

# Ricardian Register



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## King Richard III



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Giles's Chronicle of the Lancastrian Era

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# Giles's Chronicle of the Lancastrian Era

Compton Reeves

The Latin chronicle, known as Giles's Chronicle, deals with the reigns of the three Lancastrian kings of fifteenth-century England. It was edited by an Oxford-educated ecclesiastic, John Allen Giles (1808-84), and published in London in 1848 by D. Nutt under the title *Incerti Scriptoris Chronicon Angliae de Regnis Trium Lancastrensiū: Henrici IV, Henrici V, et Henrici VI*. The chronicle is not at all an entirely original composition by a single author. It is rather three separate chronicles, each devoted to a particular king's reign, and each is different in character from the others. Giles therefore edited a collection of chronicles, not a single chronicle as the title he provided suggests. Each of the chronicles even has separate pagination in Giles's edition. At the outset, it must be said that this is not a major narrative source for the period. To be aware of Giles's chronicle is to possess a bit of esoteric information about a fifteenth-century source. In her *Historical Writing in England, II: c.1307 to the Early Sixteenth Century*, Antonia Gransden devotes only part of one footnote to Giles's chronicle.<sup>1</sup> Chris Given-Wilson did not mention the chronicle in his *Chronicles*.<sup>2</sup>

Perhaps because of the age of the edition and its consequent limited availability, or its lack of an index, Giles's chronicle has not been heavily used by historians. The rather severe criticism of Giles's edition by C. L. Kingsford in his *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century* has likely added to the reluctance of historians to turn to this source. However, the chronicle is not without value, and it is the purpose of this essay to serve as a guide to persons having an interest in fifteenth-century England who might encounter this chronicle. The narratives concerning each of the three reigns must be dealt with separately.

\* \* \* \*

The chronicle dealing with the reign of Henry IV is itself a compilation. Following a seemingly original opening paragraph which mentions the coronation of King Henry in 1399, the narrative of events through 1402 is an abridgement, with some additions, of the *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi Secundi*.<sup>3</sup> The most substantial addition to this portion of the chronicle (pp. 11-18) is a lament on the fall of Richard II filled with classical and biblical references attributed to William Ferriby, presumably the notary of King Richard's who had been among the group of men who visited Richard in the Tower on 29 September 1399.<sup>4</sup> Ferriby was loyal to Richard II, joined in the earls' rebellion against the new king in January 1400, and was executed in consequence. Another addition which may be noted, concerning the custody of Richard II (after his deposition in the Tower of London) in Leeds Castle in Kent and in Pontefract Castle in Yorkshire (p. 10), is very similar to an entry in the *Chronique de la Traison et Mort de Richart Deux*.<sup>5</sup> The Henry IV chronicle from its account of 1403 until its conclusion has, as Kingsford pointed out,<sup>6</sup> an orientation similar to that of contemporary London chronicles. There is the expected mentioning of such things as the war against Owain Glyn Dŵr in Wales, the rebellion of the Earl of Northumberland in 1403 and the ensuing battle of Shrewsbury, the marriage in 1403 of Henry IV to Joan of Navarre, widow of the Duke of Brittany, royal financial challenges, and the election of Pope Innocent VII in 1404. One item of particular interest preserved in the chronicle is what is offered as the text of the so-called Tripartite Indenture, preserved only in Giles's chronicle, according to the terms of which England and Wales were to be divided between

the Earl of Northumberland, Owain Glyn Dŵr, and Sir Edmund Mortimer. The chronicler dates the document in 1405, but it is possible that the agreement was reached early in 1406.<sup>7</sup>

This year, the twenty-eight day of the month of February, Henry [Percy], earl of Northumberland, made a treaty and confederation and friendship with Owain Glyn Dŵr and Edmund Mortimer, [younger] son of the late Edmund, earl of March [d. 1381], in certain articles containing the order and form as follows: first that the same lords Owain, the Earl, and Edmund,

Will be from now on joined to each other to confederate together and be united by a bond of true alliance and true friendship and sure and certain union; also that each one of these lords wishes and pursues, and will even promote, the honor and advantage of the other, and they will in good faith impede injuries and grievances by whomever, which will have come to the attention of one of them. Each of them also will act with the others and will do these things all and singly which ought to pertain and happen by good, true, and faithful friends for good, true, and faithful friends, with everyone refraining from fraud and deceit by delaying whatever. Also if, and as often as, some one of the lords will learn of or recognize any injury or loss being plotted or imagined by whomsoever against another, he will tell this to the others as soon as it can be done, and he will help them above and, beyond this, according as it shall seem fit by him, he will seek to protect against malice of this kind. Each of these lords will be watchful to hinder the aforesaid injuries or losses in good faith. Also each of the lords in time of necessity as is proper will help the other as much as possible. Also, if God wills, that it should appear to the aforesaid lords in the course of time, that they themselves are the same persons of whom the prophet speaks, among whom the rule of most of Britain ought to be divided and shared, then they shall labor as much as each of them can to see that it is efficaciously brought to pass. Also any of them will be content with the portion of the aforesaid realm as the boundaries are written below without further exaction or suzerainty whatever. On the contrary, each of them will enjoy in equal freedom that portion assigned to him. Also between the same lords there exists complete agreement and concord that the aforesaid Owain and his heirs will have all of Cambria or Wales up to the full limits and boundaries here written: from Leicester, as it is commonly called in English, divided namely from the Severn Sea just as it meets the river Severn; following the Severn all the way down to the north gate of the city of Worcester; and from that gate all the way straight to the Ash trees, commonly called in the language of the Cambrians or Welsh 'Onnennau Meigion', which grow on the high road leading from Bridgnorth to Kinver; from there directly by the high road, which is commonly called the old or ancient road, right up to the head or origin of the river commonly called the Trent; from there to the head or source of the river commonly known as the Mersey; from there just as this river leads to the sea, going down among the territories, limits, and boundaries abovesaid. And the aforesaid Earl of Northumberland will have to himself and his heirs the counties listed here, namely, Northumberland, Westmorland, Lancaster, York, Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby, Stafford, Leicester, Northampton, Warwick, and Norfolk. And the Lord Edmund shall have all the rest of the whole of England entirely to himself and his successors. Likewise if battle, riot, or discord should arise between two of the lords, then, that it may be ended, the third of the lords (whose word or opinion the disagreeing parties will be bound to obey), calling to

himself good and faithful counsel, will duly amend the discord, riot, or fighting. They will also be faithful in defending the realm against all men, saving the oath on the part of the said Lord Owain to the most illustrious prince, Lord Charles [VI], by the grace of God king of the French, in league and confederacy entered upon and made between them previously. And that they may keep well and faithfully each and all of the aforesaid, the Lord Owain, the Earl, and Edmund swear on the sacred body of the Lord, which they now observe in person, and on the holy Gospels of God, touched physically by each of them, to observe inviolately all and each of the aforementioned according as each of them can, and in witness they have in turn put their seals on these presents.<sup>8</sup> (pp. 39-42)

The Tripartite Indenture may have been a dream plan, but it is historically interesting and should not be seen as having been beyond the hopes of those who drafted it.

The chronicle provides an independent and lengthy account of the northern rebellion of 1405 and makes a distinction, often conflated by modern historians, between this second rebellion to be initiated by the Earl of Northumberland and the protest against the government led by Archbishop Richard Scrope of York.<sup>9</sup> In one part of his account, the chronicler offered an interesting summary of the Archbishop's protests against the government:

...the king ought to rule the kingdom with justice and fair judgment. Whence the aforesaid Archbishop Richard, turning his attention not only to the injustice to that lord earl [Thomas Mowbray, earl of Nottingham, who had been disinherited], but also to the preceived oppressions of many others. He began on his own part to exhort the people. First in his mother church and cathedral [York Minster], thereafter visiting in other of his churches, so that all men might exert their strength on behalf of justice and might not shrink from setting forth with every ounce of energy and with a zeal for amending such great oppression, both of lords and of commons in the whole kingdom, through insupportable extortions by certain persons present in the king's court and through taxes and spoliations of almost the entire realm, whence they were impoverished and were reduced as it were into nothing, lords both temporal and spiritual, merchants, and all servants subject to them, and for redress of so great an unjust deed by means of the king's councilors, the aforesaid Archbishop wishes an unbiased parliament to be held in which the complainers might be able to obtain remedy. (p. 44)

In the telling of the story of the execution of Archbishop Scrope at the insistence of Henry IV and over the objections of Archbishop Thomas Arundel of Canterbury, the chronicler makes utterly clear his opinion of Scrope and of the king.

And when he came to the place of martyrdom (*passionis*), for the purpose of instructing his companions, namely Thomas Mowbray, earl of Nottingham, and Sir William Plumpton, to discard from within all rancor and outrage inflicted upon them, and to endure their deaths for their sins previously committed and for the love of Jesus Christ, who suffered for us all, to sustain their martyrdoms with all charity and patience, saying that, "after a short, almost instant punishment at this time, you will take possession of the treasured eternal crown in heaven." And when they thus suffered capital punishment the [Arch]bishop himself on bended knees said, "Into your hands, Lord, I now commend my spirit, because I firmly hope that you always hold this king, who wishes me to have a share in your passion with

your saints.” And then beginning the hymn *Sanctorum meritis inclita gaudia*, enduring patiently five blows of a striking sword, on the fifth stroke with an utterance of resignation the head is thrown down to the ground, and the spirit is freed from the burden of this flesh.

And on the same day and at the same time of the day at which the Archbishop of York was killed, the king was struck in the face, namely within the nose, with the detestable illness of leprosy, so that never afterwards was he able to be cured by physician or medicine.<sup>10</sup> (pp. 47-48)

The chronicler went on to mention the general revulsion at the execution of Scrope, also that miracles occurred, and that pilgrims visited the Archbishop’s tomb. For the rest of this section of the chronicle, the reader encounters comments about parliaments, the marriages and deaths of the great, the Council of Pisa (1409), jousting and dueling, civil war in France and, in the final paragraph, events of the parliament of 1411.

In this parliament Prince Henry desired the resignation of his father from his kingdom and crown for the reason that, because of his illness, the father was not able to work vigorously about the honor and well-being of the realm. But he did not at all want to agree; on the contrary, he wished to rule together the crown and its appurtenances as long as he had the breath of life. Whence the Prince, in a way aggrieved, withdrew with his councilors, and afterwards joined all the nobles of the greater part of England to his authority in homage and fealty. In the same parliament, money both in gold and in silver had been diminished somewhat in weight because of trade with foreigners, who were in their own lands accumulating great profit for themselves at great expense and loss for the king and his English merchants. (pp. 62-63)

\* \* \* \*

The second chronicle edited by Giles, that which deals with the reign of Henry V, requires little attention in the present context. Two years after Giles’s edition appeared, another edition by Benjamin Williams was published for the English Historical Society bearing the title *Henrici Quinti, Angliae Regis, Gesta*.<sup>11</sup> More importantly, yet another edition, titled the *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, together with an English translation, was prepared by Frank Taylor and John S. Roskell, and published by the Clarendon Press in 1975. This latest edition, with its full scholarly apparatus, fully supersedes the edition by Giles.

\* \* \* \*

The author of the chronicle of the reign of Henry VI<sup>12</sup> must certainly have been, considering the orientation of his subject matter, a cleric. Considerable interest is shown, for example, in the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438-45), and letters dealing with the proposed union of the Greek and Latin churches are incorporated into the text (pp. 18-30). It once could have been said correctly that the chronicle had “the merit of being the most nearly complete Latin history of the reign.” This modest distinction can no longer be asserted with the discovery and publication of the chronicle of John Benet.<sup>13</sup> The Henry VI chronicle edited by Giles opens with the accession of Henry VI in 1422, and the material covering the period to 1438 appears to have been drawn primarily from the *Brut* or a London chronicle.<sup>14</sup> Thereafter, to its ending, the chronicle seems to be an original composition. As a narrative source, however, the historian would prefer more extended and full account of events. Matters of considerable political significance are normally given only cursory consideration. Consider the following remarks in reference to the period 1429-1431:

Year eight, namely on the feast of St Leonard the Abbot [6 November 1429], the king was crowned at Westminster by the archbishops of Canterbury [Henry Chichele] and York [John Kempe] and the cardinal of England [Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester], his uncle. And in the same year, on the feast of St George the Martyr [23 April 1430], he designated that thirty knights be newly created, and thence to France, setting out with his uncle the cardinal in order to gain his crown there, and he remained for a year and more in the city of Rouen. In that time the adversaries of the king of England raised up a maid [Joan of Arc], whom they affirmed had been destined for a victory against the English by special divine grace, and they called her *Puellam Dei*, that is, sent by God for their help. But they were deceived because a short while after she was captured and punished as her misdeeds merited. (pp. 10-11)

The chronicler's inclination to abbreviate the course of events to the point of being nearly misleading and to fail to provide much in the way of analysis may be illustrated by his discussion of events from 1450 through 1453. Nothing for the year 1450, for example, is mentioned about Cade's rebellion and the accompanying unrest in 1450, the loss of Normandy to the French in that year, or the murders of two bishops.<sup>15</sup>

In the same year following, namely the year Richard, duke of York, came from Ireland [1450], the king, in fact fearing his approach and any disturbance by his followers then present in the realm, planned to block his movement from his port of departure, but from somewhere else he managed to land in Wales, and he at last reached the city of London and the presence of the king with a notable multitude, setting forth the cause of his coming to be that he might show his support for the king against the traitors and rebels, but the king did not at all show him cordial favor. On the contrary, he said, "When business demands or necessity compels, we will call for your aid." But meanwhile the king proclaimed that parliament would meet the coming November [1450], to which came the aforesaid Duke of York with a greater number of knights and other notables, and [John Mowbray] the Duke of Norfolk with a similar complement of troops (for what reason they did not say), but they remained in the city for some fifteen days until the retinues of the lords tried to arrest Edmund [Beaufort], duke of Somerset, sitting at breakfast at the Preaching Friars next to Ludgate with a few men and suspicious of no evil. Nothing having been accomplished in parliament, the lords implicated in this deed quickly departed. And after the Purification of the Blessed Virgin [2 February 1452], the king arranged for Richard, duke of York, to come before him at Coventry. But the Duke, refusing to come to him, raised his army again, and hurried toward London. The King, hearing this, also went toward the city, and his men with him, who he was able to gather in a short time. And the Duke of York with his men came to a field in Kent near Dartford,<sup>16</sup> there to await the outcome of his fortune, and with him were [Humphrey Stafford] the Earl of Devon and [Edward Brook] Lord Cobham. But then the king came up against them in the field. By the gracious mediation of lords spiritual and temporal the aforesaid duke and other lords submitted to their king asking for mercy [28 February 1452], which they graciously obtained, and with the royal army they were led into the city of London. And not long after the aforesaid submission, the duke in person swore [on 10 March] on the Scriptures in the presence of the King and everyone before the high altar in the [cathedral] church of St Paul that he was, had been, and would



be without deceit in all acts, deeds, and inclinations, and be a true liege to his king, and never rebel against him for anything or against any other of his liege lords and subjects of his realm, but if in some way he might have done unjust injury to the King, he should prosecute him according to judgment of law.<sup>17</sup> And so a general pardon of all penalties being granted, all lords and commoners returned to their own.

