Richard III Society

Founded 1924

In the belief that many features of the traditional accounts of the character and career of Richard III are neither supported by sufficient evidence nor reasonably tenable, the Society aims to promote in every possible way research into the life and times of Richard III, and to secure a re-assessment of the material relating to this period and of the role in English history of this monarch

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Contributions
Contributions are welcomed from all members. Articles and correspondence regarding the Bulletin Debate should be sent to Peter Hammond and all other contributions to Elizabeth Nokes.

Bulletin Press Dates
15 January for Spring issue; 15 April for Summer issue; 15 July for Autumn issue; 15 October for Winter issue.
Articles should be sent well in advance.

Bulletin & Ricardian Back Numbers
Back issues of the The Ricardian and The Bulletin are available from Pat Ruffle. If you are interested in obtaining any back numbers, please contact Mrs Ruffle to establish whether she holds the issue(s) in which you are interested.

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From the Chairman

London’s Staple Inn proved to be an enjoyable venue for this year’s Member’s Day and AGM, and feedback on the day, and since, suggests that the new format was popular. There has been great approval for the guest speaker’s talk being moved to mid afternoon, and what an excellent speaker we had this year in Ann Wroe. Speaking on Perkin Warbeck, she gave a fascinating discussion of the controversy surrounding this pretender to the throne. Whether Perkin was Richard Plantagenet or not, I still find it difficult to think of Henry VII as a womanising gambler! That aside, we know that there is still room for improvement with the AGM, etc., so expect more innovations in future years.

This year has seen us celebrating the life of Margaret of York, and to that end we have unveiled a plaque at Waltham Abbey and will soon be unveiling another at Fotheringhay. Naturally, each plaque carries the Society’s name, thus furthering our aim of getting it before the public.

During 2004, two branches will be celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of their founding. My new wife, Beth, and I will be joining the celebrations of the Norfolk Branch in April and we will also be in Plymouth in July to attend the Devon and Cornwall Branch’s anniversary dinner. Let me take this early opportunity to congratulate both Branches on their twenty-five years.

Moving further afield, I am delighted to see that we have a report from the recent Ricardian Convention held in Brisbane, which brought together members from across Australia and New Zealand. Sometimes it helps to be reminded of the vast distances involved in travelling to events both down under and in North America.

The range and quality of articles appearing in the new Ricardian Bulletin continues to be impressive, and whilst we have enough in the pipeline to keep us going for the next couple of issues, more are always welcome, especially from new contributors. No doubt, Lesley Wynne-Davies’ article in this issue will help and inspire many budding writers.

The festive season is almost upon us, and for many Ricardians this begins with the visit to Fotheringhay for lunch and the Carol Service. Fotheringhay, with its rich Yorkist heritage, has always had a close relationship with our Society and the annual Christmas visit helps to strengthen the ties. I look forward to joining members and their guests at what is always a most enjoyable occasion. Although the church can be a little chilly on a cold December afternoon, the sight of it floodlit against a dark East Anglian sky is really quite magical.

Finally, I wish members throughout the world a very happy Christmas and a safe and prosperous New Year, and for those of you who may be working, or who do not celebrate Christmas, may you still enjoy the blessings of the season.

Phil Stone
Subscription Reminder 2003-2004

May we remind members who have not yet renewed their subscription, that if it is not renewed by 31st December 2003, they will be treated as lapsed and will receive no further copies of The Ricardian, and the Bulletin. As a reminder, the subscription rates for renewal of membership for this year are:

- Full Members: £15.00
- Families (all members of same family living at same address): £20.00
- Senior Citizens (over 65): £11.00
- Senior Citizen Families (same family, same address, where all pensioners): £15.00
- Junior (under 18 years of age): £11.00
- Student (over 18 attending full time educational course)*: £11.00

*Committee must approve each case.

Please send your subscription to: Richard III Society, Membership Department, RIMMS Ltd., Unit A5, Trem y Dyffryn, Denbigh, LL16 5TA.

Please renew promptly. If you do not renew by the end of 2003, the record of your membership will be deleted from the database: if you then renew later, the record has to be re-instated, which costs the Society money. So please renew before the end of the year - why not make it an early Christmas present to yourself?

Minutes of the 2003 Annual General Meeting of the Richard III Society

The 2003 Annual General Meeting of the Richard III Society was held in Staple Inn Hall, High Holborn, on Saturday, 4 October 2003 at 12 noon. One hundred and twenty nine members were present.

