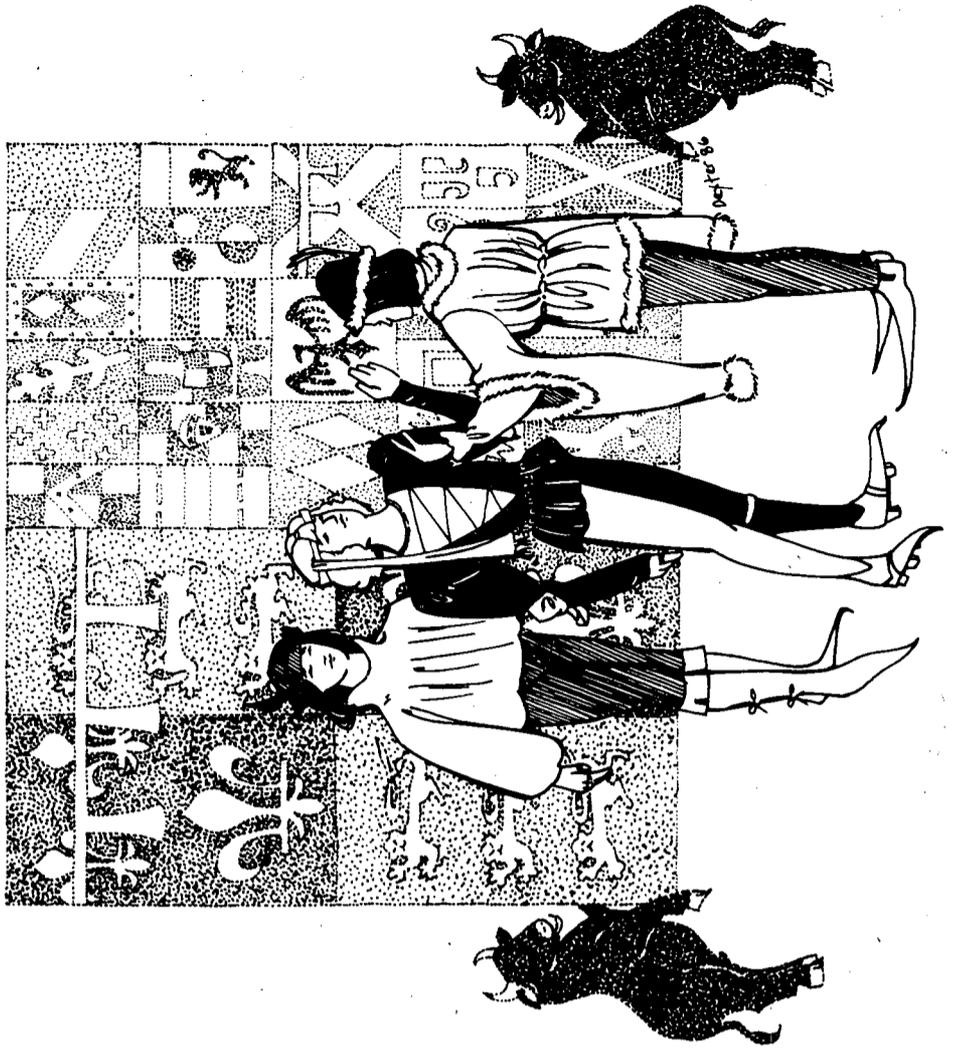


# RICHARDIAN REGISTER

AUTUMN, 1986

VOLUME XX, NO. 3



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# RICARDIAN REGISTER

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# RICARDIAN POST

Here are a couple of Ricardian "howlers" from the Barnes & Noble publishing company's summer catalog:

The first comes from the section describing audio cassette tape versions of Shakespeare plays. It offers a three-cassette performance of *Richard the Second*, promising that "The greatest villain in theatrical literature, Richard Crookback, is brought to life in this wonderful rendition of the complete play." I'm tempted to order it, just to see if one get "this sceptered isle" or "my kingdom for a horse."

Continue to the paperbacks section. A synopsis describes Charles Ross's *Richard III* as "The only authoritative biography of Richard in existence." Well, throw away your worthless Kendalls and Halsteads, apparently Ross is the single bio one can rely on.

I hope you have a chuckle at these lapses, as I did.

On a more positive note, a fiction book, *The Sun in Splendor*, by Jean Plaidy, appears on page 27 of the catalog. The ad for this book asks, "Was [Richard III] the evil, plotting hunchback that Shakespeare and others claim, or is the truth more interesting than the fiction?" At least, this indicates that some of the historic doubt are filtering into pop culture.

The *Ricardian Register's* new format is great; I really appreciate the efforts that you and all the new officers have put into it. Keep up the good work!

Peggy G. Allen, Louisiana

The announcement of Society Librarian Julie Lord's resignation saddened me. Having depended upon her co-operation and generosity while researching a bibliography on Shakespeare's *Richard III*, I too regret the loss of her dedicated service. In the introduction to the book, I express my profound thanks to her.

James A. Moore, Ph.D., Oklahoma

I recently received my *Ricardian Register* and was thoroughly delighted with it. Congratulations on an excellent publication! I can't wait until the next issue.

Marie Demorest, Wisconsin

I appreciate the publication in the Summer 1986 *Ricardian Register* of my letter to the Friends on Canterbury Cathedral.

I am pleased to report that I received a very courteous response to that letter from Charles Barker, Steward (of Cathedral House) at Canterbury.

Mr. Barker is "sorry" that I "disagree" with the editor of the *Walk Round Guide* as to Richard III's part in the "disappearance" of the two princes.

"It is," acknowledges Mr. Barker, "recognized as a case of 'Non Proven.'" Mr. Barker leaves the final adjudication of Richard III's case to a higher court.

"Our Lord will judge," writes Mr. Barker. I cannot quarrel with that.

Charles R. Wood, Florida

Just a comment regarding your notice in the Summer 1986 *Ricardian Register* concerning the "Princes in the Tower" set of dolls produced by House of Nisbet, Ltd. - I believe that while it may appear that the Nisbets are condemning Richard by linking him with the "Princes," one only needs to read the catalogue description of the set of dolls to see that the House of Nisbet is on "our side." The catalogue states, "The popular belief today is that Richard III was a glorious monarch much vilified by ugly propaganda that had no foundation of truth." Indeed, an earlier catalogue (where he is shown with Anne Neville) says, "... later historians have swung violently in the other direction and it is now the consensus of opinion that he was the most glorious monarch of the period now that Tudor propaganda of this villainy which was spread by Henry VII for his own purposes, has been dispelled. Richard did much to institute legal reforms, and governed well until he died courageously at the Battle of Bosworth Field."

I think it is perfectly reasonable that the Nisbets have produced a set of dolls comprising Richard and the Princes. They were, after all, his nephews, and though he did *not* murder them, his usurpation of the throne (perhaps a completely justifiable action) will always link Richard with the two small Princes, even in the mind of the most loyal Ricardian.

Pamela Funk, New Jersey

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Membership year runs from October 2 to October 1.

## FIFTEENTH CENTURY VOGUE

The peak period for variety and exaggeration of medieval costume was the period of the 1400's. Although most people are probably more familiar with the elegant, fairy-tale garb of the women of this time, the men's clothing far outshone the women in variation and eccentricity.

Men's headgear at this time was easily as fantastic as the tall, ornate hennins worn by the women. It was ornamented and exaggerated to an absurd extent, and could almost be considered an expression of personality. There were hats of every shape and size and for every mood, sober or frivolous. In the early half of the century, the hap that was worn most was the chaperon, which developed from the hood with liripipe. The liripipe, a long tippet or tail, was split open and ragged at the edges and wrapped around the throat and shoulders like a scarf. Later, this tippet was folded and bunched at the top of the hat, and the brim of the chaperon was stiffened and enlarged so that it began to resemble more closely the type of hats we are familiar with. After this, all manner of gigantic, soft crowned hats became popular. They were made of beaver, cloth, or velvet, and came in a variety of shapes. Some were shaped like turbans, some like huge light bulbs, and some even closely resembled the modern top hat. Any shape a man might think of could probably be made into a hat for him. Besides their extravagant shapes, the hats were frequently absurdly decorated with feathers or jewels.

The huge brimmed hats of the earlier part of the century gave way to the tall brimless "sugar-loaf" hats of the middle decades. Named for the cakes, or loaves, that sugar was formed into at this time, the hats were tall and rounded, a counterpart to the hennin worn by the ladies. By the end of the century, round, flat crowned hats with upturned brims became important, varied with large round hats that also had upturned brims and were highly decorated with feathers. All hats were worn with close fitting skull caps, or scarves tied over the head. Sometimes, these were also worn alone.

Men wore their hair cut in a bob, parted in the center or brought forward into a fringe of bangs at the front. Around 1413, men began to shave the backs of their heads to the level of the ears while the hair was brushed down from the crown and curled under. This style lasted until around 1450. After the middle of the century, hair was worn much longer, especially by the nobility, and fell to the shoulders or even to the middle of the back.

The houppeland continued to be popular with the men as it did with the ladies. The style remained the same as it had been in the 14th century, with a high collar, huge sleeves, which fell to the floor or were gathered at the wrist into "bagpipe" or "pokey" sleeves, and was cut very full in the skirt. Houppelands were made in a variety of lengths; full, mid-calf, knee length, or hip length. At first they were merely a round of material that hung fairly free, but towards the middle of the century they began to be carefully pleated from shoulder to waist and from waist to hemline. This decreased the fullness of the garment and made it much stiffer. They began to be open down the front, as modern robes are today, and the high collar opened into a V. The high-necked under-tunic showed underneath. The sleeves were likewise opened up along the back seam, forming a sort of cape hanging off the arms. The long and short garments were worn side by side. Usually, the full length houppeland was worn by men who were elderly or who had a high position, for it gave the wearer an air of dignity. The long garment was also worn on ceremonial occasions. Younger men preferred the shorter garments, perhaps because it allowed more freedom of motion.

The doublet also began to emerge at this time, developing from the 14th century cote-hardie, a close-fitting, sleeved garment that laced or buttoned down the front. The jurnade or courtepy were very short outer jackets that appeared around mid-century; the paltock, jupon and pourpoint were close fitting under tunics, used to support men's hose. Around 1480 the pourpoint became an outer garment, and subsequently developed into the doublet in the 16th century. These outer garments had full topped sleeves that were padded out with hay to an amazing degree. This gave the men a broad shoulder line that made their pinched in waists look very small indeed. Towards the end of the century, the fitted garments once more became loose and sleeves became tubular affairs through which the arms emerged from strategically placed slits. This was also the time when shirts

## VOGUE (continued)

first began to be seen.

Points, a string similar to a boot-lace, which had been introduced in the 50's as a means of tying hose to the paltock or pourpoint, became at the end of the century a means of decoration, and appeared on just about every item of men's clothing.

Men's hose at this time were not cut to reach the waist, but came only to the hips. They were frequently striped or partly-colored - one leg one color, the second another. It wasn't until the beginning of the 16th century that "tights," or at least hose that reached all the way to the waist, were developed.

Men's shoes were close-fitting to the foot, with very long, pointed toes. They reached their worst extreme from 1460-80. Sometimes the points were attached to the knees with long chains to make it easier for the wearer to walk comfortably. Shoes were made of leather, embroidered cloth, brocade, or velvet. Sometimes they were made in one with the long hose. Otherwise, they were made like short boots, covering the ankles and rolled at the top. They could be laced at one side or fastened with straps or buckles. Outdoors, shoes were mounted on galoches, a long wooden sole which was thick under the ball of the foot and raised at the heel to keep the feet out of the mud. After 1460, soft boots, in mid-calf, knee or mid-thigh length, began to make an appearance. Sometimes, these boots were fastened to the hose in front and drooped down loosely n back.

After 1480, the toes of the shoes began to broaden out and became the forerunner of the "duckbill" shoes worn in the Tudor era.

Men wore ornaments as lavishly as did their womenfolk. Garments were sewn with jewels, and buttons, broaches, sword and dagger hilts, gloves, and purses were all ornately decorated. Rings and necklaces had both faceted and unfaceted stones, and men wore jeweled necklets over the collar or shoulders of their garments. Jewelled circlets or crowns were worn by the nobility on state occasions; they became unfashionable for everyday wear at the beginning of the century. Pearls increased in popularity.

Materials were very rich; wool, cotton, linen, satin, velvet, taffeta, silk, cloth of gold, brocade and damask all were used at this time, and all came in a wide variety of colors. Saffron, rose, blue, green, yellow, orange, crimson, and wine were all very popular. Towards the end of the century, however, the colors preferred became more sober, and purple, grey, brown and black came into more use. Scarlet was the most popular color for trimming and lining sleeves and capes, and the people of the 15th century did not hesitate to mix colors.

Working class costume also deserves to be mentioned. The costume worn by the lower classes changed little over the course of the century. Mostly it consisted of a long sleeved tunic, knee-length, and slit up the center of sides to about hip level. If the work being done was of a strenuous nature, the tunic was laid aside, and the laced up pourpoint could be seen. This was close fitting and reached to the hip or thigh where the hose were tied to it by points. If the labor involved much lifting or bending, the back points remained untied. The way that the hose and legwear were worn depended on the occupation of the wearer. Swincherds wore leggings over their hose, tied below the knee. Shepherds rolled their hose down neatly and tied them below the knee, while farmers, on the other hand, tended to let their hose droop loosely, especially in warm weather. Shoes were made of heavy leather and shaped to the foot, or clogs were worn. In regard to head wear, shepherds continued to wear the same type of hood that had been worn since the 12th century. Farmers wore small brimless caps, or hats with small rolled brims, quite different from the enormous headwear favored by their superiors. Most of their clothing was made of wool or occasionally linen.

With the coming of the 16th century, men's costume, while still elaborate, became much less flamboyant. It was from this period that the roots of modern men's wear can be traced. However, it is impossible to look back on the earlier centuries without a sigh of regret. Men's clothing has never reached such splendid heights of inventiveness and originality since then.

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**GEORGE, Duke of Clarence**

"... and all our yesterdays have lighted fools the way to dusty Death. Out, out brief candle. Life's but a walking shadow, a poor player who struts and frets his hour upon the stage, and then is heard no more. It is a tale told by an idiot, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing." The words are MacBeth's, but they make a fitting epitaph for George, Duke of Clarence.

When born in Dublin, Ireland (21 October 1449), George was merely the third surviving son of the Duke of York. Within 12 years, his elder brother, Edward, had successfully routed the Lancastrians from power and been declared king. George became Duke of Clarence, first in the line of succession for the throne of England.

Having fought hard and risked all in his effort to become king, Edward seemed content to sit back and enjoy the fruits of his Herculean labors. His chief ally and kinsman, the Earl of Warwick, was equally content to have it so. All seemed paradisaical until Edward disclosed his secret marriage to the widow of a Lancastrian knight. Warwick, who had been negotiating a politically advantageous match for Edward, felt publicly humiliated. When Edward overruled him concerning a Burgundian alliance for England, Warwick began to look elsewhere for means of retaining the immense power he seemed to be losing. Having no blood right to the Crown, his attentions turned to someone who did.

Even more personally than the rest of the English nobility, Warwick, the Kingmaker and the Duke of Clarence were alienated by Edward's queen and her family. Warwick viewed her as the catalyst of his fall from power, while George saw in each child she produced the diminution of his own importance. When Warwick presented a plan for overthrowing Edward, the ambitious duke quickly allied himself with the powerful earl. The alliance, born out of resentment, was cemented by George's marriage to Isabel Neville, Warwick's elder daughter. The union took place despite the king's express command forbidding it, and over the objections of the Duchess of York. It was the first step in George's downward spiral to self-destruction.

Little time passed before the conspirators were mutually disillusioned. The English nobility did not rally to George's standard, and the "great rebels" were forced to seek safety in France. There, Warwick contracted an alliance with his former arch-enemy, Margaret of Anjou. George was again relegated to the background as Warwick pledged to restore Margaret's husband to the throne of England. Landing in England in September 1470, Warwick eventually forced Edward and his closest adherents from the country, into exile in Burgundy. The power vacuum created by Edward's departure was to be filled by Warwick and George until the Lancastrian Prince of Wales, son of the still living Henry VI and Margaret, attained his majority. The bright future George had envisioned for himself was now darkened by bitter disappointments and the suspicious glances of the triumphant Lancastrians.

Realizing his precarious position in England, George began secret correspondence with his sister, Margaret of Burgundy. He entreated her to intercede with their exiled brother on his behalf. As a result, when Edward mounted his successful campaign to regain his throne, George was among his followers. Against overwhelming odds, Edward's forces defeated Warwick at Barnet and destroyed the last remnants of the Lancastrian army at Tewksbury.

However, the ensuing forgiveness for his treason and the restoration of his former titles were not sufficient for George. Time and again, beginning immediately after Edward's restoration with the long and bitter disputes over possessions of his late father-in-law's estates and revenues, George teetered on the brink of royal disfavor and disaster, only to be forgiven in the name of family loyalty and unity. However, George was running out of luck.

Isabel died in December 1478, probably of childbed complications. Whatever his feelings for his wife, her death left George free to offer himself as the consort of Mary of Burgundy, stepdaughter of his sister, Margaret. When Edward dashed his hopes for this advancement, George's anger and ill-suppressed resentment erupted uncontrollably.

Usurping the king's prerogative, George seized Isabel's former lady-in-waiting, tried, and convicted her of poisoning his wife. Within hours of her imprisonment, Ankerette Twynyho was hung at George's command. Edward retaliated by trying and condemning to death one of George's followers, Thomas Burdette. In Edward's absence, George stormed into the council chamber at Westminster, defiantly proclaimed Burdette's innocence, accused the king of dabbling in the Black Arts, and impugned both Edward's legitimacy and the validity of his marriage.

Whether or not George actually knew any impediment to Edward's marriage to Elizabeth Woodville will never be known, but much may be deduced in retrospect. On 16 January 1478, George, Duke of Clarence, was tried on attainder of high treason; his only accuser, his brother, the king. On 7 February, he was condemned to death. On 18 February, that "brief candle" which was the life of George Plantagenet was extinguished.