And a while later, in the summer [of 1453], the king visited various parts of the kingdom, and he sought to punish with rigorous justice those whom he found guilty after the general pardon, whence in Kent and in Sussex and Essex he sentenced many by just examination to be punished by death. But about the feast of the Translation of St Thomas the Martyr [7 July], he came to Clarendon. By a sudden shock or fright he fell into a kind of infirmity, [The last hold of the English on Gascony collapsed before French military action in the summer of 1453.] so that through a full year and a half there was in him neither his natural sense nor adequate intelligence for governing, and neither physician nor physic knew how to cure that infirmity. In the mean time, namely at the feast of the Translation of St Edward [13 October 1453], Edward his first son was born, and it is probable, according to the counting of months, that the conception by his mother the Queen [Margaret of Anjou] was the Birth of St Edward [5 January], for which he deserved to bear the name of St Edward by coincidence. And meanwhile, since the king himself had neither the awareness nor the strength to govern the kingdom, all the nobles of the realm selected Richard, duke of York, as principal regent of England [York's first protectorate began on 27 March 1454 and lasted until around Christmas that year], and soon after the Duke of Norfolk began strongly to accuse the Duke of Somerset, by many articles, of the betrayal of Normandy and of other dominions in the region of France, whence the other lords temporal so much favored the Duke of Norfolk that [John Kemp] the Chancellor of England could not appease them until they sent the same Duke of Somerset as a prisoner to the Tower of London, where he remained for a year, although without claim of any misdeed having been done against the king or kingdom which the judges or justices of the realm could prove. (pp. 42-44)

The Henry VI chronicler had a habit of noting the passing of the eminent figures of his time, and on occasion he ventured an evaluation.

The same year died Philip Morgan, bishop of Ely [25 October 1435], who was followed by the uncle of [Jacquetta of Luxembourg] the Duchess of Bedford, [Lewis of Luxemburg], archbishop of Rouen, who was not able to withstand the malice of the French, who expelled him from his diocese at that time. Robert FitzHugh, bishop of London, also died [15 January 1436], and Robert Gilbert, dean of York, succeeded him; also William Gray, bishop of Lincoln [February 1436], for whom William Alnwick, bishop of Norwich, succeeded; also William [actually John] Cliderow, bishop of Bangor [12 December 1435]; and also [Joan Beauchamp] Lady Abergavenny [14 November 1435], who was regarded for her great culture and abundant wealth. (p. 15)

The striking omission from this collection of obits is that of John of Lancaster, duke of Bedford and regent of Lancastrian France, who died on 15 September 1435. Bedford's death is ultimately noted (p. 16), but only after telling of the Duke of Burgundy's unsuccessful attempt to capture Calais from the English during the summer of 1436.

While recording the deaths of the great, the chronicler sometimes added both relevant and irrelevant information, and perhaps a bit of gossip.

The next year, on the second day of January [1437], Queen Katherine, mother of Henry VI, died. She had three [other] sons, albeit in secret, because the lords of the king's council refused to consent, she herself having been betrothed to another in the time of the king's youth; she wished to have Lord Edmund Beaufort, earl of Dorset, but [Humphrey of Lancaster] the Duke of Gloucester and most of the other lords refused, deciding, against the advice of the pope, that the man who presumed to betroth her would be punished by forfeiture of all goods and punishment of death as if a traitor to the king. She herself, inwardly unable to resist carnal passions, accepted Sir Owain [Tudor] (having little in goods, which he ought to forfeit), and in secret, so that they would not take his life on pretext of right. In the same month fell the tower at the southern end of London Bridge together with a great part of the bridge, but harmlessly because there were no people hurt then, which we attribute to the mercy of God. The same year the lions in the Tower of London died one night. The same year, on the second [actually the ninth] day of July, died Joan, queen of England, formerly the wife of Henry IV, who was first married to the Duke of Brittany and later to the aforesaid King Henry, and now is buried with the same husband at Canterbury. (p. 17)

An ecclesiastic whom the chronicler seems particularly to have admired was Archbishop Chichele, who died on 12 April 1443.<sup>18</sup> Of him it was recorded:

In the same year died Henry Chichele, archbishop of Canterbury, a very modest man, and gentle in all respects; he elevated many worthy clerics to the highest honor; he founded a college [All Souls College] of fifty scholars in the worthy University of Oxford; and he also erected another college at Higham Ferrers in Northamptonshire; and these two colleges he shrewdly endowed sufficiently enough in wealth. And after he ruled Christ Church, Canterbury, through twenty-nine full years, he rendered his soul to Christ his God in peace. (p. 32)

The chronicle is concluded very abruptly with an account of the events preliminary to the first battle of St Albans, a Yorkist victory which was fought on 22 May 1455.

Whence the other lords, namely the Duke of York, [Richard Neville] the Earl of Warwick, and [Richard Neville] the Earl of Salisbury, enduring with difficulty the rule of this king, withdrew from the king's court and council without leave and without royal wish, deciding mutually among themselves not to restrain their strength or be restrained by any mandate of the king's council whatsoever until they were able to root out from his court and council certain lords whom they knew to be greatly preferred by his royal majesty, before long moving from one place to another to gather in great numbers. They resorted guilefully and audaciously to arms. And when knowledge of their gathering came to the king, with a swift decision he sent certain lords, namely [Reginald Bouchers] the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, [John Tiptoft] the Earl of Worcester (that is, the Treasurer of England), and [Robert Botill] the Prior of St John of Jerusalem in England in order that they might pacify their discontent and unjust opinion. But the lords themselves, cautious in danger and with regard for their own defense, retained the royal messengers in their midst every day until they were able to lead their army near to the king's army. But the King, with troubled mind, became suspicious after so long expecting his messengers, and set out in the direction of Leicester. Near the

village of St Albans a new messenger coming to him reported that the aforesaid lords with a great number of soldiers were nearby. Then the king deliberated with his men about what could be done in so brief and unforeseen a space of time. Certain of the lords said it would be better to wait at that same place and to prepare the troops immediately for combat against the rival forces and all followers and fighters.

Then the King designated as constable and chief commander of his fight [Humphrey Stafford] the Duke of Buckingham, to whom the former plan was not pleasing, himself proposing a better plan: that the king should approach the village of St Albans to refresh himself and his men with the hour of lunch since he knew that the aforesaid lords, who were meanwhile approaching, would incline more readily to an agreement of peace and unity through his mediation and that of the other lords spiritual and temporal than to the destruction of war. [Here the chronicle ends.]

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The three chronicles included in Giles's edition are of unequal value for the researcher. The first chronicle contains some independent commentary on the period from 1403 to 1411. The chronicle for the reign of Henry V, as has been noted, was rendered obsolete by the publication in 1975 of the *Gesta Henrici Quinti*. The Henry VI chronicle, while being an independent composition particularly for the years 1438 into the year 1455, is marred by its brevity and weak chronology. Yet in spite of its flaws, Giles's *Chronicon* is nevertheless not without value, if simply because it exists. Although the usefulness of Giles's *Chronicon* for the student of fifteenth-century England may be limited, it should not be ignored.

ENDNOTES:

- <sup>1</sup> (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982), p. 160, n. 17.
- <sup>2</sup> (London: Hambledon and London: 2004).
- <sup>3</sup> G. B. Stow (ed.), *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi Secundi* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977), pp. 160-75. The parallels are with Giles's pp. 3-11, 18-30.
- <sup>4</sup> Chris Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household and the King's Affinity* (London: Yale University Press, 1986), p. 180-81; J. L. Kirby, *Henry IV of England* (London: Constable, 1970), p. 68.
- <sup>5</sup> Edited by Benjamin Williams (London: English Historical Society, 1846), p. 296.
- <sup>6</sup> C. L. Kingsford, *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), p. 25.
- <sup>7</sup> R. R. Davies, *The Revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 166-69; Chris Given-Wilson, *Henry IV* (London: Yale University Press, 2016), p. 317; J. H. Wylie, *History of England under Henry the Fourth* (4 Vols., London: Longmans, 1884-98), 2: 378-79.
- <sup>8</sup> All translations from the Latin in this essay are by the author.
- <sup>9</sup> See Peter McNiven, "The Betrayal of Archbishop Scrope," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 54 (1971-72): 173-213; W. M. Ormrod, "An Archbishop in Revolt: Richard Scrope and the Yorkshire Rising of 1405," in *Richard Scrope: Archbishop, Rebel, Martyr*, ed. P. J. P. Goldberg (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2007), pp. 28-44.
- <sup>10</sup> Actually, the king's illness, which may have been neurosyphilis, was mentioned as early as 1387. M. P. Cosman and L. Pelnar, "Elias Sabot and King Henry IV," *New York State Journal of Medicine* (15 September 1969), pp. 2482, 2488. See Danna Pirovansky,

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“‘Martyrio pulchro finitus’: Archbishop Scrope’s Martyrdom and the Creation of a Cult,” in *Richard Scrope*, ed. Goldberg, pp. 100-12.

<sup>11</sup> See note 5.

<sup>12</sup> Kingsford, *Historical Literature*, p. 156.

<sup>13</sup> “John Benet’s Chronicle for the Years 1400 to 1462,” ed. G. L. Harriss and M. A. Harriss, *Camden Miscellany, XXIV* (London: Royal Historical Society, Camden Fourth Series, 9, 1972).

<sup>14</sup> Kingsford, *Historical Literature*, pp. 155-58.

<sup>15</sup> A summary of the turbulent year 1450 in English public life is: A. C. Reeves, “The 1450 Purge of the English Royal Circle,” *Medieval Prosopography* 33 (2018): 103-07.

<sup>16</sup> See Chapter 5, “Dartford,” in P. A. Johnson, *Duke Richard of York, 1411-1460* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).

<sup>17</sup> For the official text of York’s oath, see *Rotuli Parliamentorum* (6 Vols., London: Record Commission, 1783-1832) 5: 346-47.

<sup>18</sup> For a biography of Chichele, see E. F. Jacob, *Henry Chichele* (London: Nelson, 1967).

~ToC~

## The Royal Progress of Richard III

Susan Troxell, © January 2017

Following his coronation, Richard III—like all medieval monarchs—went on his “royal progress” through the realm. Along with an entourage in excess of 200 household men, ecclesiastics, supporters, and administrative officials, he visited towns and cities as far west as the River Severn, as far north as the River Ouse, and as far east as the River Witham. It was while he was staying in Lincoln along the River Witham when he received the news that the Duke of Buckingham and others were in open rebellion in the south. This required the king to respond accordingly by making his “Great Journey” towards Salisbury. It was not unusual for uprisings to occur during the royal progress of a new monarch. During his royal progress in 1461, Edward IV had to respond to insurrection in Wales and dispense hard justice by presiding over the execution of a Lancastrian traitor.<sup>1</sup> This article will not cover Richard III’s “Great Journey” to suppress Buckingham’s rebellion, as that was not part of the planned royal progress and is better addressed elsewhere. For this discussion, we will define Richard III’s royal progress as being from when he first left Windsor on July 21 to the time he received news of the rebellion on October 11. We will also include the king’s January 1484 visit to Canterbury, as it seems to fit the pattern of the royal progress and may have been on the original itinerary. First, however, it is important to understand the reason why a king went on royal progress.

