BOOK NEWS:

THE CROWN AND THE TOWER: THE LEGEND OF RICHARD III
Edited by William H. Snyder
Published by the Richard III Society, Inc.
$18.50, postpaid (see p. 7)
From the Rous Roll

Richard Sullivan, 8002 North East, Seattle, Wash. 98115 Carol E. Parker, Box 232, Rte 3, Old Morrisville Road, Apex NC 27502. Janice H. Patterson, Box 16132, Phoenix AZ 85011. California Chapters: Northern: Pamela Garrett, 1059 Norwood Avenue, Oakland CA 94610; Southern: Mary J. Rowan, 1052 Myrtle St. #9, Downey, CA. 90241.

Change of address notification, membership queries and subscription dues should be directed to Martha Hogarth, Box 217, Sea Cliff Ny 11579.

The Fellowship of the White Boar is the original, now alternate, name of the Society. The American Branch now incorporates the former Friends of Richard III, Inc.

Cover design by Isolde Wigram from the Garter stall plate of King Richard, when Duke of Gloucester, at St George's Chapel at Windsor (possibly carved during his 10th year). The copy is by Hazel Peter, from the cover of the College of King Richard III Middleham, by J.M. Melhuish (undated).

Graphics by Hazel Peter

Richard III Society, Inc., is a non-profit educational corporation chartered in 1969 under the membership corporation laws of the State of New York. Dues, grants and contributions are tax-deductible to the extent allowed by law.

OFFICERS 1981-82
Chairman: WILLIAM H. SNYDER
3302 Glen Eagles Dr., Silver Spring MD 20906
Vice-Chairman: WILLIAM HOGARTH
Box 217, Sea Cliff NY 11579
Recording Secretary: CANDACE ANNE RUSSO, 41 W. 16th St. N.Y. 10011 NY
Treasurer and Corresponding Secretary: MARTHA HOGARTH Box 217, Sea Cliff NY 11579
Librarian: JULIE LORD
288 College Avenue, Staten Island NY 10314
Pursuivant: HELMUT NICKEL
401 East 86th St., N.Y. 10026 NY
Research Officer: LORRAINE C. ATREED
134 Highland Avenue #4
Somerville, MA 02143
Publications Officer: ANDREA VAN SANT
22 Franklin Ave. Madison Woods, Berlin NJ 08009
REGIONAL VICE-CHAIRMEN:
Elizabeth Argall, 1430 Sandstone Drive, Wheeling, Ill. 60090

Everybody knows that editors are too busy editing to do research, and that's why they ask others questions: instead, here's one: Paul Murray Kendall names "Loyaulte me lie" as Richard's motto seven or eight times, though offering only one example of the motto appended to Richard's signature, or used in contemporary script or printing. In 1972, Allison Hanham, in her article "Richard III, Lord Hastings and the Historians," remarks in a footnote (p. 243) that "the motto accompanying his (Richard's) crest in B.M. Add. MS. 40742, fo.5 (c. 1466-70) reproduced in Dunham, 'Lord Hastings' Indentures,' plate III, is "Tant le desiere." ("So much longing"). Ross, in Richard III, has a contemporary drawing of a boar badge, identified only as the badge of "Richard, Duke of Gloucester, with his usual motto (underlining mine) "Tant le desiere." (Illustration before p. 173). Is one, perhaps, the motto of another man, the other of one of more maturity? Perhaps it would be helpful to know if other 15th century figures had alternating, or changing, mottos? Are the two compatible, i.e. could both spring from the pen and heart of one man throughout his life? Suggestions? And souvence me souvence!

***************

Rose's Richard III

Everybody knows that the way editors busy themselves editing is by organizing material to print. That is why this issue is so well organized. You'll find in "Letters and Notes" some very important words from Peter Hammond about Rose's Richard III: under "Book Reviews," a full-blown review of Ross's Richard III by Lorraeine C. Atreed. And here, a fragment of Bar, and Schraff's review which appeared in the Chicago Sun-Times Sunday, January 31, 1982 (Barbara belongs to the Chicagoland chapter): "Clearly Ross feels he is writing in the shadow of the late Paul Murray Kendall, 'Richard's most widely read modern biographer,' who labors under the triple handicap, in Ross's view, of being American, a professor of English literature and readable. Ross need not fear that some future historian will level any of these charges at him. It was perhaps in an effort to separate his work from Kendall's that Ross undertook his so-called thematic approach...he fails to deliver on (this) promise: 'an effort to see Richard in the context of those aspects of his life and reign which mattered most to Richard himself and his contemporaries.' It is an approach that cannot be sustained for the very reasons Ross himself mentions: the absence of a sufficient number of reliable (contemporary) sources."
NOTICE: Mrs. Thomas Porter, P.O. Box 408-724-4086. ********

"In Search Of..." tapes: Although the Holmwood Memorial Library (c/o editor) has this video tape in both VHS and BETA formats, at least one of these tapes has been found to be in imperfect working order. Please order the tape, for either type of machine, from Julie Lord, the Richard III Society, Inc. Librarian, whose name, title and address appear in the masthead (p.2) only, until further notice.

