Richard III and Francis, Viscount Lovel, riding through Oxford.

Mary Kelly

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Articles: The College of Arms • Disinheritance • Thomas Stafford
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Having an interest in Richard III leads one very naturally to an interest in heraldry, and in particular in the College of Arms which was founded by Richard with Letters Patent dated 2 March 1484.

Originally, under Norman (feudal) rule practically all who owned land in England were obliged to deliver military service to the king. From this came the necessity to be distinguished on the battlefield by distinctive insignia. As early as 1390 the right to bear arms became entrenched as one that was granted by the sovereign, and was under the supreme control and jurisdiction of the crown.

Grants of arms in these early times made men noble and created them gentlemen, the arms being a tangible sign of their status. This opened the door to appropriation of the arms of some other man in order to pretend to such status, which by the reign of Henry V had become serious enough for a very stringent proclamation to be issued on the subject.

Heralds – specialists in armorial bearings – were retained in the service both of the monarch and of certain great noblemen, as also were pursuivants, the more junior of the officers of arms. From 1420 those of the Royal Household had a common seal and acted in some ways like a corporation. It fell to Richard III to rationalize the situation by incorporating them as a college, originally the ‘Corporation of King’s Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms’, at the same time giving them a house in Coldharbour in Upper Thames Street, London, in which to keep their records.

Soon the retention of heralds was discontinued in all but the Royal Household’s College of Arms, which remains today the official repository of the coats of arms and pedigrees of English, Welsh, Northern Irish and Commonwealth families and their descendants. It also keeps a definitive roll of the peerage. For any readers who share my curiosity why the college does not enjoy the title ‘Royal’, I have been informed that its full title renders this unnecessary: it is officially styled ‘Her Majesty’s College of Arms’.

Grants of Arms

The possession of arms is a matter of hereditary privilege. By the use of a certain pre-existing coat of arms, you assert your descent from the person to whom the arms were granted, confirmed or allowed. A right to those arms can be established only by the registration in the official records of the College of Arms of a pedigree showing direct male line descent from an ancestor already appearing therein as entitled to arms.

The arms of a man pass equally to all his legitimate children, male and female. However, arms may be transmitted through a female line only when there is a failure of male heirs. A woman with no surviving brothers, or whose deceased brothers have no surviving issue, is an heraldic heiress. If she marries a man who bears arms, the children of their marriage may include the arms of her father as a quartering in their own shields.
New coats of arms may be granted to a man or a woman, or to a corporation. They may be granted directly by the crown, or by the senior heralds, known as Kings of Arms, by virtue of powers delegated to the College of Arms to grant and issue Letters Patent.

**The Premises in Queen Victoria Street**

When Henry VII defeated Richard III and took the crown in 1485 he wrested Coldharbour from the heralds and gave it to his mother, Lady Margaret Beaufort. Despite this cavalier treatment, Henry Tudor took full advantage of the propaganda value of the college and its heraldry, instituting two brand-new pursuivants named after Tudor badges. Although the heralds’ badges do not appear as the subjects of grants, nevertheless it seems evident that he also established what are now well known Tudor insignia for two of the existing heralds of the household (see Lancaster and Richmond heralds under 'Officers of the College' below).

The charter under which the college now operates was given by Queen Mary Tudor and her husband Philip of Spain in 1555, together with the site of the present College of Arms (on which then stood a mediaeval house called Derby Place). This was the home of the college until it burnt down in the Great Fire of London in 1666. Thankfully the records were saved and taken to the Palace of Westminster where a temporary office was opened until the new Heralds College could be built. The present building dates from the 1670s.

**Genealogy and Ceremonial**

With their expert knowledge of armorial bearings, the heralds were responsible for identifying participants in battles and tournaments, for recording arms, and for controlling their use. From this they derived their modern specializations in genealogical and heraldic work, and in organizing ceremonial.

Although many of the original ceremonial duties of heralds have disappeared, they still carry out and organize certain extremely ancient and splendid ceremonies, for example those of the Order of the Garter and the State Opening of Parliament. The Earl Marshal, an office hereditary to the Dukes of Norfolk for several centuries, has particular powers of supervision over the heralds and the College of Arms.

**The Officers of the College**

Under the aegis of the Earl Marshal, control is delegated to the Kings of Arms as the most senior officers of the college. Of these, **Garter King of Arms** is the senior of the three English kings of arms. Taking its name from the Order of the Garter, the office was instituted by Henry V in 1415 just before he sailed for France.

Next in seniority are the two provincial kings, of whom the senior is **Clarenceux King of Arms**, his province including all England from the River Trent southwards.

The junior of the two provincial kings is **Norroy and Ulster King of Arms**, who has jurisdiction over the six counties of Northern Ireland as well as those of England north of the Trent.

There are six heralds in ordinary as follows: Chester Herald, Lancaster Herald, Richmond Herald, Somerset Herald, Windsor Herald and York Herald.

**Lancaster Herald** first appears in the records in 1347, and has been one of the heralds in ordinary since the time of Henry VII. His badge is ‘the red rose of Lancaster, royally crowned’ – presumably given him by Henry Tudor.
**Richmond Herald** is recorded in the 15th century attached to John, Duke of Bedford and George, Duke of Clarence; Henry VII made him a king of arms, but subsequently the office reverted to herald in ordinary. His badge, again presumably attributable to Henry Tudor, is ‘the red rose of Lancaster and the white rose en soleil of York dimidiated per pale and royally crowned’.

**York Herald**, although the office is probably much older, the first reliable reference is in a 1484 grant of Richard III to John Water, alias York Herald. His badge is ‘the Yorkist white rose en soleil royally crowned’.

The four pursuivants in ordinary are the most junior of the officers. As the name implies, they were followers, marshals or messengers attendant upon the heralds (the title is pronounced pur-siv-uhnt, and shares the same origins in Old French as the word ‘pursue’). They are:

- **Rouge Croix Pursuivant**, named after the red cross of England’s patron saint, St George, badge of the Order of the Garter.
- **Bluemantle Pursuivant**, named in honour of the pursuivant’s blue coat.
- **Portcullis Pursuivant**, instituted by Henry VII, alludes to the well known portcullis badge inherited from his mother, Lady Margaret Beaufort.
- **Rouge Dragon Pursuivant**, ‘the red dragon of Cadwallader’, instituted by Henry VII on the eve of his coronation in October 1485.

*Sources consulted:* Arthur Charles Fox-Davies, *The Art of Heraldry* (London, 1904)
Website of the College of Arms, [www.college-of-arms.gov.uk](http://www.college-of-arms.gov.uk)

Photos by Annette Carson

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**Disinheritance:**

Some thoughts about Jacqueline of Hainault and Anne Neville.

*Marion Davis*

In the 15th century, a rich inheritance could be a liability rather than an asset. An unfortunate heiress could be imprisoned by predatory relatives wanting control of her lands. Marriages made for the purpose of enlarging inheritances could become a form of imprisonment. Inheritance conflicts, in or out of court, could drag on or turn violent. England had no monopoly on exploited heiresses, inheritance conflicts, or predatory uncles. A dramatic example was played out in one of Europe’s wealthiest regions.

Jacqueline was the only child of Margaret of Burgundy and William, count of Holland, Zeeland, and Hainault. At age 5 she was married to John, duke of Touraine, a younger son of the French king, Charles VI. When she was 14, her husband became dauphin, but her status as France’s next queen lasted only a year and four months. During her 16th year, both her husband and father died, leaving her the target of two power- and land-hungry uncles. Her paternal uncle was John of Bavaria, unconfirmed bishop of Liege, who dropped his claim to the bishopric in order to disinherit his niece. Her maternal uncle was John the Fearless, duke of Burgundy, who was already trying to bring the 13-year-old duke of Brabant under his control. Burgundy saw Jacqueline’s bereavement as an opportunity to advance his ambitions: by marrying his widowed niece to his orphaned nephew, Burgundy hoped to expand his influence over Holland, Zeeland, Hainault, and Brabant. (1) Holy Roman Emperor Sigismund opposed this expansion by supporting John of Bavaria, who set Jacqueline’s lands “ablaze with civil war.” (2)
Burgundy’s expansion plan backfired. The marriage between Jacqueline and John, duke of Brabant, was a political and personal disaster. Although the pope issued them a dispensation on Dec. 17, 1417, Emperor Sigismund pressured him to cancel it two and a half weeks later. Nevertheless, Jacqueline and Brabant were married at Easter 1418. Brabant proved himself a spiteful and irresponsible husband; after antagonizing his wife and her subjects, he mortgaged Holland and Zeeland to John of Bavaria. An outraged Margaret of Burgundy escorted Jacqueline out of Brabant in April 1420. (3)

John the Fearless’ successor, Philip, shared his father’s determination to extend Burgundian control, but he couldn’t reconcile Jacqueline and Brabant. With Henry V’s assistance, she escaped to England. Surviving letters suggest that Henry V thought a marriage between the countess of Holland, Zeeland, and Hainault and his younger brother, Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, would strengthen England’s position against France. (4) Ignoring Burgundy’s protests, Henry V granted Jacqueline a generous pension and made her godmother of his heir. (5) After Henry V’s death, the Lancastrian government confirmed two marriage alliances: Jacqueline’s, to Gloucester; and John, duke of Bedford’s, to the duke of Burgundy’s sister, Anne. Despite Burgundy’s earlier objections, “no distinction was made between the wives of the two dukes, and … at home no opposition was raised to [Gloucester’]s daring and uncanonical marriage to a foreign princess.” (6) Public opinion consistently supported Gloucester and Jacqueline in their effort to retake her inheritance. Apparently, the English believed these alliances’ potential benefits outweighed potential conflicts.