Author Hugh Ross Williamson\* argues that all of George's troubles were exacerbated by his belief that Edward was illegitimate and that he, George, the overlooked, but more capable brother, was the rightful Yorkist claimant to the Throne. Expanding on that reasoning, it is easy to see that George exhibited many of the traits in the profile of the Narcissistic personality: his ability to see reality in the most precarious self-aggrandizement schemes; his almost naive assurance that his charm and personality would be sufficient to excuse his shortcomings; and, the volatility of his personal relationships. Given the context of the times, and his own position, those tendencies could only end in destruction.

We are more than 500 years removed from whatever political events prompted George's execution, but in cataloging his actions, a behavior pattern emerges which seems void of all common sense or ability to learn from past mistakes. "I have met the enemy, and he is I," seems, somehow, an appropriate paraphrase with which to sum up the life of George, Duke of Clarence.

\* "George, Duke of Clarence," by Hugh Ross Williamson, *History Today*, December 1966

Mary Bearor  
New Hampshire

During a recent visit to England, I was fortunate enough - through the good offices of a close friend - to have access to a number of Richard's letters and books. It was a fascinating experience and one I wanted to share with fellow Ricardians.

Surrounded by a veritable wealth of riches, in the cool, quiet privacy of a room deep in the recesses of the British Library, I was free to hold and read and reflect upon letters Richard wrote and books that were his.

What to look at first! After some moments, I chose *De Re Militari*, or more formally, Flavius Vegecius Rhenanus *De Re Militari*, first translated from Latin into English for Thomas, Lord Berkeley in 1408. This is the only book extant known to have been commissioned for Richard while he was King.

The work, now rebound in dark red leather, is divided into four books. The first folio of each book is illuminated and illuminated initials with miniatures begin each chapter. Folio 1 carries Richard's royal arms. The supporting boars were once silver (or argent) but the silver has oxidized (just like your own silver docs!) and the boars are now, sadly, a dullish gray. Folio 49 bears the arms of Anne Neville: quartered, Beauchamp and Newburgh; Montague and Monthermer; Neville; Clare and Despenser.

The illuminated borders which begin each book - strew of flower borders - are done in blues, greens, and a color which resembles modern mauve. Experts in such matters tell me the borders are in the Flemish style popular at the time and somewhat reminiscent of The Hastings Hours. The experts will also tell you that, given the fact this work was commissioned by and for a King, its quality is disappointing, showing some signs of haste and carelessness. To the layman's eye, it is still very beautiful.

The manuscript is surprisingly easy to read. Even when one is fully trained in paleography, some fifteenth century hands can be rough going. As with most manuscripts of this age, the ink, once black, has become brown. Medieval ink was composed primarily of oak gale and sometimes iron salts were added to the mixture, presumably as a bonding agent. In time, this can cause the ink to actually bleed or burn through the vellum. Evidence of this can be seen in many medieval manuscripts.

As I prepared to peruse another treasure, I looked once more at the illuminated folio pages, searching again for those signs of haste the experts talked about. My untrained eye could readily see the differences between this illumination and that of The Hastings Hours or The Hours of Elizabeth the Queen which belonged to Elizabeth of York. The work in these is less static, more fluid and delicate than those of the *De Re Militari*. And I couldn't help but imagine Richard - a man to whom being the good commander was so important - peering impatiently over the shoulder of his illuminator anxiously awaiting the completion of this work on knightly deeds and military strategy. I've always liked the idea of Richard as a reader - being a voracious one myself - and there is something warmly personal about the thought of his hurrying up the master so he could get on with *reading* the bloody thing!

I turned next to the *Tristan*, a manuscript which contains only a portion of *The Romance of Tristan de Leonmais*, actually beginning in the middle of Chapter Five. Originally a part of the Harleian MSS collected by the first and second Earls of Oxford, it was purchased by the British Library from the Countess of Oxford and Duchess of Portland in 1753.

The work has been rebound but the front and back flyleaves are original and the leather strap marks of the first binding are clearly visible on each. This would have been made of wood and covered with leather. The manuscript is written in French and contains some large holes in various folios. These are apparently *original* flaws in the vellum.

Folio 155, the last flyleaf, bears the inscription "Iste Liber constat Ricardo Ducis Gloucestre." And at the bottom of this same page: "sans remevyr Elyzabeth." The former is not believed to be Richard's signature and when compared to his actual signature, the differences are noticeable. The latter is believed to be the hand of Elizabeth of York.

Because of its romantic nature, this volume has formed the basis of some speculation regarding the relationship between Richard and his niece. The book may simply have come to Elizabeth following Richard's death in much the same way his Book of Hours became the possession of Margaret Beaufort. Yet the fact that she does not sign herself "Elizabeth the Queen" as she did after her coronation as Henry's wife, may offer evidence that the book was the gift of her uncle. Dr. Pamela Tudor-Craig, now Lady Wedgewood, does not consider this an overly ambitious work and believes it was "for the Duke to read himself," rather than an elaborate volume to be possessed solely for its beauty.

*The Visions of St. Matilda* is unique because of its original binding, wood with leather overlay. The vellum bears evidence of wormholes. Amazingly, some remnants of the clasp that once held the book together remain, though it is possible the clasp is not the original but one added later. At the front there is the inscription "Anne Warrewyk & R Gloucestre" recording ownership in a hand of the latter fifteenth century. It is not Richard's signature. *The Visions of St. Matilda* may have become the property of the Duchess of York after Richard's death in 1485. In the Duchess's will of 1495, she leaves to her granddaughter, Brigid, among other volumes, "a boke of Saint Matilde." Brigid had previously taken religious orders and was therefore a natural recipient. This is a wonderful work, primarily for its original binding. It is heavy stuff, requiring a fairly serious piety. As Lady Wedgewood points out, "that Richard and Anne should have possessed it ... is indicative of a more than ordinary devotion to religion."

The next volume my fingers found was a large, beautifully illuminated vellum manuscript, *The Chronicle of Saint Denis*, c. 1380. In addition to its exquisite illumination, it is folio 134 v. of this work that is remarkable, for it carries the signature of "Richard Gloucestre" in the middle of the page. One wonders why he chose to record his ownership in this particular place.

Next came an item that was especially thrilling. The bound book in which it is contained is large and cumbersome. It doubtless houses many treasures, but for the moment, I was interested only in folio 123. There, glued to the middle of the page, is the parchment bearing the following signature: at the top, "Edwardus Quintus;" in the middle, in that fine Italic script, "Loyaulte me lie Richard Gloucestre;" and at the bottom, "'Souvente me souvene' Harre Bokyngham." I had always envisioned this as a large piece of parchment. In fact, it is very small, about the size of a 3" x 5" index card. While the sprawling signature of the young King is partially cut off and that of Buckingham faded and rather difficult to make out, the signature of Richard Gloucester is clear and neat and extremely precise. After more than five hundred years, the ink has remained surprisingly distinct.

Paul Murray Kendall and other historians have speculated that this parchment survived from the days at Northampton and Stony Stratford (late April - early May 1483) following Richard's coup and the arrest of Rivers, Vaughan, and Grey. Kendall has even suggested that by idly penning their signatures the two Dukes were attempting to amuse a very nervous, very frightened young man. Others believe the signatures accompanied a more formal document at whose purpose and content we can only guess. Whatever its source, this small piece of parchment is a fascinating bit of Ricardian history, survivor of a volatile and crucial time in Richard's life.

Contained in another large, heavy volume of *Royal and Noble Autographs* is Richard's earliest extant letter. This, of course, is the letter he wrote at the age of seventeen from Castle Rising in Norfolk requesting a loan of a hundred pounds. This parchment, too, is smaller than I would have expected, about 9" x 4". This letter, already familiar to most Ricardians, is worth repeating because it so vividly brings the young Duke of Gloucester to life:

Right trusty and welbeloved We grete you welc. And forasmuch as the King's good Grace hathe appoynted me to attend upon His Highnesse into the North parties of his lande, which wolbe to me grete cost and charge, whereunto I am soo sodenly called that I am not so wel purveide of money therfore as behoves me to be, and therefore pray you as my speccyal trust is in you to lend me a hundredth pounde of money unto Ester next commyng, at which time I promise you ye shalbe truly therof content and

paide agayne, as the berer herof shal enforme you: to whom I pray you to yeve credence therin, and showe me such friendlynesse in the same as I may doo for you hereafter, wherinne ye shal find me readie. Writen at Risyng the xxiiij of Juyn.

R Gloucestr

This letter also has a postscript entirely in the Duke's hand:

Sir J. (I) Say, I pray you that ye fayle me not at this tyme in my grete nede, As ye wulle that I shew yow my goode lordshype in that matter that ye labure to me for.

The postscript is easier to read than the letter itself, because the latter has become more faded with the passage of time. There is apparently a difference of opinion as to whom this letter was written. Lady Wedgewood speculates that "J. Say" might be Sir John Say of Broxbourne in Herfordshire, a man active in the government of Henry VI. Say was pardoned by Edward IV and eventually knighted. He also served as Edward's Under Treasurer and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. Sir John died in 1478 but his son, William, received a knighthood from Richard in 1483.

Kendall and other historians, including, I believe, Peter Hammond and Anne Sutton in *Richard III: the Road to Bosworth Field*, have translated the postscript to read "Sir, I Say I pray you that ye fayle me not at this tyme ..." To whomever Richard addressed his plea for cash, we can assume it was needed to pay the troops he was raising to aid Edward in putting down the rebellion of Robin of Redesdale in 1469. This letter was written little more than a month before Edward was taken into the custody of the Earl of Warwick and the Duke of Clarence.

"Richard, duc of Gloucester brothere & uncl of kinges protector & defensoure grete Chambrleyn Constable & Admiralle of England ..."

"Richard by the grace of god king of England and of Fraunce and lord of Irland ..."

With these two salutatory phrases are the divisions drawn in the now-famous Harleian 433. These are the grants of the signet office during the reigns of Edward V and Richard III. I held in my hands yet another large, heavy book containing all that Rosemary Horrox and Peter Hammond put into four volumes. I could better appreciate the enormity of their task. The writing is difficult going in places and there is a good deal of personal shorthand.

It was incredible to see the whole of Harley 433 at one time and in the original. It was so tempting to try and read it from cover to cover. This being impossible, I turned the pages slowly, scanning for familiar names, places, items of special interest. And wishing I had the Horrox/Hammond printed editions at hand. It was exciting to come across the names of those who are as familiar now as the names of members of my own family: Fraunceys Lovelle, Robert Brakenbury, James Tyrelle, Thomas Lynome, Edward Brampton, William Erl of Huntingdon, John and Ralph Shaa, William Catesby, Thomas ap Morgan, Sir William Stanley, Reynold Bray, Thomas Lord Stanley, The erle of Northumberland, Sir Richard Radclyf, Sir Robert Percy, John Dightone, and of course, the ubiquitous Duc of Bokyngham ... the list of entries makes fascinating reading.

In folio 308b is Richard's proclamation stating "if the daughters of dam Elizabeth Gray late calling her self Quene of England that is to wit Elizabeth Cecille Anne Katerny and Brigette wolle come unto me out the Saintwarie of Westminster and be guyded Ruled & demeaned after me / than I shalle see that they shalbe in suertie of their lyffes [and] ... I shalle put them in honest places of good name & fame / ... and to have alle things requisite & necessarye for their exhibicione and findings as my Kynneswomen / ..."

And in folio 340b is Richard's famous letter regarding the proposed marriage of his solicitor, Thomas Lynome, to Jane Shore which provides a rare glimpse of the King's rather sardonic sense of humor.

Yet I found nothing more poignant than this entry in folio 46: "Erl of Huntingdon &

Katerine Plantagnet / an annuite of CCCC markes of the lordshippes of Newport Breknok & Hay." We know almost nothing of Richard's illegitimate daughter, as we know little of his son, John, including the identities of their mothers. Sometimes I find myself thinking of "Katerine" as a creation of Ricardian novelists and though this sparse and simple entry sheds no new light on this mysterious young woman's life, it is a reminder that she was a real person, a daughter for whom Richard cared and provided. And, with her half-brother John - after March 1485 - Katherine was all the King had left. Neither was destined to survive their father by many years. Katherine, wife of the Earl of Huntingdon, was to succumb to disease or possibly childbirth and John, too much a threat and with too much Plantagnet blood in his veins, was executed by Henry VII.

On 21 June 1485, the King at Nottingham - the Castle of his Care - instructed Chancellor Russell to issue the following proclamation. It is folio 220b of the Harleian 433 and like the reign of the King who was its author, is abruptly cut off. We long to know what would have come after, but The Fates, or History, or God would not have it so:

A proclamation made to every shire under the grete seale of England by a warrant undre the Signet

Forasmoche as the king oure soverain lord hathe certaine knowlaige that Piers Bisshop of Excestre Jasper Tydder son of Owen Tidder calling himself Erle of Pembroke John late Erle of Oxonford and Sir Edward Widvile with othre his Rebelles and traytors disabled and atteynted by auctorite of high court of parliament of whom many ben known for open murdrers aduiltrers & extorcioners contrary to the pleasure of god / and ayemist alle trouthe honnor & nature . have forsaken their naturalle contre taking theime furst to be undre thobeissaunce of the duc of Britaigne and to him promysed certaine thinges . whiche by him and his Counsaile were thoughte thinges to gretely unnaturalle and abhomyable for them to graunt observe kepe and performe . and therefore the same utterly refused / The said traytors seeing that the duc and his Counsaile wold not ayde and socoure them nor followe their wayes pryvely departed out of his Countre into Fraunce / there taking them to be undre thobeissaunce of the kinges aunccyent ennemye Charles calling himself King of Fraunce and to abuse and blynde the Commons of this said Royaulme . the said Rebelles & traytors have chosen to be their Capitaigne oon Henry tydder Son of Edmond Tydder Son of Owen Tidder which of his Ambicious & insaciabie Covetyce incrocheth

Pamela Garrett  
California

Note: Some background material and information regarding provenance of the volumes discussed was taken from the catalog of the National Portrait Gallery exhibition on Richard III, June - October 1973.

#### FICTION LIBRARIAN APPOINTED

Marie Martinelli has agreed to serve as Fiction Librarian. Please note that all non-fiction and research papers were previously assigned to Helen Maurer.

Marie is currently cataloguing her stock and preparing an annotated list for members. If you have a desire for fiction material, contact Marie directly at:

Mrs. Marie Martinelli  
3911 Fauquier Avenue  
Richmond, VA 23227

Members are asked to reimburse the library for postage. No more than 3 items may be checked out for a month.

It may be required to insure some valuable volumes.

# RICARDIAN READING

*The First of the Tudors: A Study of Henry VII and His Reign*, by Michael Van Cleave Alexander, Rowman and Littlefield, Totowa, New Jersey, 1980

For most people, a bad first impression is hard to overcome. Nowhere is this more evident than with King Richard III. Here, again, we find an author who is willing to give Richard his due as an able administrator and soldier, but, as with the ball at the end of the elastic band on a Bollo Pad, he must return to the first position of, "but then, he most probably killed his nephews." In this first chapter, Alexander tots up account, ledger-like, for Richard and Henry: Richard's good deeds arise from an "uneasy conscience," while Henry's are from innate goodness; Richard's cautionary tactics show a pattern of "rising panic," while Henry's were "normal and prudent precautions." It seems that, once having decided to write about Henry Tudor, the author became instinctively defensive, feeling it incumbent upon himself to justify his subject's every action, from an endless supply of questionable methods of procuring monies, to running roughshod over the young Catherine of Aragon. The author would have us envision thousands of happy, little Britons, skipping around the island, "Delighted" to have Henry Tudor restoring order and stability.

While there is little new of Ricardian interest here, there is an impressive array of bibliography material. This work is more synoptic of Henry's reign than Professor Chimes's *Henry VIII* from which he draws heavily, but I found confusing his method of arranging characters by similarity of event, rather than chronology, thus giving the feeling of constantly re-covering the area from "shortly after Bosworth" to the end of the reign.

Perhaps I, too, am having a problem overcoming my "first impression," but the author has done nothing to alter this reader's opinion of Henry VII as a shrewd, devious man, the perfect characterization of Shakespeare's Shylock.

Mary Bearor  
New Hampshire

*I Remember Love* by Mollie Hardwick, St. Martin's Press, c1983

*I Remember Love* is a book that might be overlooked in the search for Ricardian novels. The title does nothing to tell us that this is historical romance. Miss Hardwick is best known for her novelizations of Masterpiece Theater

presentations such as *By the Sword Divided* and *The Duchess of Duke Street*. Consequently I did not expect much from *I Remember Love*. I was pleasantly surprised by a set of three stories with some very good characterization. The premise of the book is that love between two kindred souls can last through the centuries until they can finally be together. The first story is set in the 1460's in the Earl of Warwick's household. The second story picks up in Canterbury during the dissolution of the monasteries. The third story is set in very proper Victorian England in the 1860's.

The lovers of the first story are Yolande, a ward of the Earl of Warwick, and Joscelyn de Conyers, cousin to John Conyers, who many identify as Robin of Redesdale. Yolande and Joscelyn are first separated because of her betrothal and marriage to a supporter of the Earl. They finally win through the many trials they face and marry in 1470 only to be separated permanently by the Battle of Barnet.

Yolande was reared with Isabel and Anne Neville and remains close to them. Isabel and George of Clarence are depicted as self-centered and vain. Richard is characterized as a serious young man who becomes bitter at losing Anne to the Lancastrian Prince Edward. The problem of torn loyalties is very effectively handled as Warwick switches sides and divides the people around him.

This is definitely a women's book in that the emphasis is on romance. But it is fairly well written. There are good explanations of the problems women faced in what was definitely a man's world. There are no big clinkers in the historic background. The middle segment is also very good, but the third segment, in which the two lovers are finally united, is weak in characterization and plot. Perhaps Miss Hardwick should have settled for unrelated stories. However, the book is definitely worth reading for the first two stories.