Apologies for absence had been received from Helen Ashburn, John Audsley, Anne Barnard, Doreen Bayley, Sue Beresford, Michael Boon, Andrew Conaty, Colonel M J H Davies, Rita Diefenhardt-Schmitt, Heather Falvey, Christa Palliccia, Diana and Peter Lee, Doris K Strong, Livia Visser-Fuchs, and Juliet Wilson.

The Minutes of the 2002 Annual General Meeting published in the Ricardian Bulletin for December 2002, were approved and signed as correct.

Chairman's Welcome  The Chairman welcomed members, and in particular foreign members and those for whom this was their first AGM, to the new venue and the new programme for the AGM, being presented as a ‘Members’ Day’. Reports from officers and committee members had been contained in the Society’s first Annual Report, and reports from officers would therefore comprise only updates, as necessary, members also being given the opportunity to question officers.

The last twelve months had been a successful period for the Society, with the launch of the new strategy ‘Towards the Next Fifty Years’, much work on which had been taken forward. The Ricardian Bulletin had been presented in a new look, and the team responsible was to be congratulated. The Festschrift Ricardian volume in honour of Dr Anne Sutton had been produced, and launched at a successful event, attended by the Society’s Patron, HRH The Duke of Gloucester.

The Robert Hamblin Award for Services to the Society had been launched as part of the Strategy and the first award would be made in the course of the AGM. The award was to honour...
members who had provided a significant service to the Society, and nominations for next year’s award were sought.

As part of the strategy the Society has launched a number of new committees, all reporting back to the Executive Committee, to enable the Society to be represented at the forefront of historical research, history teaching, publicity, etc.

**Secretary’s Report** Elizabeth Nokes read greetings from the American Branch of the Society, which was also holding its AGM on 4 October, and to whom greetings had been sent. Her work throughout the year had comprised communication: with members, in general, as members of branches or groups, contributors to the Bulletin, reporters of media items, and on working parties, including that for the revision of the Constitution. Communication with non members included PR contact with the media.

Activities since the Annual Report included the annual Bosworth commemoration, and proposals for the Branches/Groups and committee representatives meeting of 2004.

**Membership Report** John Ashdown-Hill, retiring as Membership Co-ordinator, in favour or Rosemary Waxman, after eighteen months in the role, reported that, as at end August 2003, membership stood at 2,388, (excluding the USA Branch).

Raymond Bord then asked two questions, the first, on behalf of the secretary of the Continental Group, Rita Diefenhardt-Schmitt, as to whether new member’s full addresses might be contained in the Bulletin listing. John Ashdown-Hill advised him that contact with new members was and continued to be made by branches and groups through means of the introductory letter than went out to every new member in a branch/group catchment area.

Raymond Bord also raised the issue of declining membership, from c. 5,000 in 1999, with a decline in overseas members. The Chairman responded that membership numbers had been overstated, and efforts were being made to ensure greater accuracy in the future.

**Research Officer’s Report** Wendy Moorhen reported on the granting of Society bursaries: that at the University of York had been granted to Joanna Bryant and that at the Institute of Historical Research to Helen Coombes, with, exceptionally, this year, an additional award, to Catherine Eagleton. The Society maintained contact with its bursary winners. The Research committee proposed a research weekend to guide beginners in research and solicited interest.

For *The Ricardian* and the Richard III and Yorkist History Trust there was nothing further to report, over and above the reports made in the Annual Report.

**Librarian’s Report** Jane Trump reported on the library auction. The number of bids had been reduced, but those received had been generous, raising some £319. She thanked donors and contributors to the auction. The Fiction Librarian, Anne Smith, sought to retire from the post and a replacement was being sought.

For the Sales Office there was nothing further to report, over and above the report made in the Annual Report.

**Visits Report** Lesley Wynne-Davies, retiring Visits Co-ordinator, reported on events since publication of the Annual Report, including the continental visit, based on Angoulême, seeking Richard’s ancestors, and reported in the Bulletin. The summer visit had been to Kent, and there had been day visits to Knebworth, Salisbury and Eltham Palace. She thanked all visit organisers, and drew members’ attention to forthcoming visits: to Ireland, in May, and to Devon and Cornwall in July, as well as to the ‘Visits Stall’. The visits team had lost the following members: Derek Verdin, and herself, but had gained as members Ros Conaty, Marian Mitchell and Carolyn West. Lesley outlined the genesis of the Visits Team, following the death of Joyce Melhuish in 1995. She had taken over as Co-ordinator from Don Jennings, and had served in the role for eight years, now handing over to John Ashdown-Hill.