Conflicts soon outweighed benefits. Unlike Henry V, Bedford couldn’t withstand pressure from Burgundy. Hoping to strengthen England’s position against France, Bedford appeased Pope Martin V, Burgundy, and Henry VI’s chancellor, Henry Beaufort. In late 1424, a fleet of 42 ships carried Jacqueline, Gloucester, and their troops to Calais. Rumors circulating there claimed that Martin V had agreed to annul Jacqueline and Gloucester’s marriage in return for renewed power to fill English church vacancies. Gloucester’s outrage forced the recall of a papal official allied with Beaufort. (7) In Hainault, conflict between rural and commercial interests had weakened support for Jacqueline. Many of her subjects considered Gloucester a foreign intruder, rather than a liberator. The Estates of Hainault cut funding for Gloucester’s troops. In March 1425, Burgundy threatened to besiege Hainault’s capital, Mons, unless its officials denied Jacqueline’s inheritance rights. Although Jacqueline wanted to return to England with Gloucester, her mother and Mons officials objected. Once Gloucester was gone, the officials broke their promise to protect Jacqueline and petitioned Burgundy to take her into custody. (8) On June 11, 1425, she was imprisoned at “the former residence of the counts of Flanders, the Posteerne, in Ghent.” (9)

While Gloucester was petitioning parliament for military aid to rescue Jacqueline, she arranged her own escape. On Sept. 2, 1425, disguised as a man, she rode to Antwerp with two Dutch knights. Evading Burgundy’s recapture efforts, she reached safety in Gouda. From there she led Dutch resistance to the Burgundian takeover. In March 1427, Jacqueline made an alliance with Rudolf von Diepholz, who opposed Burgundy’s ambitions in Utrecht. Together they withstood Burgundian attacks. Despite popular approval of parliament’s 20,000-mark grant for Jacqueline’s rescue, Bedford and Beaufort blocked the military aid. If they hadn’t interfered, Burgundy might “have been forced to sue for peace and to make significant concessions to Jacqueline of Hainault.” (10) On Jan. 9, 1428, Martin V annulled Jacqueline’s and Gloucester’s marriage. Burgundy besieged Gouda, and Jacqueline surrendered. Over the next five years, Burgundy relentlessly absorbed the remainder of her lands. (11)
Disinherited by the interaction of two predatory uncles, a predatory cousin, a colluding brother-in-law, and a vacillating pope, Jacqueline of Hainault died in 1436. Yet her defeat didn’t qualify her as an archetypical victim. She was too capable, too resilient, too old, and she didn’t disappear. Ironically, the Lancastrian government invited her to join an alliance against Burgundy after the 1435 Franco-Burgundian alliance cancelled the Anglo-Burgundian alliance. Her reaction is unknown. (12)

Anne Neville, co-heiress of the Warwick inheritance, had several experiences in common with Jacqueline of Hainault. Both lived through civil wars. Both were widowed in their mid-teens. Both endured interference with their marriages to a duke of Gloucester, as well as disinheritance efforts. As a widow of legal age, Anne Neville was qualified to receive her half of the Warwick inheritance and remarry the husband of her choice. Yet the Croyland Chronicle claimed that her brother-in-law, George, duke of Clarence, disguised Anne as a cookmaid in an effort to disinherit her. Although Clarence had no authority to interfere, he seems to have done so without being held responsible for abducting his sister-in-law. After Gloucester found Anne and escorted her to sanctuary, Clarence continued his delaying tactics for two more years. Defying Edward IV’s mediation effort, he declared that he “would parte no lyvelode” with Anne and Gloucester. (13)

Despite suspicions that Clarence had conspired with the French against Edward IV, his tactics were rewarded by a 1474 act of parliament that disinherited Anne’s mother, instead of Anne. Overriding existing inheritance law, the act gave Clarence and Gloucester “all Honours, Lordships, Castels, Townes, Maners, Landes, Tenements, Liberties, Fraunchises, Possessions, and Enheritaments, which were or be belonging to the seid Anne Countess of Warwyk … as yf the seid Countes were nowe naturally dede ….” (14) It also allowed Gloucester to control Anne’s inheritance during any gap between their divorce and lawful remarriage “as yf the same Anne had continued wife to the seid Duke of Gloucestr.” (15) If their diligent effort to remarry failed, the act allowed Gloucester to retain control of Anne’s inheritance as long as he refrained from marrying anyone else. (16)

Little is known about Anne’s reaction to the harsh legal fictions in this act of parliament. Edward IV’s permission for the countess of Warwick to leave sanctuary for Anne and Gloucester’s household suggests that Anne had mixed feelings about this deal. Unlike Brabant, Gloucester proved to be a competent and well-respected administrator of his wife’s inheritance. Estrangement didn’t end Anne’s marriage to Gloucester as it ended Jacqueline’s to Brabant. Anne’s reactions to other experiences she had in common with Jacqueline are unknown. Was she bewildered and despairing after her father’s death, as P.M. Kendall says she was? Was she as passive as the Croyland Chronicle makes her seem? Did knowledge about Jacqueline’s escape from Burgundy encourage Anne to arrange her own disguise and escape from Clarence, before sending for Gloucester to escort her to sanctuary? Jacqueline of Hainault’s popularity as duchess of Gloucester suggests that the answer to the last question could be “Yes.”

Endnotes:

3. Ibid., pp. 33-34.
Thomas Stafford—16th Century Yorkist Rebel

Stephen Lark

Introduction:

This is the story of Richard’s controversial and, consequently, short-lived great-great-nephew. Genealogical tables can be included, showing his Clarence and Stafford descent, also his relationships with the Hastings family (William, Lord Hastings, and the Earls of Huntingdon).

He is of particular interest as the first proven legitimate Yorkist to initiate a rebellion against the Tudor regime and I feel passionately that he does not deserve his present relative obscurity. I shall attempt to answer some of the mysteries surrounding his life and actions.

Beginnings:

Thomas Stafford was born in 1531, according to the original DNB, or in 1533, according to the new edition. At this time, four of Henry VIII’s key advisers (Cromwell, More, Cranmer and the recently deceased Wolsey) all bore the forename Thomas, which may explain his parents’ choice.

His father was Henry Stafford, only son of Edward, 3rd Duke of Buckingham, and Eleanor Percy. His mother was Ursula Pole, only daughter of Sir Richard Pole and Lady Margaret Plantagenet (daughter of George, Duke of Clarence). Thomas’ parents married in February 1519, expecting to succeed to the Duchy but this did not happen because Edward was executed in 1521 for “treasonable utterances”.

He is supposed to have said that, were the King to die childless, he would seek the throne, and may have consulted a fortune-teller about this. Burke’s says that he was executed “for his vanity and loquacity”. Shakespeare, in Henry VIII, portrays him as a plotter, as did the recent ITV film.

His attainder was reversed soon afterwards and Henry was recreated Baron Stafford in 1548.
Thomas was the ninth of fourteen children born to Henry and Ursula Stafford during a 44-year marriage. Many of these, as was usual, died in infancy, including Henry, the eldest. Another Henry, the eldest surviving son, became the 2nd Baron; Edward became the 3rd Baron and progenitor of the senior branch ever since; Richard was the father of Roger (Froyde) Stafford (an old man deprived of the title under Charles I for his poverty, after it had passed to him on the initial failure of Edward’s male line).

Dorothy married Sir William Stafford of Grafton (a very distant cousin whose grandfather Sir Humphrey Stafford had been executed in 1486), becoming the mother of William Stafford (1554-1612), a later rebel. For further Stafford genealogy, see Robinson or the author’s *Stafford Line* (Mid-Anglia Group, 2004). The Buckingham and Grafton lines separated some time in the thirteenth century but Sir William and Dorothy’s marriage partially reunited them.

During Thomas’ childhood, his paternal aunt, Margaret Stafford (Lady Bulmer), was executed with her husband (1537) for their part in the “Pilgrimage of Grace”. His maternal grandmother, Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury (1541) and uncle, Henry Pole, Baron Montagu (1539), were both beheaded.

He grew up knowing that his father’s family was one of the oldest in England, his earliest known ancestors being born in the tenth century and, also being of Beaufort stock, were closely related to the Tudor monarchs. His mother’s father was of Lancastrian stock and her mother, as daughter of the Duke of Clarence, was of the Yorkist royal line.

He would also have become aware how dangerous this combination of ancestry could be.

**Travels:**

Little is known of his education but Thomas toured Europe in the early fifties, including Paris (1550), Rome (where he visited his uncle, Cardinal Reginald Pole), Venice (where he stayed until summer 1553) and Poland, where King Sigismund Augustus received him, writing to Queen Mary to suggest that the young man be restored to his grandfather’s Duchy, although his brother, Henry, was alive and was knighted in 1553.

In Rome, Cardinal Pole tried to re-convert Stafford to Catholicism. In Venice, Stafford was permitted to view the jewels of St. Mark and the armoury halls; furthermore, he and two servants were permitted to carry arms.