### The Iconography of Power

Sir John Fortescue (1397-1479), the preeminent Chief Justice under Henry VI and one of the most influential medieval writers about English government, wrote of the necessity for the monarch to use ceremony, etiquette, and organized pomp to advertise his status and strength to the realm and to foreign countries. He encouraged the king to wear luxurious

clothes, furs and jewels, to bedeck his household and chapels with rich tapestries, vessels and ornaments, and to acquire expensive horses with ostentatious trappings. If he did *not* do so, wrote Fortescue, he would be living below his estate and would be overshadowed by ostentatious magnates, upsetting the natural balance of power.<sup>2</sup> If Richard III had not gone on royal progress or had something less than magnificent, it would have sent a message that he was insecure in expressing his royal authority or was not “up to the job”. *The Arrivall of Edward IV* makes this very point when it depicts Henry VI, in the last days of his “readeption”, processing through the streets of London with such a lack of regality that the people lost confidence in him.<sup>3</sup> *The Great Chronicle of London* makes a similar observation that it seemed “more like a play than the showing of a prince to win men’s hearts” and provides the infamous detail about Henry VI being dressed dowdily in a long blue gown, as though he had nothing more resplendent to wear.<sup>4</sup>

The progress taken by a king after his coronation was just one of the many ways the monarch could project what modern historians have called the “iconography of power”—a set of highly visual and ritualistic ceremonies that were shared by a common culture and used by the governing class to create or sustain political and social consent. The goal was to persuade “opinion formers” and to secure the loyalty of the common people.<sup>5</sup> Thus, an effective king would engage in “triumphant entries” into cities and towns—lavish parades with spectacles and religious ceremonies to celebrate military victories, welcome a foreign queen-consort to her new homeland, or entrench a hereditary claim to the throne. The latter can be seen with the Duke of York’s reburial in 1476.<sup>6</sup> *The Crowland Chronicle* was perfectly correct to make the observation that Richard III’s royal progress was aimed “to attract to himself the affection of many people” with many feasts and entertainments.<sup>7</sup> But it was also a time for the king to mingle with his subjects and to hear and address their petitions and concerns.

Lest we think this was a phenomenon unique to England in the medieval age, the era that followed saw even more complicated and drawn-out spectacles. The royal progress taken by the newly-minted Charles IX and his mother Catherine de Médicis in 1564-1566, for instance, lasted 27 months and took in more than 100 towns.<sup>8</sup> As we shall see below, it was simultaneously important to the towns and cities that received the monarch and provided the infrastructure and performers to welcome him. It was a display of their political status too: the grander their reception of the king, the more respect and favor they might hope to receive from him.

In terms of distance and days spent, Richard III’s royal progress was not dramatically different from Edward IV’s in 1461, the latter of which, over the course of two months, traveled 620 miles and involved great pomp and ceremony. Edward’s itinerary, unlike Richard’s, focused on southern and western England and included Canterbury, Sandwich, Ashford, Lewes Priory, Arundel, Bishop’s Waltham, Salisbury, Bristol, Gloucester, Hereford, and Ludlow, returning to London via Stony Stratford. This reflects how the north and midlands of England were not securely Yorkist following the Battle of Towton. Edward IV had to deal with roiling insurrection in the north and in the Welsh Marches, and his royal progress was intended to involve a military campaign embarking from Hereford. This turned out to be unnecessary, thanks to the successful efforts of Lords Herbert and Ferrers of Chartley in suppressing lawlessness. Instead of a military campaign, Edward IV’s entourage went to his childhood home and family powerbase of Ludlow where, surprisingly, he was greeted with little fanfare thus suggesting it was an impromptu visit.<sup>9</sup>

Richard III's royal progress not only skipped over Ludlow, but his itinerary also involved distinctly different geographical areas from those of his brother's. In a very literal sense, Richard was tracing a map of the cities having particular meaning to his personal history and his expression of royal authority.

### **The Royal Progress of Richard III**

**July 21-August 1: Reading (1 night)—Oxford (4 nights)—Woodstock (2 nights)—Minster Lovell (3 nights)**

The first leg of Richard III's royal progress went in a northwest direction from Windsor Castle towards Oxfordshire. The first destination was Reading, a relatively short 20-mile journey. The king was in the company of John Lord Howard (recently made Duke of Norfolk), the Duke of Buckingham, the Bishops of St. Asaph and St. Davids, and many others. Queen Anne would later join the entourage at Warwick Castle. While staying in Reading, Richard executed an indenture guaranteeing the widow of William Lord Hastings, Katherine Neville, his protection and to secure for her the enjoyment of her husband's lands, goods, and privileges, the custody their male heir, and the wardship of the young Earl of Shrewsbury who was married to their daughter, Anne.<sup>10</sup> As we shall see, dispensing mercy and justice was an integral part of the king's progress.

At Oxford University, an assembly of regents and scholars greeted the king. This group was headed by William Waynflete (the Bishop of Winchester and founder of Magdalen College) and the University's chancellor who at that time was Lionel Woodville, Bishop of Salisbury.<sup>11</sup> The reference to Woodville has sparked some controversy amongst historians, as he had taken sanctuary earlier in June and had been under some suspicion. Whatever those suspicions were, they were ostensibly resolved by the time of the king's visit to Oxford and there is no hint of any discord. Less certain is whether the Duke of Buckingham was present, for he is not specifically mentioned in the college register. In any case, the king was entertained with academic debates in Latin on the subjects of philosophy and theology, and tours of the colleges.<sup>12</sup> He rewarded the disputants and won the hearts of the fellows. The register describing the visit closed with the words "*Vivat Rex in eternum*" ("let the king live forever").<sup>13</sup>

The king then spent one or two nights at the royal hunting lodge at Woodstock, the birthplace of Edward III's sons Edward the Black Prince and Thomas of Woodstock, the first Duke of Gloucester. It had once been a splendid palace with an enclosed park in which lions and camels were kept, and this could have provided an opportunity to do some hunting and catch up on business. A king never stopped working while on royal progress and had to respond to a constant flow of events, petitions, and diplomatic missives, which is why he would be accompanied by staff from various government offices.

Richard's entourage traveled to Minster Lovell Hall, the home of Francis Viscount Lovell, his faithful friend and Lord Chamberlain. This was one of the few times Richard III stayed in a private residence during his reign. It had undergone several enlargements to its great hall and the building of a tower, both completed by 1455, so it would have been a suitable lodging for such distinguished guests.<sup>14</sup> Perhaps the most notable thing about the king's time here is the text of a warrant dated July 29th issued from Minster Lovell and addressed to Chancellor John Russell, concerning a mysterious enterprise. It has been suggested that it refers to a forthcoming trial of unnamed persons for the murder of the king's nephews. However, historian Rosemary Horrox believes that John Stow's *Annals* gives a more accurate description of the enterprise as being one to *rescue* the princes from

the Tower under cover of confusion caused by fires started in the city. The four conspirators, two of whom served in Edward IV's household, were tried at Westminster and executed.<sup>15</sup>

**August 2-27: Gloucester (2 nights) –Tewkesbury (1 night)—Worcester (3 nights)—  
Warwick (6 nights)—Coventry (2 nights)—Leicester (4 nights)—Nottingham (8  
nights)**

From Minster Lovell, Richard went on to Gloucester where he took up residence in St Peter's Abbey (now Gloucester Cathedral) for two nights. Here, for the place that bore the name of his ducal title, the king granted a charter of liberties releasing it from paying £45 of the £60 for the fee farm, giving its burgesses the right to choose their own mayor and coroner, allowing it to have its own sheriff to preside over a court, to incorporate themselves as an entity, to acquire lands and tenements, and to have standing to plead or interplead before the king's justices or any other justices in the courts of England. Some of these rights and privileges were retained by Gloucester up to 1974.<sup>16</sup> In 1538, the borough was granted a coat of arms with the red and white roses of Lancaster and York along with a boar's head—a reference to Richard III's favorite badge.

Gloucester's St Peter's Abbey had wealth and prestige. It was the place where Henry III was crowned king of England, and where Edward II was buried following his deposition. Parliaments had been summoned there twice (1378 and 1407), but due to a combination of factors, including the Black Death and competition from nearby Bristol, the town borough was having some economic difficulty. Nevertheless, Gloucester had performed an extremely valuable service for the Yorkists when it closed its gates to Margaret of Anjou's army in 1471, forcing it to march on to Tewkesbury.<sup>17</sup>

Undoubtedly with this history in mind, Richard bestowed the liberties mentioned above and also presented the city with a sword, which is believed to have been his own; it can still be viewed at Gloucester City Museum. It was also at Gloucester that the Duke of Buckingham took his leave from the royal progress; what prompted this is unknown. Buckingham's manor house at Thornbury, from where Lionel Woodville would later be issuing letters on September 22, was only 25 miles away, and he was holding Bishop John Morton in custody in his castle in Brecon, in Wales, about 70 miles from Gloucester.

Although we have no description of Gloucester's reception of Richard, we can assume that it was similar in pomp to the royal entry of Edward IV into Bristol in 1461. When Edward arrived at Bristol's Temple Gate, a "great giant" attended by three lords delivered the keys of the town to him and a poem comparing the king to William the Conqueror was recited. As the entourage processed to Temple Cross, the king beheld the spectacle of Saint George on horseback "fighting with a dragon, and the king and queen on high in a castle, and his daughter beneath with a lamb. And at the slaying of the dragon there was a great melody of angels."<sup>18</sup> Edward granted the town a royal charter, oversaw the trial and execution of the Lancastrian rebel Sir Baldwin Fulford, and left with an extra fifty marks in a loan from his host, mayor William Canynges.<sup>19</sup> "The event provides a small snapshot of what the progress of the monarch involved in this fraught period of political insecurity and highlights the multifaceted role the king played."<sup>20</sup>

From Gloucester, Richard progressed to Tewkesbury for one night, where he had been a commander in the battle of 1471 that regained the crown for Edward IV. Tewkesbury Abbey was also the place where his brother George was buried following his execution for treason in 1478. George apparently still had outstanding debts to the Abbot, and Richard ordered that those debts be satisfied with revenues from nearby royal manors.<sup>21</sup> It is likely

Richard paid his respects at the battlefield and George's tomb, symbolically highlighting not only the Yorkist military triumph over the Lancastrians but also the implications of George's death.<sup>22</sup> *Titulus Regius*, the 1484 parliamentary act which settled the crown on Richard, would specifically mention the attainder of George and his heirs as a reason why Richard was the next legitimate heir to the throne. *Titulus Regius* also sets out to show that Edward IV's children were illegitimate due to the bigamy of their parents. Therefore it is not surprising that Ludlow, where Edward IV's Prince of Wales had had his household for almost a decade, was not part of Richard's royal progress despite the fact that it could have easily been put on the itinerary. It is probably safe to assume that Richard would not have had a very warm reception there.

The entourage traveled to Worcester, where the king resided at the Cathedral Priory, and then moved on to Warwick Castle, where Queen Anne joined the royal party, and there was a pause of several days.<sup>23</sup> Warwick Castle had been the place where the Kingmaker imprisoned Edward IV in 1469, and became George of Clarence's principal residence after his marriage to Isabel Neville. Coming into possession of Warwick Castle after George's attainder, Richard instigated the construction of two gun towers, the Bear and Clarence towers, and he probably spent time inspecting the ongoing work during his six days there.

The royal party then moved to Coventry before progressing to Leicester and then Nottingham. The choice of Coventry may have been logistical, but the symbolic value of a Yorkist monarch making his royal progress there would have been noted. In 1471, Coventry had lost its civic liberties as punishment for backing the Kingmaker during the redeption of Henry VI. In 1469, Edward IV suffered the humiliation of being captured near Coventry, and Earl Rivers and Sir John Woodville were executed by the Kingmaker at Gosford Green on the edge of the city the same month. Coventry had strong Lancastrian connections, but in 1474 it worked hard to redeem itself by welcoming the king, his queen, and his heir, with festivities and streets filled with performers, music and singing, pipes running with wine, incense burning, and cakes and flowers being cast to observers.<sup>24</sup> That Richard chose to honor Coventry with his royal progress shows how successfully it had been converted to a Yorkist city.