The Chairman thanked the visits team for its work, and thanked Lesley for her guidance of it.

**Fotheringhay Report** The Chairman, in his role of Fotheringhay Co-ordinator, reminded members of the forthcoming Christmas event, and noted that a project was in hand to record the service.
Webmaster’s Report  Webmaster Neil Trump advised that Carol Symonds had joined the web team and that work was in hand to update the website and improve navigation around the site.

The Adoption of the Accounts for 2002–2003 was proposed by Kitty Bristow, seconded by Barbara Ellams and carried nem. con.

Appointment of Auditor for 2003–2004 The reappointment of Mike Pearce was proposed by Bill Featherstone, seconded by Joan Cooksley and carried nem. con.

The first presentation of the Robert Hamblin Award to a member who had provided a service to the Society over and above the call of membership, was made to Bryan Longfellow for his work on the Wills Project, in transcribing over a hundred wills, and for the skill and knowledge he had brought to the translation of Latin wills. This would be marked by mention in the Bulletin and a certificate.

Election of Vice Presidents  Nominations had been received for John Audsley, Carolyn and Peter Hammond, Morris McGee and Isolde Wigram, and that these five members should be re-elected as Vice Presidents of the Society for 2003–2004 was carried nem. con.

On being re-elected Isolde Wigram desired to nominate Geoffrey Wheeler for the Robert Hamblin award but was advised that executive committee members and vice-presidents were debarred from nomination.

Election of Committee for 2003–2004. Twelve nominations having been received for the twelve vacancies, it was agreed that the following members were elected to the executive committee for 2003-2004: John Ashdown-Hill, Bill Featherstone, Wendy Moorhen, Elizabeth Nokes, John Saunders, Phil Stone, Anne Sutton, Jane Trump, Neil Trump and Rosemary Wexman, Geoffrey Wheeler and Lesley Wynne-Davies.

Date of Bosworth and AGM, 2004 The Bosworth visit would take place on Sunday 22 August 2004 and the AGM would take place on Saturday, 2 October, 2004. It was hoped that the AGM would be held in the West Country.

Any Other Business  Raymond Bord raised the issue of the deficit, and the desirability of a subscription increase, to which the Treasurer, Bill Featherstone responded that an increase would be recommended, but that in conjunction with this, improved ‘housekeeping’ and close attention to costs should, by the next AGM, show a reduction in overheads. It was the intention of the Society to provide value for money.

Peter Hammond raised the issue of the resolution at last year’s AGM, that the Chairman and Vice-Presidents should be supplied with badges of office. This had been investigated by the committee, but the cost was felt to be too great. This project might provide an opportunity for a benefactor, and the vice-presidents had agreed amongst themselves to meet the cost.

Congratulations were tendered to the Editor of The Ricardian, and to the Executive Committee on the speedy conduct of the meeting.

The meeting was concluded by the Chairman’s thanks to all attenders, to the Croydon Group for manning reception, to the Executive Committee, and to Betty Beaney, who had sourced the venue and provided our contact with it.

Major Craft Sale at Member’s Day/AGM

The twenty-fifth Major Craft Sale, run by the Ricardian Churches Restoration Fund, was held at the 2003 Member’s Day/AGM from 11.00 a.m. until the start of the meeting, and during the lunch and tea intervals. The craft stall, art and ‘grot’ stall, card/book stall and raffle, made a total of £458.

We would like to thank all those who contributed items for sale or raffle, and who helped on the stalls during the day, including — Daphne Booth, Joan Cooksley, Carolyn Hammond, Renée Jennison, Jean Judd, Linda Miller, Christa Palliccia, Diana Powell, Joyce Spears, Miss D K
Strong, Catherine Vickers, Shirley Watson and Geoffrey Wheeler. Our thanks to them all, and our apologies to anyone we have omitted.

Elizabeth Nokes, Kitty Bristow and Phil Stone

**Anne Neville Anniversary – Tuesday 16 March 2004**

In addition to the solemn requiem mass at Clare Priory on Saturday 13 March, Queen Anne’s anniversary will also be kept in London. St Etheldreda’s will be asked to say a mass for the souls of Richard III and Anne Neville around this time (please note this will not be a solemn requiem), and arrangements have been made with the Dean of Westminster to lay white roses in Westminster Abbey at 3.00 p.m. on Tuesday 16 March 2004. Both of these events will be low key, as the main commemorations for 2004 is at Clare Priory, but any members who will be in the London area and who would like to come to Westminster are welcome to do so, and should meet me at 14.45 on 16 March at the west door of Westminster Abbey. Please contact me if you need further information.