********

Mr. John J. Butt of Rutgers College, received a $500 grant from the American Branch Fellowship Fund last year to aid his research on the brewing of ale in 15th century England. Here's his letter to Bill Hogarth sketching his progress:

Dear Mr. Hogarth,

...I went to England for three weeks and pretended to tup all the Derbyshire born, but bred here, because Buxton was a noted spa town and had until recently a specialist hospital for rheumatic and other crippling diseases. He could have been a diplopomat's child, suffered from polio and taken there for treatment. Later on, as a diplomat's child he may have spent time in Arab countries while now, replacing Kendall. It is not very favorable to Richard, but he uses all the latest sources (including the Ricardian), and you do not have to accept his conclusions! Peter Hammond
Research Officer, Richard III Society
London, England

***************

UPDATE OF RICHARD III SOCIETY, INC. LIBRARY LIST

Julie Lord, the Richard III Society, Inc. Librarian (see masthead) has asked us to print an update of her library list, which we gladly do. The original list may be obtained by writing to her at the address in the masthead (p.2)

FICTION:
- Bentley, Elizabeth, *The York Quest*
- Carsley, Anne, *This Ravished Rose*
- Farrington, Robert, *The Traitors of Bosworth*
- Hunt, Wray, *Satan's Daughter*
- Morgan, Denise, *Kingmaker's Knight*
- Peters, Maureen, *Beggarmaid, Queen*
- Simonds, Paula, *Daughter of Violence*
- Stamier, Hilda Brookman, *Plantagenet Princess*

ARTICLES:
- Little, Dr. Little's diagnosis of Richard III: "Deformity and Character" including the Ricardian, and you do not have to accept his conclusions! Peter Hammond
Research Officer, Richard III Society
London, England

***************

NOTES AND LETTERS, CONTINUED...

CARLETON ALIVE?

...The silence of Mr. Burton might indicate that he is still alive (Carleton, that is) but you would think he would at least claim his royalties. If Carleton is deceased, why the secrecy, I wonder? Have you sent a copy of this Register to Mr. Burton?... Libby Haynes
Arlington, Va.
On page 25 (of the last Register, the AGM Report from New York), it is stated:

"The other point concerns the statue in Leicester. Again, on page 25 (last 
-6. Battlefield of Bosworth, 1981 season
Backhouse, Janet, *The Illuminated Manuscript* (technicalities of manus-
script production, lots of pictures in color and black and white)
Bell, Hilaire, *A Shorter History of England*
Churchill, Winston, *The Birth of Britain*
Dolmetsh, Mabel, *Dances of England and France* 1450-1600 (history &
performance of each dance form presented with detailed instruction 
on how to perform it today -- accompanied by representative illustra-
tions or costumed dancers who first perform them)
Hanaford, Julie, *Richard III, Plays in Performance* (major developments 
in the play’s production explored)
Haswell, Jock, *The Ardent Queen* (Margaret of Anjou)
Hicks, M.A., *False, Fleeting, Perjur’d Clarence*
Horrox, Rosemary, and Hammond, Peter W., eds. *British Library Harleian 
Manuscript 433, Vol. II*
revision of social, governmental, administrative and ecclesiastical 
background of 15th century England)
500 years 1000-1500 with each chapter charting concurrent de-
velopments in the known parts of the world during a century--profuse-
ly illustrated with drawings, photographs, maps and charts)
Scattergood, V.J., *Politics and Poetry in the 15th Century* (ideas, 
attitudes and opinions about 15th century politics and society in verse)
(partially a simplification of Halsted’s two-volume work)
and early Tudor royal landed estate conducted in the light of its role 
in earlier medieval history, especially Lancastrian government) 
 ******************
CORRECTIONS FROM ELIZABETH NOKES OF THE RICARDIAN BULLETIN

"On page 25 (of the last Register, the AGM Report from New York), it is stated:
"The other point concerns the statue in Leicester. Again, on page 25 (last 
Register): "It is hoped that future responsibility for acts of vandalism will 
be assumed by the Leicester City Council and not be an expense to the Society."
The repairs to the statue have never been, nor will be an expense to the Socie-
ty. The statue was handed over to Leicester City Council at the unveiling and 
is now entirely their responsibility... Many congratulations for the Register, 
and best wishes for the future.
Sincerely, Elizabeth M. Nokes

"Where do they come from? I cut them off the statuettes we bought 
full size statue matches the statuettes and has everything he should have!
-Elizabeth Nokes
Editor, Ricardian

Visa, for example, if you get all those little crowns and swords?