Thomas returned to join the Wyatt conspiracy (probably under Henry of Suffolk in the Midlands), being briefly imprisoned in the Fleet. At the same time, Stafford’s cousin, Francis of Huntingdon, and his son, Lord Henry Hastings, were detained in the Tower. He then developed a violent objection to Queen Mary’s Spanish marriage, although it is not known whether, like Edward Courtenay (12th Earl of Devon), he considered himself as an alternative suitor.

He declared that Mary had forfeited the throne, thereby ignoring the claims of Princess Elizabeth, Mary Stuart (as a descendant of Margaret Tudor), any remaining descendants of Henry VII’s daughter Mary (i.e. Lady Catherine Grey) and his own brother, Sir Henry.

On his release, Thomas travelled to Fontainebleau, residence of Cardinal Pole, who refused to meet him again. Embarrassed at his objection to Mary’s choice of husband, he moved on to the Low Countries to mix in extreme Protestant circles, which emphasised his belief that he was destined for greater things.

He had a seal made, consisting of the undifferenced royal arms. This was tantamount to claiming the throne, a treasonable act. Thomas fell out with many of his fellow exiles, such as his brother-in-law Sir William Stafford (Hicks calls him Sir Robert), attempting to
assassinate Sir William Pickering (April 1554) and, after further imprisonment in Rouen (1556), he left for Dieppe.

Scarborough Castle:

After his restoration, Edward IV granted Scarborough Castle to the Duke of Gloucester who visited it in 1484. Perkin Warbeck promised it to his “aunt,” Margaret of Burgundy. Robert Aske led a siege during the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536 but troops led by Sir Ralph Evers withstood it. The castle, which still stands in ruins, is located in the Catholic north-east of England, accessible by sea but easily defensible.

Thomas Stafford and his band of thirty-five men sailed in two ships from Dieppe on Easter Sunday, 18 April, landed on the Yorkshire coast, sailed up to the undefended Scarborough Castle on 25 April and took the garrison completely by surprise. He warned that the Spanish marriage would enslave the English people, that Scarborough and other castles would be ceded to the Spanish, proclaimed himself Lord Protector and announced his intention to reclaim his grandfather’s title (a pretext employed by Henry of Bolingbroke in 1399, Richard of York in 1460 and Edmund of Suffolk in 1502).

However, the rebellion failed to gather momentum and the local militia acted swiftly. Under Henry Neville, Earl of Westmorland (Thomas’ uncle), they retook the castle. Many of the rebels, who included four Scots, were summarily hanged, hence the phrase “Scarborough warning”, meaning none at all. Others were executed throughout Yorkshire. Thomas was taken to London and tried for treason, beheaded at Tower Hill on 28 May and buried at St. Peter ad Vincula. With the other executed rebels, he was attainted. Two of his party were pardoned.

The DNB (both editions) says that he was drawn, hanged and quartered but, his father having been restored to the Barony nine years earlier, this seems unlikely. John Strype (1643-1737) confirms that Stafford was beheaded. His work, re-published in 1822, names many of the co-conspirators and includes both Stafford’s and Mary’s proclamations: “May 28: Stafford was beheaded on Tower Hill.”

As a consequence of the rebellion, Queen Mary declared war on France, during which the French took Calais, England’s last possession on the continent.

Five years later, Elizabeth Tudor almost died from smallpox. Lord Henry Hastings (now the 3rd Earl of Huntingdon), together with Lady Catherine Grey, was on the shortlist of successors considered by Parliament—a Yorkist heir who would have inherited the throne peaceably and served Elizabeth at the highest level for twenty-three years.

Mysteries:

Early sources claimed that the Scarborough raid had official French backing because Thomas was a continental Protestant and England’s Catholic Queen was married to a Spaniard. According to Hicks, this is unlikely, as Henri II would have wished to avoid provoking an Anglo-Spanish alliance. Other theories, such as Thomas as a “stalking horse” or victim of Tudor provocation, are also rejected; indeed the reports you may read can be taken at face value.

Both DNB editions, Burke’s and the Complete Peerage all claim that Thomas had a surviving elder brother. His parents’ first son, Henry, died very young. Thomas’ other brother by that name (later the second Baron) seems to have been born by 1527, and Edward (3rd Baron) in 1536. These three “standard sources” do not correspond perfectly and interpretation is important.

There is a little scope for confusion but, having exchanged e-mail with Professor Hicks during which he summarised one of his sources (1534 pedigree: British Library MS 6672
f.193), Thomas’ position in the family has probably been finalised. However, he claimed on several occasions to have been born before Sir Henry. This seems to be analogous to the Lancastrian fantasy (of Henry III’s sons) that formed the basis to their claim.

Sources:

Reviews

*Myrna Smith*

The fine (kin group) is divided thus;
The gelfine (bright kin), the descendants on the male line of the same grandfather
The deribhfine (true kin), the descendants on the male line of the same great-grandfather.
The larfine (after kin), the descendants on the male line of the same great-great-grandfather.

A very welcome new chum and an old friend check in with a pair of reviews on similar subjects.

**RICHARD III: A MEDIEVAL KINGSHIP**—John Gillingham, ed, St. Martin’s Press, 1993

John Gillingham makes his negative view of Richard III known from the start. “Many thoughtful people will certainly regard my interpretations of Richard as just another hatchet job,” he writes in the introduction, and for this reader his assessment is spot on and sets the stage for seven essays by Medieval scholars who consider seven different aspects of the life and reign of Richard III. These essays not only range in topic, but in tone—from virulent anti-Ricardian to more even-handed estimates. Here are my thoughts on each of the chapters.

The first, “Richard, Duke of Gloucester: The Formative Years,” is by Michael Hicks. Having read two other books by Hicks [see below] I was not surprised to find his portrayal of the young Richard to be that of an egotistical man who used menace and threats to get what he wanted.

If that essay was negative in nature, however, “1485: The Year of Decision (or Taking the Throne)” by Colin Richmond was downright virulent in its depiction of Richard. Now, I never thought Richard was a saint; far from it. He was a complex man who, like any person, had good points and bad ones. However, Richmond’s opinion of Richard III is that of a thoroughly rotten person with no redeeming qualities whatsoever. By the time I finished this chapter, if felt that the only things missing from Richmond’s picture were the hunchback and withered arm. This chapter was so negative, in fact, that I nearly set the book aside without finishing it. However, after a few days, I picked it back up and gave it a second try. Thankfully, the essays that followed, while not always favorable to Richard, were much more fair-minded.
“The Government of Richard III” by Rosemary Horrox, while not necessarily pro-Ricardian, avoids the pitfall of passing moral judgment, and presents us with a look at the politics of Richard’s reign, offering explanations as to why it ultimately failed.

Anne F. Sutton’s essay, “The Court and its Culture in the Reign of Richard III” goes into the finer things of life—culture, entertainment, education, reading and languages—things that were expected from a person of the nobility. Also discussed is the influence the court of Burgundy had upon Richard’s own court.

“Richard III as a Soldier” by Michael K. Jones looks at Richard’s military career, from his earliest engagements to his final battle at Bosworth. In keeping with the military theme, the next chapter, by Alexander Grant, “Foreign Affairs under Richard III,” presents the case that Richard’s aggressive attitude toward Scotland and France ultimately led to the showdown at Bosworth, and puts forth the suggestion that this was, in fact, the final battle in the Hundred Years War. The book concludes with an overview of “The Reputation of Richard III” by P.W. Hammond, which shows how Richard’s repute has evolved and in some cases developed over the centuries.

As with any book comprised of essays by different authors, the reader will no doubt, like me, find some chapters of more interest than others.—Kathleen Jones


In the preface, Hicks states: “A full appreciation of the Wars of the Roses is a collaborative project involving many participants who certainly do not all agree—and who will not all agree on my version of events…I hope that the bibliography will indicate what underlies this book and who has influenced me most.”

Readers who have time and access to Hicks’ bibliographic sources can enjoy years of investigation and analysis for themselves. Less fortunate readers can benefit from reading his version; but they will be shortchanged if their reading about 15th century England stops with this book. Hicks’ version is his own. He may be in debt to the many sources cited in his bibliography, but his interpretation of these sources may—as he warns his readers—conflict with their authors’ interpretations of events. Readers familiar with Hicks’ approach may enjoy debating his provocative claims. Readers expecting diagrams, descriptions, and analysis of battles won’t find them. Hicks’ version of the Wars of the Roses emphasizes political and economic forces over military action. Since the title suggests military coverage Hicks doesn’t provide, a title or subtitle reflecting this emphasis would be helpful.

In his preface, Hicks says “…many textbooks on Late Medieval England have been written by the best academic historians, and survey what happened, and yet they still do not explain the Wars.” Hicks says his “book is different. It aims quite simply to explain why the Wars happened, why they kept recurring, and why they ceased. It focuses on the combination of problems that underlay all the wars, which made it difficult for any king to rule effectively, and which no king could satisfactorily solve.” Hicks’ table of contents clearly states his organization of events and their causes. Part I offers his view of causes; Parts II, III, and IV offer his view of “confusing strife,” kaleidoscopic reversals of fortune,” and a “vast cast of characters.” 75 years of strife are organized into: Preconditions; First War 1459-61; Second War 1469-71; Third War, First and Second Phases 1483-1525. Within this framework, Hicks describes the interaction of four factors—weakness of the crown, popular involvement in politics, foreign interference, and nobles’ belief in their rights to overthrow a bad government. This may be an improvement on some textbooks. It is an improvement on repetitions of the Tudor myth and More’s fictions. But the author’s self-assurance and clarity may leave readers new to this subject with the impression that
his version is objective. Actually, Michael Hicks’ logical framework encloses a subjective interpretation which ought to be steadily questioned.