At Leicester, the king began to occupy himself with planning his royal entry into the city of York. He issued a summons for 19 knights and 52 gentlemen to meet him at Pontefract on August 27 in anticipation of the procession. Those summoned included Northumberland, Surrey, Lincoln, Lovell, Fitzhugh, Stanley, Strange, Lisle and Greystoke, and the bishops of Durham, Worcester, St Asaph, Carlisle and St David's, with their attendants, to be with him when he reached York.<sup>25</sup> Edward of Middleham was named Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, with the powerful earl of Kildare being appointed as acting deputy.<sup>26</sup> It was also from Leicester that Richard issued a letter to Louis XI, which was cheekily delivered by one of the grooms of his stable, in which he promised to honor past treaties and requested the French to refrain from molesting English merchant ships.<sup>27</sup>

The king then progressed to Nottingham Castle, where he would spend much of his reign and complete the remodeling work started by Edward IV.<sup>28</sup> While there, Richard created his son Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester: "And we invest him as the custom is by the girding on of the sword, the handing over and setting of the garland on his head, and of the gold ring on his finger, and of the gold staff in his hand."<sup>29</sup> The decree uses language that suggests some trepidation ("We have turned the gaze of our inward eye to the greatness of this noble state and of its members, having great care that, in the great anxieties which press upon us, those who are necessary to support us should not now seem to be lacking"),



but many historians believe the verbiage is typical for such proclamations. It also poetically employs celestial imagery, and as historian Anne Sutton observed, presages the concept of the monarch being like the sun with his court surrounding him like planets: “The clarity and charity of the sun’s light is so great that when it is poured on the other heavenly bodies the sun shines with no less light and splendor, nor does it suffer any diminution of its strength, rather it is pleased to be seen, to shine as a king in the midst of his nobles and to adorn the greater and lesser stars in the whole court of heaven with his outstanding light. Which without doubt we should take as an example seeing the vocation to which we are called, that is, by the favour of the almighty to govern and be set at the head of all the mortals of this realm.”<sup>30</sup>

At Nottingham, Richard’s secretary John Kendall wrote to York’s mayor, recorder, aldermen, and sheriffs, complimenting the city, saying how fond the king was of it, and “hinting broadly that a splendid reception for the king and queen would be in order upon their arrival in York”.<sup>31</sup> The civic leadership in York was ahead of Kendall, and had already been discussing the expected visit as early as the end of July.<sup>32</sup>

**August 27-October 17: Pontefract (2 nights), York (23 nights), Pontefract (19 nights), Gainsborough (1 night), Lincoln (6 nights)**

Richard III’s royal progress spent the largest portion of its time in the north—a total of 44 days—indicating a dramatic shift from where Yorkists had traditionally drawn support. Although Richard’s father and brother had borne the title Duke of York, the north was a bastion of Lancastrian support for much of the Wars of the Roses. In 1460, the duke’s decapitated head was displayed at York’s Micklegate Bar in a mocking tribute; in 1461-64, there were Lancastrian uprisings in Carlisle and Hexham; in 1471, the city of York reluctantly opened its gates to Edward IV only after he promised to seek his ducal inheritance and not the crown.<sup>33</sup> That Richard had chosen York as the city for his most prominent display of royal authority, one that the Crowland Chronicler described as a second coronation, shows how much had changed in the intervening years.<sup>34</sup> The city of York was no longer repulsing a pretender to the throne, but was instead welcoming a king and paying tribute to a prince who had often interceded on its behalf.

The royal entry was carefully timed and organized to maximize its symbolic meaning. Those 71 lords and knights who had earlier been summoned now joined the king and queen at Pontefract, along with Prince Edward, who had journeyed from Middleham. On August 29, the sheriff of York and other officials met the royal entourage with their rods of office at Tadcaster and led it towards the city. At Breckles Milles, still outside the city, the procession was joined by the mayor and aldermen, dressed in scarlet, and by other civic officers and leading citizens in their ceremonial robes. Although a litter had been provided for his journey from Middleham, the king’s 10-year old son rode on horseback during the entry into York, indicating he was not as frail as some have suggested.<sup>35</sup> The residents of York were on hand to greet the procession as it passed by St James’ Chapel and into the city through Micklegate Bar. Just within the walls, on streets hung with tapestries and arras, was staged the first of three pageants for the entertainment of the royal party, with the next being staged at the bridge crossing the River Ouse, and the third in Stayngate.

The date of the royal entry, August 29, was the Feast of the Decollation [Beheading] of St John the Baptist. In 15<sup>th</sup> century England, the image of the head of St John the Baptist on a platter was symbolic of the Eucharist sacrament and the doctrine of transubstantiation. This feast day had special importance to York’s Guild of Corpus Christi, of which the king and queen had been members since 1477, because it was dedicated to honoring the Real

Presence of Christ in the Eucharist.<sup>36</sup> The guild was responsible for presenting the famous mystery plays (the Creed and Corpus Christi plays) in which the streets of York became venues for processions and staging of various scenes from the Bible and Christ's life and passion. Richard III's royal progress in York drew upon these traditions. Not only did he specifically request a performance of the Creed Play, but his royal entry through York also followed the same processional route used during the annual June Feast of Corpus Christi. "As their actors trod the Via Crucis through their own streets, so now their king came among them as the incarnate and temporal representative of divine order. Richard would not have missed the significance of making his triumphal entry on what was, in York, tantamount to a second Feast of Corpus Christi".<sup>37</sup> For Yorkist adherents who remembered the decapitation of Richard's father and the display of his head on Micklegate Bar, the symbolic import of commemorating the Baptist's decapitation would have been much more politically charged and may have represented a kind of atonement for the injustices of bygone days.

As the cavalcade moved through the city, the mayor, John Newton, delivered a speech of welcome and offered a gift to the king of one hundred marks of plate. Newton himself had contributed £20 to the royal presents, and spent additional sums on entertainment during the royal visit. The royal procession carried on through the city to York Minster for an ecclesiastical reception. The Cathedral Church of St Peter of York would have been an impressive backdrop for the royal reception. The great tower had been rebuilt early in the century, and the southwestern tower was almost new. It was at the west door of York Minster that the king was formally received by a delegation of ecclesiastics headed by the dean. The dean was Dr. Robert Booth, a Cambridge-educated legist and a member of a highly accomplished Lancashire family. Booth became dean in 1477 through the patronage of his uncle, Archbishop Lawrence (d. 1480), who had been Keeper of the Privy Seal and Chancellor of England in the reign of Edward IV.<sup>38</sup> The current Archbishop of York, Thomas Rotherham, was out of favor and thus not in attendance; he would, however, be restored not long after this event, and would serve as one of the triers of petitions during Richard's III only parliament.

An eyewitness recorded the events as the dean and his fellow clergymen, all strikingly vested in copes of violet silk, welcomed the visitors. The king was sprinkled with holy water and censed as he made his way into the cathedral church. Richard was not a passive actor in the ceremonies taking place. He made his way to a prie-dieu beside the baptismal font, and there he said a Paternoster; some historians suggest this was the first time an English king led a congregation in public prayer. "The succentor of the vicars choral began the liturgical response *De Trinitate* with the words *Honor, virtus*, and it was finished by the choir standing before the steps of the high altar. Then there was a pause long enough for a Paternoster and an Ave Maria. Then Dean Booth began the prayer *Et ne nos inducas* for the benefit of the king. Following the prayer, the dean and canons processed to their stalls in the cathedral choir, together with the other clergy, as the organ intoned the *Amen*. We are told that the officiating prelate (*prelate executor officii*), most likely Dean Booth, began the psalm *Te Deum laudamus*, which was concluded by the choir and organ. Immediately thereafter the succentor chanted the antiphon of the Trinity beginning with the words *Gracias tibi, Deus*, with a versicle and prayer to the Trinity. The service now being concluded, the royal party left York Minster for the short walk northwest to the palace of the Archbishop of York where the royal family stayed during their visit."<sup>39</sup>

On August 31<sup>st</sup>, the king decided to have his son invested as Prince of Wales while in York. On this date, Richard sent an urgent message to Peter Courteys, keeper of the Great

Wardrobe in London, outlining goods he wished transported to York. These included two short gowns of crimson cloth of gold, a cloak with a cape of violet lined in black velvet, a stomacher of purple satin and another of tawny satin, enough white cloth of gold for the trappings of a horse, other gowns, spurs, and five coats of arms for heralds, together with forty trumpet banners and 13,000 badges of Richard's white boar emblem. Processional banners were requested of the Virgin Mary, Trinity, St George, St Edward, St Cuthbert, and one of Richard's arms, along with three coats of arms beaten with fine gold for Richard himself.<sup>40</sup>

The week of September 1<sup>st</sup> to the 7<sup>th</sup> was filled with banquets and hospitality leading up to Prince Edward's investiture. On Sunday, September 7, the Creed Play (an abbreviated version of the cycle of mystery plays) was performed for an audience that included the king, the mayor, twelve aldermen, and York's Council of Twenty-Four. The next day, September 8<sup>th</sup>, the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, was the occasion of Prince Edward's investiture as the eighth Prince of Wales to be recognized by an English king. The same eyewitness that recorded the king's arrival in York provides the account of events. "A procession led by the king and queen, both wearing crowns, entered York Minster for mass. The procession included Prince Edward, temporal and spiritual lords, and other dignitaries. The officiating prelate was Bishop William Dudley of Durham, and the focal point of the high altar of the cathedral was enhanced by silver figures of the twelve apostles, as well as other ornaments of gilt and numerous relics, all provided by the king. The assemblage remained at mass until the sixth hour of evening. Then, following mass, all returned to the archbishop's palace, and there in the hall before dinner the king invested his son as Prince of Wales by arming or girding Edward with a sword, presenting him with a gold rod and ring, and placing a coronet on his head. A four-hour dinner, during which the royal family sat crowned, continued into the evening."<sup>41</sup> On the same day, Richard made knights of his illegitimate son John of Gloucester and the ambassador from Queen Isabella of Castile (Gaufrid de Sasiola) who had joined the royal progress at Warwick in the company of Queen Anne and who had come to England expecting Edward V on the throne.<sup>42</sup> The ceremonial sword used in Prince Edward's investiture is still on display at the British Museum.<sup>43</sup>

On September 17<sup>th</sup>, the king summoned the mayor, aldermen, and other citizens to meet with him in the Chapter House of York Minster. "It soon became apparent that Richard had been dazzled by his reception in York. The king, without any petition on their part (or so the record states), thanked the assembly for their good service to him before he came to the throne and at his recent coronation. Richard cited the decay and poverty of the city, which was indeed experiencing an economic slump, although it was still likely second in size only to London in the kingdom. He then went on to promise that the city would have a substantial reduction in the annual fee farm due to the crown, from a sum on the order of £160 to about £100, and Mayor Newton was appointed Richard's chief serjeant-at-arms with an annual fee of £18 5s. The financial arrangements were also meant to encourage trade in York by allowing any lawful non-resident to sell in the market of York without paying tolls."<sup>44</sup>

The royal party departed York on September 20<sup>th</sup> or 21<sup>st</sup>, having stayed there for more than three weeks. From there, the king went to Pontefract for 17-18 days, and then traveled to Gainsborough, where (according to local history) he spent the evening of October 10 at Gainsborough Old Hall, a grand manor house built by Sir Thomas Burgh in 1460.<sup>45</sup> Richard was at Lincoln on October 11, and made a gift to Barnard Castle of £40 toward the building of the Church of Our Blessed Lady, and gave some money to the wardens for the feast of

St. Martin.<sup>46</sup> It was here that he first heard that a great rebellion had broken out in the southern counties, headed by his erstwhile ally, Henry Duke of Buckingham. The uprising was originally meant to restore Edward V to the throne but when rumors of his death spread, the Lancastrian claimant Henry Tudor was invited to join the rebellion.<sup>47</sup> On hearing the news of the rebellion, the king moved to Grantham, where he wrote to Chancellor Russell asking for the Great Seal, and expressed in a postscript, added in his own hand, his outrage at the desertion of Buckingham.<sup>48</sup>

### **January 10-17: London to Canterbury and Sandwich**

The southern rebellions cut short the king's progress, but by January he was able to resume a "convivial and splendid" role.<sup>49</sup> He invited the citizens of London to his Epiphany feast on January 6 at Westminster Palace's White Hall, during which he wore his crown. He presented the mayor with a gold cup set with pearls and gems, offered to make the borough of Southwark part of the city's jurisdiction, and to give £10,000 for the building of walls and ditches around it. "Richard was rewarding the citizens for their financial assistance, and he was also, like Edward IV before him, adeptly making available the luxuries of his court—its wines, cooking, fine napery, music and good manners—beyond its usual aristocratic confines, and welcoming to it his merchants and townsmen."<sup>50</sup>

The king then traveled with an entourage to Canterbury, where there was a formal reception along the lines of how Edward IV had been received in 1461. This can be deduced from the Canterbury City Archives, which date Richard's entry from January 10-12, 1484: "For the Lord King on his first coming to Canterbury --- And paid for a purse bought at London—26s 8d, which purse with £33 6s 8d in gold, collected from the mayor and his brethren and thirty-six of the better sort of persons of the city of Canterbury, was given and offered to the Lord King and which the Lord King with gracious actions ordered to be redelivered to the said persons from whom the said sum had been collected. This being done the said purse was given to Doctor Langton, at that time Bishop of St. Davids, on account of his many acts of kindness and favours to the citizens of Canterbury. Upon all these considerations the aforesaid mayor and his brethren presented the following gifts to the Lord King. Firstly paid to John Burton for four great fattened beefs—£7. And paid to the same John Burton for twenty fattened rams—66s 8d. And paid for twenty capons of various prices given to the Lord King—21s 10d. And paid for six capons given to the Bishop of St Davids and other bishops then with the King—6s. And paid to John Stoubregge for two gold beads given to the Bishop of St Davids and the Bishop of 'Seynt Tasse'—5s 4d. TOTAL £13 6s 6d."<sup>51</sup>

Richard then departed from Canterbury to Sandwich where he stayed several days overseeing the preparation of ships to send against the Bretons and French.<sup>52</sup> Edward IV, similarly, had taken in Sandwich while on his royal progress. Richard appears to have fitted in a visit to Dover where the citizens bought an ox and capons to feed him and his entourage at the castle. A note in the Canterbury Chamberlain's Account records that the King's secretary was given three gallons of red wine and two gallons of white wine by order of the mayor on the occasion when "the Lord King returned from Sandwich to Canterbury".<sup>53</sup>

The Canterbury records note that, rather than lodging at the Archbishop of Canterbury's palace or St. Augustine's Abbey, the king was accommodated at a place called "Le Hale" outside the city. The Le Hale costs included payments for carpentry work, repairing the road, for the carriage of furniture, cushions and for hangings of cloth of gold and silver loaned by various citizens, and for the provision of wine and food. This would explain the "first coming" or "first arrival" to be the occasion of the ceremony of the purse with

presumably one or more other “arrivals” into the city after the king’s return from Sandwich.<sup>54</sup>

One author<sup>55</sup> has offered the theory that the mention of “Le Hale” refers to a hill in the Royal Forest of Blean near the town of Harbledown, the latter of which was part of the established route where pilgrims would remove their shoes and walk penitent to the Shrine of Thomas à Becket. The road was likely quite travel-worn and in need of repairs although this could probably be said for other local roads. The same author deduces that King Richard’s mental state was burdened by guilt from past nefarious deeds and his choice of Le Hale as base camp indicates he walked as penitent pilgrim from Harbledown to Canterbury.