Where do they come from? I cut them off the statuettes we bought 
so that they would match our vandalized statue of Richard, of course.

Richard

His blood splattered my armour as he died.

And quenched for me the frozen flash of dread

When I had watched that furious, desperate ride

As, swinging his blade about him in a wide

Circle, he left my standard-bearer dead.

They tore the circlet from his battered head

And placed it upon mine. York’s broken pride

Waited for slander, under history’s name.

To deal the death-blow to his shining fame.

--Elizabeth Nokes

FOREIGN SUBSCRIPTIONS

Elizabeth Nokes says she has had requests for information from Englishmen 
for information about subscribing to the L.M.L. Register. Interested per-
sons in England, and elsewhere, should contact William Hogarth, Box 217, 
Rockville, Maryland, 20851. Any requests for information directed to the edi-
tors of the Register itself will be forwarded.

*******************
THE CROWN AND THE TOWER—$18.50 POSTPAID
Since copies of *The Crown and the Tower* went out in November, many members 
have commented enthusiastically and ordered extras for gifts and donations 
to libraries... In fact many university libraries have ordered direct, 
The Society hopes that all members who have ordered the book find that 
this very valuable editing and commentary on the Halsted original lives up 
to expectations. Review copies have gone to historical journals. This first 
publication of the American Branch will produce profits to aid the Fellow-
ship Awards program (very patriotic, since the New Federalism applies pri-
ivate funding!) and might even help us retain a lower student membership 
rate in the Society should it be necessary to raise the basic subscription 
as inflation mounts.

Orders go to the Society address, not to the publications officer: Checks 
payable to Richard III Society, Inc., P.O. Box 217, Sea Cliff, N.Y. 11579, 
for $18.50 per copy, mailing and packing included.

--William Hogarth
6. LIMITED CANDOR AND IMPROBABLE SLANDER:
A Commentary on J.R. Lander, Government and Community: England, 1450-1509
by Bernard L. Witlieb of the Department of English, Bronx Community College

Of most interest to Ricardians in this generally well-received book is Lander's contention that a so-called specially written prayer for Richard reveals such a troubled and disturbed state of mind that either his critics are told—politely—to recant the errors of their ways. He has dared challenge the handed down, established (no matter the duration) tradition. "...is Lander's contention that a so-called specially written prayer for the king, most probably after the deaths of his wife and a "son" (p.329). The evidence of madness has disappeared. Again, Tudor-Craig's "(the prayer) reads with the incantation of a litany, fraught with the note of oppression and danger" (p.329). Note the added gloom. Finally. Tudor-Craig's "There is no doubt that Richard was a person of serious piety, and this is the only place where deceit would have been unthinkable. Either he was a very advanced schizophrenic, or he must indicate that either Richard thought he was innocent of the charges to which he referred in his letter to Southampton" (p.27). "The prayer must have been written by someone else. Richard was not innocent of the charges that towards the end of his life he had become in the highest degree schizophrenic, a criminal self-righteously invoking the protection of the Almighty" (p.329).

Let us now examine the prayer. Lander prints it, thus:

And you, O Lord, who restored the race of men into concord with the Father, and who brought back with thine own precious blood that former baptism of paradise and who made peace between men and angels, deign to establish and confirm concord between me and mine enemies, show to me and pour out on me the glory of thy grace. Design to avenge me, turn aside, extinguish and banish all remorse, the hatred which they have towards me...And just as you freed Susannah from the false accusation and testimony...even so, Jesus Christ, son of the living God, deign to free me thy servant Richard from all tribulation, grief and anguish in which I am held and from all the snares of my enemies and deign to send Michael the Archangel to my aid against them. Deign, O Lord Jesus, to bring to nothing the evil designs which they make or wish to make against me."

The major thrust of the Lander and Tudor-Craig argument is that the prayer, added "in a rough hand" to the manuscript Wycliffe of the War of the Roses, is a "private paper" to which (Lander) attaches so much importance.

For those "Lander watchers" among us (readers of Conflict and Stability in Fifteenth Century England, Crown and Nobility: 1450-1509, and The War of the Roses), this considered judgment reveals the hard line of the adaman tant historian. He has inveighed against amateurs and dilettanti who have dared challenge the handed down, established tradition. As Charles Ross has aptly noted in his "Wycliffe's Writings," often Lander presses "a good idea too far, and, having made up his mind, (clings) stubbornly to his position through thick and thin. His critics are told—politely—to recant the errors of their ways."

