

Loyauté me Lie Richardian Register



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AND THE
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Snyder

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Editors: Pamela Garrett, Julie Vognar, Hazel Peter

Address material for the Register to Julie Vognar, 2161 North Valley, Berkeley, Ca. 94702. Articles on subjects pertaining to Richard III and his era are eagerly sought from our members, as are personal news items.

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

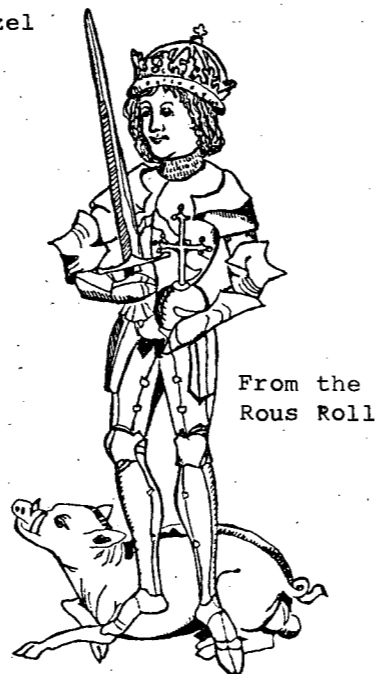


The Fellowship of the White Boar is the original, now alternate, name of the Society. The American Branch now incorporates the former Friends of Richard III, Inc.



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



From the Rous Roll

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"Tant le desiere" or "Loyaulte me lie"--or both?

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, Alison Hanham, in her article "Richard III, Lord Hastings and the Historians," EHR, April, 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' Indentured Retainers,' 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. 139.) Is one, perhaps, the motto of a young 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 Souvente me souvene!

Ross'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 will find in "Letters and Notes" some very important words from Peter Hammond about Ross's Richard III; under "Book Reviews," a full-blown review of Ross's Richard III by Lorraine Attreed, and here, a fragment of Barbara Schaaf'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."

Letters & Notes

NOTICE: Mrs. Thomas Porter, P.O. Box 898, Watsonville, Ca. 95076, has Registers back to 1976. Any takers? Phone: 408-724-4086. *****

"In Search Of..." tapes: Although the Holmwood Memorial Library (c/o editor) has this video tape for both VHS and BETA machines, 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 in 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 with the fellowship money and worked at the Norwich and Norfolk Record Office. I took photographic equipment and photographed leet rolls, charters and financial records relating to the ale and beer brewers of Norwich...

I am finding the development of the brewing industry fascinating. During the fifteenth century the brewers were becoming increasingly more wealthy and powerful. I have studied them in London, Norwich and Coventry. In London and Norwich the brewers gained status and recognition by the end of the fifteenth century with a brewer becoming mayor in each city early in the sixteenth century. In Coventry, however, the municipal authorities maintained control over brewing through the national Statute of the Assize of Bread and Ale. Because of this control, brewing remained a craft of little profit and little status.

I shall be in contact again to keep the Society informed. Thank you again for your financial support which has

helped make my research possible.

Sincerely,

John J. Butt
Rutgers College
Department of History
New Brunswick, N.Y.
08903

COMMENTS AND SUGGESTIONS ON PATEICK CARLETON:

...Was very interested in your article about searching for Carleton, especially "The Ram of Derbyshire" story. The Ram Song is the regimental song of the Derbyshire Regiment, actually nicknamed The Rams...in print (the song) has been thoroughly purified with only certain parts of the animal's anatomy mentioned... There was a play long ago in which a man dressed as a Ram with golden horns garlanded with flowers danced and pretended to tup all the Derby maidens around, but it was a memory in 1830...

My guess is Carleton was not Derbyshire born, but bred here, because Buxton was a noted spa town and had until recently a specialist hospital using the nasty tasting spa waters for rheumatic and other crippling diseases. He could have been a diplomat family'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 and even become a diplomat himself... His parents could have married abroad and he himself born and even died there. He wrote "There was an owd Ram of DURBYshire" which is north Derbyshire; in the central and south part and Derby itself, it is DARBYshire. Buxton is so far north it is nearly in Yorkshire/Lancashire...

Jo Fuller
Derby, 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.

HAMMOND ON ROSS:

Ross' Richard III is readable, and essential, I think. It will be the standard biography for some 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
Second Son
Peters, Maureen, Beggarmaid, Queen
Simonds, Paula, Daughter of Violence
Stamier, Hilda Brookman, Plantagenet Princess

ARTICLES:

Attreed, Lorraine, "The King's Interest: York's Fee Farm and the Central Government, 1482-92" reprinted from Northern History, Vol. XVII, 1981.
Little, Dr. Little's diagnosis of Richard III: "Deformity and Character"
Jones, Emyr Wyn, "Richard III's Disfigurement: A Medical Postscript" from Folklore, Vol. 91, No. 2, 1980

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES:

Margaret Beaufort

PLAYS:

Shakespeare, William, Henry IV, Part One
Henry V
Henry VI, Part One
Richard II

TAPES:

"In Search Of..." (the murder of the princes in the tower) for both BETA and VHS formats

PAMPHLETS:

Awdry, George, The Richard III Society, A History

6. Battlefield of Bosworth, 1981 season
Richard III Society, The Barton Library Catalogue. Part Two: Papers,
and Part Two, Section B: The Wars of the Roses; Section C: Topographi-
cal Material.