Whether King Richard traveled on The Pilgrim’s Way cannot be determined with any accuracy since the precise location of “Le Hale” has never been ascertained. But even if he did act as a pilgrim, this is no more evidence of a particularly guilty mind than when Henry V came on pilgrimage to Canterbury soon after Agincourt and then again the following year in 1416 with the Emperor Sigismund.<sup>56</sup> It would have been an act of conventional piety, albeit with the added spectacle of the king’s presence. Whatever we are to make of this leg of his progress, King Richard returned to London a few days before the opening of parliament on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of January, and proceeded to take the reins of government without any outward signs of remorse or a guilty mind.

### **Final Observations**

What can we conclude about Richard III’s royal progress? Historians uniformly observe it shows he was well aware of the importance of public display as part of the art of kingship. He was adept with the techniques used by a king to cultivate the good will of his subjects. He achieved this by easing their financial burdens, granting charters, and—where possible - using his own money to defray expenses.<sup>57</sup> One of the striking differences between Richard’s royal progress and Edward IV’s is how often Richard declined gifts of money compared to how often Edward accepted them. It also shows he was effective at dealing with city officers and the ecclesiastical community. So successful was the precedent of Richard III’s use of royal display in his coronation and progress that Henry VII copied much of it in 1485.<sup>58</sup>

Questions still remain. For instance, where did Richard intend his royal progress to go before it was interrupted by “Buckingham’s Rebellion”? Was he intending to progress from Lincoln to Fotheringhay, his birthplace and the final resting place of his father, brother Edmund, and uncle? It would have been a fitting bit of symbolism. Would he have then progressed to Cambridge University to visit the construction work on King’s College chapel or to tour Queen’s College, both of which would become beneficiaries of his royal generosity? It is enticing to think of the possibilities.

Also, why did Richard seem to make a sudden decision to invest his son Edward as Prince of Wales in York when the precedent was to do so at Westminster? Was this necessitated by the mysterious “enterprise” noted in his July 29<sup>th</sup> letter to Chancellor Russell, which may have required him to firmly establish Edward of Middleham as his heir and thus dilute any popular uprisings in the name of Edward IV’s sons? Or was it merely a reflection that York was a more reliable ally than London during this politically delicate time?

Finally, how did the people of England respond to Richard III’s royal progress? The Crowland Chronicler was particularly sour, noting that while King Richard was popularly received, his royal progress nevertheless wasted the large treasure acquired by Edward IV

through diligence and thrift. Although that has been shown to be untrue by Rosemary Horrox's review of the financial memoranda,<sup>59</sup> we do have an eye-witness account rendered by Thomas Langton, Bishop of St David's. Langton was with the king at York, and later in Canterbury, and his words ring more faithful to the historical record than those of an unknown cleric who harbored a deep prejudice against northerners.

In Langton's words:

He contents the people where he goes best that ever did prince; for many a poor man that hath suffered wrong many days have been relieved and helped by him and his commands in his progress. And in many great cities and towns were great sums of money given him which he hath refused. On my troth I liked never the conditions of any prince so well as his; God hath sent him to us for the weal of us all.<sup>60</sup>

*Author's Note:* I would like to credit Dr. Compton Reeves and Pamela Tudor-Craig, in particular, for their very detailed descriptions and analyses of Richard III's entry into York. Their articles, which provided a wealth of information for this essay, are listed in the Sources below. Rhoda Edwards' *Itinerary* provides a definitive resource for Richard III's whereabouts, citing to Signet Office and other government records.

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Pamela Tudor-Craig, “Richard III’s Triumphant Entry into York, August 29<sup>th</sup>, 1483, Richard III and the North (Horrox, ed.), University of Hull (1986), pp. 108-116

Pamela Tudor-Craig, *Richard III NPG Exhibition*, 2d ed. (1977)

Warkworth’s Chronicle (Camden Society, reprinted 1968)

ENDNOTES:

<sup>1</sup> Scofield, p. 201.

<sup>2</sup> Sutton, Coronation, p. 76, quoting Fortescue.

<sup>3</sup> From *The Arrivall*: “Hereupon, the ix. day of Aprell, th’Archbyshope callyd unto hym togethars, at Seint Powles, within the Citie of London, suche lords, gentlemen, and othar, as were of that partye, [with] as many men in harneys of theyr servaunts and othar as they cowthe make, which, in all, passed nat in nombar vj or vij {m} men, and thereupon, cawsd Henry, called Kynge, to take an horse and ryde from Powles thrwgh Chepe, and so made a circute abowte to Walbroke, as the generall processyon of London hathe bene accustomed, and so returned agayne to Powles, to the Bysshops Palays, where the sayd Henry at that tyme was lodged, supposynge, that, whan he had shewed hym in this arraye, they shuld have provokyd the citzens, and th’enhabitants of the citie, to have stonde and comen to them, and fortified that partye; but, threwwthe it is, that the rewlars of the citie were at the counsell, and hadd set men at all the gates and wardes, and they, seyng by this manner of doinge, that the power of the sayde Henry, and his adherents, was so litle and feble as there and then was shweyd, they cowlde thereby take no corage to draw to them, ne to fortifye theyr partye, and, for that they fearyd, but rather the contrary, for so moche as they sawe well that, yf they wolde so have done, ther myght was so lytle that it was nat for them to have ones attemptyd to have resystid the Kynge [Edward] in his comynge, whiche approached nere unto the citie, and was that nyght at Seint Albons.”

<sup>4</sup> Thomas, Great Chronicle, p. 215.

<sup>5</sup> Mulryne, p. 1.

<sup>6</sup> See, for instance, Anne Sutton & Livia Visser-Fuchs, “The Entry of Queeen Elizabeth Woodville over London Bridge, 24 May 1465”, *The Ricardian*, 2009, pp 1-31.

<sup>7</sup> The Crowland Continuator was not as accurate when describing it as a squandering of Edward IV’s huge treasure. As Rosemary Horrox showed in her study of the financial memoranda under Edward V, Edward IV’s treasury had already been depleted when Sir Edward Woodville was given charge of the fleet in the days following Edward IV’s death. Horrox, *Financial Memoranda of the Reign of Edward V*, in Camden Miscellany, Vol. XXIX (London 1987), p. 213.

<sup>8</sup> Linda Briggs, “Concernant le service de leurs dictes Majestez et auctorité de leur justice: Perceptions of Royal Power in the Entries of Charles IX and Catherine de Médicis (1564-1566), in Mulrayne (ed.) *Ceremonial Entries* pp. 37-52

<sup>9</sup> Scofield, vol. 1, p 197.

<sup>10</sup> Harleian MS 433, vol. 2, pp. 4-5.

<sup>11</sup> Luitweiler, pp. 4-6, citing Magdalen College Register “A” f.27.b.

<sup>12</sup> Reeves, p. 545.

<sup>13</sup> Luitweiler, p. 9.

<sup>14</sup> Tudor-Craig, NPG, p. 55.

<sup>15</sup> Horrox, “Richard III and London”, p. 326, note 11.

<sup>16</sup> “Richard III and the City of Gloucester”, <https://tinyurl.com/yatd8os3>

<sup>17</sup> <https://tinyurl.com/y6v1k4ej>

<sup>18</sup> Scofield, p. 199.

<sup>19</sup> Donohue dissertation, p. 30.

- <sup>20</sup> Donohue dissertation, p. 30.
- <sup>21</sup> Edward IV had earlier ordered that the same royal manors convey 100 marks to the Abbot of Tewkesbury to satisfy George's debt. However, it is interesting to see how Richard refers to his two brothers in this grant, referring to "oure late brothere the Duc of Clarence whome god pardonne" versus "the famous prince of moost noble memorie king Edward the iiiijth". Horrox and Hammond, *Harleian MS 433*, vol. 2, p. 7.
- <sup>22</sup> PRO C81/886/18. Reeves, p. 545.
- <sup>23</sup> Reeves, p. 545.
- <sup>24</sup> Donohue, pp. 30-31.
- <sup>25</sup> Tudor-Craig, *Triumphant Entry*, p. 109.
- <sup>26</sup> Reeves p. 545, citing Horrox and Hammond, *Harleian MS 433*, vol. 1 p. 75; Hammond and Sutton, *Richard III: The Road to Bosworth*, pp. 130-34.
- <sup>27</sup> Hammond/Sutton, pp. 128-129.
- <sup>28</sup> Reeves p. 545.
- <sup>29</sup> Pamela Tudor-Craig believed that the proclamation of Edward of Middleham as Prince of Wales may partially explain why Buckingham parted ways with Richard III and rebelled. Under Edward V, Buckingham was appointed Chief Justice and Chamberlain of north and south Wales, and upon Edward V's coronation, would remain so until the king had a male heir. But with Edward V's deposition, Richard III effectively and "prematurely" cut short Buckingham's status (and revenue streams) in Wales since the new Prince of Wales would come into his majority within a half-dozen years or so. "By declaring his son Edward Prince of Wales, Richard III in effect ended his minority. The letters sent by the newly created prince from York to the knights and esquires of north and south Wales to continue to pay their dues to our 'right trusty & righte entirely beloved Cousyne the duc of Buckingham' did not convey the same message as they had contained on 15<sup>th</sup> May when Buckingham received those Welsh offices during the Protectorate." From that point onwards Buckingham was only the agent, who would be required to transfer the funds to the Prince of Wales. The letters from the new Prince of Wales went out on September 16. By October 11, Buckingham was known to be in rebellion. Tudor-Craig, *Triumphant Entry*, pp. 109-110.
- <sup>30</sup> Hammond/Sutton, p. 138 citing *Harleian MS 433* vol. 2, pp. 82-3. Tudor-Craig, *Triumphant Entry*, p. 109-110.
- <sup>31</sup> Reeves, pp. 545-6.
- <sup>32</sup> Hammond/Sutton 139-40, citing *Harleian 433 MS*, vol. 2, p. 42.
- <sup>33</sup> Warkworth's *Chronicle*, p. 14.
- <sup>34</sup> "Wishing therefore to display in the North, where he had spent most of his time previously, the superior royal rank, which he acquired for himself in this manner, as diligently as possible, he left the royal city of London and passing through Windsor, Oxford and Coventry came at length to York. There, on a day appointed for the repetition of his crowning in the metropolitan church, he presented his only son, Edward, whom, that same day, he had created prince of Wales with the insignia of the gold wand and the wreath; and he arranged splendid and highly expensive feasts and entertainments to attract to himself the affection of many people. There was no shortage of treasure then to implement the aims of his so elevated mind since, as soon as he first thought about his intrusion into the kingship, he seized everything that his deceased brother, the most glorious King Edward, had collected with the utmost ingenuity and the utmost industry, many years before, as we have related above, and which he had committed to the use of his executors for the carrying out of his last will." Pronay & Cox, *Crowland Chronicle*, pp. 161-163.
- <sup>35</sup> Tudor-Craig, *Triumphant Entry*, p. 109.