But to those who agree with him, Lander seems to be filled with adulation, even to the extent of aping their words or thoughts. One example: Pamela Tudor-Craig's "...the prayer evidently composed for Richard III's private use" and it is "quite probable" that it was added to his Book of Hours "after he had lost both wife and son" (p.27) becomes Lander's "...the prayer was written for the king, most probably after the deaths of his wife and a "son" (p.329). The evidence of madness has disappeared. Again, Tudor-Craig's "(the prayer) reads with the incantation of a litany, fraught with the note of the deepest gloom, oppression and danger" (p.329). Note the added gloom. Finally, Tudor-Craig's "There is no doubt that Richard was a person of serious piety, and this is the only place where deceit would have been unthinkable. Either he was a very advanced schizophrenic, or he must indicate that either Richard thought he was innocent of the charges to which he referred in his letter to Southampton" (p.27). "The prayer must have been written by someone else. Richard was not innocent of the charges that towards the end of his life he had become in the highest degree schizophrenic, a criminal self-righteously invoking the protection of the Almighty" (p.329).

As for Lander's diagnosis—Lander places great significance on the prayer: "Though it is possible to write off Richard's denunciations of other people's immorality and even his circular letter to the bishops as mere propaganda, it is impossible to treat a highly personal, specially composed prayer in this way—a prayer...in which the highly charged reference to Susannah, de falsum crimin6 et testimonio, prominently stands out...Lander has followed Tudor-Craig in singling out Susannah: "he (by which she means Richard as author of the prayer) could hardly put it (false accusation) more precisely" (p.329). Yes, the reference to Susannah "prominently stands out." But only because Lander has slanted the translation. Look at whom the seemingly innocent editorial ellipsis has omitted—traditional Biblical allusions. "You freed Abraham...Isaac...Jacob...Joseph...Noah...Lot...Noses and Aaron and the people of Israel...likewise Saul...David...Susannah...Judith...the three boys from the burning fiery furnace, Jonah...the child of the contraceptive woman, also Peter...and Paul." Lander is just one of many here, hardly a special pleading. It is as if an editorial hand has altered a prayer so as to reflect his own views to the detriment of objectivity. Both Lander and Tudor-Craig attribute great anguish to the reference of false witness to Richard. Yet both authors are guilty themselves. Witness these instances in the Vulgate version of the story: falsus testimonium (Daniel 13:43), falsa testimonium (13:49), falsum dixisse testimonium (p.329).

Lander seems to have misled the reader. It is traditionally attributed to St. Anselm, and was originally intended for women in labour. (p.27).
10.

Also typical of such a delusional disorder are shifting loyalties, sometimes with radical shifts (loyalty to Edward IV converts to censuring his behalf), paranoid psychosis, and occasional brother's dissoluteness as one cause for God's wrath to be visited on Richard's kingdom. Dr. Grolnick's final comments: "It seems to me that many of the villainous Richard, but, driven to support this opinion, Lander's unacknowledged apparent source.

Notes
1. Tudor-Craig prints the Latin text of the prayer, with adjoining English translation on pp. 96-97. The complete prayer covers the recto and verso of more than two folio pages (f. 180.v.-f.183.v). As Tudor-Craig notes, a partial translation of the prayer was effectively used by Rosemary Hawley Jarman, We Speak No Treason (Little, Brown: Boston, 1971), pp. 417-418.


3. A misprint for crimine (Tudor-Craig, p. 96).


5. Translation and Notes by Aaron Joseph Peter

SAGE

Salgia ys an herbe that men clepyth saugue. This herbe ys comyn y-now.

The vertu of this herbe ys that how that euer a man use hre yn eynyg or dryngykyn or yn Powder he ys goud for the palsy. Also he ys goode to help a man of the toth-ache. Also yf a man haue a raw wonde that bledythe moche tak the juice of this herbe and warm hyt and ley to the wound. Also yf a man haue an old cowhe or ellys syknesse yn hys sydys tak the juys of thys herbe and warm hyt and drink hyt with wyn and he shall be hole. Also yf a man or a woman hawe gret itching in their pubic area, take the juice of this herb and boil it in water and wash the area with that water and the itching will go away. Also yf a man wil (wants to) have black hair, take this herb and boil it in water and wash the head well with that water and the hair will be whole. Also, if a man or woman has great itching in their pubic area, take the juice of this herb and boil it in water and wash the area with that water and the itching will go away. Also, if a man will (wants to) have black hair, take this herb and boil it in water and wash the area with that water and the hair will be whole. Also, if a man or woman has great itching in their pubic area, take the juice of this herb and boil it in water and wash the area with that water and the itching will go away. Also, if a man will (wants to) have black hair, take this herb and boil it in water and wash the area with that water and the hair will be whole.

The vertu of thys herbe ys that how that euer a man use hre, if a man haue an old cowhe or ellys syknesse yn hys sydys, tak the juys of thys herbe and warm hyt and ley to the wound. Also yf a man haue an old cowhe or ellys syknesse yn hys sydys, tak the juys of thys herbe and warm hyt and ley to the wound. Also yf a man haue an old cowhe or ellys syknesse yn hys sydys, tak the juys of thys herbe and warm hyt and ley to the wound. Also yf a man haue an old cowhe or ellys syknesse yn hys sydys, tak the juys of thys herbe and warm hyt and ley to the wound.