NONFICTION:

- Alexander, Michael Van Cleave, The First of the Tudors (A study of Henry VII and his reign)
Backhouse, Janet, The Illuminated Manuscript (technicalities of manu-
script production, lots of pictures in color and black and white)
Belloc, Hillaire, A Shorter History of England
Churchill, Winston, The Birth of Britain
Dolmetsch, 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 illus-
trations or costumed dancers who first performed them)
Hankey, 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
Lander, J.R., Government and Community--England 1450-1509 (considerable
revision of social, governmental, administrative and ecclesiastical
background of 15th century England)
Platt, Colin, The Atlas of Medieval Man (overview of the world over
500 years from 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)
Sheridan, Ronald, and Ross, Anne, Gargoyles & Grotosques (fully illus-
trated volume on gargoyles and grotesques on European medieval churches
and cathedrals -- book sets out to show reason for their existence)
Snyder, William, ed. The Crown and the Tower: The Legend of Richard III.
(partially a simplification of Halsted's two-volume work)
Wolffe, B.P., The Crown Lands 1461-1536 (a study of English government
1461-1536, based on crown lands: an examination of history in Yorkist
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 stat-
ed "The coronation celebration dinner will be in early May 1983 at the Guild-
hall...entertaining the Lord Mayor of London as well as the present Duke of
Gloucester." This is really not correct, as the date is not yet fixed, nor
is the possible attendance of the Duke...As soon as we have concrete news
about the Guildhall Banquet of course we'll let you have it.

"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"

7.

VISUALIZE THE WORST POSSIBLE...

"The fact that the (Leicester) City Council have bought statuettes to give
visiting V.I.P.'s encourages one to hope that they will make sure the
full size statue matches the statuettes and has everything he should have!

--Elizabeth Nokes
Editor, Ricardian
Bulletin

This leads one to AN IMAGINED CONVERSATION IN THE LEICESTER CITY COUNCIL
ROOM: "Where'd 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."

Richmond

His blood spattered my armour as he died
Under the axes of the men in red
And quenched for me the frozen flash of dread
When I had watched that furious, desparate 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.

Rosemary Tillman
Rockville, Maryland

FOREIGN SUBSCRIBERS?

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,
Sea Cliff, N.Y. 11579. 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 placed orders 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 applauds pri-
vate 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 --

LIMITED CANDOR AND IMPROBABLE SLANDER:

A Commentary on J.R. Lander, Govern-
ment 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 Richard deemed himself innocent of judicial murder and other crimes or that he was "in the highest degree schizophrenic." (pp. 329-330)

For those "Lander watchers" among us (readers of Conflict and Stability in Fifteenth Century England, Crown and Nobility: 1450-1509, and The Wars of the Roses), this considered judgment reveals the hard line of the adamant historian. He has inveighed against amateurs and dilettanti who have dared challenge the handed down, established (no matter the duration) wisdom of historians. As Charles Ross wrote in his review of the present book, 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."²

But to those who agree with him, Lander seems to be filled with adulation, even to the extent of aping their words or going them one better. Pamela Tudor-Craig's "This 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 "A personal prayer written for the king, most probably after the deaths of his wife and only legitimate son" (p.329). The evidently has disappeared. Again, Tudor-Craig's "(the prayer) reads with the incantation of a litany. The note of oppression and danger is very strong" (p.27) becomes Lander's "a prayer reading like the incantation of a litany, fraught with notes 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 had reason to believe himself innocent of the charges to which he referred in his letter to Southampton" (p.27) becomes Lander's "The prayer must indicate that either Richard thought he was innocent of the charges or 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.330).

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 bought back with thine own precious blood that forfeited inheritance 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. Deign to assuage, turn aside, extinguish and bring to nothing 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 King 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.³

The major thrust of the Lander and Tudor-Craig argument is that the prayer, added "in a rough hand" to the manuscript, has special and unique relevance to Richard. First of all, Ross comments in his review: "The doom-laden 'private paper' to which (Lander) attaches so much importance as a guide to the character of Richard III is in fact only one of many extant copies of the same oration." Also, as Tudor-Craig herself writes, "The source of this prayer goes back to the early Fathers of the Church. It is traditionally attributed to St. Anselm, and was originally intended for women in labour" (p.27).

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 falso crimine⁴ et testimonio, so prominently stands out" (p.329). Unsurprisingly, 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 strongly" (p.27).

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...Moses 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 Canaanite woman...also Peter...and Paul...." Susannah 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 de falso crimine et testimonio. Yet this phrase is traditional; witness these instances in the Vulgate version of the story: falsum testimonium (Daniel 13:43), falsa testimonium (13:49), falsum dixisse testimonium (13:62). Indeed, in his personal copy of Wycliffe, Richard would have found the phrase translated as fals witnessyng.⁵ In his misguided efforts to derange Richard, Lander is less than honest or candid to his readers.