- <sup>36</sup> Alexandra Johnson, “The Plays of the Religious Guilds of York: The Creed Play and the Pater Noster Play,” *Speculum*, 1975, pp. 55-90.
- <sup>37</sup> Tudor-Craig, Triumphant Entry, pp. 111-113, quotation from p 113.
- <sup>38</sup> Reeves, p. 547.
- <sup>39</sup> Reeves, p. 548.
- <sup>40</sup> Reeves, pp. 548-9.
- <sup>41</sup> Reeves, pp. 549-550.
- <sup>42</sup> Reeves p. 550.
- <sup>43</sup> Link to British Museum <https://tinyurl.com/yd2v1835>
- <sup>44</sup> Reeves p. 550.
- <sup>45</sup> <https://tinyurl.com/ycjdd9hw>
- <sup>46</sup> Hammond/Sutton, Road to Bosworth, p. 137.
- <sup>47</sup> Hammond/Sutton p. 141.
- <sup>48</sup> Hammond/Sutton p. 144.
- <sup>49</sup> Sutton, Court & its Culture, pp. 77-79.
- <sup>50</sup> Sutton, Court & its Culture, pp. 77-79.
- <sup>51</sup> Hammond/Sutton, 152-153, citing Canterbury City Archives, Chamberlains’ Accounts, Michaelmas 1483-Michaelmas 1484, f. 13b, quoted in *The Ricardian*, 1980, vol. 5, p. 283.
- <sup>52</sup> Edwards, Itinerary of Richard III, p. xiii.
- <sup>53</sup> Sutton/Hairsine, “Richard III’s visits to Canterbury”, p. 365.
- <sup>54</sup> Sutton, “Richard III’s visits to Canterbury”, pp. 365-66.
- <sup>55</sup> Amy License, “New evidence: Was Richard III guilty of murdering the Princes in the Tower?”, *New Statesman*, 5 March 2013.
- <sup>56</sup> “Canterbury and the Battle of Agincourt,” January, 2016 lecture given by Dr David Grummit, Canterbury Christ Church University, reported in <https://tinyurl.com/yafdnol9>. Adam of Usk also reported that Henry V walked barefooted from Shrewsbury to St. Winefride’s Well, which is believed to have occurred in 1416.
- <sup>57</sup> Reeves, p. 551.
- <sup>58</sup> Sutton, Court & its Culture, pp. 77-79.
- <sup>59</sup> See note 7, above.
- <sup>60</sup> Adapted from Hammond/Sutton, p. 135. Richard developed the work of the royal council receiving the petitions of the poor who could not afford the usual processes of the law. He appointed a special clerk to deal with these matters. From this developed the Court of Requests. (“December 27, 1483. Grant for the life to the king’s servitor John Haryngton, for his good service before the lords and others of the council and elsewhere and especially in the custody, registration and expedition of bills, requests and supplications of poor persons, of an annuity of £20 at the receipt of the Exchequer and the office of clerk of the council of the said requests and supplications, with all commodities.” Hammond/Sutton 151, citing Calendar of Patent Rolls 1476-1485, London 1954, no. 1152, p. 413.)

# Ricardian Reading

Myrna Smith

*Truth is the daughter of search.*—Arabic Proverb

*As scarce as the truth is, the supply has always been in excess of the demand.*—Josh Billings

*Truth is the daughter of time, not of authority.*—Sir Francis Bacon

WHEN TRUTH SLEEPS—C.J. Lock, Middletown, DE, 2018

This is an AU (Alternate Universe) novel, in which Richard III wins at the Battle of Bosworth. Henry Tudor escapes but is captured, to languish in the Tower of London. The time of the story runs from August of 1485 to January of 1486, with an Epilogue in the Real Fictional Universe. Why those particular dates? Well, that is the **\*\*Spoiler\*\***. The outcome is hinted at, but not telegraphed.

Why doesn't Richard immediately execute Henry Tudor? The author doesn't believe that Richard was a "ruthless" man, but the story suggests that he wanted to prise some information out of his prisoner. We share Richard's puzzlement as we overhear his discussions with his friends and advisers.

Aside from Richard, the character most fully drawn is Elizabeth of York: a romantic, idealistic young woman, but also one who is willing to use her beauty, her considerable charm, and her sexuality to get what she wants. Maybe she and Henry were a good match after all.

This sub-genre of Ricardian fiction, as exemplified by novels by Joanne Lerner, Matthew Lewis, and others, frequently take the long view of what English history would be like minus Tudors and find it a Golden Age. Ms. Lock takes a more nuanced view. It's hard to see how England could have avoided the religious wars of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, with or without Tudors.

As long as we are speculating, let's speculate for a moment on what might have happened if neither Richard nor Henry had won—that is, if one had died on the field, the other a little later of wounds or the sweating sickness. (Perhaps this is what the Duke of Buckingham was hoping for in 1483?) If the survivor, no matter how briefly, had been Richard, he would have been succeeded by his nephew John de la Pole, as John II, for whatever period of time. But suppose Henry had been the temporary survivor. He had no 'heirs of his body,' and had he died before Parliament met, who would have succeeded? Buckingham had a young son, but he was presumably under his father's attainder. Edward of Warwick? John, still? Well, sufficient unto the day were the troubles that actually did occur.

SEMPER FIDELIS: SQUIRE OF MIDDLEHAM—C.J. Lock, Middletown, DE, 2018

The story of Francis Lovell in the years from 1468 to 1471, no doubt the first of a trilogy, this covers frequently cultivated ground. There is some interest in the development of the friendship between Richard and Francis, and how they meet future allies, like Robert Brackenbury and James Tyrell. One caveat: Lovell is described as a few years younger than Richard, and a little older than the future Henry VII. He is rather *advanced* for his age.

There are guest stars from some of Lock's other novels. Caitlin Desmond, Richard's mistress, for example, is unrequitedly loved by Richard's squire. Caitlin is the heroine of a series of novels by Ms. Lock *DESMOND'S DAUGHTER*, the second book, opens in June

of 1476. (I have not yet caught up with the first.) Caitlin is the Earl of Desmond's illegitimate daughter, lady-in-waiting to Cecily Neville and Anne Neville in turn, and the mother of Richard of Gloucester's two oldest children. There are a few little glitches, most not affecting the story: “mayhap” and “*Jesu*” are part of the dialogue, but so is “clamming up.” Edward of Warwick is called George once. Edward IV's magnificent tomb is referred to in 1483; he had no such tomb. Thomas Howard, later Earl of Surrey and still later Duke of Norfolk, is depicted as being rather younger than he actually was, about Elizabeth of York's age. He was nearer in age to her father. But the story is an exciting and suspenseful one, in which Jasper Tudor rapes Caitlin—that's just for starters. A different explanation of what happened to the boys in the Tower is posited. Caitlin sneaks the young Duke of York out of the Tower, at Richard's request. Edward is taken to Ludlow and dies there.

Book III, *EVENTIDE*, carries the story past the battle of Bosworth Field, referred to here, correctly, as Redemore. There is a plot twist in having “Lambert Simnel” being actually the Earl of Warwick, the Earl in the Tower being a ringer. Caitlin marries Francis Lovell, though he already has a wife, who believes he is dead.

At one point in the story, Caitlin asks Elizabeth of York straight out “Do you love your husband?”

Elizabeth replies simply: “He loves me.”

Maybe they deserved one another. See the review of *WHEN TRUTH SLEEPS*, above.

*Read not to contradict and confute, nor to believe and take for granted...but to weigh and consider.*—Sir Francis Bacon.

*RICHARD III: Brother, Protector, King*—Chris Skidmore, Weidenfield & Nicholson, London, 2017

Mr. Skidmore does what I wish more historians would do, by giving a rough table of money values in the period of his history. One-pound sterling in 1480 would be equivalent to 505 in 2000; one shilling about 25 pounds, and one penny, about 2.50 pounds. He also gives some idea of the makeup of a noble household. In 1462, the young George of Clarence had four henchmen, one herald, two footmen, 76 pairs of shoes (I know he was a growing boy, but still...) and 91 “bonnets” (“hats” to us.)

But about the subject of his biography, Skidmore is somewhat more problematic. He seems to have made up his mind independently of the facts. For example, he recounts how Richard of Gloucester treated the Countess of Oxford 'shabbily,' threatening her with the dire fate of being moved to Middleham, where Richard himself lived. He is not the only historian to take this view, of course, but he may be the first to contend that “The King (Edward IV) stood by...having nothing to do with this.” It seems unlikely that either Edward knew nothing about it, or that it could have been done without his tacit approval.

There were “...tensions between Richard and longstanding Northern noblemen, such as Henry Percy”, which the author admits were perhaps natural. Skidmore has to acknowledge that many northerners favored Richard and sought his patronage but considers this was because they had 'an eye to the main chance.' Like the Croyland chronicler, the author finds fault with Richard for not punishing the Scots enough in the campaign of 1482. Yet he can suggest that this behavior was a facet of his “ambition” and “tyranny.” Richard couldn't win—if he fought he was bad, if he didn't fight, he was bad!

What did Richard do with the lands he acquired by fair means or foul? Some of them he used to provide for religious foundations. “Instead of his lands and lordships being used for revenue, Richard chose to use the money for religious and political purposes. Any

revenue obtained from Middleham was spent in retaining men in the local area.” What a horrible person, giving his money away like that! In fact, Skidmore seems to believe Richard was going broke at this point in his life.

Chris Skidmore makes a serious error for an historian: thinking that as *we* know how things turned out, *they* must have known also, and that these things were *meant* to turn out as they did. Further, he pretends to know the motives behind all the various protagonists' actions, not just Richard's. Thomas Howard, who “escorted” Hastings to the Council meeting at the Tower, is here depicted as “ambushing” and “kidnapping” him.

Skidmore has no doubt that Edward was named as a bastard by Richard Shaa's sermon of June 22, which is reported by several sources. He adds, “But now (June 27) an entirely new basis for disinheriting Edward's children had been found.” This was Bishop Stillington's claim of the pre-contract. Apparently, Richard believed Stillington and assumed that a church council would back him up. But why was another bishop, Lionel Woodville, staying at one of Buckingham's residences? Chris Skidmore calls this “bizarre” and claims (quoting Tudor chronicles) that it could only have been caused by learning Richard had killed his nephews. (Richard's, but also Lionel's). That wouldn't have been enough by itself, without Lionel's influence?

The author's biases show through in more ways than he is probably aware of. On page 315 he refers to “the king's attack against Henry Tudor.” Shouldn't it be the king's defense against Henry Tudor's attack? Dorset, he says, “was caught taking a short cut across a field”, as if this was somewhat unfair. Of course, maybe I'm reading too much into this simple statement. But when he brings up Queen Anne's funeral costing “only a few hundred pounds.” I refer you to his own chart of equivalences, above. Even Croyland, whom he is happy to accept in other circumstances, says that she “was buried with honours no less than befitted the burial of a Queen.”

In spite of the fact that he is a Conservative Member of Parliament, Skidmore obviously aimed this history at a particular segment of the population: the liberal/environmentalist/vegetarian group who will be shocked to learn that “In 1488 [who was ruling then?] the condition of the New Forest found that 500 deer had been killed during Richard's reign by a group identified only as ‘the northern men.’” What this has to do with anything is hardly explained, except it may be meant to prove that, forget about nephews, Richard must have been a beast, to kill poor little Bambi! That the author sees an underhanded, if not completely evil, motive behind every action of Richard and his followers, may involve a bit of projection. When it comes to politicians, after all, it takes one to know one.

Yet Chris Skidmore no doubt believes that he is an unbiased historian, and there are many that will agree with him. David Starkey, for example, calls this “exhaustively researched and scrupulously even-handed.” Historian (?) Philippa Gregory comments “With forensic detail, Skidmore looks at sources as well as rumours to build a picture of the last Plantagenet monarch. What shines out from this modern biography is the author's attempt to be fair....” Most commentators agree that Skidmore is “readable.” I'll give him that. But why? To what purpose?

*A clever person solves a problem. A wise person avoids it.—Albert Einstein*

THE COLOUR OF MURDER—Toni Mount, Made Global Publishing, 2018

It's dressed in Medieval clothing, but this is actually a classic detective story of the Golden Age, with many of the classic plot twists. One feels like greeting them as old friends:

“Hello there, Locked Room. How have you been, Changed Will?” The true attraction, however, is renewing our acquaintance with our actual fictional old friends: Sebastian Foxley, illustrator/amateur detective, kindly, peace-loving, patient; his brother Jude, Coroner's deputy, who is everything Seb is not; the boy apprentices, and the new 14-year-old girl apprentice; Seb's wife Emily, who can be a bit testy at times, but truly loves him; Jude's sweetheart; and other citizens of London, including doctors, lawyers, business men and women, and nobles. No book can fully demonstrate what it was like to live in another time and place, but Ms. Mount's fiction and non-fiction come very close.

Along the way, the reader will find a possible solution to the mystery of “who done in the Duke of Clarence,” as well as learning the symptoms of foxglove poisoning, painlessly. Painlessly to us, that is, not Sebastian.

Enjoy Sherlock Holmes, Dr. Fell, Mr. Monk? Add Goodman Foxley to your list. Highly recommended.

THE DEATH COLLECTOR—Toni Mount, Made Global Publishing, 2018

This is the result of an experiment by Ms. Mount with writing a Victorian melodrama, in the same serial form that many Victorian novels were written, though it is published here in one volume. She has succeeded perhaps beyond her dreams. The bad man is very, very bad, starting as a small bully, pinning insect specimens to boards without bothering to kill them humanely first, going on to murder his close relatives, and then teaching Jack the Ripper how to do it. He narrates the story in alternate chapters, with the others being told from the point of view of police detective Albert Sutton.

And what's wrong with a bit of melodrama? The Sherlock Holmes stories are basically melodramatic action-adventure stories, with the logical deduction being mainly a gimmick to draw the reader in. It forms only a small part of the stories themselves. Albert and his wife, Nell, have read these stories in The Strand, and decide to play Sherlock and Dr. Watson—or rather, the other way around. Nell is a former flower-seller, rescued by Albert from a workhouse. We would like to learn more of their courtship, and maybe we will, if and when future books in the series come out. Nell does a lot more than just being a good screamer and a terrible cook. Will she ever learn to make a decent breakfast? Who cares?

The author says that Albert Sutton was based on her father, whose given name was also Albert. If there seems to be a kinship with Sebastian Foxley, it may be because both characters have the same genesis. We can hope to look forward to seeing more stories about this Seb Foxley in a bowler hat and Tatterstall waistcoat, while still following the original Seb in doublet and hose.

Oh, and there is a cat, Blackstock, who is as good as a guard dog any day, and digs up a few important clues on his own.