The vertu of thys herbe ys that how that euer a man use hre, if a man haue an old cowhe or ellys syknesse yn hys sydys, tak the juys of thys herbe and warm hyt and ley to the wound. Also yf a man haue an old cowhe or ellys syknesse yn hys sydys, tak the juys of thys herbe and warm hyt and ley to the wound. Also yf a man haue an old cowhe or ellys syknesse yn hys sydys, tak the juys of thys herbe and warm hyt and ley to the wound. Also yf a man haue an old cowhe or ellys syknesse yn hys sydys, tak the juys of thys herbe and warm hyt and ley to the wound.

Also if a man or woman hawe gret itching in their pubic area, take the juice of this herb and boil it in water and wash the area with that water and the itching will go away.
12.

**NOTES ON GANYNGALE:** This herb is identified by Gösta Brodin as the root of *Alpinia Galanga* or perhaps *Cyperus Longus* ("English galingale"). On what grounds is not sure. Evidently, this is not galingale as we know it, so I am unable to determine exactly what it is. According to the glossary Brodin supplies, ganyngale does mean galingale elsewhere in the monk's writing. The other galingale is good for "men that be stoppyd at the brest," falling sickness, gout, and cramps. (Because of the use of the word "men" "stoppyd at the brest" can only mean respiratory distress, probably ranging from the mildest to the severest discomfort). One wonders how the monk discovered the first herb was an aphrodisiac. Would it be too much to expect Margery Nonesuch's correspondence to clear this up? Or at least sweep it under the rug? (The editor suggests that monks were occasionally required to hear confession, and what more likely place to hear of some reportedly innocent potion offered the confessor with unexpected results?)

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

*Agnes Castus* (Middle English Herbal), ed. Gösta Brodin, Uppsala; Lund; Cambridge, Harvard University Press 1950

---

**MARGERY NONESUCH COUNSELS THE MAYOR ON FLEAS**

Goodwife Margery Nonesuch, Strawberry Cottage near five mile marker, Berwick Road, York.

I send Thee greeting Dear Friend Margery. Lately I have had a problem to wit—Item: my dogs have fleas. Item: Now I, my wife, children, maidervants, clerks, groom and so forth have the same scratchy complaint. Item: We are all of us dogs, maids, grooms, clerks, my wife Anne who sends thee greeting and our six children covered with small red welts. And do call upon you for assistance and advice reminding you that as your Mayor I forgave thee thy taxes last year in Thanksgiving for the timely aid thee gave my goodwife in her last childbed. Yours in Christ Thomas Wrangwysh, Mayor of York. Item: The need is urgent.

Thomas Wrangwysh, Mayor of the City of York, Near Micklegate, York.

Friend Thomas I send you greeting. Many are the cures suggested for your afflictions. Some men say you should take away all the straw in your beds and rushes from your floors and replace them. Some men say you should strew wormwood all over your house. Some say there is a herb called pennyroyal where your dogs lie them down. Some men say you should bathe your body, your wife, your dogs, cats, maidervants, grooms, clerks, cook, cellarer, steward, seamstress, waterboy, turnspit, scullery and babes with strong soap and rinse all in water in which you have soaked a handful of oatmeal until said water is milky white. This rinsing to relieve the small red welts and make your skin lure fewer fleas. I say you should do all of these things in the order I have mentioned them excepting only that you replace the old straw and rushes with new after all else is done. Thanking you in advance for the forgiveness of this year's taxes, and I shall pray to Holy St. Cuthbert for you, who was probably similarly afflicted. Yours Margery Nonesuch.

By Lorraine Attridge

The chairman of the American branch of the Richard III Society has made a pleasant and valuable contribution to fifteenth-century studies. Mr. Snyder's volume is much more than a condensation of Caroline A. Halsted's 1844 study of Richard. For that alone, students in particular would have blessed him, but Snyder reaches beyond Halsted to study topics whose previous publication history was often obscure.