As for Lander's diagnosis--I submitted the chapter on Richard to a practicing psychiatrist, Dr. Lawrence Grolnick, Assistant Clinical Professor at Albert Einstein and Cornell Medical Colleges in New York City, who lectures on and treats severe mental disorders. His conclusion was that even if Lander's premises were valid (Dr. Grolnick was not aware of the evidence to debunk the special relevance of the prayer as well as the more generally recognized "Historical Doubts"), Richard would not be schizophrenic. So much for Lander's diagnosis! As a psycho-historian he fails on psychological and historical grounds.

Richard, however, does not receive a clean bill of health. (Again, Dr. Grolnick based his judgments on Lander's presentation.) Diagnosis: Paranoid Personality or Psychosis. Lander's portrayal of Richard as beset by self-righteous piety and obsessed with sexual morality is analyzed by Dr. Grolnick as "typical manifestations of the Defense of Denial and Projection. That is, it is not me who has evil intentions and depraved sexual motives, but others who have these motives and who plot evil designs--against me."

Also typical of such a delusional disorder are shifting loyalties, sometimes with radical shifts (loyalty to Edward IV converts to censuring his 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 people in positions of power have paranoid personalities, and occasionally a much more serious condition, paranoid psychosis, develops."

What we are left with, therefore, is Lander's long-held, unbudging view of the villainous Richard, but, driven to support this opinion, Lander stretches character assassination to what may be termed caricature deratination. Having failed to be totally convincing with historical "facts" and reasons, Lander takes refuge in Richard's alleged unreasoning.

Notes

- 1 (Harvard: Cambridge, Mass., 1980). In addition, I will refer to Pamela Tudor-Craig, Richard III (Boydell Press: Ipswich, 1977; the National Portrait Gallery exhibition catalogue), 2nd ed., Lander's unacknowledged apparent source.
- 2 Times Literary Supplement, January 16, 1981, p. 66.
- 3 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.
- 4 A misprint for crimine (Tudor-Craig, p. 96).
- 5 The Latin and English forms are to be found in Susannah: An Alliterative Poem of the Fourteenth Century, ed. Alice Miskimin (Yale Studies in English, No. 170: New Haven, 1969) pp. 156, 163, 169, 186.

PLANT AGENTS?

(from AB Bookman's Weekly, Nov. 16, 1981)

Charlton & Thompson. Croquet
 Chase-Riboud, B. The Virginian
 Cole. Folksongs: Eng. Ire. Scot.
 ? The Complete Musician
 Cornford, F. Anything by Author
Costain, T. Hist of Plant Agents 4 Vols.
 Crankshaw, E. The Fall of the House of
 Habsburg
 Craven,.....

MARTHA HOGARTH NEEDS TYPING HELP
FOR SOCIETY FILING

Martha Hogarth has an accumulation of non-renewed members on 3x5 file cards, which could be transferred to 8½x11 bond for easier storage. "I don't want to throw them out without noting the names, but it's getting like the old joke about the government making triplicate copies of old records before destroying them. No hurry about it; if I get more than one response (Martha Hogarth, 207 Carpenter St. Sea Cliff, N.Y. 11579, (516) 676-2374), I'll divide up the work--and very dull work it is! Thank you for your help." Martha Hogarth

SOME HERBS AND THEIR USES CIRCA 1440

Translation and Notes by Aaron Joseph Peter

By comparing much historical data, Gösta Brodin, the editor of Agnus Castus, the book from which these herb descriptions were taken, determined that (at least part of) this herb lore was copied finally by monks during one of five short periods. A.J. Peter has lit upon 1440 as the probable time of final copying, as it falls neatly within four of the five historical periods which Gösta Brodin designates. The original descriptions are presented with as much faithfulness to the typeface Gösta Brodin chose to use for her reproduction as a simple modern typewriter is capable of.

It is perhaps most interesting to note that to these herbs, described nowadays as "seasonings" or "aromatic" are ascribed all manner of cures for both mild and serious disease, and, secondly, that the concept of dosage, or strength had not yet been invented. With other herbs, less harmless and mild, this lack of prescriptive dosage is positively frightening. Some of these stronger herbs will be presented in a later issue.

--J.V.

SAGE

Salgia ys an herbe that men clepyth saugue. Thys herbe ys comyn y-now. The vertu of thys herbe ys that how that euer a man vse hure yn etyng or drynkyng or yn Powder he ys goud for the palsy. Also he ys good to hele a man of the toth-ache. Also yf a man haue a raw wonde that bledythe moche take powder of hure and ley to the wond. Also yf a man haue an old cowhe or ellys syknesse yn hys sydys tak the juys of thys herbe and warm hyt and drynk hyt with wyn and he shall be hole. Also yf a man or a woman haue gret ycchanges a-but hure prevyte tak thys herbe and seth hure yn water and wheshsh the preuyteys ther wyth that water and the jcchynges shal go away. Also yf a man wyl have blak here tak the juys of thys herbe and wheshsh well yn the hot sonne thyn hed therwyth. This herbe is hot and drye.