John Ashdown-Hill

**Bosworth Herald Appeal**

Just £3 will buy up ten copies of this misleading old publication (see Autumn Bulletin, p. 8). Cheques should be made payable to Richard III Society and sent to John Ashdown-Hill.

**The Ricardian**

Volume 14 of The Ricardian will be published in March, 2004 and like this year’s Festschrift will be published in one volume.


Anne Sutton

**Barton Library - Appointment of New Fiction Librarian**

Anne Smith will shortly retire from her position as Fiction Librarian. She will be replaced by Anne Painter from the Devon & Cornwall Branch. For further information, please see page 41.

Jane Trump

**Research Weekend**

The research committee is looking at the possibility of running a two-day residential course on research for beginners, probably next Autumn. Before proceeding, however, it would be useful to see if there are sufficient members who would like to take part.

The course would be designed to help newcomers to decide on suitable projects, where to begin, how to manage the information and how to write it up.

It is over ten years since the first research weekends were organised by Peter and Carolyn Hammond. Many of those who attended went on to work on the wills projects and still form the nucleus of members enjoying the study weekends. It will be great fun to have a new group of
members learning about this most fascinating of topics and who in the future could contribute to our publications. For more about research please see Lesley Wynne-Davies’ article on p. 30.

Please write (or e-mail) me if you are interested in this proposed course.

Wendy Moorhen

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The Robert Hamblin Award
for Service to the Richard III Society

Following the retirement of Robert Hamblin from the chair last year the Executive Committee decided to establish an award for members who have given significant service to the Society over the years. Robert was always conscious of the voluntary service and commitment that members give and he himself very much epitomised such service. It therefore seemed appropriate to name the service ward after Robert. His sad death last August adds some poignancy to this. The Executive Committee have chosen the recipient of this years inaugural award, but in future we will be seeking nominations from the wider membership.

Bryan Longfellow has been awarded the very first Robert Hamblin Award for Service to the Society. This is in recognition of his significant and continuing contribution to the Wills Project. He has been by far the most prodigious transcriber of wills for the transcription side of the project. Bryan is something of a linguist and his skills here have been a great asset for the translation of the Latin wills.

His commitment and enthusiasm for the wills project has been maintained despite health problems in recent years. He is a most deserving recipient of the award. In honouring Bryan we remember again the many years of service that Robert Hamblin gave to this Society as Chairman.

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STOP PRESS — Wills Project

I am delighted to announce that the Wills Indexing Project has now been completed and is moving towards publication, initially on CD-Rom. This is the result of nine years work by almost forty volunteers from the Society and a full report will appear in the next issue of the Bulletin together with an update on the sister project — the transcription of the Logge register of wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

Wendy Moorhen, Wills Index Co-ordinator
Media Retrospective

You’ve known it as ‘Mediawatching’, more recently as ‘For Richard or Poorer’ and not it’s Media Retrospective — the coverage Richard III gets in the twenty-first century media.

From Geoffrey Wheeler:

Heroes and Villains — Scarfe at the NPG

It would be unthinkable to exclude Richard III, and although not present in the small exhibition of Gerald Scarfe original cartoons, he features, along with other historical favourites like Henry VIII, Elizabeth I and Cromwell in the accompanying book of essays, which examine the twin polarities of his reputation. Firstly, theatre director Thelma Holt, recalls her experience as an impressionable fifteen-year old school girl, visiting the Gallery and seeing the portrait for the first time, with, for her, its ‘aesthetic mouth, eyes that had known pain, a gaze (that) was stalwart and the brow noble. I became aware of his beautiful slender fingers, and in the hands I detected, somehow, a sense of humour’. Eventually she ‘tracked down the Richard III Society’ and ‘the pursuit reinforced my teenage suspicion that I should question received information’. Whilst the last point is still valid, given what we now know about that particular painting (see the articles and correspondence in the Bulletin, September 2000, December 2001 and March 2002) it would be interesting to discover if she has now revised this ‘wronged romantic’ view.