Mary Miller  
New Mexico

## FROM THE SHELVES OF THE SOCIETY LIBRARY

*Lancastrian Englishmen*, by A. C. Reeves, University Press of America, 1981

While this well written, meticulously researched and footnoted book deals with the period of 1399 to 1461, it is an invaluable adjunct to Ricardian reading. It is an amazingly detailed

account of the lives of men who come down to us as shadowy figures in more conventional texts, if at all, but without whom the wheels of medieval English monarchy might have ground to a halt. Professor Reeves has chosen as his subject five men who moved freely through the council chambers and court circles; held positions of power, though not of particularly high historic visibility. Three were laymen, and two, ecclesiastics. They were statemen, warriors, and diplomats in their turn and, as such, their counterparts can be found in any medieval reign. However, it is the degree of humanity and insight into personal concerns with which Dr. Reeves imbues the text which make this book such a find. Each man is a conventional representative of the gentry of the time. That each served the House of Lancaster so well is almost incidental.

The panoply of 15th century England is seen from another prospective, through the activities and concerns of men more ordinary than the larger-than-life, noble and royal entities who deposed a king, tasted glorious victory at Agincourt, or ended and over-long reign with periodic lapses into what has often been referred to as the "Valois madness." while the lives of all five were entwined with those of the monarchs they served, Professor Reeves has managed to make that only a background for the individuals. These are men who chose government service as a career, and they were successful. The accounts of their service, deep religious beliefs and propensities, complicated dealings in land, property, preferments, and the like which made even the churchmen wealthy, make them remarkable examples of their times. Through them we see the workings of English society, which changed not at all with the rise of the House of York.

The reasons for Yorkist discontent with the reign of Henry VI, which would eventually lead to open warfare, are succinctly sited as they occur and the book contains enough references to Northern affinities to foretell the difficulties which would face young Richard of Gloucester when he was sent North to bring peace and order to that often troublesome region. One sees the Nevilles, Scropes, and Percys in earlier affiliations, and the beginning of the tremendous Neville power base with the granting of the honor of Richmond to Ralph Neville, earl of Westmorland, by Henry IV, all of which helped to build the intricate web of intrigue, often conflicting loyalties, and pursuit of personal aggrandizement that faced the Yorkists when their turn upon the throne arrived. In short, *Lancastrian Englishmen*, though it touches only lightly on the abovementioned families, is a book which should be read by anyone seeking further insight into the life, as opposed to only the history, of medieval England.

J. C. Gall  
Ohio

*The Stanleys, Lord Stanley, and Earls of Derby, 1385-1672*, Barry Coward, Manchester University Press, Manchester, England 1983 23.00

Richard III is a shadowy figure in English history, only emerging as king. But what did he have to deal with politically to survive during the Wars of the Roses and later as sovereign? Any assessment of Richard's political skills should include an examination of one of the most powerful and successful families of his time, the Stanleys.

Thomas and William Stanley provide some of the material for this book, which traces the origins of the wealth and power of their family from the 14th through the 17th centuries. The author chronicles the careers of leading family members starting with John Stanley (1340), the second son of Sir William Stanley of Storeton. In a pattern often repeated in the family, John married an heiress, while a king's knight, did not oppose his usurpation, was promoted to be steward of the new king's (Henry IV) household, and died a wealthy landowner.

Diplomacy and political fence-sitting seem hereditary in this family whose "loyalty to the king (was tempered) with a provident regard for political reality". The author also noted the Stanleys' exploitation of the political instability of the 15th century "was not atypical of that displayed by many heads of large landed families at this time". Perhaps the Stanleys were luckier than most. They certainly hedged their bets, as in 1459 when Sir Thomas Stanley ignored Henry VI's summons to combat Yorkists at Blore Heath, but sent William, his brother, to fight on the Yorkist side. Later all was forgotten because Thomas Stanley was seen with Warwick when Henry VI was restored to the throne. The brothers 'split their bet' again in 1485 when Thomas hesitated to enter the Battle of Bosworth until Henry was likely to win, and again in 1489 when Thomas was 'loyal' while William was executed for connections with Perkin Warbeck - apparently, the brothers were not sure Henry VII would successfully defend his throne and yet the survivor received additional offices and lands, a mark of favor.

The detailed chronicling of wavering loyalty, often rewarded by land or office acquisition, makes interesting reading and emphasizes the sophisticated double dealing in which the Stanleys were so successful, and the people with whom Richard III was unable to form a lasting alliance.

While Sir Thomas and William Stanley made fascinating reading, their ancestors were equally skillful and interesting, a powerful, clever family for any monarch to deal with. Ricardians investigating 15th century political survival will like this book.

## RICARDIAN LISTENING

Music that was both historic and contemporary to Richard III's time is available in *A Festival of Early Music*, by David Munrow and the Early Music Consort of London.

This tape set contains music of three periods, the Crusades, the 14th century, and Maximilian I (who wed Margaret of Burgundy in 1477). A fine booklet provides historic background and lyrics, including English translations. The music itself is delightful, suitable (in turn) for dancing, singing, or listening.

Marge Nelson  
Oklahoma

*England Be Glad! Patriotic and Heroic Songs and Music from the Crusades to the Civil Wars*, St. George's Canzona, John Sothcott, Director.

For Ricardians who like to surround themselves with the music of the fifteenth century, there is good news. This recording is an alternative to chant, madrigals, and lute music. *England Be Glad!* offers some of the music played by the waits. Waits were the town bands employed to play at public ceremonies and parades in the middle ages and the Renaissance. There is a martial sound to many of the selections. Side one has pieces ranging from a song by Richard the Lion-Hearted (*Ja Nuns Hons Pris*) to the *Agincourt Song*. The other pieces are from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century. Side two covers the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Some selections are *Greensleeves*, *England Be Glad* (ca. 1513), and *Prince Rupert's March*.

The music is played on contemporary instruments, including the cornetto, the crumhorn, the recorder, the bourbon fidel, and the rebec. The singing is spirited. The music was compiled and arranged by John Sothcott and Francis Grubb.

This recording was made in 1972 by Music for Pleasure Ltd. The Musical Heritage Society has released it this year in both stereo LP and cassette form. It is \$5.45 for members and \$8.50 for non-members of the Musical Heritage Society.

Mary Miller  
New Mexico

## Home Video Releases:

*Richard III*, starring Laurence Olivier, Ralph Richardson, John Gielgud, and Claire Bloom, produced and directed by Olivier, 1956; Embassy Home Entertainment, 138 minutes, \$39.95

According to the reviewer in the *Dallas Morning News*, this is the version of the Olivier production that was simultaneously broadcast on American television when the movie opened in England in 1956.

Margaret Nelson,  
Oklahoma

Note: the Summer Sale catalogue of the Scholar's Bookshelf carries a reproduction of the NGP portrait on page 38, and lists *The History of King Richard the Third (1619)* by Sir George Buck. Sale price is \$29.95, stock #52680. This is the Alan Sutton publication also available from our librarian. The same publication was purchased last summer in the U.K. for thirty pounds, so this is a good price indeed.

## BOSWORTH JUMBLES

The story goes that the recipe for these little biscuits dropped from Richard III's pocket as he searched for a horse on Bosworth Field. It would, no doubt, be unwise to enquire why he should have carried the recipe with him into battle, but the biscuits are excellent!

6 oz/175 g butter  
1 lb/450 g castor sugar  
1 egg  
1 teaspoon powdered cinnamon  
8 oz/225 g plain flour

Cream the butter with the sugar until pale and fluffy, then add the egg and beat again. Add the cinnamon to the flour and beat this into the mixture, which should be fairly stiff. Knead the dough lightly and shape into small rolls approximately 3 in/7 cm in length. Form these either into 'S' shapes or into crossed swords and place on a greased baking tray. Bake in a warm oven (325 degrees) for 25 minutes or until they begin to turn color.

Submitted by Sharon Berlin  
Ohio

## WHAT SORT OF MEN?

What sort of men were they who freely followed their commander down Ambion Hill that August morning more than 500 years ago? What factors contributed to the development of that personal commitment?

When Harold's Saxon foot soldiers were defeated by Duke William's mounted forces, the sun of the Feudal Age had risen in Europe. The Norman Conquerors brought to Britain new methods of waging war, building castles, and governing the realm. They also introduced a new order for the social strata: The Knighthood, the fraternity of the mounted warrior.

Around the French word denoting knighthood, *chevalerie*, grew a code of conduct binding on all members of the Feudal aristocracy. At its inception, the *chivalry* did not, necessarily, encompass the wide-sweeping morality with which we imbue it today, but it did carry the inference that personal honor was of paramount importance, and would be defended at all costs.

Every aspect of day to day life was governed by the unwritten rules of knighthood, the indelible impressions imprinted on youthful minds through the example of their elders. foremost among the subtle lessons to be learned was the principle of vassalage, that system of patronage which, in its purest form, inextricably linked one man's cause to another's.

Training began at the age of seven as sons of noble birth were sent to apprentice in the households of their family's powerful patrons. As Pages, the boys were required to render small services to the ladies of the House. By this association, they learned the courtly graces and manners necessary for feminine company. The older boys, Squires, deemed old enough to view battle firsthand, were expected, should the need arise, to rescue their injured or dismounted lord during battle. The personal attachment of squire to lord epitomized the all-important lesson of personal subjugation to the greater good of the House. Many battlefield examples served to illustrate lessons in personal heroics in a life fraught with tales of raw courage and prowess in arms. The converse was the surety that dishonor would attach to the vassal who fled the field on which his lord fell.

By day, the boys trained and hardened their bodies by fighting mock battles. By night, they listened to the stories of minstrels and players. The theme of Honor was central to nearly all the *chanson de geste*\*, personal bravery and loyalty to cause the chosen path of the True Knight. It was understood that a knight was always straightforward in battle, never taking unfair advantage of an honorable foe. Indeed, in 1388, James, second earl of Douglas, was killed in battle, having made the knightly gesture of allowing Henry "Hotspur" Percy the chance of recovering his family's stolen pennant!

Finally, in a ceremony replete with worldly pomp and religious symbolism, the knighthood was conferred on the worthy candidate. The lessons carried into manhood by the newly initiated knight were used for the good of the patron whose cause he espoused, often the natural choice of a boyhood relationship forged on horseback and bonded in the tiltyard. With mutual promises to give and receive service, lords and vassals played their parts in the continuous cycle of inter-personal fidelity and fellowship central to the Feudal society.

Thus, when the third Richard decided on his course, riding to Glorious Victory or Death, accumulated generations of Family Honor rode behind him. In the tradition of knights *sans peur et sans reproche*, their personal honor and sole way of life would allow them to do no less than follow their chosen lord. Through the intervening centuries, we send our salute to those whose sense of commitment enabled them to keep the Faith.

\* Old French epic poems celebrating legendary or historical heroes and events, as in *Chanson de Roland*.

Materials used in this article were gathered from the following sources:

*Medieval Feudalism*, by Carol Stephenson, Great Seal Books, a division of Cornell University Press, New York, 1963  
*The Book of the Medieval Knight*, by Stephen Turnbull, Crown Publishers, New York, 1985

Mary Bearor  
New Hampshire

# STANDARD BEARERS

Profile of a Member: Myrna Smith, Houston Texas

Most Ricardian know Myrna Smith only through the book reviews which she has written for the *Register* for many years. The members of the Southwest Chapter are more fortunate, for Myrna is one of us. She is the member who travels all night on a bus to attend our meetings and parties, and then, unless she can be persuaded to spend the night in Fort Worth, she travels all the next night on the return bus to Houston. How many of us are that devoted to the Richard III Society?

Myrna reads. I'm sure that her family complains that her nose is always in a book. She reads while she eats, waits on lines, travels in a bus, train, plane, or car. I don't think she reads while she's driving, but I'm sure she reads while waiting for a traffic light to change.

Myrna shares. She never comes to a meeting without a suitcase full of books for our chapter auction, and several times a year she send clipping, review, cartoons, and book lists for other member to enjoy. I'm quite certain she's on every bookseller's list in the western world.

Myrna is warm and witty. One could not find a more delightful companion. Her knowledge is encyclopedic, not just about Richard III and his times, but many other subjects as well. She is something of an expert on children's literature, and an absolute fanatic about P. G. Wodehouse.

Myrna is incredibly modest. When I approached her for some biographical information for a profile, she responded by suggesting another member who she felt would make a better subject. I never got the biographical data, but I promised I wouldn't make her blush too much. I hope, however, that when she reads this partial list of her talents and virtues (I'm sure that she possesses some I haven't yet discovered) that she will recognize in herself what her fellow Ricardians cherish, a dedicated and valued member of the Richard III Society, and a truly remarkable human being.

Roxane Murph  
Texas



plaque on statue  
Castle Gardens,  
Leicester

## FROM THE SALES OFFICER

In every issue of the *Register*, I would like to highlight a few items the Society has for sale to members.

This month, there is one new offering and four very popular "old standbys."

New Offering - *The Battle of Towton: Palm Sunday 29 March 1461*

This pamphlet by Graham Hudson includes a rambler's guide to the battlefield today, and a pictorial map showing the battle site and related historical features. It is a 16-panel map-fold.

Here's what the *Evening Post* has to say about the guide:

"More than 500 years after the bloodiest battle ever found on British soil, when 30,000 men died at Towton in the War of Roses, a Yorkshireman (Graham Hudson) has given a real fillip to its history . . .

"It gives the reader a step-by-step guide round the battlefield, making full use of public footpaths . . .

"The map printed on the inner side of this valuable and easy-to-read fact sheet has been designed to double as a pictorial wallchart."

### Ever-Popular Items

A 2" diameter button showing the NPG portrait of Richard has always been a favorite. Wear it in to the office or at a party - guaranteed to start a conversation!

Also popular is the car sticker showing Richard's boar and motto (as shown on the cover of *The Ricardian*). This circular sticker is 3 1/2" in diameter and has a maroon background with white printing.

An excellent value for the money is the Pitkin Pictorial booklet on Richard III by G.W.O. Woodward. Its 24 pages are lavishly illustrated in both color and black-and-white.

Those of you fortunate enough to attend the 1984 Annual General Meeting will remember Dr. Peter Saccio's witty and powerful talk on *Richard III: Player-King*. Re-edited for publication, his talk is available in a 16 page booklet.

### Prices

<i>Battle of Towton: Palm Sunday 29 March 1461</i>	\$4.00
2" diameter button showing NPG portrait of Richard	\$1.50
Car sticker	\$1.50
Pitkin Pictorial <i>Richard III</i>	\$3.50
<i>Richard III: Player-King</i> by Dr. Peter Saccio	\$2.50

All prices include postage and handling.

### To Order

To order any of these items, please make your check or money order payable to the Richard III Society, Inc., and mail to Linda B. McLatchie, Sales Officer, 330 Cedar Street, Ashland, Massachusetts 01721.

Linda B. McLatchie  
Massachusetts

The By-Laws Committee is nearing completion of its work of revising the McGee Committee draft of new by-laws for the Society. In the course of the revision work a series of points have been raised which relate to the requirements of New York corporate law. As an attorney admitted to practice in New York, these are points which I would take for granted. However, certain of these points may be of general interest.

Legal Status of the Society

The Society is a New York not-for-profit corporation. The Society has a corporate charter granted by the State of New York under the New York Membership Corporation Law. The New York Membership Corporations Law was replaced in 1969 by the New York Not-for-Profit Corporation Law, which is the governing statute. In New York practice, the corporate charter is called the certificate of incorporation. The certificate of incorporation is the fundamental Society governing document. By-laws are generally "housekeeping" rules. A provision in the by-laws is valid if it does not conflict with a provision in the certificate of incorporation or with a provision of the Not-for-Profit Corporation Law. A provision in the certificate of incorporation is valid if it does not conflict with a provision of the Not-for-Profit Corporation Law. That is, statute overrides by-laws and certificates of incorporation; and certificates of incorporation override by-laws. Thus, new by-laws do not represent a new corporate constitution as it were. Rather, new by-laws represent new Society procedural rules.

Proxy Voting

The proposed by-laws will make explicit mention of proxy voting. Proxy voting is already permissible for Society members. The Not-for-Profit Corporation Law authorizes proxy voting unless the certificate of incorporation or the by-laws specifically provide to the contrary. Since the Society's certificate of incorporation and current by-laws are silent on the subject of proxy voting, the Society already has it. However, there is no instance of the use of proxy voting by the members of the Society to my knowledge.

A proxy is the written authorization of the holder to vote on behalf of a member at a meeting of the members. That is, the holder of a member's proxy is that member's agent for purposes of attendance and voting at a membership meeting. If the holder of a member's proxy is present at a meeting of members, that member is deemed to be present. Thus, proxies can permit the Society to conduct meetings of the membership in locations other than New York or California and still obtain a quorum. In this way, proxies are absolutely vital for a national organization. They permit all members to participate in the membership meetings without incurring the cost of transportation to a distant city.

Under New York law proxies are the way a vote by mail can be effected. The Not-for-Profit Corporation Law provides members can only vote at a meeting of members. That is, direct mail ballots are without legal effect. However, members can send proxies by mail with instruction to the holder on how to vote at a member's meeting. (Some of our members may belong to other organizations which have direct mail balloting. These organizations are either not incorporated under New York law, or the mail ballots are actually proxies.) In any event, the point here is that proxy voting is not the Society's enemy. Rather, it is the friend of the Society because the Society has a national membership which should be involved at all membership meetings. Proxy voting is the only legally valid manner in which the majority of members can participate at most membership meetings.

Proxy voting does not apply to meetings of the Board of Directors of the Society. That is, directors cannot delegate their vote to another. However, the Not-for-Profit Corporation Law permits directors to participate in Board of Directors meetings by means of conference telephone call in cases where the by-laws allow for it. The proposed by-laws will so allow. Thus, directors can participate in Board meetings without incurring the cost of transportation to a distant city. This, also, is helpful in a Society with a national membership.