TRANSLATION: Salgia is an herb men call sage. This herb is common now. The virtue of this herb is that however a man use it, in eating, drinking or powdered, it is good for the palsy. It is good for healing tooth-ache. If a man has a raw wound that bleeds a great deal, take powdered sage and lay it on the wound. If someone has a cold or other sickness in his sides, take the juice of this herb and warm it and drink it with wine and he shall be whole. Also, if a man or woman has great itching in their pubic area, take 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 the juice of this herb and wash the head well with it in the hot sun. This herb is hot and dry.

GANINGALE, OR PERHAPS GALINGALE?

Ganyngale is an herbe that men clepe ganygale. The vertu of thys herbe is it comfertyth the stomak and makyth a man to defye his mete. Also it lesy3t and lathy3t owt wykked windes out of mannys body. Also it maky3t a mannys mowth to swete. Also it hetyth a mannys reynes. Also it maky3t a man to han aptyt to wymmen and wymmen to men. Hot and drye.

TRANSLATION: Ganyngale is an herb that men call ganygale. The virtue of this herb is that it comforts the stomach and makes a man digest his food. It also diminishes and lets wicked winds out of the body. It makes the mouth sweet, heats the kidneys, and is an aphrodesiac. This herb is hot and dry.

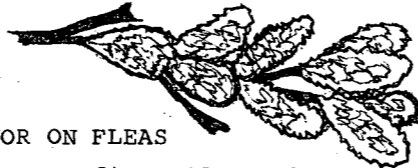
NOTES ON GANINGALE: This herb is identified by Gösta Brodin as the root of *Alpinia Galanga* or perhaps *Cyperus Longus* ("English galingale"), on what grounds I am not sure. Evidently, this is not galingale as we know it, so I am unable to determine exactly what it is. According to the glossary Brodin 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 aphrodesiac. 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?)

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sage



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, maidservants, clerks, grooms and so forth have the same scratchy complaint. Item: We are all of us, dogs, cats, 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 taking care however that it is hidden where neither thy babes nor dogs and cats shall gnaw upon it. Some men say that you should strew pennyroyal where your dogs lie them down. And some men say that you should bathe your body, your wife, your dogs, cats, maidservants, grooms, clerks, cook, cellerer, 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.

To Make Fine Paste

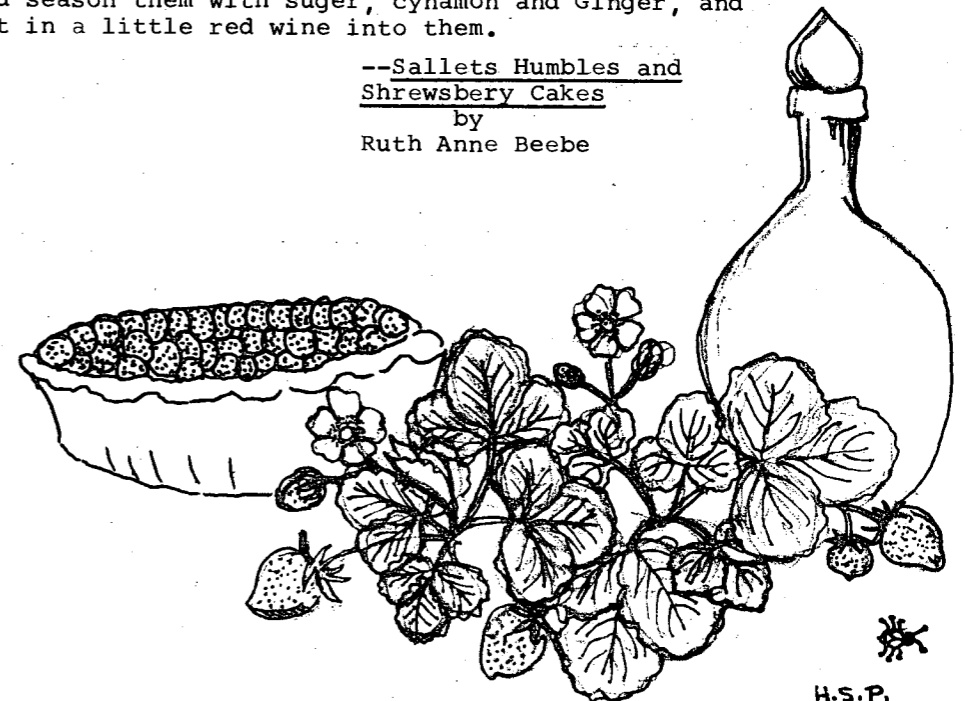
Take faire flower and wheate, and the yolkes of egges with sweet Butter, melted, mixing all these together with your hands, till it be brought dowe (down) paste, and then make your coffins whether it be for pyes or tartes, then you may put Saffron and sugar if you want it a sweet paste, having respect to the true seasoning some use to put to their paste Beefe or Mutton broth, and some Creame.

