmail.com](mailto:bloomquistbloom@gmail.com)

VICE CHAIRMAN: **Jonathan Hayes**  
5031 SW Hollyhock Circle, Corvallis, OR 97333  
(541) 752-0498 • [chateaustegosaurus@att.net](mailto:chateaustegosaurus@att.net)

SECRETARY: **Nita Musgrave**  
48 Tupelo Ave, Naperville, IL 60540-8024  
(630) 355-5578 • [bnm@wowway.com](mailto:bnm@wowway.com)

TREASURER: **Diane Hoffman**  
2580 S. University, #903, Denver, CO 80210  
[dkhoffman42@qwest.net](mailto:dkhoffman42@qwest.net)

MEMBERSHIP CHAIRMAN: **Amber McVey**  
4681 Angeline Lane, Mason, OH 45040  
[amber@wamber.net](mailto:amber@wamber.net)

IMMEDIATE PAST CHAIRMAN:  
**W. Wayne Ingalls**  
704 NW Euclid Ave, Lawton, OK 73507  
(580) 353-6315 • [wayne.ingalls@us.army.mil](mailto:wayne.ingalls@us.army.mil)

### COMMITTEES

CHAPTERS ADVISOR: pending

LIBRARIAN: Fiction: **Gilda E. Felt**  
3054 Lantana Court SE, Kentwood, MI 49512  
[gildavf@comcast.net](mailto:gildavf@comcast.net)

LIBRARIAN: Research, Non-Fiction, and Audio-Visual: **Susan Higginbotham**  
405 Brierridge Drive, Apex, NC 27502  
[mail@susanhigginbotham.com](mailto:mail@susanhigginbotham.com)

RESEARCH OFFICER: **Dr. Sharon D. Michalove**  
307 South McKinley Avenue, Champaign, IL 61821  
[mlove@uiuc.edu](mailto:mlove@uiuc.edu)

ONLINE MEMBER SERVICES: **Pamela J. Butler**  
8608 Hampton Ave. NE, Albuquerque, NM 87122  
(505) 821-5241 (Leave Message)  
[sarabandelabere@gmail.com](mailto:sarabandelabere@gmail.com)

SALES OFFICER: **Charlie Jordan**  
3870 Highland Bluff Drive • Groveport, OH 43125  
pending • [pcajordan@live.com](mailto:pcajordan@live.com)

VOLUNTEER CO-ORDINATOR: **Peggy Allen**  
1421 Wisteria, Metairie, LA 70005  
(504) 837-0974 • [peggyvall@cox.net](mailto:peggyvall@cox.net)

SCHALLEK MEMORIAL/GRAD:  
**Laura V. Blanchard**  
2041 Christian St, Philadelphia, PA 19146  
(215) 985-1445 FAX (215) 985-1446  
[lblanchard@rblanchard.com](mailto:lblanchard@rblanchard.com)

WEB CONTENT MANAGER: pending

WEBMASTER: **Lisa Holt-Jones**  
508 Chebucto St. • Baddeck  
Nova Scotia • BOE IBO Canada  
902-295-9013 • [lisa.holtjones@gmail.com](mailto:lisa.holtjones@gmail.com)

### REGISTER STAFF

EDITOR: **Joan Szechtman**  
917 Ward Lane, Cheshire, CT 06410  
[u2nohoo@gmail.com](mailto:u2nohoo@gmail.com)

ASSISTANT EDITOR: **Diana Rubino**  
333 Fox Run Road, Hudson, NH 03051  
[diana@dianarubino.com](mailto:diana@dianarubino.com)

Copy Editor: **Ruth Roberts**  
[Ruthstitch@aol.com](mailto:Ruthstitch@aol.com)

RICARDIAN READING EDITOR:: Myrna  
Smith  
2784 Avenue G, Ingleside, TX 78362  
361-332-9363 - [myrnasbook@cableone.net](mailto:myrnasbook@cableone.net)

Mr./Mrs./Ms./Miss		
Address:		
City, State Zip:		
Country:	Phone:	Fax:
email:		
Individual Membership	\$50.00	Contributions:
Individual Membership Non-US	\$55.00	_____
	Schallek Fellowship Awards:	\$ _____
Family Membership (+\$5. Ea.)	\$ _____	General Fund (publicity, mailings, etc.)
International Mail, add	\$10.00	\$ _____
<b>Contributing &amp; Sponsoring Memberships:</b>		<i>Total Enclosed:</i> \$ _____
Honorary Fotheringhay Member	\$ 75.00	
Honorary Middleham Member	\$180.00	[Family membership, \$50 for yourself
Honorary Bosworth Member	\$300.00	plus \$5 for each additional family
Plantagenet Angel	<del>\$500.00</del>	member residing at the same address.]
Plantagenet Family (\$500+...) \$		
Make all checks payable to Richard III Society, Inc.		