*It is generally admitted that with women the powers of intuition, of rapid perception, and perhaps of imitation, are more strongly marked than in man; but some, at least of these faculties are characteristic of the lower races.—Charles Darwin*

RUE AND ROSEMARY—Mary Sturge Gretton, Hall the Printer Ltd., Oxford, 1935

The story of Katherine Gordon, mostly during the years of Henry VII's reign, and of their very strange relationship. He was surely attracted to her, as much for her intelligence as her beauty. (He is married to a “simpleton”) He is gentle and patient with her, as he is with nobody else, except his “frail small daughter, Margaret.” Katherine does try his

patience at times, as she doesn't hold back from speaking her mind. It is suggested that Henry would have offered her denization, but he “realized that she would not accept that particular gift from the hands that had signed her Richard's (Perkin Warbeck's) death warrant.” Perhaps it also had something to do with the fact that “denization” (naturalization) would have made her the King's subject, which neither of them wanted. Yet she 'was able to pardon all of [Henry VII's] doings save one. And of that unforgiven insult to the dead Richard III, she must think that, at Bosworth...he was drunk on his fortune.”

After the death of the first Tudor king, Katherine continues to be a mentor to Henry VIII and his sisters, a sort of elder stateswoman who gives them the same good advice that their father and grandmother would have given. Often, they—especially Henry VIII—don't take it, and Katherine has cause to compare the young King unfavorably to his father. To be truthful, sometimes favorably as well, but on balance, she finds Hal rather foolish, especially when he dresses up in a cloth-of-gold sailor suit. Officially, Katherine serves as lady-in-waiting to Queen Catherine of Aragon and is a front-row observer of l'affaire Boleyn. She does not approve. She also becomes a friend and patroness of Thomas More.

This is written in a rather ornate, but not specifically Medieval, fashion: “Never had the pair garden shown so dazzlingly fair as on the Sunday midday when the barge carrying More and his son-in-law drew alongside it.” To more modern eyes, the attraction is the treatment of a very unusual, one might say odd-couple, relationship.

*The difference between men and women is, that if given the choice between saving the life of an infant or catching a fly ball, a woman will automatically choose to save the infant, without even considering if there's a man on base.*—Dave Barry

CECILY, DUCHESS OF YORK—J.L. Laynesmith, Bloomsbury Academic, London, 2017

This, the author tells us, is the result of twenty years of research on her subject, well annotated, with tables and genealogies. The family trees alone might well have taken up five years of that time. Even with all the tables, the complicated kinship patterns of the nobility at this period are sometimes hard to follow. Large families were the norm, but Ralph Neville's offspring by his two wives were unusually so, even though not all survived. Larger than normal, yes, but not freakishly so. Not only did all their surviving children marry into other noble families, but all of them had their own servants, supporters, stationary and traveling staff—and all of these had kin and affinities. It is little wonder that Laynesmith has to acknowledge that “Before 1483, Richard duke of Gloucester's relations with the Woodvilles seem to have been completely cordial.” “Seemed to be” would be the qualifier, considering that their groups of retainers, et al, no doubt overlapped, and were the same people in some cases.

She adds, “However, the Woodvilles certainly did have powerful enemies elsewhere in the political community. Mancini implied that Henry duke of Buckingham's antagonism was due to loathing his childhood wife, the queen's sister...”

The Woodvilles did have more success in arranging family marriages than Cecily did. Perhaps with her daughters she was successful, but her sons all went their own way. The author examines what is known of Cecily's itinerary to see if she attended her daughter-in-law's more formal occasions (coronations, christenings, churchings, et al) and finds no outstanding pattern. She compares it with the same pattern of other European *grandes dames*, and sees no rules of etiquette pertaining in these cases. “Even if Mancini and More were right to assume that Cecily was initially angry at Edward's [marriage] this need not

mean that the women loathed each other for the rest of their lives.” Both had incentives to “make the best of things.”

While Cecily's direct influence over her grown sons was limited, this is not to say she did not have indirect influence. Ms. Laynesmith believes that Elizabeth Woodville made a serious tactical error in going into Sanctuary with her family. “Richard's own childhood experience with Cecily had let him to expect a royal mother to prioritize the needs of whichever of her children were closest to the throne.” His reaction to her taking her twenty-something son by her first marriage, the Marquess of Dorset, with her can be imagined. Cecily had set a high standard for motherhood, which Elizabeth could not, or would not, live up to. Laynesmith is generally sympathetic to Richard, and not just because he was Cecily's son.

The author goes into detail about Cecily's patronage of literature, and the books that she valued and left to her legatees. One of them came down in the family, to be owned by a man named John Jones—yes, his real name. He was the grandson of Cecily's grandson, Edward IV's illegitimate son, Arthur.

The author gives short shrift to the idea that Edward IV was illegitimate, by the way.

All in all, an interesting portrait of a strong and resilient woman, who was respected by kings from Henry VI to Henry VII. While she was canny enough not to stress her relationship with Edward IV and Richard III while a Tudor was on the throne, she was certainly capable of standing up for her rights, no matter who was the ruler. She actually left Henry VII properties in her will—properties which were in dispute in any case. Seems Cecily usually managed to get the last word! Like many female magnates of her time, Cecily was “lord and king” in her own lands and behaved accordingly.

*Forgive your enemies, but never forget their names.*—John Kennedy

THE HOUSE OF BEAUFORT: The Bastard Line that Captured the Crown—Nathan Amin, Amberly Publishing, Stroud, Gloucestershire, 2017

Nathan Amin is a Welsh-born historian of all things Tudor, but he does play fair with Richard III and his supporters, a favor many Ricardians would not return, with the possible exception of Mathew Lewis. The book covers the time-frame from the conception of the first Beauforts, (c. 1340) to about 1471, which leads me to believe there may be a further volume or volumes.

Mr. Amin runs into the same problems as the author of Cecily Neville's biography when it comes to family trees—it's more like a family thicket! He opts for what he calls “simplified” gemological charts, but can only go so far. It's not that there were so many Beauforts—only four in the original family- but they married into other noble families, such as the Hollands, the Percys, the Nevilles Joan Beaufort was at least partly responsible for the Neville baby boom. A more annoying problem was that they used the same Christian names over and over. Not till the fourth generation did they get daring and give a son the rather Frenchified name of Charles. Perhaps the author could have differentiated his subjects by number: John 1, Henry 2, etc., using Arabic numerals to distinguish them from Roman-numbered royalty. Perhaps it might be best to ignore the whole matter, as the presence of family charts may have the reader turning back to the front of the book every few pages.

When it comes to the actual meat of the author's presentation, he delivers it clearly and concisely. He is writing for laypersons, not academics, but he avoids “writing down.” Sometimes he will speculate a little, but when there is so little information to be found, this

can hardly be avoided. Amin can only say that Katherine Swynford seems to have been an ideal step-mother. We can't say dogmatically one way or the other, but the offspring of John of Gaunt's earlier marriages got on well with her, and vice versa. And the Beauforts were steadfastly loyal to their more legitimate half-siblings. Note: the original Beauforts were not automatically legitimized by the marriage of their parents. The Church would have fought their legitimization, as they were "gotten in double adultery." Parliament, however, could and did declare them legitimate, but they could also put conditions on the act of legitimization. The Beauforts always behaved as if they were as good as anybody and a great deal better than most, but did they really feel that way in their hearts? Could they have always been trying to prove something?

Call him a Devil's Advocate if you will, but Mr. Amie's histories will bear looking into.

*You know what is a Dynasty?...It's when one Family or one gang rules a country till they get thrown out on their ear. That's a Dynasty.*

*We, at home, have what they call the Republican and the Democratic Dynasties. The old rulers passed out at death, ours pass out when found out.—Will Rogers*

ALL ABOUT HISTORY BOOK OF THE TUDORS—Phillippa Grafton, Ed., Future Publishing Ltd, London, 2018

This is called by the publisher a "bookazine," which is an accurate name, because that is what it is, a book in slick-magazine form, with at least some of the virtues of both forms of literature. There are many charts, colorful illustrations, maps, etc. For example, what was on the bill of lading for a 200-man ship going to sea for a week? Among other things, 1400 gallons of beer, 200 rats, and 1 cat, usually either black or white. Want to compare Richard III and Henry VII as kings? The editors rate them with white and red roses, respectively, with Richard being well ahead on "battlefield performance," and Henry having a good lead on "dynastic record," which was mostly a matter of luck.

The authors even rate Henry VIII's wives, although on different criteria: heirs, length of reign, desirability, etc. They cover the period from the Battle of Towton in 1461 to the death of Elizabeth I. My principal criticism is of the illustrations. Those of Richard are based on the recreation of his skull, but Henry VII seems to be based on the actor Jacob Collins-Levy, with completely out-of-period facial hair. We don't need a caricature, but this is rather too matinee-idol.

A similar production from a few years ago is ALL ABOUT HISTORY GREATEST BATTLES (Jon White, Ed., Image Publishing, 2017) from Marathon to D-Day, with sidebars on "10 bloodiest battles" (including Towton), "25 greatest last stands," and "ten worst generals." Seem to have been a lot of them in World War I. I wish to bring up a point of order. Santa Anna may have been *un muy malo general*, but that's no reason to change his gender. His Christian name was Antonio, not Antonia. Otherwise, I can recommend these, especially for the illustrations (unfortunately non-credited), the battle maps, and the concise overview of the battles we all know, such as Gettysburg, and the ones we've never even heard of, if you are like me, such as Gaugamela. A criticism that applies to both bookazines is that the artists do not get enough credit, or indeed, any.

*Play is the highest form of research.—Albert Einstein*

THE ORDER OF THE WHITE BOAR—Alex Marchant, CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2017



This is aimed at young people, but is enjoyable also to a young person emeritus, such as your reviewer. It begins when York merchant's son Matthew comes to Middleham to be a page to the Duke of Gloucester, who is not in residence when he arrives. Matthew is befriended by a fellow-page, Roger, a girl, Alys, and the Duke's young son, Edward. They are all bullied by peewee-league bullies, led by a boy named Hugh. To form a protective league against him and his minions, the four of them form a 'pretend' Order of Chivalry, which they take quite seriously, with rules, ceremonies, and even a cipher.

The story takes place between Richard of Gloucester's Scottish expedition and the death of Edward IV in 1483. While there are incidents of interests, both to the characters at Middleham and in the wider historical picture, one can only feel that the greater part of the story is still to tell, and this is the case. The second book in the series, *THE KING'S MAN*, will be out soon. Perhaps our protagonists will find a use for that cipher.

*Everybody is a genius. But if you judge a fish by its ability to climb a tree, it will live its whole life believing that it is stupid.*—Albert Einstein

*SONS OF YORK*—Lesley J. Nickell, Mereos Books, Cirencester, Glos, 2015

Janet Evershed, nee Wrangwysh, is of the same sturdy mercantile class as Matthew, although her mother was “of gentle blood.” The Wrangwyshs are strivers, however, and will soon rise in the world. Janet is widowed early and resigns herself to being “sentenced to black” until she remarries. This is one detail about the book that doesn't ring true—we're in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, not the 19<sup>th</sup>. Otherwise, the author gives a very good picture of the milieu she has chosen to write about.

Janet will do business with the Duchess of York, running up garments for her younger children, and she will, despite her qualms of conscience, become the mistress of the Earl of March, the future Edward IV. The author does manage to keep them out of bed until past the middle of Chapter Four. It is suggested that she, not Elizabeth Woodville, was the real love of Edward's life, or maybe he just managed to make her believe that. He is certainly a charmer. The story follows their relationship over the years, as well as her relationship with the other members of Edward's family, and of her own. She is the sty who convinces George to return to his allegiance to his brother's cause, and she is the one who reveals to Richard where Anne Neville is hiding.

This is “The second volume of *Sprigs of Broom*.” The third volume may never be written, as the writer is deceased. The last section of *SONS OF YORK* gives a hint as to what it might have been. It is titled The Pretender, and the next-to-last is The Princes. Janet and Edward's long-awaited son is named Peter, having been born at the time of the feast of St. Peter. He is not happy with the life of a merchant, and while still in his early teens, runs away from home. Janet is distraught, of course, but Edward is not too worried. He has many other children, legitimate and illegitimate. He eventually convinces Janet to leave the boy to God. When she does meet him again, at the court of Margaret of Burgundy, she hardly seems to be thankful that he has survived the dangers of being a youthful runaway. After all, he is only three years older than his cousin, Edward of Middleham.

Though King Richard doesn't approve of her lifestyle, he does trust her, and assigns her to take his (formerly) royal nephews to the low countries, where they will be safe. (Note: not to Margaret's court, which would be the first place anyone would look.) Edward is not depicted as being sickly here, though he is thin, and it is hinted that he has “outgrown his strength.” But he is lively and active, until he comes down with a bad cold, which develops

into fatal pneumonia. Young Richard (“Dickon”) stays with Janet as her apprentice, always being the more practical and adaptable of the two.

This is a very plausible solution to the mystery of what happened to the Princes. If the author had been able to finish the trilogy, she might have come up with a plausible explanation of how Peter (“Perkin”) managed to thrive on his own. Interesting, at any rate.

*Hold the fort. I am coming!*—William Tecumseh Sherman, 1864

Cogley: *Don't you like books?*

Kirk: *I like them fine, but a computer takes less space.*—Captain James T.