To Make a Tarte of Strawberries

Wash your strawberries, and put them into your Tarte and season them with suger, cynamon and Ginger, and put in a little red wine into them.

--Sallets Humbles and Shrewsbury Cakes

by
Ruth Anne Beebe



BOOK REVIEWS

William H. Snyder, The Crown and the Tower: The Legend of Richard III (Richard III Society, Inc., \$18.50). pp. vi, 295.

By Lorraine Attreed

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 Bones Found in the Tower," is very well constructed. Snyder summarizes the Complete Peerage study of the Princes 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. R.H.G. Lyne-Pirkis addressed the Society on those findings, warning that little if any identification could be made from the bones. Snyder rescues the text of this address from the back issues of the Ricardian, 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 4 the records pertaining to the death of Edward Prince of Wales at Tewkesbury.¹ His first appendix presents the Rotuli Parliamentorum texts of three important acts of parliament: Richard's act of settlement (the Titulus Regius), Henry VII's act attainting Richard and his followers, and Henry's order to destroy all copies of Titulus Regius. Full references to the page numbers in the Rotuli Parliamentorum make this 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 escape the corruption of his times, 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 dereliction 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 un-governable ambition.³

By omitting these sentiments, Snyder's Earnest Younger Brother is sweeter than Halsted may have intended, and is certainly not her powerless agent of Edward IV's questionable actions.⁴

The advertisements have told us that Halsted's edition is both expensive and swamped with "over-fussy Victorian language." So why should anyone want 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 praised as a pioneer of original research (primarily for her use of Harl. MS. 433). The size and the difficulty of Halsted's task cannot be overestimated. The romantic atmosphere of Middleham, of which Mr. Halsted enjoyed the clerical living, was not enough for her. Like Agnes and Eliza Strickland, Mary Anne Everett Green, and Alice Stopford Green, Halsted somehow left Victorian hearth and home to work in the public archives. This occurred at a time when the archives were just beginning to be both catalogued and opened to the general (but not necessarily female) public.⁵

Halsted's admirable references may provide the most frustration for readers of the condensation. Snyder transfers Halsted's cryptic, abbreviated footnotes intact to his text for convenience, but unfortunately he does not expand them or include them in full in his general bibliography. Names like Lingard, Habington, and Sandford are not household names anymore; a brief explanation of why Halsted found them so compelling also would have been appreciated.⁶ The complete references for the Camden Society volumes and items like "Hearne's Fragment" could only have helped the student readers who will benefit most from this book. More seriously, I am uncertain whether Snyder, by citing later authorities from Gairdner to Kendall "as Richard's story becomes more complex," is trying to show how current Halsted's theories remained, or how dated she became. Gairdner is a far more hostile source than the selected passages reveal: the notes on pages 107 and 183 to this effect are not enough. To cite so little from so few seems more tantalizing than illuminating. More use could have been made, however, of contemporary observer Dominic Mancini, undiscovered when Halsted was doing her research. On a more petty level, the typographical errors are as disconcerting as the medieval disregard for a consistent spelling of Elizabeth Grey's maiden name. William Hogarth's genealogical charts in Appendix II suffer from being severely reduced to the point of illegibility; and surely a chart for the huge Neville family was in order here.

Nevertheless, Snyder's contribution cannot be denied. His long years of work have resulted in a clear and accurate text, accompanied by supplementary data of great value. Halsted, in any version, is as worthy of attention 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 III's involvement in Edward's death, a study of the murder and the legends can be found in the booklet "Battle of Tewkesbury 4th May 1471," by P.W. Hammond, H. G. Shearring, and G. Wheeler, pp. 42-4, as well as in the EHD volume mentioned above. Snyder's discussion of the case can be found on pages 52-5 and 265-7.
- 2 C.A. Halsted, Richard III as Duke of Gloucester and King of England, 2 vols. (London, 1844), II, pp. 58-9, 107-8.
- 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. 59-69, 235. Macaulay and Carlyle disapproved of female historians, but Disraeli assured Strickland in 1851, "you have again proved that authentic materials and curious research are compatible with a graceful and romantic pen." Ibid., p. 222.
- 6 Lingard's fourteen-volume general History of England was a Victorian standard.