The "Editor's General Introduction" provides a brief and standard summary of English medieval history from 1066, giving an idea of the lawlessness and turbulence of the period. Following nineteen chapters of condensed Halsted, Snyder reappears on the scene with several contributions of his own. Chapter XX, "The Boneyl Founcl in the Tower," is very well constructed. Snyder summarizes the Peerage Study of Peers in the Tower (Vol. XII (2), Appendix J), and gives the complete reference to the classic Tanner and Wright study in Archaeologia. Ross in his recent biography of Richard has made much of the Archaeologia findings, taking too seriously their uncertain conclusions. In 1963, Dr. H.H.G. Lyne-Pariks addressed the Society on those findings, warning that little if any identification could be made from the bones. Snyder recreates the text of this address from the back issues of the Richardson, and presents to a wider audience its well-informed moderation. In Chapter XXI, Snyder concentrates on scholarly views of Sir Thomas More, and the quality of Henry VII's reign, before reprinting from English Historical Documents Volume I the records pertaining to the death of Edward Prince of Wales at Tewkesbury. 1 His first appendix presents the Rotuli Parlamentorum texts of three important acts of parliament: Richard's act of settlement (the Titulus Regius), Henry VII's act attaining Richard and his followers, and Henry's order to destroy all copies of Titulus Regius. Full references to the page numbers in the Rotuli Parlamentorum are a valuable contribution.

Snyder's condensation of Halsted is very faithful to the original, as a paragraph-by-paragraph comparison reveals. For the most part, he has shortened her over-long sentences, and moved her references and footnote narratives into the text. Also removed was Halsted's moralizing, and her long anachronistic sections on the family life so dear to Victorian hearts. But Snyder also chose to omit Halsted's passages concerning Richard's inability to enjoy "the weal of that manly spirit," and the creation of his love of power from his family background. 2 Following her description of Richard of York's removal from sanctuary, Halsted had curious and unkind words about Gloucester:

Richard, in an evil hour, yielded to the worldliness of a corrupt age and a pernicious education; and by this de-ration of moral and religious duty he cast from him the glory of being held up to the admiration of posterity as an example of rigid virtue and self-denial, instead of being chronicled as an usurper and the slave of his ungodly ambition.

By omitting these sentiments, Snyder's Earnest Younger Brother is sweetener than Halsted may have intended, and is certainly not her powerless agent of Edward IV's questionable actions. 3

The advertisements have told us that Halsted's edition is both expensive and unavailable. Is it not true that anyone who wants to read Halsted in the original, much less condensed form? Mr. Snyder does not give us a clue: the volume badly needs a short biography of the woman praising a praiseworthy original research (primarily for her employment of primary sources, as Snyder is deserving of praise for rescuing her from obscurity."

Notes
1 While it is true that few histories even mention "the growth of the legend" of Richard's involvement in Edward's death, a study of the murder and the legends can be found in the booklet "The Battle of Tewkesbury the Day of May 1471," by P.W. Hammond, H. G. Shearman, and G. Wheeler, pp. 42-4, as well as in the broadsheet mentioned above. Snyder's discussion of the case can be found on pages 52-5 and 265-7.
3 Ibid., p. 88.
4 Ibid., pp. 198-200.
5 Some of the difficulties are sketched by Una Pope-Hennessy in her book Agnes Strickland, Biographer of the Queen of England 1796-1874, 2 Vols. (London, 1940), pp. 59-60, 235; Macaulay and Carlyle disapproved of female historians, but Disraeli assured Strickland in 1851, "you have again proved that authenti-c materials and curious research are compatible with a graceful and roman-tic pen." 6 Ibid., p. 252.
6 Lingard's fourteen-volume general History of England was a Victorian standard.
Charles Ross, Richard III (London: Eyre Methuen, 49.95; Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 54.50); pp. 311, 265.

By Lorraine Attreed

Things are not what they seem, Professor Ross keeps telling his readers in his biography of Richard III. How many medievalists had envied Ross's acquisition of such a hot property, the young ones regretting their late introduction to scholasticism? Some might have longed for the Long-anticipated, Ross's volume was also viewed as a closed door, the final word on the subject. Happily, this is not so, for the unhappy reason that Ross's limited perceptions will and must be viewed as an invitation to further research, consideration, and interpretation.

But then again, things are not what they seem, and my disappointment with Ross's insights does not prevent me from recognizing and applauding the care that has gone into the book. Ross makes good use of recent research, particularly of younger scholars. He concentrates on printed sources, with the major exception of Harleian 433 (he cites folio numbers' rather than page numbers); he looks at Richard "in a different way from what has been in the past," which for Ross means concentrating on what Richard's contemporaries thought about him, as they approached the matter approach, and not so very different from the one Charles Wood used in his 1975 Traditio article, but what works at article-length is not strong enough to carry an argument through an entire book. Ross's Richard ends up as pale as the washed-out Ross Koll sketch on the dust jacket. Ross's major contribution, the sociological concept that Richard "was conditioned by the standards of his age," unfortunately turns into less a guide to interpretation than an excuse for lack of it. Nevertheless, Ross's voluminous, the most complete and scholarly attempt to chronicle the life. Even those who will not hold it as the standard work of reference will find it impossible to ignore.