Captioned ‘the theatrical villain’ with the added quote ‘I am not the villain you think I am. My kingdom for a correct portrayal!’ Scarfe has recycled an earlier Sunday Times cartoon of Olivier’s Richard, for the opposing view, and the essay by Jeremy Ashbee (Assistant Curator, Tower of London) sets out the current stance of most academics on the matter: ‘A historian can legitimately take a moderate view of Richard III .. Discount the psychosis of Shakespeare’s caricature and still find him guilty on several counts. The idea that Richard’s bad press was only Tudor rewriting is no longer a tenable line for historians to take’. Among the selective booklist for further reading are the latest publications of Keith Dockray, Rosemary Horrox and A J Pollard.

In Search of Shakespeare — Michael Wood, BBC 2

In the early 1980s Michael Wood presented a series of short introductory films to the BCC ‘Shakespeare’ series, detailing the latest research and setting the ‘Henry VI’ plays in their historical context (regrettably not completed with his views on Richard III). Therefore it was hoped that his latest BBC series ‘In search of Shakespeare’ might possibly rectify that omission, but whilst we were given brief stage excerpts from the histories, Richard III was limited to a soliloquy from a pre-Shakespeare prototype, which was probably just as well as this time the producers seemed to be intent on upholding the maxim ‘print the legend’, thereby sacrificing history to produce good television. As Michael Wood explained in Radio Times, ‘Obviously some of the stories we’re telling are speculation, but television demands a strong narrative. Audiences don’t want lots of ifs and buts’ (which incidentally is why we will probably never get a satisfactory programme on the historical Richard III on television) ‘I’m sticking my neck out sometimes in the interests of a good story, but that’s the way of bringing the man to life’. However this time it was Richard II which was the cause of contention, as it was repeatedly maintained during the programme that it was Shakespeare’s play mounted at the Globe on the eve of Essex’s rebellion in 1601, although recent convincing arguments (by Blair Worden London Review of Books 10 July 2003) show that it was probably ‘a play of Henry 4’ by John Haywood. In subsequent interviews during
the BBC IV screening of the Shakespeare’s Globe production of Richard II with Mark Rylance opportunities were lost to refer to this alternative interpretation and research.

*Evening Standard* Metro-life, 3 - 9 October 2003
Restaurant recommendation by Kate Spicer for ‘Lola’s’, 69 Westbourne Park Road, London, W2: ‘the walls are panels of dark stained wood and red velvet, and there are pictures of everything including the Queen, Elvis, ship’s rigging and Richard III slayed [sic] at the Battle of Bosworth’.

*From Dr Leslie S.B. MacCoull, USA*
The ubiquitous misplaced Roman numeral strikes again! The New Yorker, 28 July 2003, p. 90 (in a review of ‘Henry V’ with Liev Schreiber): ‘he’s been far from constant to Falstaff ... or to his father, whose overthrow and subsequent murder of Richard III he calls “the fault/My father made...”’

*From Dr Paul Hancock, USA*
*A Royal Duty* by Paul Burrell
“When other boys played after school, I stayed in and completed my homework, then remained at the desk in my bedroom and read book after book about kings and queens. I went on to pass English literature ‘O’ level with an essay on Richard III, a man much maligned, misunderstood, and wrongly portrayed as hunchbacked, twisted and wicked. In truth, he was courageous and passionate in his reign, which lasted just two years. It should have taught me that members of the Royal Family who don’t fit the mould can be cruelly judged by history’.

Not sure to what degree the Burrell imprimitur helps our cause but it may well be the widest read reference this year!

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*Yorkshire Branch announces*

**New from ROSALBA PRESS**

*SIR WILLIAM STANLEY OF HOLT: A YORKIST MARTYR?*
by Jean M Gidman
*October 2003* ISBN 0907604064

This new book which traces the life, career and fall of Sir William Stanley, is the first about William alone – usually he and his brother Thomas are lumped together as ‘the Stanleys’. In contrast to Thomas, William was a committed Yorkist under Edward IV. After Bosworth he never received the same rewards as his brother from Henry VII, though he did amass a fortune in money and goods. Finally Henry imprisoned and executed him during the Perkin Warbeck episode and confiscated his property.

An appendix to the book prints in full the final inventory of his goods, from the original MS in the National Archive. This provides fascinating details of the furnishings and equipment of a medieval castle, including the chapel and kitchen. A glossary and index complete the book.

Other publications available (prices include p&p.)