Charles Ross, Richard III (London: Eyre Methuen, £9.95; Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, \$24.50); pp. liii, 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 birth, the mature scholars gnashing teeth over a lost assignment? 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 careful labor 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 Horrox and Hammond edition page numbers). Ross's approach is thematic: 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. This sounds like a good, safe approach when Ross introduces it, and not so very different from the one Charles Wood used in his 1975 Traditio article,¹ 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 Rous Roll sketch on the dust jacket. Ross's major thematic 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' volume is 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 historical 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 good at reviewing Dr. Hanham's role, and the reasons why More and others cannot be interpreted as having invented the propagandistic "Tudor Saga." Ross commends the Richard III Society for little more than the Harl. 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 calls (p. 38) "indigestible matters of 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 incomplete. He states early in the book (pp. 31, 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, in this case to shower Richard with lands and grants which should have been retained 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 both 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 his discussion of Richard's parliament of 1484 (pp. 185-6). He admits that the assembly took upon itself authority as a spiritual court to consider the pre-contract story, but he rejects Dunham and Wood's argument that Richard was made king by the authority of this parliament.² Ross insists that the Three Estates of the Realm which elected Richard June 1483 was an extra-parliamentary body, and he cites the pertinent passage in Rotuli Parliamentorum to prove it.³ His choice of a passage to support his case is extremely selective: had he merely continued reading the entry, 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 so said...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 further displays of opposition to Richard's rule. Ross looks only at why "the authority of parliament" was used, not at its nature. Had he done so, he could not have blown out of proportion Dunham and Wood's thesis, saddling them with an assertion they never made, that 1484 was "the high-water mark of 'constitutionalism' in the fifteenth century." Their point is a more subtle and progressive one, that parliament was beginning to gather to itself powers which allowed it to speak with the authority not just of the king but 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."⁴ This last quotation from Dunham and Wood is actually cited by Ross (p. 185), who ignores the gradual, developmental nature of the process. The parliaments of Edward IV and Richard III pleased their sovereigns, as Ross has noticed, but they were at the same time acquiring powers that would change the nature of kingship and accession.⁵ Remember-- things are not what they seem.

Ross's decision to reduce discussion of "The Fate of Edward IV's Sons" to a nine-page chapter (with a two-page Appendix "On the Bones of 1674") was an excellent one. There is so much more, of more importance, to examine than "the most celebrated of English murder mysteries." It will come as no surprise to those who know his work that Ross thinks Richard guilty, not only because Richard's own contemporaries thought him so. What is more disturbing is the weak way in which Ross argues his case. He is right to point out that if we diminish Richard's responsibility in the case of the Princes, so also do we reduce his political abilities on the whole. Yet, at some point Ross has to ask whether those abilities were strong to begin with, whether Richard was really politically astute. Ross does not do so: Richard's shrewd rule as king (p. 229) convinces his biographer that Richard was intelligent and knew what he was doing, all the time.

The chapter on the usurpation of 1483 is littered with similar unanswered questions and suspicious reasoning. Any treatment of the subject has to struggle 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 make him the unnatural and inhuman villain of the 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 "perverse." Ross ignores Wood's observation that Hastings' conspiracy was probably very real, or Richard would have waited to act until the troops he called for on June 10 arrived c. June 25. More serious is Ross's selection of the evidence. He cites Polydore Vergil's account of the days fol-

18.

lowing the Stony Stratford incident, noting that the queen was in one part of London collecting forces, while Hastings was in another doing the same. Ross concludes that Hastings was still supporting Richard and believing the latter's actions to be justifiable.⁶ Had he continued reading that same page of Vergil, Ross would have found a long passage describing Hastings' fears for Edward V's continued survival, and the former's gathering with friends 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 him in his entirety.

Ross does no better with the problem of the writs of supersedas which cancelled Edward V's coronation and parliament. (His argument p. 87 n.74, denying that the two state occasions "go together," bears no relation to the problem in the text and should be ignored.) He argues that "writs were issued" on 17 June, when Richard had the duke of York out of sanctuary and in his control, and therefore was planning from that moment and by means of the writs to put aside the two boys. The phrase's passive construction hides an ignorance of the way writs were issued in the bureaucratic fifteenth century. It was far from being the case of Richard, Princes safe in his control, sitting down on June 16 or 17 and dictating postponements. The process of writing them to all who had to know, and starting them on their way, would have begun earlier than after the duke of York's emergence from sanctuary. The process would have begun at a time when his continued presence in Westminster would have foiled any plans Richard had to put Edward V aside. Ross thus inadvertently portrays a man caught by events, responding instead of initiating, and is far closer to Wood's portrait than he will ever see.⁷

Consider also Ross's treatment of the illegitimacy stories. Mancini and Vergil attest that the first argument made at St. Paul's cross was that Edward IV was illegitimate. But Ross notes that nobody ever referred to the story again, and Richard later wrote nicely to his mother, so it must never have happened (p. 89 n.80)! To clear up the matter, Ross looks to the parliamentary petition of 1484 (p.90) to determine what Richard claimed about his relatives' illegitimacy, but it is not emphasized that this is the claim in its final form, six months after the event, and not indicative of Richard's state of mind in June 1483. Ross maintains that if the pre-contract existed, "there was nothing to prevent Edward and Elizabeth going through another ceremony of marriage after the death of Eleanor Butler in 1468...." What kind of argument is this? Ross has already told us of (p. lii): "hypothesis and speculation" of "much of the pro-Ricardian stance"!