Kirk, *Star Trek*

I will be coming back next session, wind, weather, and family health permitting, and if the supply of Ricardian books (pro- or anti-) holds out, either in print or bytes. Adieu for now!

~ToC~

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ex libris

Susan Troxel,  
Research Librarian

Note: First published in June 2018 *Ricardian Chronicle*.

## American Branch Digital Archives Project

We are pleased to announce that back issues of the *Ricardian Register*, the newsletter of the American Branch of the Richard III Society, have been digitally scanned and uploaded to the Branch's website. These go back to 1966, not long after the Branch was founded and had only a few dozen members but was energized in August 1967 to make its first trip to the United Kingdom to visit Ricardian sites.

American branch members on their inaugural trip to England and Wales in August 1967 shown from the left are Gretchen Clumpner, Mary McKitrick, Mrs. And Mr. Robert Leicester, Arlene Rosner and Mrs. Lena Rosner, Mrs. Viola Neiman, Mrs. Betty Schloss, Mrs. Helen Schweser, and Shelagh Hunter. Source: *Ricardian Register*, Vol. II, no. 2 (1967).



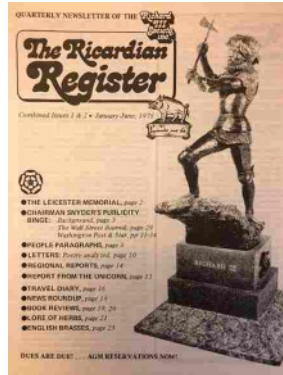
They also contain thoughtful and sometimes enlightening articles written by our members, such as a full astronomical analysis of the 1485 eclipse that occurred on the day of Anne Neville's death, as well as nostalgic glimpses of past AGMs and the cherished contributions of past and some now-deceased members.

The project to digitally archive and make accessible the *Registers* began almost a decade ago, when the more substantive articles from 1991 to the present were scanned and uploaded to the Branch's website at [r3.org/ricardian-register-archive/](http://r3.org/ricardian-register-archive/).

The recent project, overseen by our Research Librarian, involved digitally scanning full issues of the *Register*, including society news and organizational events, from 1966-1991. The scanning was performed by Allstate Information Management in Pennsauken, New Jersey. Using the website password given to American Branch members, the archived *Registers* can be accessed at [r3.org/members-only/archived-ricardian-registers-1966-1991/](http://r3.org/members-only/archived-ricardian-registers-1966-1991/). To obtain the password, please contact our Membership Chair at [membership@r3.org](mailto:membership@r3.org).

The Non-Fiction Library also maintains hard copies of past *Registers* for those wishing to browse them. Excess copies are available for free, in exchange for the cost of postage. Requests for borrowing or purchasing the hard copies should be submitted to our Research Librarian at [researchlibrary@r3.org](mailto:researchlibrary@r3.org).

January – June 1978 Cover containing the appeal for a bigger than life size statue of Richard III.



*Cover of the 1978 Ricardian Register now available online. Geoffrey Wheeler's photograph is of Sir James Butler's proposed design for the Richard III Leicester memorial sculpture. The successful appeal headed by the Society ultimately led to a slightly less martial image of the king.*

~ToC~

## Archive Excerpts: from 1966 Ricardian Register Vol. 1 No. 1

Fifty-two years ago, the American Branch of the Richard III Society published its first edition of The Ricardian Register: Vol. 1. No. 1. Here are two excerpts from this publication (1966-91 archive on the member's only page).\*

### REGIONAL DIRECTOR SPEAKS AT TOASTMASTERS

On November 2, Mr William Snyder, regional director of the Washington area, gave a talk entitled: 'Why Richard III' to the Toastmasters International Club of Washington, D. C. The following quotes are excerpts from this talk.

'...the careful, objective, and interested student of history can observe the layering of myth, legend, and propaganda into so-called history, shrouded in textbooks and sanctified, by repetition over these 500 years. In the same manner as the skilled pathologist dissects and lays bare diseased tissue, students of history are examining the life and times of Richard III with scrupulous care and objectivity and are attempting to lay bare the facts and remove the thick layers of fiction, propaganda, and hearsay.'

'Let's go back again to the Grand Canyon. Note how the colors of the rock seem to change with the shifting light of the sun. In the same way, we can observe how the character of Richard III changes as we focus the strong, clear light of careful and objective research and evaluation on this man and his times.'

'Such research has real meaning for our times, when the failure to distinguish between propaganda and fact might conceivably result in a holocaust.'

What is truth and how does one recognize it? This problem confronts very age and explains why the character of King Richard III now, more than ever, poses a fascinating and challenging problem.'

## RICARDIAN REFERENCE IN SCI—FI BOOK

While down in Florida and doing some light reading, I came across the following interesting reference:

"Earlier in time E625 had been one with the world Blake had once called home. Then two crucial alterations of events had given it another future altogether.

The first came in 1485. Thereafter no Henry Tudor had reigned in England. Instead Richard the Third's courageous charge at his enemy during the battle of Bosworth had carried him to the Lancastrian Pretender and, with his own hand, Richard had Put an end to the red rose for all time.

Once firmly on-the throne, Richard had developed the potentials that historians in Blake's world had come to grant him, with regret that he had never, in their own past, had a chance to show his worth as probably one of the ablest of the Plantagenet house. ...

The brilliance that, in Blake's world, had marked the reign of Elizabeth Tudor, had in E625 flourished a generation earlier under Richard and his immediate successors.

Andre Norton, *QUEST CROSSTIME*, Pp 75 - 76, Ace Books, Inc., New York, 1965

Editor's note: Since I am a fan of sci-fi as well as a Ricardian, I decided to chase down this book and immediately found it available on Amazon in the Children's books section ([amazon.com/Quest-Crosstime-Andre-Norton/dp/067058441X/](https://www.amazon.com/Quest-Crosstime-Andre-Norton/dp/067058441X/)). This book only has that one short reference to Richard III.

\* Article originally published in the June 2018 *Ricardian Chronicle*.

~ToC~

## Schallek Awards

The Schallek Awards program memorializes Dr. William B. Schallek, whose vision and generosity established the original scholarship fund, and his wife, Maryloo Spooner Schallek.\*

The Medieval Academy administers the award.

The Medieval Academy, in collaboration with the Richard III Society-American Branch, offers a full-year fellowship and five graduate student awards in memory of William B. and Maryloo Spooner Schallek. The fellowship and awards are supported by a generous gift to the Richard III Society from William B. and Maryloo Spooner Schallek.

The Schallek Fellowship provides a one-year grant of \$30,000 to support Ph.D. dissertation research in any relevant discipline dealing with late-medieval Britain (ca. 1350-1500). The annual application deadline is 15 October.

The Schallek awards support graduate students conducting doctoral research in any relevant discipline dealing with late-medieval Britain (ca. 1350-1500). The \$2,000 awards help defray research expenses such as the cost of travel to research collections and the cost of photographs, photocopies, microfilms, and other research materials. The cost of books or equipment (e.g., computers) is not included. The annual application deadline is 15 February.

Applicants to both Schallek programs must be members of the Medieval Academy. Graduate students who are members of the Medieval Academy and who seek support to research and write Ph.D. dissertations on topics related to medieval

Britain before 1350 or on any other medieval topic should apply to the Medieval Academy Dissertation Grant program.

2018 Schallek Award-winners

Michelle Brooks (University of Massachusetts, Amherst), “Poeticizing the Universe: Scientific Discourse and Literary Absence in Chaucer’s ‘A Treatise on the Astrolabe.’”

Gina Marie Hurley (Yale University), “Schryue yow openlye: Confession and Community in Middle English Literature.”

Michaela Jacques (Harvard University), “The Reception and Transmission of the Medieval Welsh Bardic Grammars, 1330-1578.”

Anna Kelner (Harvard University), “Remedies against Temptations: Vision, Ethics and Gender in Later Medieval England.”

Charlotte Clare Whatley (University of Wisconsin, Madison), “No Time Runs Against the King: The Function of Fictions in the Late-Medieval English Common Law.”

\* Reprint of article published in the June 2018 *Ricardian Chronicle*.

~ToC~

## From the Chairman

Prof. Compton Reeves

Prof. Compton Reeves, American Branch Chairman submitted the following to the Richard III Society to honor Dr. Ashdown-Hill, MBE.

On behalf of the American Branch of the Richard III Society, I wish to express our great sadness at the death of Dr John Ashdown-Hill, MBE. We remember with profound gratitude John's genealogical quest that led him from King Richard III's elder sister, Anne of York, duchess of Exeter, to a direct Canadian descendant, Joy Ibsen. The mitochondrial DNA sequence that resulted from John's quest proved that the remains found in Leicester in 2012 were those of Richard III. Dr Ashdown-Hill's argument about the location of the Franciscan church in Leicester was also crucial to the success of the *Looking for Richard Project*. We remember John also for his extensive published research on the Yorkist era, both as academic articles, and also as books, such as *ELEANOR THE SECRET QUEEN* (2009), *RICHARD III'S 'BELOVED COUSIN'* (2009), *THE LAST DAYS OF RICHARD III* (2010), *THE THIRD PLANTAGENET* (2014), and *THE PRIVATE LIFE OF EDWARD IV* (2016). Dr Ashdown-Hill will remain a central figure in the posthumous story of King Richard III. The American Branch honors his memory.

## From the Editor

Please join the American Branch Board and Staff in welcoming our new Fiction Librarian, Jessie Hunter. A special thanks to Gilda Felt for managing our Ricardian Fiction Library since October 2006—that's 13 years!

Many thanks to all who contributed to this issue of the Ricardian Register. The quality of the *Register* depends on these and future contributions. Please note the submission guidelines (below) to help me concentrate on the content instead of the format. Do contact me if you have any questions about formatting your document. I'd be delighted to help

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Send digital files to Joan Szechtman at [info@r3.org](mailto:info@r3.org). Do not send payment until you agree with the ad format and placement and receive instructions as to where to send payment.

### **Copy Deadlines:**

January 1–March Issue

July 1–September Issue

~ToC~

## Submission guidelines

- Word doc or docx file type or Open Office Writer odt file type, or rtf file type
- Prefer tables in spreadsheet or database format—file type examples: xls, xlxs, csv, txt, mdb, htm, html
- Use standard fonts such as Times New Roman, Calibri, or Verdana. Avoid fonts that you had to purchase. I use Times New Roman throughout the publication.
- Images that are in the public domain should be stated as such, those that are not require permissions and attributions
- Image size should be at least 300 dpi, which means a 1" X 2" image at a minimum should be 300 pxls X 600 pxls. Note: when in doubt, send me the original. If you are scanning an image, set the resolution to 300 ppi.
- Paper must have references in the form of endnotes or footnotes (which I'll convert to endnotes) and/or Bibliography. Papers that do not require references are travel notes (e.g. report on a Ricardian tour), review of a lecture, and essays.
- Copy deadlines (submissions may be accepted for each issue after stated deadline, but not guaranteed):
  - March issue is January 1
  - September issue is July 1



# Membership Application/Renewal Dues

## Regular Membership Levels

Individual \$60.00 \$ \_\_\_\_\_

Family membership: add \$5.00 for each additional adult  
at same address who wishes to join. \$ \_\_\_\_\_

Please list members at the same address (other than yourself) who are re-joining  
For non-U.S. mailing address, to cover postage please add: \$15.00 \$ \_\_\_\_\_

## Contributing and Sponsoring Membership Levels

Honorary Fotheringhay Member \$75.00 \$ \_\_\_\_\_

Honorary Middleham Member \$180.00 \$ \_\_\_\_\_

Honorary Bosworth Member \$300.00 \$ \_\_\_\_\_

Plantagenet Angel \$500.00 \$ \_\_\_\_\_

## Donations\*

Judy R. Weinsoft Memorial Research Library \$ \_\_\_\_\_

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Morris McGee Keynote Address Fund \$ \_\_\_\_\_

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Total enclosed \$ \_\_\_\_\_

\*The Richard III Society, Inc., is a not-for-profit corporation with 501(c)(3) designation.  
All contributions over the basic \$60 membership are tax-deductible to the extent allowed  
by law.

Circle One: Mr. - Mrs. - Miss - Ms. - Other: \_\_\_\_\_

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

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

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

Country (if outside of U.S.): \_\_\_\_\_

Residence Phone: \_\_\_\_\_

E-mail: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_ New \_\_\_ Renewal \_\_\_ Please check if new address

If this is a gift membership please place the following message on the gift  
acknowledgement email: \_\_\_\_\_

Make checks payable to: THE RICHARD III SOCIETY, INC. (U.S. Funds only, please.)

Mail to:

Richard III Society Membership Dept.  
c/o Cheryl Greer  
1056 Shady Avenue  
Pittsburgh, PA 15232

~ToC~

Mail to:

Richard III Society Membership Dept.  
c/o Cheryl Greer  
1056 Shady Avenue  
Pittsburgh, PA 15232

Inside back cover

(not printed)

**Front cover:**

***King Richard III*** by **Jamal Mustafa**

Stained Glass Studio, Birmingham UK , stainedglassic.com, email: theportraitartist@gmail.com

**Richard III**

Photo of reconstruction from skeleton taken by Joan Szechtman from display at York Museum

*Richard III Forever*



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Richard III Boar and Banner website: [boarandbanner.com](http://boarandbanner.com)