## Chapter Contacts

### ARIZONA

Marion Low  
14926 N 133rd Ln  
Surprise, AZ 85379  
(623) 547-7358 • [dickon3@cox.net](mailto:dickon3@cox.net)

### NEW ENGLAND

Sally Keil  
1214 Route 171  
Woodstock, CT 06281  
(860) 974-2641 • [skeil@acquadata.com](mailto:skeil@acquadata.com)

### EASTERN MISSOURI

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

### NEW MEXICO

Lori J. Braunhardt  
4931 Story Rock St. NW  
Albuquerque, NM 87120  
[lori\\_richard3@hotmail.com](mailto:lori_richard3@hotmail.com)

### ILLINOIS

Janice Weiner  
6540 N. Richmond St.  
Chicago, IL 60645  
[jlweiner@sbcglobal.net](mailto:jlweiner@sbcglobal.net)

### NORTHWEST

Jean MacDonald  
[bonnyj@frontier.com](mailto:bonnyj@frontier.com)

### MICHIGAN AREA

Larry Irwin  
5715 Forman Dr  
Bloomfield Hills, MI 48301  
(248) 626-5339 • [fkatycdc@yahoo.com](mailto:fkatycdc@yahoo.com)

### NEW YORK-METRO AREA

Maria Elena Torres  
3216 Fillmore Avenue  
Brooklyn, NY 11234  
[elena@pipeline.com](mailto:elena@pipeline.com)

### SOUTHWEST

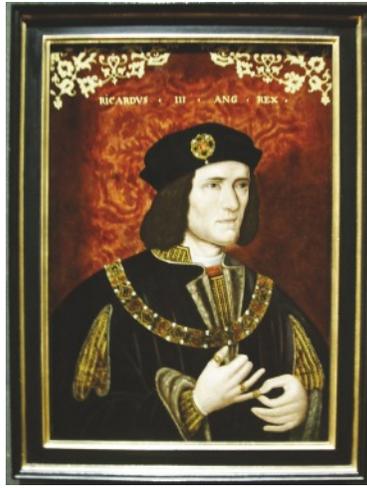
Elizabeth York Enstam  
[Enstam@sbcglobal.net](mailto:Enstam@sbcglobal.net)

The position of chapter coordinator is currently open. Please contact Nita Musgrave at [bnm@wowway.com](mailto:bnm@wowway.com) if you are interested in filling this position.

Inside back cover

(not printed)

Portrait of Richard III at National Portrait Gallery, London  
photograph by *Joan Szechtman*



**Front cover: *Scottish Campaign* by Mary Kelly**

Prints of this painting, and others of Richard III and the Wars of the Roses, are available from White Boar. Contact Mary Kelly at [whiteboar.r111@yahoo.com](mailto:whiteboar.r111@yahoo.com)

**York Minster stained glass of Richard III's coat of arms.**

Public domain image from Wikimedia Commons ([wikimedia.org](http://wikimedia.org))

# You are cordially invited to the 2012 Joint US-Canada AGM of the Richard III Society.

The Canadian Branch of the Richard III Society of Canada is thrilled to be hosting the American Branch for the 2012 AGM from September 28 to September 30, 2012 in Oakville, Ontario.

Our hotel will be:  
Hilton Garden Inn Toronto/Oakville  
2774 South Sheridan Way, Oakville, ON L6J 7T4  
Tel: 905-829-1145  
[www.torontoakville.gardeninn.com](http://www.torontoakville.gardeninn.com)

Please visit our blog spot, <http://r3toronto2012.blogspot.com/>, for the latest news on AGM speakers, silent auction items, and updates.