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 Howard received parts of the inheritance which had been settled on young Richard of York after the death of his child-bride Anne Mowbray. These gifts were made June 28, 1483, and it should be noted that the newly-bastardized duke of York did not need to be legitimate to hold the titles. But he did need to be alive, unless one wishes to argue that Richard illegally disinherited the child as he had done others in his lifetime (see above, p.15). The Mowbray endowments of June 28 are perfect fuel for the Richard-as-murderer fire, and should have been discussed, at least to be dismissed. Their omission in Part II is all the more strange, when it is realized that the woman who has written most about the subject is Mrs. Charles Ross.⁸ Ross does not examine any reasons why Richard would have been compelled to have the Princes murdered. His observation that keeping alive a deposed king was "an act of folly" (p.99) is a direct contradiction of an earlier examination

(p.80) that showed that death did not always follow deposition. He admits that "the princes were dangerous" (p. 102) but never tells us why, such as Richard's fear of a continued loyalty to a young man born and bred a prince, despite his later, suspect bastardization.

In all, are things as bad as they seem? Is the book worthless? Fortunately, no, and not only because it prompts the reader to do the thinking the author has not done. Ross's updating of Chrimes on Henry Tudor in Brittany and France is nicely done, as is the tracing of Tudor's influence on Anglo-European politics. In domestic politics, Ross is more vague about the north-south tensions that affected Richard's rule and its histories, a subject on which he has been influenced by Dr. Tony Pollard.⁹ He also leaves the reader confused about just how many magnates supported Richard, and why (pp.153-63). As indicated, Ross is particularly fond of the theme of deception, and his favorite and frequent quotation is from Polydore Vergil, concerning the change in Richard once he gained the throne: "(he) began to give the show and countenance of a good man...." This charge allows Ross to mention Richard's piety and popular legislation, and undercut the achievements at the same time by attributing them to political shrewdness. Matters of, and changes in, the justice system are given short shrift, although the fascinating corpus cum causa file is examined in terms of Richard's exercise of prerogative and his need for cash.¹⁰ The shortage of money is reviewed in the final chapter on Bosworth and the long-term preparations made against Tudor's invasion. 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).¹¹ 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.

This review has not been easy for me to write. Professor Ross has shown me great kindness in the past, and he is generous in this book with acknowledgements to me and other young scholars. But the encouragement he has given in person and the confidence he imparted would be wasted if they were not used to question his conclusions. It is not too much to expect from Ross a deeper examination of difficult problems. However, the discouraging approach this review has taken is, like many things, not entirely what it seems. Ross's Richard III stands as an invitation to further research and interpretation, and that is its most original and creative contribution.

Notes

- 1 C.T. Wood, "The Deposition of Edward V," Traditio, 31 (1975), 247-86
- 2 W.H. Dunham, Jr. and C.T. Wood, "The Right to Rule England: Depositions and the Kingdom's Authority, 1377-1485," American Historical Review, 81 (1976), 738-61.
- 3 Rot. Parl., VI, pp. 240-2.
- 4 Dunham and Wood, p. 758 (my emphasis).
- 5 Cf. C.T. Wood, "Celestine V, Boniface VIII, and the Authority of Parliament," Journal of Medieval History, 8 (1982), forthcoming. The Maitland quotation can be found in his Constitutional History of England (Cambridge, 1946), p. 197.
- 6 Polydore Vergil, Three Books of Polydore Vergil's English History, ed. H. Ellis (Camden Society, 1844) p. 175.
- 7 For example, Ross thinks Wood's article is a castigation of Richard "for his failure to produce a more convincing claim to the throne." An historical slap on the wrist is hardly the point, but Richard's inability to think ahead is. The argument of post hoc, ergo propter hoc is a particularly tempting one.
- 8 Anne Crawford, "The Career of John Howard, Duke of Norfolk, 1420-1485," (unpub. M. Phil. thesis, Univ. of London, 1975); "John Howard, Duke of Norfolk: A Possible Murderer of the Princes?" Ricardian, V (Sept. 1980), pp. 230-4. Ms. Crawford's argument, that June 16-28 is too early for the murder because the Great Chronicle of London and Mancini imply some lapse of time between disinheritance and death, is rather weak.

Attreed's Notes, Continued:

- 9 A.J. Pollard, "The Tyranny of Richard III," Journal of Medieval History, 3 (1977). In dealing with this subject, one must be very careful not to assume that Richard was a northerner. He was "transplanted" as real northerners were later into southern offices. Ross takes such care, but a closer look at the problem is needed.
- 10 For a review of the work done on the file, see L. Attreed, "Ordering Chaos: New Sources of Information at the P.R.O.," Ricardian, V (March 1979), pp. 31-4.
- 11 This argument opposes Prof. Richard Griffith's theory that medieval battles followed a natural counterclockwise rotation because each side's strongest vanguards were placed on the right. An article to this effect will be included in William Hogarth's "Register Yearbook."

SEVENTEENTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON MEDIEVAL STUDIES, THE MEDIEVAL INSTITUTE, WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY, KALAMAZOO, MICHIGAN, MAY 1982 (5th-9th):

The sessions of this particular medieval studies seminar (there are several 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 Daviot's Dickon," and one by Derah C. Myers, "Shadow in the Sun: Richard III and Mannerist Painting." Sessions 2-4 are entitled The Arthurian Cycle, The Middle Ages and Science Fiction, and The Middle Ages and Modern Literature. In each session, three papers will be presented.