Ross's introduction takes the form of an essay which reviews the major chronicles and historians of Richard III. His short descriptions of Mancini, Vergil and More are cogent and very well written. He is particularly convincing in his role, culminating in his own words, of Richard, and others cannot be interpreted as having invented the propagandistic Tudor Saga. Ross commends the Richard III Society for little more than the Harold 433 project, but his footnote references to thirteen Ricardian articles reveal a deeper debt. Part I reviews Richard's early career, and degenerates into what even Ross (p. 233) considers the naïve nature of the inheritance (and genealogy, I would add). Ross's errors here (if any) I will leave for others to find. He argues convincingly that Richard was not favored over Clarence by their royal brother until 1459, a fact which tells us less about fraternal relations (pace Ross) than about Richard's youth.

This is one of the first examples of Ross's inability to give ample consideration to his evidence. His dealings with Yorkist parliaments are especially early. In one case (pp. 35, 36) that Richard learned from Edward IV how to push acts through parliament to support claims untenable in any court of common law. Ross concludes that such achievements reveal a docile parliament willing to do the King's bidding, and in this case, to shower Richard with lands and grants which should have been denied by others under the laws and customs of inheritance. Ross does not recognize what such docility did for parliament, in terms of acquisition of extraordinary powers which would alter the conception of parliament's role, and serve as later precedents.

Ross can be excused from carrying the interpretation this far in the early example, but no such excuse is possible in later discussions. He admits that the assembly took upon itself authority as a spiritual court to consider the precontract story, but he rejects Dunham and Wood's argument that Richard was made king by the authority of the parliament of 1483. Ross says that this was the case with the Estates, elected Richard June 1483 was an extra-parliamentary body, and he cites the pertinent passage in Rotuli Parliamentorum to prove it. His choice of a passage to support his view is extremely selective, and he would have found that the first Three Estates were identified with the Estates assembled in parliament January 1484. The actions of June were to be of like effect, virtue, and force as if the same things had been done...in a full parliament and by authority of the same accepted and approved. As in his examination of Edward IV's parliaments, Ross sees the 1484 gathering as nothing more than "a biddable assembly, acting to inhibit future intrusions of the king's personal retinue on to his person and the authority of Parliament", but what works at article-length is not strong enough to allow it to function with the authority not just of the king but that of God and the realm. Such a theory ("more permanent than practice") according to constitutional historian F.W. Maitland, and the emphasis it places on the authority of parliament in the making of a king, "put parliament well on the road towards supremacy or sovereignty." This last quotation from Maitland's 1952 study, I strongly disagree.

The chapter on the usurpation of 1483 is littered with similar unanswered questions. Any argument about the Hastings conspiracy is guileless with the problem of when (or if) Richard began to plot for the throne. Ross instead is content to point out that a guilty verdict for Richard is not to be found until the inhuman "Tudor tradition" (p. 79). He misses every chance to ask just how real was the Hastings conspiracy, and concentrates instead on branding Wood's Traditio treatment of the subject both "ingenious" and "pervasive." Ross ignores Wood's observation that Hastings' concept of Richard as a real threat to the troops he called for on June 10 arrived at June 25. More serious is Ross's selection of the evidence. He cites Polydore Vergil's account of the days fol-
lowing the Stony Stratford incident, noting that the queen was in one part of the kingdom while Richard was in the other. Ross concludes that Hastings was still supporting Richard and believing the latter's actions to be justifiable. Had he continued reading that same page of Vergil, Ross would have found a long passage describing Hastings' fears for Edward V, the future king, and the former’s collection of war materials in St Paul’s to plan what to do. This may or may not be evidence of a conspiracy, but if Ross wants to cite Vergil as a major, trustworthy source, he must learn to deal with it just as why, as one of his critics might say, "an act of folly" (p. 99) is a direct contradiction of an earlier examination of the Mowbray inheritance. The chapter on the Princes has a few more difficulties. Where is any discussion of the Mowbray inheritance? Both earlier and later in the book (pp. 36-8, 175), we are told of the ways in which William Lord Berkeley and John Lord Hill was too narrow for traditional battle formation. Instead of ordering the troops to fan out horizontally, Richard must have had his army in column one "battle" behind the other (Norfolk's first, then Richard's, then Percy's). However, such a theory does not lead to any new thoughts on Richard's fatal charge against Henry, although the chapter as a whole is well-written. William Dunham and Charles Wood, The Right to Rule England: Depositions and the Kingdom's Authority, 1377-1485,” American Historical Review, 81 (1976), 738-61.