Quorum Requirements

The proposed by-laws will call for the smallest quorum of members which the Not-for-Profit Corporation Law permits. In the case of meeting of members, that quorum is one-tenth of the membership. That is, one-tenth of the members must be present at a meeting of members in person or by proxy in order for any business to be validly conducted except the adjournment of the meeting. If Society membership should exceed one thousand, then the by-law may provide that one hundred members shall constitute a quorum even when that number is less than one-tenth of the membership. I hope we have to face that question some day!

The Not-for-Profit Corporation Law also provides that Corporate action is taken by a majority of the votes cast at a meeting of members (at which a quorum is present in person or by proxy). Thus, an abstention is not usually tantamount to a "nay" vote. However, the affirmative votes cast in favor of any action must be equal to a quorum. This can be illustrated as follows:

Assume the Society has a membership of 800. Three hundred are present at a meeting of members (in person or by proxy). Since 300 is greater than 80 (or 10%) a quorum is present. A proposal is then voted upon. It receives 81 "yea" votes, 80 "nay" votes, and 139 abstentions. The action has been approved by the membership. However, if the action had received 79 "yea" votes, 78 "nay" votes, and 143 abstentions, the action has not been approved by the membership. If there is a meeting where only one-tenth of the members are present (in person or by proxy) then corporate action must be approved by all present. That is, if in our example only 80 members are present, any abstention will defeat a motion. (This also shows the importance of proxies!)

The law with respect to meetings of the Board of Directors is different. The Not-for-Profit Corporation Law provides that a majority of the entire board is a quorum unless the by-laws set a different quorum. The proposed by-laws will not set a different quorum. A majority of the entire board means a majority of the directors which the Society would have if there were no vacancies. Assume that the Society has five directorships. A quorum of directors would be three even if there were two vacancies. If a quorum of directors is present (or deemed present by conference telephone) the vote of a majority of the directors present shall be the act of the board, unless the by-laws provide otherwise. The proposed by-laws will not provide otherwise except that the dictation of Society records will require unanimous approval of the board.

I hope this discussion is useful. When the proposed by-laws are circulated to the membership, they will be accompanied by a technical explanation dealing with a variety of legal implications of each Article of the by-laws.

Alan O. Dixler  
New York

ODE TO NOTTINGHAM

O Nottingham, O Nottingham  
Your mullioned eyes, opaque,  
Gaze in sightless apathy  
Upon your troubled land.

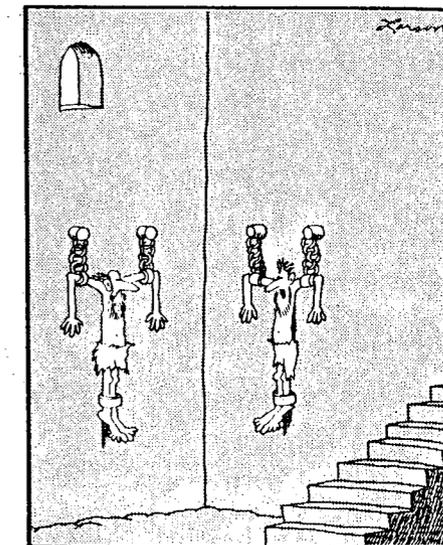
The grass-girt chapel's bell  
Has tolled for Prince and King;  
Matins, Nones, Compline,  
The cycle of its day.

Your time-scarred tow'rs  
O Nottingham, have seen  
The Stygian years --  
You citadel of care!

No lark shall trill  
Nor laugh ring out,  
Wales' voice is still,  
Entombed in stony battlements.

O Nottingham, O Nottingham  
The dragon is unleashed,  
Free to track its bloody course  
And sate its hungry maw.

John O. Jewett  
Massachusetts



"Me? I let a few typos slip into the last Ricardian Register... and what are you in for?"

## LIVING IN SANDAL'S SHADOW

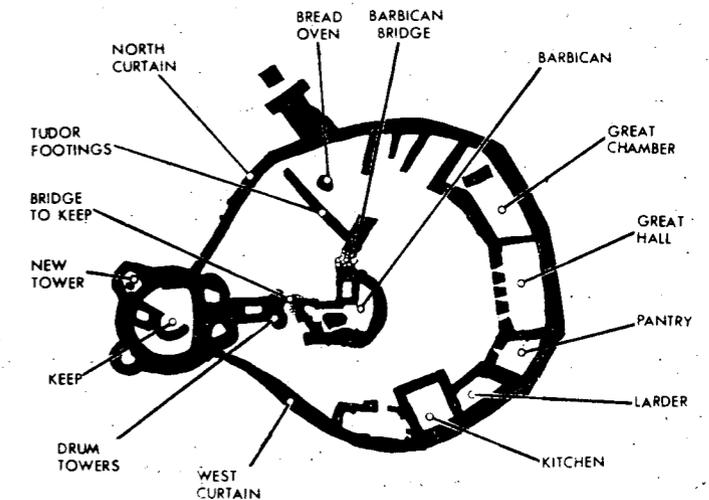
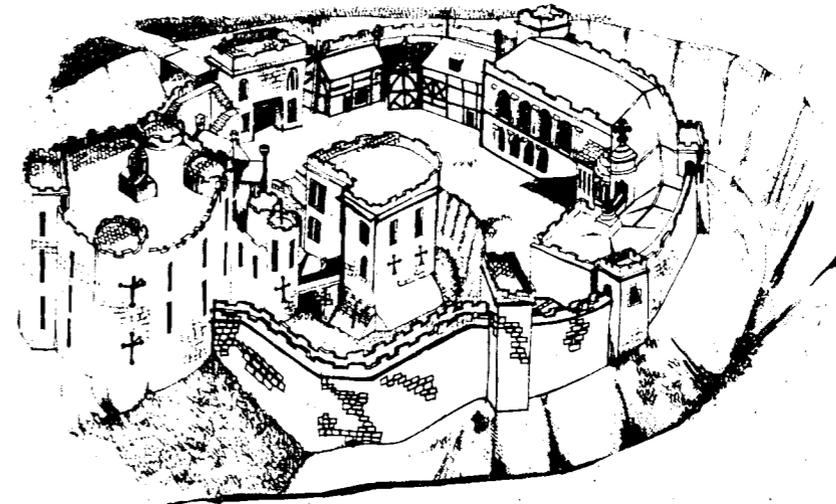
Little did I know, in 1982, when our Fulbright exchange family told us about our English home being near Sandal Castle that it would become the impetus for my becoming an enthusiastic supporter of Richard III. For the 1982-83 school year, my husband was a Fulbright exchange teacher at Wakefield College in Wakefield, West Yorkshire, and we lived in the suburb of Sandal. The castle was just a few blocks up the hill from our home. It quickly became a focal point of activity for the family: from evening strolls, to jogging, our twins' favorite play area, to our oldest son's school's cross country track course. Today, the castle has a circular footpath around the ruins which command a panoramic view of Wakefield, the Calder Valley, and the foothills of the Pennine Range to the West.

My curiosity about Sandal Castle got the better of me our first week in Wakefield, while enrolling our son, Tor, in the Manygates Middles School, only three blocks from the castle. As we entered the side door of the school, we passed right by the monument to the Duke of York, commemorating his death at the hands of the Lancastrians on that site on December 30, 1460. Then, when enrolled, Tor was assigned to the GLOUCESTER club for the year. The other school clubs were YORK, RUTLAND, and CLARENCE. Curious, I asked the principal of the school about the names of the clubs and the monument. He promptly reminded me about the War of Roscs. A trip to the city library refreshed my memory and produced a wealth of information about Sandal Castle.

William of Warren, 2nd Earl of Warren, received the Manor of Wakefield from William Rufus and built the first motte and baily timber castle at the Sandal site in approximately 1106. The 2nd Earl built his keep on top of a 46 foot mound which is still visible today. The 3rd Earl died in the Crusades in 1138, but his daughter, Isabel, married William de Blois, son of King Stephen who had renounced his right to the throne of England in favor of Henry Plantagenet at the truce of Wallingford in 1133. William de Blois became the 4th Earl, but soon died while in France with Henry II on the Toulouse campaign. Isabel then married Hameline Plantagenet, a half-brother of Henry II, and he became the 5th Earl. It is highly probable that Hameline initiated the phase of rebuilding Sandal Castle in stone, which continued for 100 years. Added to the castle between the years 1170 and 1270 were a 12 foot thick curtain wall on the edge of the motte, a barbican tower between the keep and the baily, and a deep surrounding motte for added defense measures. Even today, the substantial barbican foundation and the deep mote are clearly visible. During this same period, the drum towers and two gate towers were also incorporated. Easy to spot, the drum tower foundations are still impressive today. According to a 1300 survey, the keep, great hall, kitchen, bakehouse, pantry, and larder had all been rebuilt in stone by then, and a 30 acre deer park, gardens, and fish ponds were reported outside the castle walls.

In 1202 Isabel and Hameline's son became the 6th Earl of Warren. It is reported that while staying at the castle in 1210, King John seduced the 6th Earl's daughter. If that is true, then the Earl exacted his revenge when John signed the Magna Carta in 1215. Nearly 100 years later, in 1217 Sandal was slightly damaged as the result of another such liaison, which caused a feud between the 8th Earl and Thomas, Earl of Lancaster. The 8th Earl of Warren, who allegedly locked his own wife, Joan, in a tower while he enjoyed the company of many women, had an affair with Alice de DeLacy, wife of the Earl of Lancaster, who retaliated by burning Sandal.

In 1361 Sandal Castle passed into the hands of Edward III when the 8th Earl died leaving no legitimate heirs. Edward gave the castle to his fifth son, Edmund of Langley, who first married Isabel, daughter of Pedro the Cruel, King of Castile, and then Joan Holland. Their son, Edward, inherited the castle, but was killed in the battle of Agincourt in 1415. Edmund's second son, Richard, Earl of Cambridge, was next in line to inherit Sandal, but turned traitor to Henry V and was executed on the eve of Agincourt. His head was impaled above the gates of Southampton. Richard had married Anne Mortimer, great-granddaughter of the second surviving son of Edward III, Lionel, Duke of Clarence. The executed earl of Cambridge's son, Richard, who reinstated the family name of Plantagenet, became the 3rd Duke of York, and Sandal became a stronghold during the War of Roscs.



Sandal Castle as it is believed to have been in about 1500.

In December, 1460, Richard, Duke of York came north to Sandal with approximately 6,000 men to give cause to Queen Margaret, who had gathered a substantial Lancastrian force in Yorkshire, during one of the bitterest and most open phases of the thirty year dynastic conflicts between the houses of York and Lancaster. With York at Sandal were his second son, the seventeen year old Edmund, Earl of Rutland, the Earl of Salisbury, and Salisbury's son Thomas. Only ten mile away, the mighty Pontefract Castle housed the Lancastrian forces under Henry Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, and Sir John Clifford. All three were sons of men killed by Yorkist forces five years earlier in the battle of St. Albans, and not above ignoring the declared Christmas truce to harass Yorkist foragers sent out from a castle not stockpiled in readiness to receive 6,000 men, and thereby seek vengeance for an earlier phase of the feuding.

It remains a puzzle how York and Salisbury, both experienced commanders, were tricked into coming out of Sandal Castle on December 30, 1460. Jean de Waurin wrote in the late 1460's that the Lancastrians had been wearing the Earl of Warwick's livery in order to entice the Yorkists from the security of the castle. An anonymous Yorkist chronicler of the same period blamed one of the Nevilles, a brother of the Earl of Westmorland, for raising troops for the Yorkist cause, but then leading them over to the Lancastrian side. Other sources have suggested that York and his depleted army had come out of Sandal to aid a group of harassed foragers and were quickly surrounded and attacked by Lancastrians hiding in the woods.

Whatever the cause, the battle was a disaster for the Yorkists. It was fought on Wakefield Commons, just north of the castle, and artifacts from the battle were still being discovered when the Portobello estates were built, approximately thirty years ago. York was slain three blocks from the castle, under an old oak tree, where his monument stands today at Manygates Middle School. Edmund, Earl of Rutland, was killed at Wakefield Bridge, about a mile and a half from the castle. He was, apparently, fleeing with a retainer, Robert Apsall, when captured and then killed by Lord Clifford while pleading for mercy. Edward IV later erected a cross in memory of his younger brother at Wakefield Bridge, but the exact location of the cross is unknown. The best example of bridge chantries in England today is on Wakefield Bridge, and maybe young Edmund had been trying to reach the safety of that chantry. The Earl of Salisbury was captured in the battle and executed the following day, while his son Thomas was killed in the battle. On Queen Margaret's orders, the severed heads of York, Rutland, and Salisbury were hung over Micklegate Bar in the City of York, and a paper crown was maliciously placed on York's head.

It is relatively easy to visualize the Wakefield battle from Sandal Castle. Part of the Wakefield Commons is open park today, and one can pinpoint Wakefield Bridge, which fords the Calder River, and the Duke of York's Monument. It is reported that some unknown ladies come up from London to Wakefield every December 30th and place flowers at the base of the Monument.

Edward IV kept Sandal as private property of the Duchy of York. When Richard became King, he used Sandal Castle, along with Sheriff Hutton, as administration centers for his newly formed Council of the North. Richard moved the administrative household of the Council to Sandal from Middleham in 1484, after the death of his son, Edward, Prince of Wales. The Council was ordered to meet four times a year at both Sheriff Hutton and Sandal, and continued, just as Richard had conceived it, for nearly two hundred years, but I have yet to discover how long it met at Sandal. I am also curious about why Richard chose Sandal as the council's household. Was it because it was located in the southern part of Yorkshire and near a good road to London? Or was it because it was unoccupied, at the time, by an important lord, or because Wakefield was becoming an important center in Yorkshire for the trade of woolen cloth? Or, were there even some sentimental reasons, his father and brother having met their deaths there? In preparation for the Council's household move to Sandal, Richard authorized a new northwest tower to be built along with a bakehouse and a brew house for the castle. The foundation and first few feet of the northwest tower with a privy and a staircase into the tower can still be seen.

Sandal Castle and the manor of Wakefield were annexed back to the Crown with the marriage of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York. It remained under personal Tudor control until assigned to the Duchy of Lancaster in 1558. A 1564 inspection of Sandal was found in the Duchy records and reported that the timber structure of the castle was in need of repair. The buildings were described, and a recommendation made that 500 would repair the castle quite nicely. At the

time, Sir John Tempest, Knight, was constable and steward of the castle. There is a drawing of the castle done in that period, from which it is evident that buildings with Tudor roofs had been built in the bailey. A poster of that drawing is available at the Wakefield Museum.

During the Civil War, Sandal was owned by Major Thomas Beaumont, who garrisoned it for the Kings. It withstood two sieges before surrendering in 1645, and was known as the most resolute of the three northern castles. Like so many others in England, Sandal was demolished after the Civil War.

The Wakefield Corporation purchased the castle in 1957, at which time it was only a bramble and grass covered hill, with an exposed section of an inside wall of the great hall. Excavation of the site started in 1964 and was finished in 1974. It is amazing what was revealed in the way of substantial foundations of the barbican, the keep, towers, bridges, and mottes. Today, the ruins cover seven acres and stand in an attractive park. Many local inhabitants use the Castle Park for leisure pursuits and while watching a volleyball game in the bailey today, one wonders what games have been played in Sandal's bailey over the last eight centuries. Our eight year old twins loved climbing and crawling around the deep mottes, steep stairs leading to the keep, and marching over the bridges to the tune of "knights in armour" games. There is no entrance fee and no supervision of the castle.

Any visitor to the castle today will be impressed by the high mound on which the keep stands, the defensive barbican, the very deep mottes which caused great excitement one day when a dog fell into a motte filled with rain water and could not get out, and the panoramic views. A trip first to the Wakefield Museum on Wood Street near the City Hall would be beneficial, since they have a clay model of the 15th century Sandal Castle, which is helpful in visualizing Richard III's Sandal at the ruins. At the Museum there is also archaeological information on the castle. A booklet on Sandal Castle is available for 25p. Sandal is located three blocks west of A61 at Walton Road (stop light). Walton Road is approximately a mile and a half from Wakefield Bridge (bottom of Kirgate Road in Wakefield).

Besides our family's enjoyment of Sandal Castle, we did make a contribution to the cause of Richard III in 1983 via Tor's first place win for the Gloucester Club in the school's cross country race which wound up, down, through, and around Sandal Castle.

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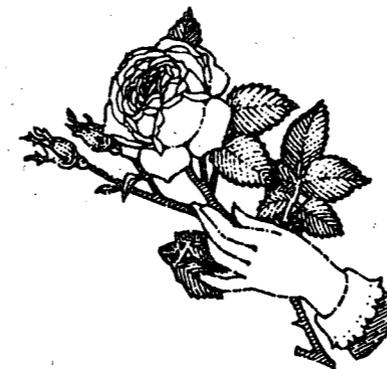
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Janet Anderson  
Texas

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If you are willing to help organize a chapter in your area, please contact a board member or one of the following individuals, who have agreed to co-chair a committee on Chapter Organization:

Roxanne Murph  
3501 Medina Avenue  
Fort Worth, TX 76133

Mary Miller  
8801 James Avenue  
Albuquerque, NM 87111

State listings for your area may be obtained from Carole Rike; please send SAE.



"Don't you love being upscale?"

# SCATTERED STANDARDS

## Chicagoland:

The Chicagoland chapter met on July 12th at the home of Rita Steitz. Back by popular demand was the topic of Ricardian and Medieval/Renaissance books. There was a good mix of non-fiction and fiction, and even though there were quite a few people present, there were no duplicates. Each member discussed a favorite, or not-so-favorite book dealing with our historical period. The universally liked books were Rosemary Hawley Jarman's *We Speak No Treason* and Sharon Key Penman's *Sunne in Splendour*. Giles St. Aubyn's *Year of Three Kings* was deemed so awful by the reviewer that it was promptly given away to another member. *Dragon Waiting* had been read by several members and liked - once you became accustomed to the idea of German vampires and ageless Welsh wizards associating with the heroes. We all laughed at the human touch given Richard by having him say, "Oh, --- (expletive deleted)."