His version of the Wars of the Roses seems to favor authoritarian kingship. Despite acknowledging that Henry VI was a “profoundly unsuccessful king,” Hicks takes his side against all who attempted reform. On page 108, he writes “York was to argue that the great council at Leicester was scheduled to destroy him—hence his pre-emptive strike. Many modern historians have agreed…” Footnote 62 cites four historians who agree with York’s claim. Hicks cites no sources in support of his dissent: “Yet [modern historians ‘condemnation of Henry VI’s actions] presumes that York was entitled to override the legitimate and formal decisions of the king…and to appeal to arms. Moreover it is hard to see what less Henry could have done.” Readers should question Hicks’ difficulty in seeing that Henry had favored self-seeking decision-makers and profit-takers at York’s expense. Barons before York had resorted to arms because they considered the kings’ formal decisions so arbitrary that “extreme and treasonable” resistance was justified. One result was Magna Carta in 1215. One can only hope that readers unfamiliar with English history will be persuaded to read R.L. Storey’s The End of the House of Lancaster or B.P. Wolfe’s Henry VI or R.A. Griffiths’ The Reign of Henry VI before deciding how “extreme and treasonable” York’s actions were.

Hicks’ repetition of some rumors as if they were facts should also be questioned. In his discussion of soured relations between Edward IV and his brother, George, Hicks includes “frustration surrounding [Clarence’s] proposed marriage to Mary of Burgundy in 1477” among the reasons for ill-will. “Proposed” may be too strong a word for this marriage scheme. It may have been Clarence’s wishful thinking. A source included in Hicks’ bibliography, C. Weightman’s Margaret of York: Duchess of Burgundy, 1446-1503 describes this “proposed” marriage as unlikely. This conflict between Hicks’ version and his cited source is non-trivial. Authors should distinguish between rumors and facts, as Weightman does in her text. Hicks’ condensed version potentially misleads readers who haven’t had an opportunity to read more complete versions.

Ricardians may be surprised to find that Hicks’ preface includes them among contributors to knowledge about the Wars of the Roses. His comment on page 209 may surprise them less: “In recent years Richard has been extraordinarily fortunate to find hordes of modern partisans who have bestowed credibility on his case, which four centuries of historians found unworthy of serious consideration.” Since Hicks includes both A.N. Kincaid’s edition of Buck’s History of King Richard III and J. Potter’s Good King Richard? In his bibliography, he seems to be contradicting himself. The phrase, “hordes of modern partisans” evokes memories of Desmond Steward’s ridicule of the “strange cult of King Richard’s innocence.” Hicks does refrain from quoting Sir Thomas More’s fictions as facts, but he omits A. Carson’s Richard III: Maligned King, which provides a welcome correction to “four centuries of historians” who have so quoted them.

Should Hicks’ version of the Wars of the Roses be considered revisionist? Many of his opinions seem to oppose those of modern historians, who question earlier historians’ opinions. Is Hicks revising revisions. Or is he just exercising his right to publish his subjective view of the Wars? As long as his readers keep his introductory warning in mind, they are free to consider the differences between his version and his sources and decide for themselves. Unfortunately, readers new to this subject are at risk of being misled and shortchanged unless they make the effort to consult Hicks bibliographic sources as well. One can only hope that they will want to learn more about the Wars of the Roses after finishing Hicks’ version.—Marion Davis

More Hicks below, from Ms. Jones’ viewpoint.
There are seven forms of marriage:
Marriage of the 1st degree: the union of joint property.
Marriage of the 2nd degree: the union of a woman on man’s property.
Marriage of the 3rd degree: the union of a man on woman’s property.
Marriage of the 4th degree: the union of a man visiting a woman with her kin’s consent.
Marriage of the 5th degree: the union where a woman goes away openly with a man, but without her kin’s consent.
Marriage of the 6th degree: the union where the woman allows herself to be abducted without her kin’s consent.
Marriage of the 7th degree: the union where a woman is secretly visited without her kin’s consent.

ANNE NEVILLE, QUEEN TO RICHARD III—Michael Hicks, Tempo Publishing, UK, 2006

Anne Neville, Queen to Richard III is listed as a biography, but as such, this book is sorely lacking. It’s true that there is little information available about women in Medieval times, even if they were queens. There are a few exceptions, but they are just that—exceptions. So if you go to this book hoping to learn something new about the life of Anne Neville, you won’t find it. There is a lot about her family, but very little when it comes to Anne herself.

I also found it to be poorly written, filled with assumptions based in large part upon the author’s own bias against Richard III. For example, one passage states that Richard of Gloucester was conceited, as if this character trait was a proven fact. Now, maybe Richard was and maybe he wasn’t. If Hicks has a reason for believing this, fine, but could he share it with the rest of us? Since Hicks is working from the basic premise that anything Richard did was for ulterior, and usually nefarious, self-promoting, reasons, I guess this should not come as any surprise.

Hicks also makes use of tabloid-worthy phrases, leaving the reader wondering if she was reading a scholarly biography or the Medieval version of a Hollywood tell-all. Phrases like “breeding stock that had ceased to breed,” “shacked up” “serial incester” and “sex offender” are found throughout the book, and chapter headings make use of similar cheap rhetoric, such as “Between Princes,” and “Past Her Sell-by Date.”

Then there is what I call the much ado about nothing. Hicks has a big problem with what he sees as the lack of a proper dispensation for the marriage of Richard and Anne, and spends an inordinate amount of time on what, in the end, turns out to be a non-issue. Anne was Richard’s first cousin once removed. Her sister was also married to Richard’s brother. This, according to Hicks, made their marriage nothing less than incestuous. It didn’t seem to bother anyone back in the 15th century, as there is no record of a big to-do made over this. A quick look through history books shows that this idea of one pair of siblings marrying another pair was not something new or shocking. Rather, it happened on numerous occasions, usually for reasons of dynasty or inheritance. Richard’s marrying his sister-in-law [actually, his brother’s sister-in-law] was hardly the first instance of this sort of thing.

Here’s a detailed look at how Richard and Anne were related:

• They were both descended from Edward III. If I counted my “greats” correctly, Edward III was Richard’s fourth great-grandfather and Anne’s fifth great-grandfather. Or was it third- and fourth-great grandfather? The point is that yes, they shared a common ancestor.
• Richard’s mother (Cecily Neville) and Anne’s grandfather (Richard Earl of Salisbury) were brother and sister. This is the first cousin once removed relationship.
Richard was also third cousin of Anne’s first husband, Edward of Lancaster. Hicks explains that none of these relationships were proscribed by divine law as found in the book of Leviticus, but by human laws, and that they were routinely dispensed for people of rank (and money? He then goes into detail discussing the various degrees of affinity for each of these relationships, and it is obvious that he has spent a great deal of time and energy on this matter. On page 145, Hicks writes:

“Canon lawyers were not agreed whether cases covered by Leviticus or similar to those in Leviticus could be dispensed by the Pope. There could be no certainty what would result from an application for a full dispensation that removed all the impediments. Perhaps that is why Richard applied initially for a dispensation that would enable him to marry Anne, but which he must have known did not address all the impediments. Surely here he was cynically manipulating the rules? Moreover, these impediments were exacerbated by blatant cohabitation when aware that the previous dispensation was insufficient. Perhaps the proximity of kinship and multiplicity of impediments meant that no such dispensation could be forthcoming. Certainly another dispensation was absolutely necessary…Apparently no such dispensation was ever secured. Perhaps none was ever sought.”

Here again we have more of those pesky assumptions. Do we know for a fact that Richard was deliberately and cynically manipulating the rules, or is this just the author’s take on the situation? The word “Perhaps is used three times in this short paragraph, along with a “surely” and “apparently.” Looks like an awful lot of assuming going on.

The worse thing, though, (for Hicks) is that Richard’s brother George was married to Anne’s sister Isabel, effectively making them brother and sister. On page 146, Hicks writes:

“John Rous states that Richard was the product of “true matrimony without discontinuance of any defiling of the law.” He was thus distinguished, by implication, from Edward V, who had just been dethroned on the grounds that his parents were not properly married, and whose father’s legitimacy had also been impugned. Rous had no doubts that Anne and Richard were properly married, that Edward of Middleham was their “son and heir,” and “inheritor to both royal possessions”—that is, to both his parents’ possessions….Maybe there had been a public wedding of which we know nothing, conducted by a priest conned by the papal letter declaratory, unaware of or unconcerned by the extent of their relationship. The undispensed impediments were not publicly known, neither to Rous, nor even…by Crowland. Evidently, Anne and Richard lived together openly as man and wife. None of the critics of Richard III in his own time ever queried his marriage. Its invalidity is a modern discovery.”

Now, my problem is this. If no one questioned the marriage back in the fifteenth century, when it would have mattered, why is it such a big deal today?—Kathy Jones.