- *Sheriff Hutton and its lords*, by Janet Senior
  - £2.80
- *The Medieval manor court of Wakefield*, by Mary O’Regan
  - £2.95
- *Richard III: a brief life*, by Mary O’Regan
  - £2.25

Order from: 18, St. Martin’s Drive, LEEDS, LS7 3LR.
Cheques payable to ROSALBA PRESS.
If two items/copies ordered, reduce total by 25p. If three or more, reduce by 50p
Order in quantity and save!
In Prospect

This section of the Bulletin is dedicated to information about medieval matters that are external to the Society’s own activities and events. It can include notices about future performances of plays featuring Richard III, forthcoming historical programmes on our period, in fact anything that is topical but related to the later medieval period.

Heath Robinson Exhibition


Production of a new play on Richard III

University College London’s own theatre—the UCL Bloomsbury will be presenting a new play in February by Bobby Fishkin entitled Richard III. The author will co-direct the production with Harry Brunjes and assisted by Marcus Plowright (nephew of Joan Plowright, Lady Olivier).
Details are tentative at the moment but the performances are planned for:
- Evening of 12 February
- Afternoon and evening performances 13 February
- Afternoon and evening performances 14 February

Further information will be obtainable from the box office on 020 7388 8822 or e-mail: blooms.theatre@ucl.ac.uk Bookings can be made on line at: http://www.ucl.ac.uk/BloomsburyTheatre.

The author’s first play, Mocha Latte won the Texas Young Playwrights Festival in 1998 and was later produced at the Theatre Studio, Inc. in New York. He has been working on Richard III for several years and has drawn on the works of Paul Murray Kendall and Bertram Fields.

Fact or Fiction

Latest news is that the ‘Richard III’ episode in Tony Robinson’s Fact and Fiction series is scheduled for transmission on 27 December 2003, Channel 4, 20.00 (subject to confirmation) with a follow up programme by the same team on Michael K. Jones’s re-interpretation.

Gothic Art for England 1400 -1547

This major exhibition will run until 18 January 2004, items on display include Richard’s Book of Hours and Margaret of Burgundy’s coronet. Geoff Wheeler writes that early reviews and features on the exhibition have included BBC4 ‘Front Row’ and Channel 5 TV’s ‘The Glory of Gothic’, which opened out the themes with location filming of the various castles, churches and cathedrals, only represented by photographs in the exhibition and catalogue.
News and Reviews

This section of the Bulletin covers news and reviews of non-Society but Ricardian related events

Review of King Edward IV Parts 1 & 2

This play was written by one of Shakespeare’s contemporaries, Thomas Heywood. It was ‘read’ as part of the Summer 2003 Globe season to supplement the performance of Richard III by Shakespeare. Part 1 begins with the Falconbridge rebellion and Edward’s wooing of Jane Shore. Far from being a romance Edward ruins Jane’s happy marriage and the life of Jane’s husband, Matthew. Part 2 shows Edward’s dealings with Louis XI, his death and Jane and Matthew’s reconciliation. It ends with the coronation of Richard III.

A ‘reading’ is a performance given by Globe actors on one of the days when they are not performing at the Globe. They have one rehearsal only on the morning of the performance. Although the play is acted, the scripts are carried onto the stage, the clothing is modern and casual, and there is a minimum of props and no scenery. The setting is reminiscent of plays performed at school rather than a proper theatre. The acting, however, is as good as any professional performance and is in itself fascinating as a work-in-progress; while it is probably the only chance to hear this sixteenth-century work which is unlikely to be performed commercially.

Thomas Heywood, the son of a clergyman, was born in 1573. His early work was for Philip Henslowe (of Shakespeare in Love fame). He died in 1641 and is buried in Clerkenwell. The two parts of Edward IV combine historical events with folklore. The main sources are Thomas More (1513), Holinshed’s Chronicles (1577) and two ballads. The play was entered in the Stationers’ Register in 1599.

The play is very much a London play, showing the defence of London by the mayor and citizens, including Matthew Shore, while Edward dallies with the widow Elizabeth Grey. The play opens with Edward being harangued by his mother as he leaves the local Grafton church after his secret marriage ‘Thank God your father is not alive to see this match!’

The best character in Part I is Hobbs, the tanner from Tamworth. He is a middle-aged man, realistic about fortune’s wheel, but still generous and courageous. Edward visits him disguised as a highly placed servant in Edward’s court. He wants to find the common man’s views on the death of Henry VI.