The list of other books discussed would be too long to include here, but among them were Frances Leary's *Fire and Morning* and *The Golden Longing*, Strickland's *Lives of the Queens of England* (Anne Neville), and the *Trial of Richard III*.

Bobbie Zollinger reported that she is working with Tony Franks to develop a Ricardian reading list for teenagers.

And, as usual with Ricardians, we enjoyed a variety of food and drink.

Our next meeting will be the Chicagoland Chapter AGM, which will be held at The Red Lion Pub. Interested national members who are not chapter members should contact Judy Thomson (Chairman), 2226 North Racine, Apartment #7, Chicago, Illinois 60614, for more details.

Informal chapter activities included attendance at King Richard's Faire, near the Illinois/Wisconsin border, a Shakespearean Festival on Chicago's near North Side, and the thrice annual manning of the phones of WTTW, Channel 11.

Beth Argall

(Ed. Note. *We Speak No Treason* is now available in a two volume set, soft-bound, and can be ordered through such national book store chains as B. Dalton's and Waldon's. If available without special ordering, it can be found in the Gothic Romance section.

Also, look for future, expanded coverage of Ricardian literature for young people in an upcoming issue of the *Register*. It is hoped that we will be able to present a variety of opinions, reviews, and information on this topic which should be of vital interest to all Ricardians.)

## Middle Atlantic Chapter:

We are planning a meeting for *Saturday, September 27, 1986* at the Hyattsville, Maryland Public Library.

We have no firm program yet. Among other topics, we will be discussing the formation (or resurrection) of a local chapter and the upcoming AGM. We will have displays of Ricardian books and items, and we may show excerpts from the *Trial* tapes belonging to Tony Collins.

Due to a local, county ordinance that no monies may be exchanged on county property, all reservations must be made in advance and Ricardian items may be ordered, but not purchased on the premises. For further information, please contact either Lillian Barker, P.O. Box 1473, Laurel, Maryland 20707, (301) 766-2260, or Carol Bessette, 6251 Taunton Place, Springfield, Virginia 22152, (703) 569-1875. We look forward to hearing from interested Ricardians in the area.

Carol Bessette

## Ohio:

The first meeting of the Ohio Chapter was held on July 19th at the home of Nancy Weitendorf in North Olmsted. Both members and interested non-members attended, despite the exceptionally high humidity and temperatures in the 90's. Several people arrived carrying boxes and bags of Ricardian memorabilia and souvenirs of trips to England, which proved to be of tremendous interest to everyone, but especially to those not fortunate enough to have been there yet.

After introductions were made all around, the meeting was opened by acting chairman Nancy Weitendorf, who turned it over to Judie Gall of Cincinnati, acting secretary. Judie presented ideas for chapter activities, tidbits of news from around the country, and a proposed set of by-laws to be considered. Gillie Lehman of Cleveland volunteered to write a chapter newsletter and Sharon Berlin of Poland offered to work on a design for chapter membership cards. Dues were set at \$5 per year. Nominations for offices were held and it was unanimously decided that those already acting as officers would continue to do so for the next year: Nancy Weitendorf, Chairman; Gary Bailey, Vice-Chairman/Treasurer; and Judie Gall, Corresponding Secretary.

Following the elections, plans were made for a second meeting in Columbus in mid-October or early November with the hope that the more central location would allow even more members to attend. The date is being planned to avoid conflict with the OSU football crowds' descent on that city!

Ideas were presented for other events that would be of interest to Ricardians and would help to educate the public about Richard, among them being chapter attendance or participation in the Renaissance Faire in Columbus in May and there was an enthusiastic discussion of medieval feasts.

After the meeting adjourned, members met and mingled, enjoying a variety of refreshments including a gigantic chocolate chip cookie and a rose-wreathed cake, each bearing the motto 'Loyaulte me Lie'. Photographs and souvenirs were perused, and members visited and just got to know one another. Everyone was overjoyed to be meeting with fellow Ricardians at last!

The goodwill and enthusiasm of those who attended was very gratifying to those Ohio Ricardians who have worked so hard to make the Chapter a reality. After over eight months of work, their efforts have finally begun to bear fruit. The future of the Ohio Chapter looks very bright indeed. And, in closing, it should be mentioned that the two 'interested non-members' in attendance have decided to join the Society!

*Nancy A. Weitendorf*

## New York City:

If our recent conversation is any indication, there's certainly no lack of enthusiasm or expertise in the matter of chapter formation in the New York City area. However, in the meantime, should you like to lend a hand with her efforts, or express support in some other way for what promises to be an active and interesting chapter, Frances Berger can most easily be contacted by phone (212) 765-7414, for which she humorously apologized, but hoped fellow New Yorkers would empathize with the vagaries of the Manhattan Post Office, where she is currently 'on the list' to become the owner of a post office box. Well acquainted with the pleasures of the more personal contacts a chapter affords, Frances is looking forward to expanding her Ricardian friendships in the place she now calls home, and to meeting as many of you as possible. Please feel free to contact her for further information, or to offer her help in the establishment of a chapter everyone can enjoy.

## Southern California Chapter

General Membership meeting: July 13, 1986 (highlights): Three chapter members have been appointed to National Society committees, as follows:

a. Joyce Hollins is AGM co-ordinator and also chairman of the National Nominating Committee,

b. Frieda McKenzie is a member of the National Committee for Uniform Chapter Bylaws, and

c. Helen Maurer is one of two National Research Officers and will be Librarian of the non-fiction portion of the American Branch's library.

Helen has asked each U.S. chapter for a list of members with specialized knowledge of interest to other members and chapters, and for information on directories or other reference books in which the Society is or should be listed.

Program Chairman Jan Martin announced that our chapter A.G.M. and annual Birthday Luncheon is scheduled for Sunday, October 12, 1986 (a week after Richard's birthday, in order to allow members to attend the National A.G.M. in San Francisco). It will be held at the same location as last year-- Ichabod's Sleepy Hollow restaurant in La Habra. The cost will be \$15 per person for buffet/salad bar. More information will be mailed to members in September.

Helen shared copies of two articles of interest to Ricardians: one concerned a 15th-century amulet against epilepsy which was recently found at Middleham Castle with the help of a metal detector. The other article, from the March, 1986 edition of History magazine, described a stairway discovered at Warwick Castle in a part of the building erected by Richard III.

Program: Jan Martin introduced the speaker, Jon Martin, who gave us a fascinating lecture and slide presentation on the topic of Medieval Brass Rubbings. He explained the nature and history of monumental brasses in England, the various types of brasses (i.e., inscription vs. effigy), how they were made of extremely hard alloys and set into stone (and the use of other materials, such as enamel, used on brasses). He also described the styles of engraving, the costs involved in both medieval terms and their modern equivalents (about \$25,000 to \$75,000!), as well as the number of brasses made (more than 150,000) as compared to the number remaining (only 4,046) from the period before 1700. He also discussed the techniques of brass rubbing, and displayed several rubbings made by himself and other chapter members. (Two of the rubbings were raffled after the meeting; delighted winners were Diana Waggoner and Frieda McKenzie.) Jon accompanied his talk with some excellent slides showing both actual brasses and brass rubbings.

## AN AMERICAN AT THE LONDON BRANCH

The London branch meetings are held on an average of once a month, at the Art Workers Guild on Queen Square. Any American visitors are more than welcome. They don't have meetings in the summer because of all the excursions and because so many people are on holiday. The room where we meet is very pleasant - the walls covered with very dignified portraits. It is a good size and has a slide projector and screen. The meetings begin quite early because so many people who work in London go right from work, grabbing a snack on the way. This suits most people, and we can get home at a reasonable time. I come in from Weybridge on the train, and like to get there very early to visit with people before the meeting; they serve coffee after the speaker, so anyone who wants to stay can do so. The talks are usually very interesting, not always about Richard, but about topics of the period. Phil Stone once gave a fascinating talk about medieval medicine. Another time, Joyce Melhuish gave one on the Court of Burgundy. Last year, we were supposed to have a talk on medieval music, but the speaker was held up at the last minute, so Elizabeth Nokes came to the rescue with some slides of one of the trips. Several years ago, a friend and I played some fifteenth century music on our recorders. Since there were no orchestras at that time, only house music, church musicians, and court musicians, I electrified the membership by remarking that the pieces we were about to play were probably heard by Richard himself. After that, it didn't matter how badly we played, they all listened with baited breath.

The branches around the country have similar meetings, with much smaller groups than in London, of course. It is fun, if you can, to visit other branches. The annual excursion to the Continent draws people from all over England, so we can always find a friend, if we visit another branch. The Kent branch is very active. We are always trying to find ways to raise money for the very necessary restoration of various churches connected with Richard. Joyce and Elizabeth are much involved with craft sales.

I met a delightful young couple at the time of the Banquet in 1983, who live not far from Middleham. They are violent Ricardians, and love to take people to visit the Castle. Once they brought a friend to see it who had just joined the Society but had never been to Middleham, in spite of living relatively near it. The custodian, who thinks all Ricardians are lunatics, was intrigued with this lady's enthusiasm for this pile of ruins, and said to my friends, "Where is she from?" When they told him, he exclaimed, "I thought it was bloody Australia, the way she was going on!"

Mrs. Henry V. "BB" Atherton  
England



## BOARD MEETING HIGHLIGHTS:

July 21, 1986:

Rike reported cash balance of \$12,565.13. \$1800 has been raised from T-shirt sales and \$1172 to date from Dr. McGee's fund-raising letter. The current membership is 719.

Joyce Hollins reported on AGM plans. A play, "The Third Richard", may be performed locally over the AGM weekend. A special rate of \$6.50 for transportation from the airport to the St. George Hotel will be available. The AGM Committee will present awards recognizing member of merit. The Southern California Chapter will host the Friday evening social. The Board agreed to fund raising by the Northern California Chapter, provided that 15% of profits go to the national treasury.

McGee had no new news on the Bylaws. The Board approved the following procedures for the annual election: membership to be notified of the slate of officers by mid-August; balloting to be done using the proxy vote; ballots with space for write-in-candidates, to be marked, placed in sealed envelope, signed on outside by voter and received before October 1 by Recording Secretary. Ballots to be counted prior to AGM Business Meeting by an Election Committee: Recording Secretary, plus two other members representing different geographic areas.

Hollins, Chairman of Nominating Committee, provided the following slate of officers for the 1986/87 year: Chairman: Roxane Murph; Vice Chairman: Bob Cook; Treasurer: Carole Rike, and Recording Secretary: Jacqueline Bloomquist.

Board members, frustrated over the unavailability of documents to clarify the Society's previous actions regarding by-laws, elections, offices, awards, financial records, etc., instructed Battaglia to research all available AGM minutes to seek clarification of earlier Society actions. Re progress on establishing guidelines for Chapter Organization, Battaglia reported that over-lapping holiday schedules have hampered communications.

Rike reported transfer of the bulk of the Society's non-fiction materials to Helen Maurer. Since library service to members is curtailed during reorganization, Maurer suggested using Julie Vognar's Holmwood Library in the interim. However, these books are apparently part of the Northern California library, and the Board, weighing the risk of responsibility, agreed not to pursue the use of these books by the general membership under Society auspices. Rike was advised to contact Tony Franks re the Society's 1647 edition of Buck's book, in poor condition and discovered among the library materials.

Battaglia agreed to contact Maurer and the Society's past librarians to request that they form a committee to review the Society's library usage and potential and to submit for Board approval their suggestions for library policy and guidelines.

Rike was authorized to pursue, in McGee's name, the formation of a committee to oversee Society sponsored tours of England.

The Board recommends the 1987 AGM be held in the Fort Worth/Dallas area and that the 1988 location be Washington, D. C.

Battaglia was instructed to phone Chairman Kennedy for personal notification of next scheduled board meeting, September 8.

## A.G.M. UPDATE

A.G.M. Co-ordinator Joyce Hollins is pleased to report that the member response has been terrific! American Ricardians from all over the U.S. are planning to attend, and it looks as if we may have a capacity attendance if registration continues at the present rate. Deadline for registration is September 20; and be sure to make your check payable to Richard III Society, Inc., as instructed on the A.G.M. Notice which you received with your registration form. A couple of the workshops are already filled; late registrants may be placed in an alternate selection (be sure to indicate 1st, 2nd and 3rd choice).

The following people will be conducting workshops and/or discussion groups:

Helen Maurer (California):	"The Bones in the Tower"
Dr. Morris G. McGee (New Jersey):	"The Battle of Tewkesbury, Beginning of the End"
Kenneth R. Shepherd (Ohio):	"The Political Motives of Richard III"
Barbara Hirsch and Phyllis Young (California):	"A Traveler's Guide to Important Ricardian Sites in Britain"
Pamela Garrett (California):	"The Pre-Contract-- A Valid Excuse for Usurpation?"
Roxane Murph and Mary Poundstone Miller (Texas):	"What American Ricardians Can Do to Promote the Reassessment of 15th-century History"

If you plan to fly into San Francisco Airport, special airport-to-hotel transportation has been arranged for you with Good Neighbor Shuttle Service. Look for the green mini-van with "Good Neighbor" on the side. Identify yourself as a member of Richard III Society, and you will receive a special discount fare (about \$6.50 per person) to the King George Hotel, or to any other hotel of your choice. They will also pick you up at the hotel when you are ready to depart for the airport. (Usual taxi fare for this trip is approximately \$25.00, so this is a real bargain!) If you fly into Oakland Airport, check out BART (Bay Area Rapid Transit), a rail system which will take you to just a couple of blocks from the King George. For those members who will be driving (your own or a rental car), there is a public parking structure just a block away.

We hope that you will be joining us at the get-acquainted party on Friday night in the hotel's Bread-and-Honey Tea Room.

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## PARLIAMENTARY LESIGLATION OF RICHARD III

Even so vehement a Tudor partisan as Lord Francis Bacon considered Richard III a good law-maker, and lauded the statutes passed during the king's reign. Let us examine these statutes to see what was accomplished.

His late brother, Edward IV had levied what were termed "benevolences" . . . that is to say, enforced gifts from certain nobles or other wealthy persons. An act of Richard III decreed that such benevolences should not be levied in the future. Cynics may wonder whether these were abolished in an effort to "win over" the nobility and men of wealth to Richard's cause. Whatever be the reason, the statute was a step forward for good government and the principle that no tax or money should be enacted by the Crown save with the free consent of Parliament.

Another evil which existed in the last half of the 15th century was that people were arrested and imprisoned by reason of malice or upon light suspicion; they were then kept imprisoned by the sheriffs with no release upon bail. The old remedy for this abuse was for the king's judges to summon a prisoner before the Court of the King's Bench by the writ *de otia et alia*. The writ was not always available, and the king's justices not often accessible, in the locality where the prisoner was held. Richard's new statute provided that each justice of the peace should have power to release the prisoner by posting of bail, in the same manner as if the prisoner had been indicted before the king's judges at a regular session. This procedure for releasing prisoners on bail is still used today in the United States, and our magistrates are empowered, indeed, enjoined, to release prisoners on bail for bailable offenses.

The same statute provided that no sheriff could seize the goods of any prisoner prior to the latter's conviction for felony or his attainder. Certainly these statutes sought to redress the grievances not necessarily of the nobility, and were a significant step along the road to providing meaningful due process of law for all persons of whatever class.

On the negative side, during Richard's reign a distinction was made, for the first time, between public acts or statutes, and private acts. The king used this device to enact bills of attainder by Parliament. An attainder is a parliamentary act which declares a person guilty of a felony or of treason without a trial. We recall that our U.S. Constitution forbade the enactment of any such bill of attainder.

All of Richard III's statutes were written in English rather than in Latin, and this improvement continued in subsequent reigns. Use of English largely increased the number of persons who could read and understand the laws of the land. In just [two] short years Richard III had demonstrated his capacity for good government, with justice to all.

*Richard A. Lavine, California*

*(Richard Lavine is a Southern California Ricardian and a Justice of the Superior Court in Los Angeles.)*

## ARTIST JOINS THE REGISTER

With the greatest of pleasure we welcome Susan Dexter to the staff of the *Register* and introduce the person responsible for our beautiful cover to all of you.

Susan is a fashion layout artist from New Castle, Pennsylvania. She admits to doing a bit of calligraphy, samples of which you may see from time to time, and some fine art in addition to her professional endeavors, but it is her literary talents which might intrigue fellow Ricardians even more. Susan is the author of a trilogy, *The King of Allaire* (1981), *The Sword of Calandra* (1985), and *The Mountains of Channadrax*, due for publication by Del Ray in September of this year. In her own words, the books are "High fantasy, but no quite so high as Dunsany. 'Knee-high fantasy,' perhaps?"

She plays the recorder, is learning to ride the horse she recently purchased, and admits to owning "a couple of thousand books." She joined the American Branch tour of England last summer and will be using her photographs and mementos of that trip as inspiration for much of her future work for us.

## MEMBERSHIP REPORT

The Board of Directors has approved a minor restructure of dues for the membership year of 1986-87, which will begin on October 2, 1986. While cognizant of the desire of members to keep dues within personal budgetary limits, we also face increasing postage costs and increased costs for the importation of the English Ricardian. The regular publication of the *Ricardian Register* four times a year is an added cost that the Treasury has not born in recent years.

We have discontinued the special student rate, as the \$15/year does not cover the cost of publications. We have left the Individual rate at \$20.00, changing only the Family portion of this category, which never did make very much sense. If two different categories are to be carried, we did not understand how these could be the same cost. Some members have in the past expressed the desire that family members carry the same rights and privileges in the matter of voting and holding office. We have structured the dues so that additional family members over 18 may also be members for a cost of \$5.00 each. This will carry all membership privileges normally accorded to an individual member, but will not include additional publications and mailings.

The Society does not function totally on dues. We are fortunate to have a number of generous members who continue to contribute to various operating funds and who support our William L. Schalleck Scholarship Endowment. We have added to the recent dues statements mailed to the membership several special categories of membership:

Honorary Fotheringay Member: \$75/year  
Honorary Middleham Member: \$180/year  
Honorary Bosworth Member: \$300/year  
Plantagenet Angel: \$500/year  
Plantagenet Family Member: above \$500/year

Fifty percent of the special membership categories will go directly to the Schalleck Scholarship Endowment, and the remaining fifty percent will be used towards various Society undertakings, such as library acquisitions, the publication of various bibliographies, the extension of our research facilities, and advertising in mixed media.