The title refers, not to Shakespeare’s mistress, but to his wife—his first wife, not Anne Hathaway, a view that depends on a puzzling entry in the Worcestershire Record Office. The author says: “Many have tried to shuffle off Anne Whateley as a mistake of the pen or the ear, but they conveniently ignore that the recorder…also mistook the words Temple Grafton for Stratford and failed to cross out or correct the ‘error’ of Anne Whateley/Wm Shagspere entry when William Shagspere/Anne Hathaway were written in.” Two points here: (1) In my opinion, it’s not impossible that Stratford and Temple Grafton could have
been confused; and (2) With the proof right there in front of them, why did the local authorities not arrest William Shakespeare for bigamy?

But suspend your disbelief, and you will find this a very enjoyable novel, especially if you have read any of Ms. Harper’s Elizabethan mysteries. She is skilled at bringing the period to life and fleshing out her premise. Her heroine is a strong, self-reliant woman. The daughter of a carter (the modern equivalent would be a truck-driver) and an Italian acrobat, she is indulged by her father, who buys her books and hires a tutor for her. Shakespeare’s parents are solidly middle-class and send him to grammar school, but own no books except the Bible and a prayer book. Childhood friendship ripens into love. Anne Whatley inherits her father’s carting business, and both she and William transfer their base of operations to London. Anne also takes on several successful sidelines, all respectable. In her spare time, she sometimes acts as Shakespeare’s secretary, as he suffers from writer’s cramp. Her relationship with the playwright enables her to off-handedly quote from the plays, even before they are written, in some cases. I’m pretty sure, though, that Shakespeare’s contemporaries did not speak of having a ‘mid-life crisis.’ They may have had them—they just didn’t talk about them in those terms.

Though she never appears on any stage, our Anne is an actress in her own right. She has a number of adventures, sometimes disguised as a man. It’s tempting to think that the Dark Lady of the Sonnets may have been someone like Anne, who is not always (or ever) a meek and biddable creature.

*If there are no sons to inherit from a father, then a daughter is known as a banchomarbae (female heir), and is entitled to a share in his goods. She inherits all of his personal goods, but only land of the amount suited for an ocaire, or small farmer, and this land reverts to the kin-group after her death. However, if her husband is a landless alien, such as a Briton, then the land passes to her sons.*

**THE KING’S GRACE**—Anne Easter Smith, Touchstone, NY, 2009

The title of this book refers not to the king’s person, as the term was commonly used in the Medieval period, but to Lady Grace Plantagenet, illegitimate daughter of Edward IV, sired on a pretty but insignificant girl, who went into a nunnery, bore her child, and shortly after, died. Edward was aware of his daughter, and on his deathbed made his queen promise to take the child into her household. The author takes Grace’s existence from a single document which names Grace as one of the attendants on a barge bearing Elizabeth Woodville’s remains to her final resting place. From this mere mention, Smith sculpts a lively, living person. Petite, dark-haired and brown-eyed, so much unlike her tall, golden half-sisters, Grace takes her place at Sheriff Hutton with the other Yorkist children as Richard rides to Bosworth.

Grace is accepted and loved by Bess and Cecily, and remains close to them throughout. Bess is portrayed as being at least very infatuated with Richard, but once married to Henry, she quietly proclaims her love and devotion. Henry shows her some tenderness, but is mostly away. He is a cold fish, never secure on the throne, aware of how the English hate him, but his cruelties subdue them.

Perkin Warbeck is portrayed as a pretender from his first appearance. Groomed by Margaret of York, he is her “secret boy,” her “dearest boy.” She believes him to be George’s bastard and rescues him from a cruel stepmother. She genuinely loves him and yet uses him cruelly to further her Yorkist ambitions. All through the book, people who knew Richard express their disbelief that he had his nephews murdered, but no clue is given as to their fate.

Elizabeth Woodville takes Grace with her, as her loving attendant, when she is dismissed to Bermondsey. The former queen loves Grace, admits that she loved her first
husband, Sir John Grey, but never loved Edward—just enjoyed being queen. She is a more fully developed character in Smith’s hands than she is usually depicted, and despite her pettiness she is pitiable.

As a bastard, Grace is on the fringes of the royal scene. Her first love is John of Gloucester, who regards her as a little sister. Grace meets John’s mother, Smith’s other heroine, under the scaffold when he dies. Still loving John, she is guided into a marriage with Tom Gower, a Yorkshireman and attendant to Cecily’s husband, Sir John Welles (Henry VII’s uncle). Grace falls in love with her husband, and their lovemaking, in several unconventional places, adds a bit of spice in the narrative.

Grace is sent twice to Margaret, once by Elizabeth Woodville and once by Henry, to determine if Perkin is really Richard of York. At first she is convinced that he is Richard, but later realizes that he isn’t. The book is rounded out with Perkin’s death. Bess is pitiable, worn out with childbearing, and fading. Henry is pushing the alliance with Spain. Well, we all know how that ends.

Grace is an attractive character, intelligent, inquisitive, loyal and loving. She does not hesitate to use her position as the queen’s sister to go where she wants and do what she wants. This is a well-written, historically accurate, and well-developed story, with lifelike, consistent characters.—Dale Summers


This is a double novel, part of the action taking place in the late 20th century, part in the 15th century, and in my opinion, with a little fleshing out, it would have been better as two novels. The modern story concerns itself with the life and loves of Professor Una Pryor, from an erudite, artistic, and widespread family, probably an alter ego of the author herself. Emma Darwin is great-great-granddaughter of Charles Darwin, great-great plus one of Erasmus Darwin, and a scion of the great Wedgewood family—you can’t get much more erudite than that! The 15th century story concerns another family, a less intellectual one: the Woodvilles. It is very sympathetic to them. This is further subdivided by two narrators, Elizabeth Woodville throughout her life, and her brother Anthony on the last day of his. Elizabeth eventually learns that she has trusted the wrong person.

By the way, her younger son, Richard of York, is described as being dark, “with a long French nose,” like his grandmother Jacquetta, so he couldn’t possibly be Perkin Warbeck—or rather Perkin couldn’t be him, if Perkin’s portrait is at all accurate.

The two story lines are tied together by the fictional professor doing a dissertation on the books that the Woodvilles owned. As one of her (Prof. Pryor’s) many relatives is in the publishing business, be get a look-in on the workings of a small press, even learning the names of some of the presses—the machines, not the publishing houses. One is called “the Arab.” Interesting enough on its own, perhaps, but it’s my feeling that it somewhat distracts from the historical story. Maybe it’s just me.

A person’s place in society is measured by his honour price. A woman takes the honour price of her father and later of her husband, unless she is a member of the nemed, professional class: a poet, a Brehon, a physician or a female wright. In these cases, she has her own honour price...The honour price of a Brehon, whether male or female, is 15 sets.

MY LADY JUDGE: A Mystery of Medieval Ireland—Cora Harrison, St. Martin’s Minotaur, NY, 2007

A SECRET AND UNLAWFUL KILLING: A Mystery of Medieval Ireland—Cora Harrison, St. Martin’s Minotaur, NY, 2008

(The headings in this column are from these two books.)
Miss Sister Fidelma? Here she is, re-incarnated in the Ireland of 1509. The author is blurbed on the back covers by Peter Tremayne, Fidelma’s creator, as well as by P.C. Doherty, and undoubtedly these are good examples of the genus medieval mystery. It may well be that some of the old Irish ways survived into the 16th century, including, on occasion, female Brehons or judges. We know from artist’s depictions that the clothing of the Irish tribesmen at this period differed from that of the English (closer to Asterix and Obelix) and this is depicted in the story as well.

Mara, the Brehon and title character of the first book is a divorcee and young grandmother at 36. She qualified as a lawyer at 16, taught law from the age of 18, and still does as the series begins. Either there wasn’t much law to learn, or these young Irish scholars were very precocious, or they had to make the most of their short lives. Mara is being courted by the King of the Burren (probably no more than a petty kinglet, as it is only about 20 miles from English-dominated Galway). She wants to remarry, but hates to think about giving up her freedom. It may not come to that, since Irish law allows for at least seven different kinds of marriage. But by the end of the second book, she still hasn’t made up her mind. There is also a female doctor, or doctor’s assistant, for the forensics.

The characters frequently talk among themselves about how superior their laws and customs are to those of the English. While they are much less harsh, (no person can be hanged just for stealing) the custom of having an ‘honour price’ for everything and everyone would seem to enable the right to literally get away with murder. It might also allow the poor to get away with murder, since nothing prevented a man’s clansmen from paying off his fine; not to mention allowing bargain rates for crimes committed against persons of low status. The only crime that could not be paid off was kin-slaying.

The plots? See Sister Fidelma, above. But who cares about the plots. The important things are the characters and the background.

And speaking of laws, there ought to be a law against bookstores placing books like the following next to the check-out counter, where I will be sure to pick them up and buy them. Unfair to people with low sales resistance!


Mr. Belofsky tries to avoid the really silly laws, e.g. not tying your alligator to a fire hydrant. Instead, this is a serious - semi-serious, anyway—look at laws and regulations from throughout history and all over the world, including some with ‘honour prices,’ like the ancient Irish and Sumerian laws. The author’s first chapter is devoted to these older laws, but the following ones are on thematic lines: animals, “life’s basic needs (food and sex),” “what we do in our spare time,” and, last but not least “quirks of the legal establishment and the lawyers, judges, and bureaucrats who rule it, along with some of their strange rules and procedures.”