   Edward: ‘Old King Henry has died in the Tower.’
   Hobbs: ‘That will be welcome news to your master.’
   Edward: ‘And what do you think of it?’
   Hobbs: ‘I say death comes for us all; those that are taken first are not always replaced by better men.’

Edward first meets Jane as he comes to London to award knighthoods to the men who have defended his city and his throne including Matthew Shore. Jane’s beauty is such that Edward pursues her, disguising himself as a customer (though Jane and Matthew recognise him at once) so he can woo her in Matthew’s goldsmith shop. Matthew appeals for advice to his relatives and friends who tell him not to worry.

   ‘Perhaps the king wishes to buy some jewellery.’
   Matthew: ‘If that is so, why does he only come to the shop when Jane is there?’

Eventually Edward’s persistence and rank wear Jane down. She bows to the inevitable and leaves her husband to become Edward’s mistress. Matthew is heartbroken and abandons his business to go abroad. This brings Part 1 to a close.
Part 2 starts in France where Edward concludes a favourable peace treaty with Louis XI. It then moves straight back to London where Jane has used her wealth and influence to help the poor and unjustly accused commoners to obtain justice. She refers to Edward as her ‘great friend’ but still grieves for the loss of Matthew. On Edward’s death Jane’s fall is swift as Gloucester, the Lord Protector, has her evicted from court and from London. He forbids anyone on pain of death to feed her. However, Matthew has returned in disguise and though destitute, he ensures Jane has enough food to prevent starvation. Eventually he is caught and brought before Gloucester. When Richard discovers his real identity his reaction is surprising.

Richard: ‘Of course the law doesn’t apply to you; you are her husband; you are permitted to feed her.’ He then offers Matthew a way out of their predicament. ‘Will you take her back, Shore? Hazard horns again? If so, she is a free woman.’ But Matthew knows too much has happened for either of them to live much longer and refuses the offer. He returns outside the city walls to where Jane is dying. There they are reconciled and die together, husband and wife again. The citizens of London honour Jane’s memory by naming the place of her burial after her i.e. Shore’s Ditch. The play then closes on an upbeat scene described in the notes as ‘an exquisite melodrama’. This is Richard’s coronation and marriage to Anne of Warwick. Buckingham gives her to Richard. Richard: “My lord, we do thank you for your bountiful and overflowing generosity to us.” This was said with a relish and lustful attention to Anne’s breasts. The character of Richard is much healthier than the Shakespeare version, more a rock-a-billy rebel than bottled spider.

The acting was of course of an exceptional standard, but three actors in particular, stood out. One was Alan Cox who played Edward in Part I and Richard in Part 2; another is Geoffrey Freshwater who played Hobbs the tanner and Brackenbury. He brought the one moment of dramatic power in Part 2 when referring to the death of the Princes,

‘an act which the very stones of the Tower do cry out against!’

The third actor is Justin Salinger who played Matthew Shore in Part 1. He captured the stillness of a man watching fate destroy everything he loved while being powerless to prevent it. Those who have not seen this play have missed something exceptional. The language was not poetic but was that of everyday English such as we speak. The characters (over thirty altogether) are vivid and diverse. The main character of Jane Shore has purity and a delicacy that makes her manipulation and destruction by two kings an act of tyranny. The themes of honouring your civic authorities while being sceptical of those who wield great power were beautifully portrayed. For anyone who is interested in the history of English theatre, this was a wonderful event. For Ricardians, it is brilliant to see an alternative Richard to Shakespeare’s powerful fiction.

Vikki Jacobs

Kingdom for a Cart

If you think you have seen the last thing in the presentation of Shakespeare’s Richard III, then after seeing the RSC production at Stratford upon Avon, you must surely think again.

Richard, played by Henry Goodman (recently in Chicago) appears, hand first, from behind the curtain, dressed in Regency-style frock coat and top hat, one side of his face made up black (his ‘birth mark’). Then he strips those off to reveal his prosthetic supports. He limps about in his ‘deformity’ more in the manner of a pantomime villain than the ‘foulest toad’ intended in the play, thus the loss of any sense of menace and doom permeates the whole performance. It is hard to take it all seriously: when Shakespeare intended a comedy, that is what he wrote. As you can guess she’s there (Margaret of Anjou) in all her manic mouthings, carrying a crooked stick (why ?) and with a somewhat undecided accent. Although her presence is an anachronism, any dramatic effect she might have is lost. The other characters too lack conviction: Elizabeth Woodville seemed a little too ready to forgive Richard, and as he pleads at her feet, she rejects him as though he were not using the right soap! Even Buckingham does not come across as the
turncoat ingrate abasing himself before the king.