Lorraine writes: "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 rates, and campus dining) go for \$10.75 per night; double, \$8 per person. Meals are \$2.50 breakfast; \$3.00 lunch (\$4.75 Sunday), \$4.75 dinner (\$13.50 Saturday night banquet). 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 starts 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.

William Caxton: A Preliminary Study
by Hazel Peter

William Caxton, England's earliest printer, led a largely undocumented life. Unlike the Celys or the Pastons, he did not leave us reams of letters about his concerns and friends. His biographers have embroidered the same scanty series of documents ever since William Blades wrote the first modern biography of Caxton in 1877. They begin by saying that Caxton was born in 1415 or 1420 or 1424 or 1427. Since we do not know who Caxton's parents were or exactly where he was born (he mentions the Kentish Weld, but not the town), everybody guesses by transposing backwards from one of the few documents we do have. In 1438 Robert Large paid the entry fee for two apprentices, his son John Large and William Caxton. Caxton's parents must have been of some consequence because they were able to have their son apprenticed to a member of the Mercers' Company. In fact Large was a prominent member of the guild and was elected Lord Mayor of London. Because Caxton was mentioned in Large's will in 1441, most biographers assume that he was then still an apprentice and living in London.

He went to Bruges in 1441 or maybe 1442 or even 1443. At any rate he was living there by 1450 when he was involved in a lawsuit. Except that he was fined about that time by the Mercers' Company for not attending a parade for a member who had been elected mayor (usually the Lord Mayor of London was a member of the Mercers' Company). In 1462 or 1465 Caxton became the head of the English merchant community in Bruges. He helped negotiate several important commercial treaties and represented not only the English Merchant Adventurers but also Edward IV--in fact he helped negotiate the marriage between Margaret, Edward's sister, and Charles the Bold of Burgundy.

At this point in his life Caxton became intrigued by the almost new technology of printing books. He had been exporting manuscripts to England for many years, but in 1471 he set out for Cologne, just about the only city in the Low Countries with presses, where he spent the next year and a half learning to print. He could hardly have gone any earlier, for until 1470, Cologne had been a member of the Hanseatic League, which excluded foreigners. When he returned to Bruges he brought with him a press, type, ink, and Wynken Van der Worde, who had just completed a full apprenticeship in printing. He then proceeded to set, print and bind The Recuyell Historie of Troye. Most of his biographers emphasize that in taking up printing, Caxton was merely expanding a trade he was already involved in.

However, the way he expanded that trade was unique. Merchant Adventurers were involved with trading, not manufacturing. Caxton had crossed over a crucial social line. He had also involved himself with a new technology. He did not have to go to Cologne and get himself covered with ink to deal in printed books. Contemporary commodities brokers do not drive harvesters, butcher pigs or plant soybeans. Caxton chose to do the equivalent. He also chose to become involved with the writing. Of the 106 translations he printed, he did 28 himself. One of the few books we have in his own hand, the manuscript for his translation of Ovid's Metamorphosus, is a handsome piece of calligraphy. Caxton was involved with almost every aspect of book production.

Printing was a particularly messy art. It required two men. The ink was distributed by pounding the type with drumsticks made of wood, wool and leather softened and cleaned in urine. The ink got all over the printer. The second man remained cleaner because he had to handle the sheets of hand made rag paper; he also needed the strength to pull the lever that controlled the screw and platten. Then the damp papers had to be hung up until the ink, which was made of lampblack and linseed oil, dried. All of this was vigorous work, work

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 allway 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, limner, 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.

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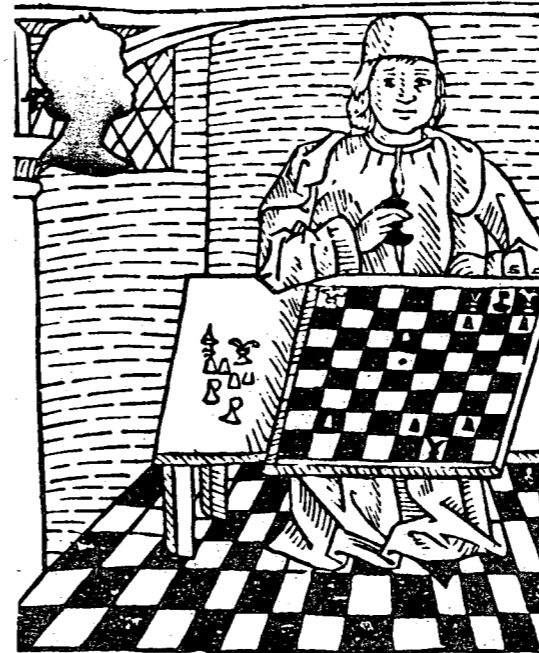
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In 1976, the British government issued a set of stamps commemorating Caxton's career as a printer. These were then made into postcards, two of which are reproduced on the opposite page.



William Caxton 1476

11^P

This is a woodcut of the Philosopher, from the second edition of The Game and Playe of Chesse (c. 1483). The first edition, incidentally, was dedicated to George, Duke of Clarence.



William Caxton 1476

81^P
82