These laws, of course, were not made just to be annoying, but to serve the dual purposes of punishing bad behavior and ensuring good. The regrettable human tendency to try to pass off inferior goods as first-rate leads to laws mandating the diameter of apples and requiring a license to break eggs (NJ). And while it is commendable to love thy neighbor, or at least to leave him alone, putting an ASBO (Anti-Social Behavior Order, as used in the UK) on a 2-year-old for throwing a ball into a neighbor’s yard seems just a little over the top. If it becomes a crime in this country to leave your garbage can (“wheelie bin”) out overnight, all I can say is: “Guilty as charged, Your Honour.”

See you next quarter, if I manage to stay out of jail!
Behind the Scenes

Robert Fripp on Dark Sovereign

Joan Szechtman

I met Robert Fripp at my first AGM in Chicago when, in 2005, I first got involved with the Richard III Society. It was there that I learned about his remarkable work seeking to restore Richard III’s reputation by writing a play in the style of William Shakespeare. It is my pleasure to share this interview with Robert Fripp.

JS: When did you first become interested in the life of Richard III?
RF: The 500th anniversary of Richard III’s accession was 1983 and the king was much in the news. Meanwhile, I was the series producer of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation’s TV investigative series, *the fifth estate*. King Richard’s story fascinated me: Here was a guy who had served for a century as the target for negative Tudor propaganda before William Shakespeare laid hands on him and wrote him down again for a Tudor queen. And the story still sticks! Amazing, and shocking to one who values accurate reportage.

What I have never mentioned before—because of space restrictions—is that my father-in-law, Will Burtin, was a prosperous young designer in Cologne until propaganda minister Joseph Goebbels ‘invited’ him to head the ministry’s publication division. Burtin refused that invitation. But the following year, 1938, Hitler summoned Burtin to a personal meeting and repeated the request. Burtin, and his Jewish wife, Hilde, agreed that under no circumstances would Burtin work for the Nazis. So they fled to New York. Fortunately, Burtin’s career rapidly took off in a foreign land. I expand that tale in ‘Design and Science’ (London & N.Y., 2007), which traces Burtin’s life and career.

As a principal, truth matters. It matters greatly. It protects the innocent—and I had this family story in my head as I observed how Shakespeare had mauled Richard III. To my mind, the fact that four centuries later Shakespeare’s *Richard III* is among his top performed plays is shaming: to actors, directors, and audiences alike. Past and present, the thing is destructive of human dignity. Performed, with ever more wrinkles and furbelows, it prolongs a disgrace.

JS: A reviewer described *Dark Sovereign* as ‘the result of painstaking research and remarkable patience’. Tell us about the process you followed in researching *Dark Sovereign*.
RF: Two elements are critical: the historical research which gave rise to the editorial line of my story; and my use of text in *Dark Sovereign* which is—to the nearest syllable—precise. When one sets out to rip into Shakespeare, one’s language has to be better than good. I have written this comment several times, now again: *Dark Sovereign* is written in the vocabulary, idioms and syntax in use between about 1579 (Sir Philip Sidney’s *Old Arcadia*), to precisely 1626. In that year the ‘last great Tudor’, Francis Bacon, died. This interval of forty-seven years marked the renaissance of English letters. Each word in *Dark Sovereign*, each syllable, word-sense, expression, verb ending, tense and function, as well as word order, metaphor and construction pattern, is present because I found written precedents in use before the year 1626.

JS: Do you believe Edward IV’s sons perished in the Tower of London?
RF: If they perished, they did not die by Richard’s order. My reading of history (before and during writing *Dark Sovereign*) told me that Richard did not have the stuff of a tyrant in him. As his previous history in the North suggests, he was a compassionate man, and compassionate men make lousy dictators. ‘Ruthless’ was not a descriptor on Richard’s resumé.
However, having said that, I am not clairvoyant, so *Dark Sovereign* kills the princes in the first minute. Or does it? My character Rumour replaces two murderers on stage, but she cannot tell whether the princes are dead or alive. Standing beside their bed she tells them:

‘RUMOUR: If these [two murderers] were ghosts, their work was woven of the many’s mind, and you shall live long years beyond tonight. Be you in this world, or in another, brothers, sleep! It is not given me to understand whether this work [possible murder] were done, or no.’

**JS: Does your play give us a complex realist character to contrast with Shakespeare's arch villain?**

**RF:** To borrow from Ms. Browning: ‘Let me count the ways’. My Richard is about as complex as one could wish:

- By dint of persuasion he convinces Lady Anne Neville, furious with loathing and hatred, to marry him:

  ‘ANNE: Perfidious York!
  
  **GLOUCESTER:** Softly, lady. Hear me. We are two younger shoots, whose each advantage us endows with common strengths. We shall have need t’apply the tother’s power. Solely, we fall; but go we t’ th’ world together, we shall master all. Consent with me, and be my love. And if so be the soul have in it harmony, then may not we together find it twice?  
  
  **ANNE:** Love is heaven-consolation to the base-begot. She falleth from our station.
  
  **GLOUCESTER:** Well then, let us raise her to ’t. Not with hyssop, but with myrrh let each touch other’s sprite. Thou canst love me a little and a little, and thou wilt.’

- Then, Richard’s legal training persuaded Edward IV to concede Lady Anne to him rather than to Clarence;

  ‘GLOUCESTER: Do we not take ’t in scorn, my lords, to hear good English words bring succour to the French? My brother [Clarence] would compass a base reflection of the foisted Salic law, that not bears sway in England. Moreover, that Matilda had good right, the crown of France pertains to England from the heirdom of Queen Isabel. Two queens is precedent enow.’

- He attempts to bargain with Spirit on the eve of Bosworth;

  ‘K.RICHARD: What is my doom?  
  
  **SPIRIT:** Whatever it may be.  
  
  **K.RICHARD:** Give me the morrow. How I crave the day.  
  
  **SPIRIT:** There lacketh power to dispose. Notwithstanding past acts redound to present time, tomorrow scorns today; and shall, till every atomy and moment of eternity is shed abroad and gather’d in.
Bet were thee that thy several wills
made common suit against the careful hour.
Thou canst not gull the still point.’

- Finally, after many adventures apart from these, including a dwindling of life into depression towards the end, Richard dies bravely at Bosworth:

VOICE 1: W’are overpow’red, my liege.
VOICE 2: Fly the field, my lord, or we must fail.
VOICE 1: A horse! A horse! Some bring the king a horse!
K.RICHARD: I will not budge a foot.
I’ll rather die the king of England.

At this point the author would like to disappear quietly, too. It’s been nearly thirty years since I first focused a high-powered magnifying glass on the Oxford English Dictionary. Even now I sometimes feel like Sisyphus, shoving Dark Sovereign, a very large rock, up a very steep hill.

JS: Thank you so much for this very enjoyable chat about Dark Sovereign and for sharing your interest in getting at the truth about Richard III.

✈ ✯ ✯

In Memoriam: Judith M. Betten

Pamela J. Butler

A longtime Richard III Society member from Michigan, Judith M. Betten, passed away unexpectedly on Friday, March 9, 2012. Judy was an active participant in numerous Ricardian-related events during the last decade; she took several Ricardian Tours of Great Britain and attended many of the Society’s Annual General Meetings around the country.

Judy traveled extensively with her husband, Ken. Her other hobbies included photography, birdwatching, gardening, quilting, knitting, crocheting, and creating artistic personal greeting cards. She was very knowledgeable about medieval English history.

Judy worked nearly three decades as a surgical nurse, and when the Ricardian Tour of 2010 finished in London, I spent the day with her seeing sights related to the medical field. We also went to see the special exhibition at Lambeth Palace on medieval manuscripts (which included Richard III’s Book of Hours), visited Southwark Cathedral, and finished up the day with a Jack the Ripper walking tour. Judy liked to fill her travel days covering a wide range of topics.

Judy is survived by her husband, Dr. Kenneth Betten, five children and their families, a sister, and many friends who will miss her greatly.
Richard III Society  
Joint American-Canadian  
Conference and Annual General Meeting  
September 28 – 30, 2012  
Hilton Garden Inn Toronto/Oakville  
2774 South Sheridan Way  
Oakville, Ontario  L6J 7T4  
Tel: 905-829-1145  
www.torontoakville.gardeninn.com
Registration Form

The Conference and AGM Registration fee includes:
Friday reception, Saturday events and breaks, Saturday lunch, Sunday events and break:
(All prices in US dollars)
PLEASE NOTE: A hot buffet breakfast each day, courtesy of the hotel, is included in your room rate (coupon provided at check-in).