Membership at the year end is 739. We hope to top 1000 in 1986-87. Please join us in our drive to expand our membership, which will also expand the awareness of the need for scholarly endeavors in 15th Century English History. We are not out to be the biggest and most influential Society possible, but to perhaps be one that is better heard. Our current roll count is about the same as in 1980. Each year, we appear to have a turnover in membership of approximately one-third. We realize that many members join with great initial enthusiasm on the subject of Richard III, only to see this interest wane. It is possible, however, that part of the cause for this large turnover lies in the Society's failure to provide stimulating publications and interesting activities. If this is the case, we do hope to directly address the matter.

The power of our message should not be diminished in the 501st year!

Carole Rike

## A CHANGE OF TIMES AND STATES Reflections on the 1456 Appearance of Comet Halley

In 1985 I realized two childhood ambitions: to see Comet Halley and to fight for Richard III in a re-enactment of the Battle of Bosworth. Thus, by a synchronicity to which the fifteenth century would doubtless have attached more significance than my own, the two events acquired a kinship.

For three nights in August I camped near Ambien Wood, in a tent considerably smaller than Richard's, but with the consolation that, barring unforeseen enthusiasm on behalf of those unfortunates assigned the role of Lancastrians in the battle, it would not be the last roof over my head -- or the last-but-one. The first two nights were damp: even extended licensing hours in Sutton Cheney did not entirely exhaust the time available for reflection in a cramped sleeping bag. The last, after a blustery battle day, was clear and star-laden.

I stood on the hill where Richard had fallen and looked at the constellation of the Plough, pointing about as bang-on north as it ever does in its wobble round the sky, and thought about the straight furrow for Middleham I should cut the next day. Had he survived, Richard's thoughts would no doubt have been similar. It pleased me immensely to be looking at the same sky Richard looked at -- one of the few sights in England he would unquestionably recognize today.

After this ebullient interlude, I returned to my year-long contemplation of that portion of the zodiac in which, later in the year, I hoped to overtake Comet Halley. I wanted to know that part of the sky really well, so that the intruder would be apparent. Suddenly it struck me: Richard must also have seen Comet Halley.

It took a while to dredge the date out of my memory. The Comet's periodicity (the length of its year), commonly given as seventy-six earth years, in fact varies from seventy-four to seventy-nine.<sup>1</sup> Pinpointing it in the past is more than just a simple arithmetical exercise. The year of the fifteenth-century appearance was 1456, just under seven time seventy-six years ago.

I crawled into my sleeping bag; visions of Turks and the mad King Henry VI danced in my head. Until that moment I had been more concerned with the current ephemeral than the past history of the Comet: 1456, one of the dates mentioned by Halley, was the only thing I knew about its appearance in Richard's time.

When, in November, I finally found the Comet in the snow-washed sky north of Seattle, the knowledge that I was looking at a fifteenth-century phenomenon, as well as a twentieth-century one, still excited me. And that is the origin of this article.

The 1456 Comet was not, of course, called Halley in its own day. Edmond Halley, for whom it is named, was born two hundred years later and served as envoy to Leopold of Austria from the Court of Queen Anne, and as Astronomer Royal under George II. Although mainly remembered for his cometary research, Halley was a man of diverse interests: his early life was devoted to oceanographic explorations; he invented the diving bell, which he tested himself; he was an expert on poultry farming; in 1703 he was elected to the Savilian Chair of Geometry at Oxford; and he devised the actuarial tables still in use by insurance companies.<sup>2</sup> His theory of comets appeared in 1705 under the title *A Synopsis of the History of Comets*, published simultaneously in Latin and in English. In this treatise, Halley proposed that comets, like planets, orbit the sun in elliptical paths, according to the laws established by Kepler (in *New Astronomy*, 1609), and by Newton (in *Principia*, 1687).

That comets moved about the sun at all was a novel idea, implying that the same comet might, depending on its periodicity, be glimpsed more than once in human history.

... Indeed [Halley wrote] there are many Things which make me believe that the Comet which Apian observed in 1531 was the same with that which Kepler and Longomontanus took notice of and describ'd in the Year, 1607, and which I myself have seen return, and observ'd in the Year 1682. All the Elements [orbital details] agreed, and nothing seems

to contradict this Opinion, besides the Inequality of the Periodic Revolutions.<sup>3</sup>

Halley then went on to describe the probable effects of perturbation, to which planets are also subject.<sup>4</sup> He predicted that the return of the same comet in 1753 would prove his theory. Ever the actuary, he also predicted that he himself would not live to see it. Halley died in 1742. In 1758 the Comet was spotted (on Christmas night, barely fulfilling his prediction) by a German farmer. Comet Halley it became.

As well as the three appearances on which his prediction was based, Halley attempted to trace the earlier history of "his" comet. The Comet of 1456 warranted his particular attention, as the known data closely matched the position and trajectory he had calculated from the 1682 appearance.<sup>5</sup> In A Synopsis, he mentioned his suspicions:

The identity of these comets [1531, 1607, 1682] is confirm'd by the fact that in the Summer of the Year 1456 a Comet was seen, which pass'd in Retrograde Direction [6] between the Earth and the Sun, in nearly the same manner; and although it was not observ'd astronomically, yet from its Period and Path, I infer that it was the same Comet as that of the Years 1531, 1607 and 1682.<sup>7</sup>

But Halley was a scientist, and there existed, as he thought, no scientific record of what he believed to be the Comet's fifteenth-century passage. Therefore, he was obliged to omit this appearance from his proof.

In fact, such a record did exist, the first of its kind in Western Europe. Between Richard's time and Halley's, it had been lost; and it was not rediscovered until the nineteenth century.

Paolo dal Pozzo Toscanelli was, like Leonardo da Vinci, a student in Florence. His research influenced the artist's writings on astronomy, optics and perspective;<sup>8</sup> he himself was a doctor of medicine, as well as an astronomer. In the summer of 1456, Toscanelli made a series of twenty-four drawings showing the movement of a comet against a background of stars. During his observations, which date from the twenty-sixth of May to the eighth of July, the head of the comet moved from Cancer to Taurus, its brightness waxed and waned, and, as its largest, it trailed behind it a tail of 60 degrees.<sup>9</sup>

The Austrian astronomer George Puerbach attempted to calculate the Comet's distance from earth,<sup>10</sup> and the German Regiomontanus may also have made positional observations.<sup>11</sup> But it is Toscanelli's drawings, and a similar Chinese record which historically substantiate the mathematics of today.

By contrast with the superstitious reactions of his age, Toscanelli's scientific observations laid the foundation for modern cometologists. In 1985-86, the same sort of astrometry, with the addition of telescope and camera, was used by International Halleywatch to help guide the Giotto probe to its rendezvous with Comet Halley.<sup>12</sup>

However, to understand the import of Toscanelli's designs, it is necessary to view them in the context of his own time. In 1456, the Turks, who had taken Constantinople three years before, stood at the gates of Belgrade: and the bright new star was variously interpreted as a dire omen (or a promise) from Allah (or the Holy Trinity). Pope Callixtus III issued a proclamation, commanding all the church bells in Christendom to be rung at noon, calling the faithful to prayer. Legend has it that he even excommunicated the Comet as an instrument of the devil; this story is colorful but simply not true.<sup>13</sup>

The Pope's instructions would have taken four to six weeks to reach England, which was experiencing an uneasy lull in the civil strife that racked it from the death of Henry V, in 1422 to that of Richard III in 1485. Henry VI was in possession of the throne and, momentarily, his wits. His son Edward, later briefly married to Richard's Anne, and killed at Tewkesbury in 1471, was two years old. Richard's father, the Duke of York, Regent and Protector during Henry's earlier bout of madness, stripped of his regal powers, moved like a restless knight on a chessboard, round the corners of the realm, his eye not on Henry but on Henry's willful queen, Margaret of Anjou.

The Earl of Warwick, afterwards styled the Kingmaker, was perfecting the cannon with which he

hoped to blast a path to the throne for York, his ally by marriage, while York's eldest son, Edward, Earl of March, later Edward IV, with his younger brother, Edmund, Earl of Rutland, was being schooled at arms in his father's castle of Ludlow, in Shropshire.

On the other side of England, in the fen country, Richard himself and George, the brother closest him in age, toddled round another of their father's castles, Fotheringhay, in comparative obscurity.

Comets were traditionally associated with a change of dynasty, as Caesar, Alexander, Attila and the ancient Jews bore witness. In the spring of 1066, Comet Halley had obligingly predicted the victory of Richard's ancestor William the Conqueror at Hastings. That appearance is described in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, in the chronicles of the Abbey of Malmesbury and in the archives of the Cathedral of Viterbo, in Italy.<sup>14</sup> But its most famous portrait is that woven by William's queen, Matilda, and her ladies, into the Bayeux Tapestry.<sup>15</sup> Here the comet, like a gleaming Klingon battle cruiser, heads for King Harold, while an inscription above reads "they are in awe of the star."

Giotto, between 1303 and 1306, raised the Comet to new heights as royal herald in his painting The Adoration of the Magi, which shows a surprisingly realistic comet hovering over the stable at Bethlehem.<sup>16</sup> Giotto had seen Halley in 1301.

Apart from announcing a new king, comets in the Middle Ages were generally thought to bring plague, famine and pestilence.<sup>17</sup> Aristotle, whose cosmology formed the basis of the medieval world view, had dubbed them atmospheric phenomena, the result of noxious vapors rising from the earth.<sup>18</sup> To the fifteenth-century Christian mind they were at once reflections of and punishment for its own state of sin.

[attributing] The Lucerne Chronicles, an early sixteenth-century civic history, portrayed the Comet of 1456 in typical fashion, [attributing] to its baneful influence, both in verbal and pictorial form, monstrous births (two-headed animals, people with Down's syndrome), earthquakes, illnesses, and exotic red rain. Interestingly the rather schematically rendered comets [was] depicted twice, as it was indeed visible before and after perihelion.<sup>19</sup>

Some persons [wrote the Italian astronomer and historian Pontanus], perceiving the comet in the form of a long sword advancing from the west and approaching the moon, thought that it presaged the Christian inhabitants of the West would come to an agreement to march against the Turks, overcoming them. While the Turks, on their part, taking into consideration the state of affairs, fell into no small fears, and entered into serious arguments as to the Will of Allah. . . . During the night of June 8, a Turkish sentry [outside Belgrade] gave the alarm, a fearsome apparition in the sky, with a long tail like that of a dragon.<sup>20</sup>

Another contemporary historian described the Comet as "great, terrible and of an extraordinary magnitude, trailing after it a tail which covered two celestial signs"<sup>21</sup> (two signs of the zodiac). It was "golden in color, at times assuming the appearance of a flame flickering to and fro."<sup>22</sup> Even Toscanelli punctuated his diagrams with fancy: the comet had "a head as large as the eye of an ox and a long tail like that of a peacock."<sup>23</sup>

What sort of cosmology could possibly encompass all these descriptions?

The most important characteristic of Richard's universe, by comparison with our own, is that it was neither expanding nor contracting, but fixed. Whether it was also fixed in the colloquial sense was, and remains, a central problem for theologians and astrologers. Its fixed nature, in the physical sense, dated from the days of Plato and Aristotle in the fourth century B.C., comparatively ancient for a which counted itself, by Scriptural reckoning, only five or six thousand years old.

The earth was round. The earth did not move. Rather, around it, in order of their apparent distance from it, turned the moon, Venus, Mercury, the sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn and the "fixed stars." The latter were so called because they did not appear to move, relative to one another. They were all thought to be equidistant, attached to the same sphere, beyond which

was God. By contrast the planets -- the word "planet" means "wandering star" in Greek -- moved against the background of the fixed stars, albeit in predictable patterns.

At first glance, this system seems perfectly logical. The sun rises and sets, and so do the fixed stars, as if in orbit about the earth. The planets also rise and set and move among the fixed stars primarily, although not exclusively, from east to west, without straying far from the band of stars through which the sun itself moves in the course of a year. The moon, of course, the largest and brightest ornament of the night sky, is a satellite of the earth. But the Middle Ages, however generously defined, could hardly pretend to be scanning the heavens at first glance.

The oldest recorded astronomical observations in the Western world are those of the Sumerians, who flourished in the lower Euphrates Valley in the fourth millennium B.C. From atop their ziggurates (pyramid-shaped "holy hills"), Sumerian astronomer-priests, equipped with sundial, waterclock and the naked eye, recorded the motions of the sun, moon and planets. Their observations, preserved in cuneiform on clay tablets found at Babylon and Ur, were of an accuracy which rivaled that of nineteenth-century astronomers armed with massive telescopes.<sup>24</sup> Like many primitive peoples, the Sumerians used astronomy to determine the tides, the seasons, and the time to plant and reap their crops. However, they appear to have been less concerned with the order of the universe than with the nature of the universe as reflected in their own lives. Not one wedge-shaped character of Sumerian cosmology survives. Instead, *Epic of Gilgamesh*, based on Sumerian myth dating from about 3800 B.C., recounts the adventures of a king who seeks immortality, and whose peregrinations have been likened by historians of astrology to those of the sun through the zodiac.<sup>25</sup>

So, in turn, have the twelve labours of Hercules, the Greek hero, son of Jupiter, the god who name graces the largest planet in the sky.

Sumerian astronomical lore made its way to Greece via Egypt. To the mythology and the observational data they inherited, the Greeks added their own mathematical knowledge. From Pythagoras, a Greek astronomer and mathematician of the sixth century B.C., comes our earliest systematic cosmology. Pythagoras, probably more than any other scientist since, influenced the way we interpret the world around us. He was the first to venture that the nature of the universe could be expressed quantitatively, as a relationship of numbers. As well as his mathematical discoveries, like the theorem which bears his name, he established the geographical coordinates which are still used in astrology, and the relationship between the length of a cord and the note it sounds, a factor which was to become the *sine qua non* of his cosmology.

The Pythagorean universe consisted of a series of concentric crystal spheres turning about a central fire (not the sun). To these spheres were attached the earth, the moon, Venus, Mercury, the sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn and the fixed stars. The circumferences of the spheres were related to one another, mathematically, in the same way as the strings of a lyre; and the heavenly bodies, moving along them, produced a lyric harmony audible to the initiate. The earth, as well as orbiting the central fire, rotated on its own axis.

Pythagoras' universe was, in the sixth century B.C., an innovation. The notion of the earth's rotation was new. The notion of a nongeocentric universe was new. The model based on circle and sphere was new and has never again been absent from Western cosmology.

Although Pythagorean philosophy, and the cult attached to it, persisted, its rigid insistence on the lyric metaphor led to the eventual demise of its cosmology. Two hundred years later Plato (d. 347 B.C.), in *Timaeus*, proposed a spherical universe, "smooth and even and everywhere equidistant from itself, a body whole and perfect, made up of perfect bodies." Plato's world -- twenty decades of navigation having failed to uncover any evidence of Pythagoras' central fire, or "hearth of Zeus" -- was once more geocentric. The planets orbited the earth at various rates, moving from east to west, except for Venus and Mercury.<sup>26</sup>

The perfectly spherical universe, and the perfectly spherical orbit, were to haunt astronomers right down to the time of Halley. Tortuous machinations were devised, by every cosmographer from Aristotle to Copernicus, to explain the apparent motions of the sun, moon and planets as some combination of perfect circles. In the seventeenth century A.D., Johannes Kepler, from

whose Laws of Planetary Motion Halley derived his theory about comets, had a mighty tussle with his Christian conscience before conceding that God might, as mathematics seemed to suggest, have created an elliptical, rather than a round, solar system.

Aristarchus, a younger contemporary of Plato, proposed a heliocentric system not unlike the modern version: the planets, including the earth, orbited the sun in what is now their established order, and the moon went round the earth. Aristarchus' treatise, *On the Size and Distances for the Sun and Moon*, does not survive. It is known through the writings of Archimedes and Plutarch, whose authority suggests it was widely read through the first century A.D.

But whether because his work was lost or because it was no match for the rhetoric of Plato and Aristotle, Aristarchus' ideas exerted almost no influence upon the cosmology of the Middle Ages.

Herakleides, a pupil of Plato (and probably also of Aristotle), suggested that the inferior planets (Venus and Mercury) orbited the sun, while the sun, moon, and superior planets orbited the earth, which rotated on its axis. This scheme occasionally surfaced during the Dark (or early Middle) Ages, and a variation of it was subscribed to by Tycho Brahe (d. 1601). However, the prevailing view from the tenth to the sixteenth centuries was Aristotelian in philosophy and Ptolemaic in design.

Like many of his predecessors, Aristotle (d. 322 B.C.) perceived the earth as a stationary sphere surrounded by a series of concentric, transparent spheres to which the heavenly bodies were attached. For him, however, the outermost sphere was not that of the fixed stars, but that of the Prime Mover. Pythagoras' world had been centered on the "hearth of Zeus," Plato's powered by an *animus mundi*, a central spirit breathing life into the universe. The god of Aristotle was an Unmoved Mover, a clockmaker spinning the world from without.

Thus, the universe was divided into two realms: the region beyond the moon, nearer to God, where everything was perfect, predictable and immutable; and the region below the moon, where everything was imperfect, unpredictable and subject to change. Comets, which appeared out of nowhere and without notice, and which blazed their way across the sky, moving according to no known laws, were inevitably consigned to the lower realm.<sup>27</sup>

"The removal of God's home from the centre to the periphery automatically transformed the central region, occupied by the earth and moon, into that farthest from Him: the humblest and the lowliest of the universe."<sup>28</sup> Thus Aristotle's cosmology provided a framework into which the early Christians could fit Jesus' teachings of a humanity fallen from grace, separated from the heavens, in need of a God who would condescend to come among them.