Notes
11. Ms. Crawford's argument, that June 16-28 is too early for the murder of the Princes, is nicely done, as is the tracing of Tudor's influence on Anglo-European politics. Matters of, and changes in, the justiciatrix and the marshal are discussed, at least in terms of Richard's exercise of prerogative and his need for cash. The shortage of money is reviewed in the final chapter on Bosworth's taxation and the mechanics of disposing of money. Ross's major, innovative contribution in this chapter is the assertion that Ambien Hill was too narrow for traditional battle formation. Instead of ordering the troops to fan out horizontally, Richard must have had his army in column one "battle" behind the other (Norfolk's first, then Richard's, then Percy's). However, such a theory does not lead Ross to any new thoughts on Richard's fatal charge against Henry, although the chapter as a whole is well-written. William Dunham and Charles Wood, The Right to Rule England: Depositions and the Kingdom's Authority, 1377-1485,” American Historical Review, 81 (1976), 738-61.
SEVENTEENTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON MEDIEVAL STUDIES, THE MEDIEVAL INSTITUTION, WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY, KALAMAZOO, MICHIGAN, MAY 1982 (PAPER 9th):

The sessions of this particular medieval studies seminar (there are almost going on at Kalamazoo at the same time) are divided into Medievalism 1-4. Medievalism 1 is subtitled Richard III. Lorraine Attreed will present a paper, "Richard III: Rumor and the Quality of Innocence." Two other papers will be presented, one by Alan S. Hejnal, "Shakespeare's Richard III and Gordon: Dickens," and one by Derah C. Myers, "Shadow in the Sun: Attreed's Notes, Continued:"

mazoo Hilton is giving a special rate of $40.50 single, $49.50 double for students. There:are undoubtedly cheaper places to stay in the large town of Kalamazoo than the Hilton.

For pre-registration by mail must be received by 1 April. Only double rooms will be available if one arrives unregistered at the conference. Single rooms (these are campus rooms, and campus dining) go for $10.75 per night; double, $28 per person. Meals are $2.50 breakfast; $3.00 lunch in the S. W. Banner (5135 Saturday); Kalamazoo Hilton is giving a special rate of $40.50 single, $49.50 double for those who want to live off-campus. Republic Airlines serves Kalamazoo from Detroit and Chicago. For the seminar, regular registration is $30.00; $15.00 for students. There are undoubtedly cheaper places to stay in the large town of Kalamazoo than the Hilton.

Registration at the seminar begins at 8:00 A.M. Wednesday, May 5, and continues throughout the seminar. The actual sessions begin 1:30 Thursday, May 6; the Richard III session begins 1:30 May 7, Friday and lasts till 3:30.

For pre-registration (you are probably too late for this, if you haven't done it by now, for you must write for the catalogue, and mail back the enclosed form in triplicate), write:

Professor Otto Grundler
Director of Medieval Institute
Western Michigan University
Kalamazoo, Mich., 49008

However, registration at the conference should be possible, if you don't mind staying in a double room, or in town.

Good luck, Lorraine; we who can't go to the seminar look forward to reading your paper, either in the Ricardian or the Register.
that most merchants would not choose to do. Caxton, who was at least 40 at the time, went to one of the few cities in northern Europe with a printing industry and stayed there for 18 months learning his trade. Blades, Deacon, Blake and Childs have added up the evidence and come up with a kind of medieval version of a Victorian Mercer as designation for Caxton. I see a man who loved books, and who gradually eliminated all other aspects of his business so that he could concentrate on books and manuscripts. He made a comfortable living selling books, but he made it by doing something he liked doing--making the books he sold. It is this love of books rather than direct patronage that ties him to Richard III. Kendall (p. 343, Richard III) quotes one piece of legislation that Richard added to an act of his parliament in 1484, a stringent, regulatory act "touching the merchants of Italy." Richard and his councillors appended:

Provided alway that this act or any part thereof, or any other made or to be made in the present parliament, in no wise extend...any let, hurt or impediment to any artificer or merchant stranger of what nation or country he be...for bringing into this realm, or selling by retail or otherwise, of any manner books written or imprinted, or for the inhabiting within the said realm for the same intent, or to any writer, binder, or imprinter of such books, as he hath or shall have to sell by way of merchandise, or for their abode in this same realm for the exercising of the said occupations....

One of the chief beneficiaries of Richard's amendment was Wynken Van der Worde, Caxton's foreman and eventual successor who could no longer be expelled, or have his trade restricted, as a foreigner. As Kendall points out, this was the first act dealing with freedom of the press. It is in remarkable contrast to Tudor legislation on the subject.

Caxton dedicated only one of his books to Richard. During Richard's reign, he was searching for a patron, as his primary patron, Rivers, had been executed by Richard, and his first patron, Margaret of Burgundy, was too far away to be of any help. In fact, Caxton never again found a patron like Rivers who commissioned many of Caxton's works. His later patrons seem to be a much more diverse group including fellow merchants of the city of London and Margaret Beaufort.

He died at Westminster in either 1491 or 1492.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:
Blake, N.F., Caxton and His World, Andre Deutsch, London, 1969

Caxton: England's First Publisher. Barnes and Noble, New York, 1976


*********

In 1976, the British government issued a set of stamps commemorating Caxton's career as a printer. These were then made into postcards, two of which are reproduced on the opposite page.