Members and non-Members __________ at $85 per person
(Number of attendees)

Saturday Banquet: __________ at $65 per person + Cash Bar
(Number of attendees)

Please select your choice(s) of entrée:
_____ Atlantic Salmon  ________ Prime Rib of Beef
_____ Butternut Squash Ravioli (Vegetarian choice)

If you have food sensitivities or require further information about the menu, please contact the Registrar directly

Raffle Tickets: $2 for one (1), $5 for three (3), $10 for seven (7)
You need to be present to win the prizes, or make arrangements for someone to transport them home for you. Please pick up and pay for your raffle tickets at the Registration table.
Number of raffle tickets ordered: __________

Total of Registration and Banquet: $ _____________

PLEASE PRINT CLEARLY

Name (s): ______________________________________________________________
Address: ______________________________________________________________
City/State/Zip Code: ____________________________________________________
Phone: _________________________________________________________________
Email: _________________________________________________________________

Is this your first AGM? YES _______  NO _______

Mail registration to: Richard III Society 2012 AGM
c/o Mrs. Tracy Bryce, Registrar
5238 Woodhaven Drive, Burlington, ON L7L 3T4 Canada
Or Fax to: 905-634-7857 Or Scan the form and email to: tbryce@cogeco.ca
Payment will be accepted by personal cheque in US funds.
Alternatively, payment can be made by credit card through PayPal to richardiii@cogeco.ca but please add an additional $5 to cover PayPal processing fees. Indicate in the message field your name and that your payment is for the 2012 AGM Registration.
Conference Schedule: Seminars and Events

Friday, September 28, 2012
3 p.m. Hotel Check-in begins
4 p.m. Registration begins in the Bronte Room
6 p.m.—10 p.m. Welcome Reception in the Lakeshore/LaSalle Rooms
Silent Auction, Sales Table
Light buffet dinner, including cheeses, fruit, veggies, cocktail sandwiches, sausage rolls, mini quiche, spring rolls, coffee, tea, cold beverages
7—9:15 p.m. Ricardian Movie Night—The Name of the Rose

Saturday, September 29, 2012
From 7 a.m. Breakfast with friends in the Great North American Grill, ground floor

Lakeshore/LaSalle Room
8:45 a.m. Welcome and Opening Remarks
9 a.m.—10 a.m. Seminar #1
10 a.m.—10:30 a.m. Break
10:30 a.m.—11:30 a.m. Seminar #2
11:30 a.m.—12:30 p.m. Wrap and Roll Lunch + Free Time
12:30 p.m.—1:30 p.m. Seminar #3
1:30 p.m.—2:00 p.m. Cookie Monster Break
2:00 p.m.—3:00 p.m. Seminar #4
3:00 p.m. Silent Auction Closes and Sales Table Closes
3:00 p.m.—4:30 p.m. Lakeshore/LaSalle Room—American Branch AGM
Bronte Room—Canadian Branch AGM
4:30 p.m.—6:00 p.m. Free time—Meet friends for cocktails in the Pavilion Lounge before dinner
6:00 p.m.—10 p.m. Banquet in Bronte/Lakeshore and LaSalle Room
Ricardian Ribaldry—McGhee Raffle Draw—Silent Auction Winners

Sunday, September 30, 2012
From 7 a.m.—9:30 a.m. Breakfast with friends in the Great North American Grill, hotel lobby

Lakeshore/LaSalle Room
9:30—10:30 a.m. Seminar #5
10:30 a.m. Break
Closing Ceremonies
11 a.m. — Hotel Check-out. You can request late checkout, up to 1 p.m.
Seminars

While the order of the seminar speakers has not yet been confirmed as of the time this edition of the Register must go to press, this is what we can offer to tempt you at present:

- American branch Vice Chairman Jonathan Hayes will enlighten us on François Villon, fifteenth century French poet, rogue and criminal. Jonathan says, “My discussion will be not only an analysis of his poetry—which I love, but also an attempt to bring to life the lower strata of fifteenth-century life—the part which we frequently try to pretend didn’t exist.”

- We are pleased to welcome Arlene Naylor Okerlund, Professor Emerita of English at San José State University, California, who will be speaking on Elizabeth of York, niece of Richard III and wife of Henry Tudor.

- We hope to bring you Susan Bond, a dramaturge who has worked on several plays with Ricardian themes, as well as completing her Master’s thesis on Margaret of Anjou as portrayed by Shakespeare. Susan will examine how Richard III has been depicted in the theatre.

- Plans are afoot to bring you a special guest speaker on a special topic of historical significance, which we’ll keep under wraps for now.

- We have one seminar slot open at present, for which we are trying to find a speaker.

General Information

For those who wish to keep up with the progress on the Conference planning or want more details about the hotel, speakers, silent auction items, etc., there’s no better source than the Conference blog at: http://r3toronto2012.blogspot.com

All the final and confirmed details on the Conference will be posted on the blog when they become available.

Our Conference Hotel:
The Hilton Garden Inn Toronto/Oakville

The Hilton Garden Inn Toronto/Oakville hotel provides exceptional accommodations and value by extending a complimentary in-room hospitality center with microwave / refrigerator / coffee maker, high-speed Internet access (both wired and wireless), use of our heated indoor pool/whirlpool, fitness and 24-hour business centers. The Hilton Garden Inn Toronto/Oakville hotel is approximately 20 minutes from downtown Toronto and borders the City of Mississauga with a mere 15 minutes drive from Toronto Pearson International Airport. We are located in the centre of the "Golden Horseshoe" between two of the most popular cities in the world - Toronto and Niagara Falls.

The Hilton Garden Inn Toronto/Oakville hotel invites you to experience beautiful downtown Oakville and Old Oakville's Lakeshore Road with unique boutique shops, fine-dining restaurants, two harbours and beautiful walking trails bordering Lake Ontario. Live Theatre, Museums, and Festivals are just some of the many great things to do. Also use the time to view extravagant waterfront communities along Bronte and Lakeshore roads. Travelers are also often held captive as they enjoy a round of golf at the famous Glen Abbey Golf Course which is also home to the Canadian Golf Hall of Fame just 5 minutes away.
Directly across the highway from the hotel is the Oakville Entertainment Centrum featuring: AMC Movie Theatre *24 screens*, Glow-in-the-Dark Mini Putt, Selection of Restaurants, and a Full Service Spa. One of the only remaining Drive-In Movie locations in the Greater Toronto Area is a few minutes away with a Tim Horton's and Wendy's Restaurant within walking distance.

**Lester B. Pearson International Airport**  
**Distance:** 25 km  
**Drive time:** 15 minutes

**Directions:** Hwy #427 South to Queen Elizabeth Way (QEW). West to Winston Churchill Blvd., South on Winston Churchill Exit #124. Right on Sherwood Heights Drive, Right on South Sheridan Way

There are turn-by-turn directions on the hotel website.

**Transportation to and from the Airport:**

- Limousine $60 CAD
- Taxi $50 CAD—approximate
- Minibus $30 CAD—approximate*
- Rental Car Call hotel for information

*If you are interested in taking the Minibus, contact Tracy Bryce at tbruce@cogeco.ca after you have booked your flight and know your schedule and she will provide you with the details.

Free outdoor parking on the hotel property. There is a shuttle bus which will provide free transport for guests within a 10 km radius of the hotel.

A block of rooms has been reserved at the special rate of $109.00 CAD. Two disabled access rooms are available to reserve. To reserve your room at this special rate, call the hotel directly at 1-905-829-1145 and tell them you are with the Richard III Society. The hotel cannot guarantee these rooms will be available after August 31st, so reserve early. All reservations should include the arrival and departure dates, estimated time of arrival (Check-in is 3 p.m.), room preference (Standard 1 King Bed Room, Standard 2 Queen Bed Room) and credit card to be used for payment.

The hotel is a non-smoking facility.

For those members who would like to share a room to cut the cost, please email Tracy Bryce at tbruce@cogeco.ca and give your name if you want a roommate. To make sure that the hotel deadline is met, please notify me by August 15th.
American Branch Elections

The time has come again for us to elect the executive board of the American branch. Presently, three of the five positions must be filled by those not currently in the position: membership-chairman, secretary, and treasurer. Both Jacqueline Bloomquist, chairman, and Jonathan Hayes, vice-chairman having served a single two year term are willing and able to serve for another two years and will be on the ballot. Anyone interested in running for a position should contact Wayne Ingalls, nominating committee chair, at wayne.ingalls@us.army.mil with your contact information and the position you seek.

Officers: The Chairman, the Vice-Chairman, the Secretary, the Membership Chairman and the Treasurer of the Executive Board shall be elected by the membership by proxy ballots sent from the chairman of the Nominating Committee to the members via first class mail at least six (6) weeks prior to the AGM.

Officers shall serve for two years from the date of their election. No officer shall be eligible to serve in any one office for more than four (4) consecutive years.

Eligibility: Any member in good standing, who is eighteen (18) years of age or older, shall be eligible to hold any office in the American Branch or to serve upon any committee.

- A candidate for Chairman shall have served previously as:
  - An officer or member of the Executive Board
  - The president of a chapter with at least ten (10) members, or
  - Chairman of a standing committee, and must be
  - A member of the American Branch for at least three (3) years continuously prior to nomination.

- All prospective officers cannot be in arrears of membership dues or other financial obligations.

The duties of each office are detailed below.

Chairman: The duties of the Chairman shall be as follows:

- To preside at all meetings of the American Branch and the Executive Board.
- To appoint appropriate officers and Standing Committee Chairpersons with the advice and consent of the Executive Board.
- To execute all contracts, deeds and other legal instruments on behalf of and in the name of the American Branch when authorized by the Executive Board.
- To have general supervision over all officers and Standing Committees, and to be an ex-officio member of all committees.
- To oversee the planning of the AGM.
- To have other powers and authority as shall be vested in the Chairman by the Executive Board.
- To appoint tellers to count ballots and to certify elections at the AGM.