But Aristotle's was not only a philosophical cosmology. Like Pythagoras, he attempted to construct a working model of the universe. Eudoxus, another contemporary of Plato, in an effort to explain the ever-puzzling movements of the planets, had introduced between the traditional planetary spheres a number of nonplanetary spheres, rotating on different axes. Aristotle inserted additional nonplanetary spheres, attached the axes of Eudoxus', as needed to make the numbers work. And work they did, with one notable flaw: Aristotle's model, which required fifty-five spheres in all, still did not explain the phases, and the resulting fluctuation in brightness of the planets -- or the moon. It was also cumbersome and despite his enduring influence was soon forgotten.

In the second century A.D., Ptolemy a Greek astronomer living in Alexandria, compiled and refined upon the cosmologies of his time. Eudoxus had been a brilliant mathematician; Ptolemy was also a keen observer of the stars. His observations were cited, as often as contemporary ones, well into the sixteenth century. But Ptolemy defeated his own research by making his goal "to show that the phenomena of the heavens [were] produced by circular, uniform motions."<sup>29</sup> According to Ptolemy, the sun went round the earth, and the planets went round the sun in a series of epicycles, or little wheels centered on the big wheel of the sun's orbit. Because the sun was also moving, the paths described in the sky by the planets "appeared to be egg-shaped."<sup>30</sup> In reality, as Plato had taught, they were circular.

Ptolemy's theory accounted, mathematically, for the movements of the heavens, and by means of

us but the planets, orbiting it, alternately advanced and receded, why the brightness of the "wandering stars" was not constant.

With Ptolemy, more than a thousand years before Richard, the development of the Ricardian cosmos essentially ground to a halt. The early Christian Fathers, who inherited on the one hand a Scripture which claimed to be divine revelation but included among its beautiful poetry and history a cosmology dating back to Sumerian times, and on the other hand a Greco-Roman tradition of consolidating and subduing all knowledge by the power of reason, had a lot to reconcile. At the same time following the command of their master to "go forth into the world," they found themselves preaching to cultures whose world views varied irredeemably from their own.

In its first millennium, in an attempt to make its theology more literally Scriptural, the Church revived, at various times, all the Old Testament theories about the shape of the universe. The earth was a disc dividing the waters above from the waters below, a la Genesis. The earth was Tabernacle-shaped, with four walls supporting the sky, a la Exodus. The firmament, a la Isaiah, was a tent stretched above a flat earth. But Biblical cosmology could not prevail against the Greeks. In the ninth century, the theory of Herakleides was revived. In the tenth, Pope Sylvester II declared that the earth was round and that it was the centre of the universe.

Aristotle was rediscovered by the Latin world in the tenth century, having been preserved by the Muslims. His Physics and astronomical treatises, including De Coelo, were translated from Arabic in Toledo, in the twelfth century, as was Ptolemy's Almagest. In 1210, and again in 1215, the Church banned the works of Aristotle, but to no avail. About the same time they were introduced into the universities of Oxford and Paris,<sup>31</sup> and later in the century they were ardently espoused by theologians, most notably Aquinas. By the end of the thirteenth century, Aristotle "could not, at many points, be contradicted without the danger of a charge of heresy."<sup>32</sup>

Nevertheless, notwithstanding the peril to their immortal souls, there were dissenters -- almost from the beginning -- both those who criticized Aristotle's science openly and those who simply engaged in research which contradicted it. Both Robert Grosseteste (d. 1253) and Roger Bacon (d. 1292) wrote of the necessity of applying mathematics to physics and to science in general, and of their disagreements with Aristotle on this and other points. Bacon was imprisoned, but "probably for criticizing the morals of churchmen,"<sup>33</sup> rather than the physics of Aristotle.

In 1337 Nicolas of Oresmes (d. 1382) published a commentary on De Coelo in which he stated -- in direct opposition to its author -- that the earth rotated. Oresmes belonged to the Ockhamist School, founded in Paris by William of Ockham (d. 1349), which was engaged in the study of motion, momentum, acceleration, and what is now called gravity. In the fourteenth century its students came within a hair's breadth of formulating Newton's Law of Inertia,<sup>34</sup> and thus upsetting the whole of Aristotelian physics.

In Richard's own century, Nicolas da Cusa (d. 1464), in Learned Ignorance, written in 1440 and printed in 1514, wrote that the world had no boundaries and hence no centre, and that it moved, "though this may not be apparent to us, since we do not perceive motion except by comparison with something fixed." He also stated that, according to his own observations, the heavenly bodies did not move in circles, as every astronomer since Plato had taught; and in contradiction of Aristotle, that the earth was made of the same stuff as the stars.

"The earth is a noble star," da Cusa continued. "It is not possible for human knowledge to determine whether the earth is in a degree of greater perfection or baseness in relation to the regions of the other stars..."<sup>35</sup>

At Merton College, at Oxford, fifteenth-century scholars analyzed movement kinetically, on the basis of distance and time, and developed the theorem, later to be used by Newton, describing uniform accelerated motion in terms of uniform mean velocity.<sup>36</sup>

Leonardo, born the same year as Richard, mentioned in passing that the earth moved -- alas, without proof.

George Puerbach (d. 1461), court astronomer to the King of Bohemia, wrote a textbook on the Ptolemaic system, introducing celestial observations of his own from which he deduced that "the motions of the planets [were] governed by the sun" -- directly, and not by a series of epicycles. Puerbach also presided over a debate as to whether or not the earth moved, and published a treatise in which he demonstrated the orbit of Mercury to be "egg-shaped."<sup>37</sup>

Puerbach's pupil Regiomontanus was among the greatest of fifteenth-century astronomers. In his thirties Regiomontanus was attached to the court of King Mathis Corvinus of Hungary, whom he advised that Aristotle and Ptolemy were not to be relied on. Instead, he recommended celestial observations using the newly-improved sundial, the water clock, the celestial globe, astroblabe and quadrant (a medieval ancestor of the sextant). Accordingly, Regiomontanus was dispatched to Nuremberg, to found, in 1471, the first observatory in Europe.

Regiomontanus tended to believe the long-neglected Aristarchus, but "... I cannot get over my amazement," he wrote in a letter in 1464, "at the mental inertia of our astronomers in general who, like credulous women, believe what they read in the books, tablets and commentaries as if it were divine and unalterable truth; they believe the authors and neglect the truth."<sup>38</sup>

Alas, Regiomontanus died in 1474, at the age of only forty. His observations of the Comet of 1472 were among his last. But his notebooks suggest that, had he lived, it might well have been Regiomontanus rather than Copernicus who formally proposed a new heliocentric cosmology -- and that based on this own reckonings, rather than a reworking of Ptolemy's.

Indeed, when juxtaposed, the statements of European astronomers of the period lie before us like the pieces of a vast jigsaw puzzle, waiting to be fitted together. That the fifteenth century, rather than producing a Copernicus, who was mathematically unsound, seldom looked at the sky, and succeeded in compounding the spherical follies of Aristotle (whom he described as "handed down to us like Scripture"), did not produce a Kepler, is in itself a bit of a puzzle. One can only conclude that the Ricardian age in general was not yet ready to admit that the great teachers of the past, from Moses to Thomas Aquinas, were wise men studying the world around them rather than pure receptacles into which Divine Truth had been poured.

The medieval ambiguity about the stars is best expressed, however, in the etymology of the words which refer to the study of them: astronomy and astrology. According to the O.E.D., in English "astronomy" was the earlier term, first appearing in writing in 1205, and embracing what is now understood by both concepts. "Astrology" made its debut in the fourteenth century, and Grover (d. 1408) made its debut in the fourteenth century, the science, and astrology, the art.

Astrology, the art, had been subdivided by pre-English-speaking theologians of the early Christian era into "natural" astrology, what would now be called practical astronomy -- the predicting of tides, the fixing of Easter, etc. -- of which the Church approved; and "judicial" or "judiciary" astrology -- prognostication and fortune-telling -- of which it did not. This classification carried over into English, where, alas, it was also applied to "astronomy."

Barbour (in The Bruce) referred in 1375 to "Astrology quhar-throu clerkis . . . May know the conjunctions of the planetis." Chaucer, a friend of Gower, used "astrology" to describe the crowing of the cock a dawn (in Troilus and Criseyde, c. 1385); and his Treatise on the Astrolabe (1391) is called "a work of astrology" but deals with practical astronomy.

Astrology in Chaucer has been the subject of many studies. Throughout his most famous work, The Canterbury Tales (designed ca. 1387 and never finished), the author poked repeated fun at astrologers and alchemists. On the surface his ribbing reads like a healthy contempt for pseudo-science, but in fact Chaucer seems to have had a deep-rooted mistrust of science per se,<sup>39</sup> an attitude which reveals how deeply the two were intertwined.

In his poem "Lament for the Makers," Dunbar (d. 1520) wrote

Art-magicians and astrologgis  
Rethoris, locianis and theologis  
Them helpis no conclusionis sle,

both distinguishing "magic" from "astrology" and lumping them both with other learned arts.

In The Mirrouir of the World, a 1482 translation of a thirteenth-century French work, Caxton called "astronomy of all clergie the ende." But in 1490, in Astronomy in Concordance with Theology by Pierre d'Ailly, Archbishop of Cambrai, an illustration shows an astronomer instructing a clergyman. In neither case is it entirely clear which term, astronomy or astrology, as we now understand them, was intended.

Endless examples could be cited. The two words were not fully differentiated until the seventeenth century,<sup>40</sup> and in Richard's time they were used interchangeably.

The confusion is further compounded by the fact that seminal thinkers, such as Bacon and Aquinas, often did not write in English. In French, the development of the two words paralleled English usage; in Latin and Greek it was quite different. And nowhere in the Summa Theologica does Aquinas define his terms.

Ptolemy was the only pagan astronomer to give credence to astrology, but he was the last great pagan astronomer. The early Church began by condemning it as contrary to the doctrine of free will and salvation through Christ. In the end, "it took over magic and astrology, about as the missionaries had taken over the pagan groves, hills, stones, and wells of the heathen and had given them saints' names."<sup>41</sup> Since the heavenly bodies do in fact influence and predict some events on earth, such as tides and seasons, where to draw the line between observed and suspected effects is bound to pose a problem for any incomplete cosmology (including our own).

In the City of God, Augustine drew it thus:

It is not altogether absurd to say that certain sidereal influences have some power to cause differences in bodies alone. We see, for instance, that the seasons of the year vary as the sun approaches and recedes, and that certain things are increased or diminished in size by the waxings and wanings of the moon, such as sea-urchins, oysters, and the wonderful ocean tides. But it does not follow that the wills of men are subject to the configurations of the stars.<sup>42</sup>

Augustine died in Hippo (now in Algeria) in 430 A.D., in the twilight of the Roman Empire.

"The heavens and the earth are present within mankind," wrote the twelfth-century Rhenish mystic St. Hildegard. "The stars dispose, but they do not determine" became the official position of the Church, which by the time of Aquinas had decided that the fate of man was influenced by the stars, but that man, by virtue of his reason, was able to resist their influence. "In the majority of cases," Aquinas stated, "predictions about human acts, gathered from the observations of the heavenly bodies, are fulfilled. Nevertheless, as Ptolemy says 'the wise man governs the stars.'"<sup>43</sup>

In the Sixteenth Canto of his Purgatorio, Dante summed up the Thomist view prevailing in his own and Richard's time:

Ye who are living, every cause refer  
Up to the stars as if with them they swept  
All absolutely, and naught could fate deter.  
Were it so, the free choice in you had slept  
Annulled, nor were it justice that ye still  
For good have had joy and for evil wept.  
The stars do prompt the motions you fulfil;  
I say not all, but even suppose it said,  
A light is given you to know good and ill  
And Free Will which, though oft discomfitted  
In its first battlings with the stars' decree  
Wins in the end all, be it but rightly bred.<sup>44</sup>

Astrology was considered necessary, in Richard's time, to a doctor's education and a cleric's. Edward IV had a court astrologer, as did most monarchs of the period. Charles V of France was

an astrologer himself. Jacques Coeur (d. 1456), treasurer to Charles VII, practiced astrology and alchemy and had an "astrologer's tower" added on to his mansion at Bourges. Noblemen commissioned Books of Hours, the most famous of which is the Tres Riches Heurs of the Duc de Berri (prepared between 1403 and 1413), depicting the tasks appropriate to each sign of the zodiac, and the attributes of the planets which governed them. Regiomontanus began his career, at the age of fifteen, by casting a horoscope for the bride of the Emperor Frederick III. In the fifteenth century, astrology, as well as astronomy, flourished.

Thus it was truly with mixed feelings that Europeans greeted the Comet of 1456. On the one hand, they were coolly able to chart its progress across the skies; on the other, they prayed for deliverance from it as a harbinger of famine, plague and the pagan Turk. Their reactions are easier to comprehend when one realizes that the appearance of 1456 was one of the most spectacular in the history of the Comet.

In 1985-86, Comet Halley was a fuzzy blob of the third magnitude,<sup>45</sup> to be sought with binoculars and a fair notion of its predicted coordinates. In 1456, it arrived unexpectedly, it was thought to be barely farther away than the summit of Mount Blanc, and it stretched across 60 degrees of sky. In 1986, the Comet was on the other side of the sun from the earth, which had its northern hemisphere tilted away from the sun anyway, since the Comet arrived in winter. In 1456, the Comet actually passed between the earth and the sun. Perihelion (its closest approach to the sun) occurred on the second of June, not long before the date (about the twenty-second) when the northern hemisphere achieves its maximum inclination towards the sun. The Comet's closest approach to earth (or perigee) occurred on the ninth of June, only one week later. Since comets get brighter as they approach the sun,<sup>46</sup> the Comet of 1456 at its brightest was also at its nearest.

Exactly how bright it was is difficult to say. The brightness of celestial bodies is expressed in stellar magnitude, a concept which dates from the second century B.C. and has been considerably refined since Richard's time. The lower the magnitude, the brighter the star: the brightest stars in the sky, and some of the planets, are, in the modern system, assigned negative values. With the naked eye, the visible range extends to about the sixth or seventh magnitude, although it varies with atmospheric conditions, as well as the eyesight of the observer.

The problem with stellar magnitude when applied to comets is that (obviously) it is a measurement designed for stars, which appear as pinpricks of fairly constant brightness.<sup>47</sup> Comets, however, are blurry balls of light, their brightness varying dramatically during their visible period; and often they exhibit diaphanous tails through which background stars, which contribute their own brightness, are visible. The usual method of estimating the magnitude of a comet is to blur the image of a nearby star whose magnitude is known until it resembles the comet's head, and compare the two. This assumes the observer is looking through binoculars or a telescope.

In the fifteenth century, naked-eye comparisons were made between Comet Halley and Castor and Pollux (magnitude 1.6 and 1.2, respectively), in Gemini, and Regulus (1.3) in Leo.<sup>48</sup> Halley was brighter. The official estimate, based on an average of Toscanelli's and Puerbach's observations and those of the Chinese, and on an average of comparisons made over the Comet's visible period from the twenty-sixth of May to the eighth of July, is that it had an absolute magnitude of 4.2.<sup>49</sup> This is not very informative!

Absolute magnitude, in its specific cometary sense, is the hypothetical brightness a comet would display to the earthly observer if it were one astronomical unit (92,900,000 miles) from both the earth and the sun. Thus, it is, subject to the unpredictable variations of comets, as measure of a comet's true luminosity, rather than its apparent brightness -- a useful tool for astronomers, but not for historians. Had it stayed as far away from the sun, Halley in 1456 would still have been visible on an average night in June, though nothing to ring the church bells over. But it was closer than the sun. "The eye of an ox and a tail like a peacock" seems more descriptive!

Despite its panoply, there is no mention in England of the Comet of 1456. It would certainly have been visible, though against a somewhat brighter sky than in Italy, where Toscanelli saw it. No doubt it did nothing to restore the wits of poor Henry VI, which waxed and waned like

the moon. To Richard's father, the Duke of York, it may have been heartening: Had not a comet once before foretold the accession to the English throne of a certain Duke?

Richard probably did see it, smuggled up to the battlements of Fotheringhay Castle by a superstitious nurse, or sneaking off with his brother George to see what all the praying was about. However, if he waited for his curiosity to be roused by Callixtus' proclamation, he probably saw the Comet already fading from view. Perhaps, though, he remembered it, and the Pope's words, when, twenty-eight years later, upon hearing of the Hungarian victory over the Turks the year before, he exclaimed to the German traveler, von Poppelau, "I wish that my kingdom lay upon the confines of Turkey; with my own people alone and without help of other princes I should like to drive away not only the Turks but all my foes!"<sup>60</sup>

All this is conjecture. But comets invite conjecture; and Comet Halley, whose periodicity so closely approaches the human lifespan, invites conjecture about other people who have seen it, from our own parents and grand parents back to the time of Richard III, and beyond, and kinship with them.

From the mound of Fotheringhay, overlooking the flat and sparsely-populated fens, the young Richard must have had an excellent view of the broad, starry sky and the bright "hairy star" of 1456. If he had lived as long as his mother, he might have seen again, and remembered it as a token that often attended the birth of kings. His wife, in the family tradition, might have woven it into a tapestry commemorating his prowess in the battlefield. But although he was not yet four years old he had already lived nearly one-eighth of the time allotted him. And, passionately outspoken as he could be, he was to remain reticent, historically, about most topics outside the terrible struggle for the throne which, itself like some perverse astrological phenomenon, ruled his life. In sum, we simply do not know what Richard III, or anyone who knew him, thought about the comet that some three hundred years later came to be called Halley.