Vice Chairman: The duties of the Vice Chairman shall be as follows:

- To preside at meetings of the American Branch and the Executive Board in the absence or incapacity of the Chairman.
- To prepare the Agenda for all Executive Board Meetings and the AGM.
- To act as Bylaws Committee Chairman.
- To perform other duties as required by the Executive Board.

Secretary: The duties of the Secretary shall be as follows:
To record and keep all minutes of official meetings, and to transfer records to the archives as appropriate.
To conduct all correspondence as directed by the Executive Board.
To be the official custodian and distributor of all records except those relating to Membership and Finance.
To request the Annual Reports from all Officers and Committees in mid-August yearly, and to ensure that they are distributed to the membership in the *Ricardian Register* or on the Web-site following the AGM.
To perform other duties as required by the Executive Board.
To send greetings yearly to the parent Society on the occasion of their AGM.
To arrange the conference call for Executive Board Meetings.

**Membership Chairman:** The duties of the Membership Chairman shall be as follows:
- To accept applications, dues and donations from renewing and prospective members.
- To update and maintain membership records, including the mailing of dues notices.
- To forward all monies to the Treasurer on a timely basis, or on the request of the Treasurer, Chairman or Executive Board.
- To distribute all mailings and communications to the membership of the American Branch except as otherwise provided in these Bylaws.
- To perform other duties as required by the Executive Board.

In addition to the duties outlined above, the Membership Chair is in charge of providing the membership numbers to the parent Society as well as to the publisher/printer as well as mailing issues to new members that joined after the Register has already gone to the printer.

The membership database is set up so that the officer will not have to be proficient in programming. The current membership-chair—Amber McVey with the assistance of William McVey—will provide technical support to the next membership chair should it be required.

**Treasurer** (note: these duties have been expanded to reflect the experience of the current treasurer—Diane Hoffman):
- To receive all monies due to the American Branch.
- To deposit all monies into the appropriate bank or other financial accounts.
- To oversee and report on any investment accounts.
- To maintain and have charge of all financial records.
- To make digital scans of any paper documents for eventual transfer to the next Treasurer.
- To identify any critical financial documents which should be passed on to the Richard III Society archives in hardcopy format.
- To pay all debts of the American Branch from the appropriate account.
- To file the appropriate Federal Tax returns as required by the Internal Revenue Service.
- To file State Tax returns in the state where the American Branch is incorporated, if required.
- To consult IRS websites and publications to maintain compliance with regulations for tax exempt organizations.
- To prepare a Budget yearly for the next fiscal year, to be presented and approved at the AGM.
• To have on file an accounting of the balances for all funds established by the American Branch for its purposes.

• To be willing and able to get a signature guarantee when necessary. A signature guarantee requires a good relationship with a bank or other financial institution where a specially qualified officer will compare the Treasurer’s identification documents and witness the Treasurer’s signature. Signature guarantees will be required at the end of the Treasurer’s term when authority over financial accounts is passed on to the next Treasurer, and may be required on other financial transactions as well.

• To assist the next Treasurer during the transition period.

• To perform other financial duties as required by the Executive Board.

The candidate for Treasurer should have a good knowledge of Microsoft Excel or a spreadsheet program which can process Excel spreadsheets; have a scanner or easy access to a scanner; be able to follow instructions for IRS and state tax forms.

For a time estimate, it ranges from 10 to 20 hours per week, depending on whether it's tax season, or preparing AGM reports which are basically the same as tax forms in the amount of work required. Also, slogging through IRS tax-exempt organization regulations and the IRS tax-exempt site is time consuming. So overall, at least 15 hours per week average.

IRS requires that tax-exempt organizations, such as the society, submit form 990 or 990-EZ. According to Diane, filling out the 990-EZ form, which the Society uses, is not very time consuming. Most of the time was consumed with compiling all the data from the various worksheets and making sure it all balances, and then finding what you missed when it doesn't.

❖ ❖ ❖

Bylaws

The executive board has been reviewing the American branch bylaws and found several provisions to be out of date and in need of revision. These sections include but not limited to: 5.3.3. Deadline for Nominations; 6.1.2. Surety Bonds; 6.6. Treasurer; 8.1.2. Eligibility; and 9.4. Audits.

The bylaws can be accessed on the member’s page of the American branch website here: http://www.r3.org/members/minutes/bylaws.html. If you need access to this page, contact Pam Butler, online member services at sarabandelabere@gmail.com. Please send any comments regarding the bylaws to Jonathan Hayes at stegosaurus37@yahoo.com.
# Merchandise

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<td>Boar badge (pin). Made from lead-free</td>
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<td>&quot;Loyalty - standard&quot; postcard.</td>
<td>56-1</td>
<td>$2.50 per set</td>
<td>$1.00</td>
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<td>white boar logo; 3&quot; diameter.</td>
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<td>Apply on window facing out.</td>
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<td><strong>Window sticker.</strong> Red background with white boar logo; 3” diameter. Apply on window facing out.</td>
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<td>63-1</td>
<td>$5.00</td>
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<td>67-1</td>
<td>$5.00</td>
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<td>65-1</td>
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<td><strong>Scarf – quincentenary.</strong> 25” x 27” blue background with crown, boar, and rose logos. Polyester. Limited quantities.</td>
<td>52-1</td>
<td>$7.50</td>
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<td><strong>Carry bag, cloth.</strong> Cream color with red imprint of Richard's face and UK web site on reverse side. 17&quot; high by 14&quot; wide.</td>
<td>152-1</td>
<td>$5.00</td>
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### Books and Periodicals

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<td><strong>The Encomium of Richard III.</strong> Paperback; 33 pages; edited by A N Kincaid; introduced by A N Kincaid &amp; J A Ramsden; by Sir William Cornwallis the Younger; The earliest defense of King Richard III by a contemporary of Sir George Buck.</td>
<td>5-1</td>
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<td>The Royal Funerals of the House of York at Windsor. Paperback; 138 pages; by Anne F. Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs with RA Griffiths; Publisher: Richard III Society (2005); ISBN 0904893154</td>
<td>143-1</td>
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<tr>
<td>This Time. This Time 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. Signed by author.</td>
<td>16</td>
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<td>Purchase both books by Joan Szechtman for $25 plus $6 for shipping and handling.</td>
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<td>One Too Many Times. 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. Signed by Author</td>
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<td>Destiny Lies Waiting takes place in Richard III's England and center on Denys Woodville and Sir Valentine Starbury. ISBN: 1-58345-078-5 By Diana Rubino. Signed by author.</td>
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<td>$4.00</td>
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<td>Thy Name Is Love. Sequel to Destiny Lies Waiting continues the adventures of Denys and Valentine. ISBN: 1-58345-079-3 By Diana Rubino. Signed by author.</td>
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<td>$12.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>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.</td>
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<td>The Bulletin: 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)</td>
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<td><strong>Good King Richard?</strong> Paperback, 287 pages. ISBN 0094688400. An account of Richard III and his reputation 1483-1983. By Jeremy Potter. Detailed study of source material for Richard’s reign and how it has been used by later historians. <strong>Limited quantities.</strong></td>
<td>3-1</td>
<td>$11.00</td>
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<td><strong>Itinerary of Richard III, 1483-1485.</strong> Paperback, 44 pages. By Rhoda Edwards Richard’s whereabouts from April 1483 to August 1485, as recorded in contemporary documents. <strong>Limited quantities.</strong></td>
<td>2-1</td>
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<td><strong>The Battles of Barnet &amp; Tewkesbury.</strong> Hardback, 158 pages. ISBN 0862993857. By P.W. Hammond. This book focuses not on only the battles that marked the reclaiming of the crown for Edward IV but also deals with the emergence of the youthful Richard of Gloucester onto the political and military scene.</td>
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From the Editor

Joan Szechtm

My thanks to everyone who contributed to this issue. Please continue to send articles to me as well as other items of interest for the American branch.

In closing, I wish to remind all members that the two year terms for the executive board—chairman, vice-chairman, membership-chairman, treasurer, and secretary—are ending this October. Both the chairman and vice-chairman can and will run for a second two-year term, but the membership-chairman, treasurer, and secretary have all served the maximum consecutive terms as specified in our bylaws. No one position is more or less important than another and it is imperative that in order to keep the American branch viable, members volunteer for these positions, especially for the three that cannot be filled by the current office holders. Because of lead times need to produce a ballot and distribute to the membership, we need you to contact the nominating chairman, Wayne Ingalls at wayne.ingalls@us.army.mil as soon as possible if you are interested in running for an office.

As previously noted, some of the bylaws need to be amended. The bylaws can be accessed on the member’s page here: http://www.r3.org/members/minutes/bylaws.html. If you need access to this page, contact Pam Butler, online member services at sarabandelabere@gmail.com.

The proposed amendments will be voted on during the AGM.

The ballots and proposed amendments to the bylaws will be mailed to the membership by mid-August, 2012. The election of officers and amendments to the bylaws will be voted on Saturday, September 29, 2012 at the American Branch meeting. If you can’t attend the AGM, please mail your votes/proxies to the return address provided.

✧ ✧ ✧

Errata

Joan Szechtm

The front cover illustration was incorrectly referenced on the back cover of the print edition as Christmas Sunset. The correct reference is Scottish Campaign 1482. The actual illustration on the front cover is correctly labeled. My apologies for any confusion this may have caused.
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The position of chapter coordinator is currently open. Please contact Nita Musgrave at bnm@wowway.com if you are interested in filling this position.

---

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