## NOTES

1. The variation is due, to a large extent, to planetary perturbation, that is the effect of the gravitational fields of the planets on the Comet's path and speed.
2. Primary sources for Halley's personal life are rare; one of the best popular works is Peter Lancaster-Brown's *Halley and his Comet* (Poole, Dorset, 1985).
3. Halley, Edmond, *A synopsis of the History of Comets* (London, 1705).
4. See Note 1.
5. Halley made some mathematical errors in his calculations, particularly for the medieval appearances of the Comet. Also, the outer planets, Uranus, Neptune and Pluto, and the minor planets (or asteroids) were unknown in his time.
6. The Comet's motion is from west to east, or backwards through the zodiac.
7. Halley, *op. cit.*
8. Olson, Roberta J.M., *Fire and Ice: A History of Comets in Art* (New York, 1985), p. 19.
9. Moore, Patrick, and John Mason, *The Return of Halley's Comet* (London, 1984), p. 50.
10. Olson, *op. cit.*, p. 19.
11. *Ibid.*
12. Cole, Stephen, and Richard Talcott, "Intensely Seeking Halley," *Astronomy*, June 1986.
13. Lancaster-Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 114.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 113.
15. The tapestry is preserved in the Town Hall in Bayeux, in northern France.
16. The myth that Comet Halley was the Star of Bethlehem is another persistent one. The Comet appeared in 12 B.C. and in 66 A.D.; most historians now place the birth of Jesus sometime in the first decade A.D. Nevertheless, the Comet theory appeared in the *Seattle Times*, in December 1985.
17. Ironically, a modern theory suggests that comets may be carriers of primordial bacteria, which are released when the comets' approach to the sun triggers the sublimations of gasses within them.
18. In *De Coelo*.
19. Olson, *loc. cit.*
20. Moore and Mason, *loc. cit.*

21. Lancaster-Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 111.
22. The color is not attributed to emissions of sodium gas from the Comet's head.
23. Toscanelli's drawings and manuscripts are preserved in Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence.
24. *Encyclopedia Britannica* (1955), volume II, p. 582.
25. Nesle, Solange de Mailly, *Astrology: History, Symbols and Signs* (New York, 1985), pp. 25-26.
26. Plato appears not to have looked at the sky very often: all the planets exhibit retrograde motion, as recorded by the Sumerians; and in fact it is more difficult to observe in Venus and Mercury than in superior planets, since due to their proximity to the sun they often appear in a twilight sky where stellar coordinates are not visible.
27. Aristotle, *op. cit.*
28. Koestler, Arthur, *The Sleepwalkers* (New York, 1959), p. 59.
29. *Almagest*.
30. *Ibid.*
31. Artz, Frederik B., *The Mind of the Middle Ages* (Chicago, 1980), p. 260.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 262.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 243.
34. Koestler, *op. cit.*, p. 199.
35. *Learned Ignorance* (Basel, 1514).
36. Artz, *op. cit.*, p. 247.
37. Quoted by Koestler, *op. cit.*, p. 208.
38. *Ibid.*
39. As discussed by L. Thorndyke in *Science and Thought in the Fifteenth Century* (New York, 1929).
40. *O.E.D.* (1981).
41. Artz, *op. cit.*, p. 234.
42. *City of God*, 5.6.
43. *Summa Theologica*, Q9 A5. Ptolemy did not mean quite the same thing by the term "wise man" as Aquinas. He was referring to a magus like the three who attended on Jesus, i.e., an astronomer. Still, his intent was the same as Aquinas', that we should use the stars to our own ends rather than being used by them.
44. *Purgatorio*, XIV, 11 67-78 (translated by Laurence Binyon, 1948).
45. "Halley Emerges in Morning," *Astronomy*, June 1986.
46. Comets increase in brightness, both because they reflect the sun's light, and because the sun causes them to sublime, a process which itself generates light.
47. Even variable stars do not exhibit to the casual observer the dramatic changes of a comet.
48. The naked-eye observer has, obviously, a much wider field of view than the optical astronomer.
49. Vsekhsvyatsby, S.K., "Physical Characteristics of Comets," Israel Program for Scientific Translation, p. 44, as cited in David A. Seargent, *Comets' Vagabonds of Space*, (New York, 1982).
50. Quoted by C. A. J. Armstrong in his appendix, p. 136, to Dominic Mancini's *Usurpation of Richard III*, (London, 1936).

## ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Of English and Scottish extraction -- three members of her family are buried in Middleham churchyard -- Mallory Paxton graduated from Reed College in 1971 and wrote her thesis on Charles of Orleans, the fifteenth century poet. She became interested in Richard III during the Shakespeare Quatrocentennial, in 1964, after viewing Olivier's evil but intriguing film portrayal, and has been a member of the Society for fifteen years. Since 1974, she has been employed in telecommunications; she presently works for Ford Aerospace. As well as astronomy, her interests include theatre, science fiction, English constitutional history, and hunt seat equitation. She lives in Seattle and is working on a novel of the twenty-third century.

Mallory Paxton  
Washington

## FROM THE WORLD OF THE BARD

Recently Dr. Louis Marder of The Shakespeare Data Bank wrote to the *Register* for a very specific type of input from the Society. He asks, "If you know a long time expert who could survey the complete history" of the Richard III controversy "and summarize it, I would be happy to include it in the Data Bank." That is a difficult endeavor and not one to be undertaken lightly, but well worth the while when one considers the context in which it will be studied by those who avail themselves of the wealth of information in the Data Bank. Again, we are being given the chance to have the fact that there are legitimate reasons for doubt acknowledged and weighed against the history and words of the man who did more than anyone to immortalize a villainy there are good reasons for believing never existed.

Should you wish to respond to Dr. Marder, he may be contacted c/o The Shakespeare Data Bank, 1217 Ashland Avenue, Evanston, Illinois 60202. It is to be hoped this second inquiry from the world of Shakespeare will also be given thoughtful consideration, and that neither of these opportunities will be allowed to pass by unanswered.

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For years the Society, its various publications, and its members to whatever degree individually possible, have promoted the cause of Richard III, often against incredibly well-entrenched opposition and with varying amounts of success. Most of these efforts have emanated from within the Society. Only rarely has a collective opinion been sought from an outside source. Irvin Leigh Matus has recently contacted the *Register* and given us an intriguing means of expressing our views in an open forum, and it is to be hoped that the following proposition and questions will be given serious consideration by a wide spectrum of Ricardians.

**Proposition:** Despite the attractive personal qualities and excellence of government, as well as the absence of powerful barons in opposition in England, the reign of Richard III was the briefest of any crowned monarch. Without regard to subsequent characterizations and within the events of 1483-85, why did Richard fail to attract sufficient support?

1. The premature death of Edward IV

left Gloucester the only alternative to the Woodvilles. However, even so ardent an anti-Woodvillian as Hastings ultimately opposed Richard and Yorkist peers do not appear to have given him whole-hearted support. Why not?

2. The nature of Richard's failure is the more remarkable when one considers the man put up in his stead. Henry Tudor had been out of England for half his 28 years; of no proven qualities in government or battle and with a poor claim to the throne, why was he nevertheless able to marshal support after landing in Wales sufficient to defeat Richard at Bosworth?

3. After early discontent with having to share power with Gloucester in the North, the 4th Northumberland seems to have forged a friendly working relationship with Richard. Why then did he fail to assist him at Bosworth?

4. In what ways may the depletion of the established peerage have left Richard without a sufficient base on which to build his power?

5. What positive indications exist that Richard's heavily Northern court may have increased opposition?

Mr. Matus concludes: "What is needed is thoughtful analysis from existing records and accounts on any one or as many of these questions to which members have given careful consideration. Most desirable are replies which would order and present facts more cogently and less passionately than the usual clash of Ricardian-Tudor sympathies."

These thought-provoking questions are, of course, the crux of the Ricardian enigma. In another part of his letter not quoted here, Mr. Matus professes an unbiased opinion of Richard, but he seeks the conclusions to which we have come; the ones that have led us to such loyal support of the last Plantagenet king. He invites our considered answers to be weighed in the context of his own work pertaining to Shakespeare's history plays, in the course of which he plans to expand upon the persons and events in those plays as well as identifying existing buildings, monuments, and sites which have authentic association with that body of Shakespeare's work. We are being provided with an excellent opportunity of having Richard treated in a far more favorable light than is, generally, the norm



in relation to Shakespeare, a challenge which should not be allowed to go begging.

All replies should be directed to Mr. Matus at 201 East Capital Street S.E., Washington, DC 20003. He suggests a time frame of one, or preferably two months for their receipt, after which he will provide us with his own conclusions based on the information provided. A sampling of the Ricardian replies will be published in future editions of the *Register*, but it should prove interesting to see how persuasive our best arguments really are, and Mr. Matus has promised a fair hearing in his quest for answers to his queries.

From Maurice Dobier's *All Wrong On The Night* with illustration by Michael Ffolkes. Walker and Company, 1966, New York.



An actor in Richard III said—instead of "Stand back and let the coffin pass"—"Stand back and let the parson cough."

## THE THIRD RICHARD

By Dr. John Kirk

The world premiere of Dr. John Kirk's play, *THE THIRD RICHARD*, will be presented in San Francisco in late September/early October to coincide with the Annual General Meeting.

Produced by the Playwright's Center, the production will be at the People's Theater, Fort Mason Center, Bldg. B, Third Floor. Dates of performance are September 30, October 1-2-3-4-5, at 8:00 P.M. Members may select any of these dates, but we hope to have a group attending on Saturday, October 5.

General admission is \$7.00 per person. Attending members who make advance reservations will be given the discount of \$5.50.

As plans are late, we suggest you may wish to contact the producer directly. If so, please contact:

**Mona Scheyer**  
1001 Pine Street #803  
San Francisco, CA 94109  
(415) 775-8375

The script of Dr. Kirk's play is available from the Society library. Let's all support this production of a Society member!

## DEVIL DICKIE 3 TO BE PRESENTED IN DALLAS

Member Chuck Taylor has drawn rave reviews for his one-man play depicting Richard III.

A performance is scheduled by the Southwest Theatre Conference Group in Dallas during their 39th Annual Convention, October 30 - November 2, 1986. The performance of Dr. Taylor's play will be Saturday, Nov. 7. Daily rates are available for the convention at \$20 for individuals and \$5 for students, and registration may be made on site. Special airline fares are available through American Airlines.

Contact: STWC Convention, Richland College Theatre Dept., 12,800 Abrahms Road, Dallas, TX 75243-2199.

Dr. Taylor is director of theatre and forensics at UMBH in Belton, Texas.

# LAUD & LOYALTY

## 1986 New Members

Jake Bearden; Anaheim, CA  
 Sharon B. Berlin; Poland, OH  
 Karl H. Bobeck; Orange, CA  
 Elizabeth R. Brown; Cambridge, MA  
 Dorrie Butler; Tampa, FL  
 Nancy R. Celmins; Aberdeen, MD  
 Susan P. Connally; Lubbock, TX  
 Kimberly G. Dziurman; Rochester, MI  
 David S. Feron; Sherman, CT  
 Margaret Field; Crestwood, IL  
 Elizabeth Gibbons; Carmichael, CA  
 Amy Glendinning; Ballard Vale, MA  
 Vicki A. Hild; Anchorage, AK  
 Margaret & Mary Elizabeth Jones; Bowie, MD  
 Diana Karl; Magnolia, AK  
 Duncan R. Mackie; Cloumbia, MD  
 Donna Malengo, Mayfield Heights, OH  
 Loretta B. Martin; Tucson, AZ  
 Shelia M. Mitchell; Forest Hills, NY  
 Charles N. Monsted; New Orleans, LA  
 Lois Myers, San Francisco, CA  
 Constance J. Phipps; Cincinnati, OH  
 Eileen F. Rann; Riverside, IL  
 Patricia A. Ritz; Salem, IN  
 Barbara Blatt Rubin; Fresno, CA  
 Mary E. Springhorn; Berwyn, IL  
 Marian Walke; Dorchester, MA  
 Nancy Bikson Yawitz; Clayton, MO

## 1987 New Members

Jonathan Alexander; Short Hills, NJ  
 Marcia Carlsten; Flint, MI  
 Timothy Carlton; Washington, DC  
 David W. Coombs; Studio City, CA  
 Mary L. & Donald D. Donermeyer; Springfield, MA  
 Katherine A. Hoyt; Audubon, NJ  
 Rahne F. Kirkham; Seattle, WA  
 Elissa Losi; Port Orchard, WA  
 Jan Louch; Minden, NA  
 Andrew Monk; Boston, MA  
 Lois Myers; San Francisco, CA  
 Elisabet Rydell-Janson; San Francisco, CA  
 Yvonne Saddler; Gardnerville, NV  
 Mona Scheyer; San Francisco, CA  
 Roen Speroff; Munster, IA  
 Joyce Whitney; Pasadena, CA

Dale Summers of the Southwest Chapter deserves a warm Ricardian salute for having spotted and quickly reacted upon two, woefully inaccurate references to Richard in separate articles by the syndicated columnist, Sidney Harris. In the first, during the course of his presentation of assorted trivias, Mr. Harris included in his list of little known facts the assertion that William Collingbourne was the only man ever to have been executed for simply writing a couplet which aroused the king's ire, while in the subsequent instance Mr. Harris proclaimed that Richard's white boar had been chosen as a reflection upon his "bestial, uncouth appearance". With such widely circulated perpetuation and embellishment of the old myths, it's a wonder we make any headway at all, and Ms. Summers is to be complimented on her gentle, masterful reminders to Mr. Harris that the Tudor version is not always the correct one.

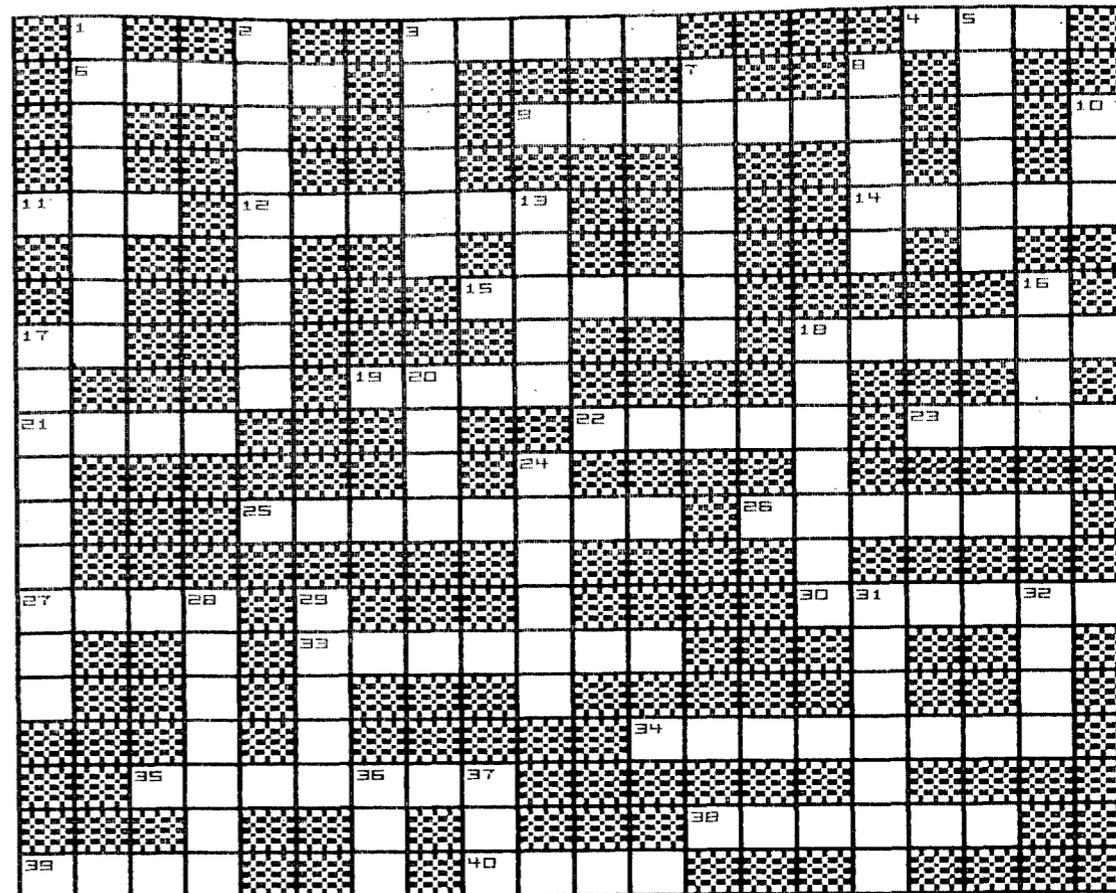
## CONVALESCING:

Roxane Murph, following surgery. Cards and Ricardian greetings would be in order.

The Associated Press is to be complimented for it's neutrality, at least. The regular 'Today in history' column which appears in their subscriber publications read as follows on the anniversary of Bosworth: "In 1485 King Richard III was killed in the Battle of Bosworth, ending the War of Roses. He was succeeded to the throne by Henry VII." No editorializing, which shows we're, at least, making progress! In one of those odd ironies of history, it's also reported in the same column that 290 years later, to the day, "King George III proclaimed the American colonies to be in open rebellion." One can only wonder if the third George gave any thought to the fate of the third Richard when he chose that particular day to make that suspicious proclamation!

## NEW MEMBER:

Duncan R. Mackie of Columbia, MD recently successfully petitioned the British Crown for a coat of arms, in which a rose Argent was incorporated in remembrance and honour of Richard III.



## CROSS CLUES

3. contest of skills
4. a poem
6. King of France
9. lucky to be alive
11. English for dec
12. a loyal friend
14. under a bush
15. stylish headdress
17. you and I
18. Medieval garbage disposal
19. nickname for a Duke
21. food for horses
22. palace and prison
23. author and martyr
25. dummy on a post
26. King's nickname
27. what Shakespeare's Richard does
30. soldier on horseback
33. possible site of battle
34. Richard's grandmother
35. opponent of Henry VI
38. castle on Welsh border
39. marshes
40. surrounds a castle

## DOWN CLUES

1. false, fleeting, perjured
2. a northern stronghold
3. faithful guardian
5. a keep
7. fateful wine
8. a border lord
10. Edward's symbol
13. a Scottish landowner
16. Richard's symbol
17. became a queen
18. the Kingmaker
20. mate to Catherine
24. a printer
28. letter writers
29. imitation stone
31. Howard
32. dagger handle
36. Richard's number
37. Dorset