Richard is carried around on a cart, pulled by his soldiers — not a horse, perhaps thankfully! The use of modern artillery and battle sounds makes the sword seem superfluous. Some semblance of seriousness is evinced from the three main women’s characters when they cite Richard’s crimes with mad Margaret getting in on the act.

The Bosworth eve scene reveals Richard on one side of the stage with Henry Tudor on the other, each in camp. The victims — the young princes, Hastings, etc., appear to the former, while the latter sleeps peacefully; the one lacked the angst of a soul wracked with torment, the other pre-battle nervous tension. All the scenes had a pall of smoke over them, possibly reflecting the fog in one’s mind as to what this production was all about.

The trouble with this version of the play is in the lead role: there are some well known actors in the cast and it is a pity that because of the tone set by the chief protagonist they could not compensate for his deficiencies. Thus their response showed in lacklustre acting.

However, to be at Stratford and to visit the ‘live’ theatre was a joy: the swans on the Avon restoring all to cool calm.

Tom Wallis

[Editor: see also correspondence from Yvonne Ginn and Anne Ayres, for further views on this production]

Marguerite d’York et son temps: Conference of the Centre Européen d’Etudes Bourguignonnes, Malines (Mechelen) 25 - 27 September 2003

When I arrived in Malines on Wednesday 24 September my first port of call was the plaque erected by the Richard III Society at the former church of the Recollects in 2000 to replace Margaret of York’s lost tomb inscription. The plaque was in good order. On behalf of the society I left there a bunch of white roses and chrysanthemums (the nearest thing I could find to marguerites) with a card ‘In memory of Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy, Richard III Society 2003’. Incidentally, when I left Malines four days later the flowers and the card were all still in place and looking pristine.

The conference opened the following morning. We were welcomed by Baron Paternotte de la Vaillée, president of the centre, who assured us that ‘Madame la Grande’ (as Margaret was known after her husband’s death) was still dear to her adopted people. Paul de Win then talked about the mysterious fate of Margaret’s body. Although several times looted, the church building which housed her tomb survives, but the tomb itself is, of course, destroyed. It must have been a splendid monument. Descriptions speak of groups of alabaster statues depicting Margaret praying, accompanied by saints and friars, in addition to the inscription and the angel holding Margaret’s coat of arms, which we reproduced on the plaque in 2000. Excavations at various times within the choir of the former church have produced several skeletons which might be Margaret’s remains, but no incontrovertible evidence has been found. DNA analysis might one day help, but would, of course require a control sample from a known relative of Margaret.

Kathleen Daly told us about the French claims on Burgundian territory after the death of Charles the Bold, and Sylvie Blondel followed this with an analysis of Margaret’s ‘Joyeuse entrée’ into Douai in November 1470, just before war broke out between Burgundy and France. Sylvie saw this ceremonial entry as very much a political act on the part of the house of Burgundy, calculated to reinforce the loyalty of its southern border regions. The pageants presented on this occasion had deliberately drawn parallels between Margaret and the heroic biblical queen Esther.

In the afternoon, Sophie Cassagne-Brouquet and Bert Cardon explored the cultural influence of the Burgundian court upon Yorkist England. We were reminded that, significantly, both Edward IV and Richard III had actually spent time in Flanders. During the Yorkist period, and
particularly following Edward IV’s return in 1471, there was a considerable influx of Flemish products and workers into England, and the effects were widespread, ranging from the elaboration of court ceremonial to the innovation of building in brick. For reasons which remain obscure, the Flemish immigration included a significant number of Flemish prostitutes.

I then had the opportunity of reminding the conference that the Richard III Society had presented the plaque on the church of the Recollects, and announcing that we would shortly honour Margaret of York’s memory in England by unveiling plaques at both of her reputed birthplaces. Livia Visser-Fuchs went on to speak of Edward IV’s generosity to Louis de Gruthuyse, contrasting this with the subsequent meanness of Henry VII, who revoked the patent of nobility which Edward had granted, and cancelled the accompanying annuity, thereby saving himself £200 a year.

The first day ended on an entertaining note with Livio Missir de Lusignan humorously speculating about the possible future rôle of Malines as ‘European Cultural Capital’, and about the concept of ‘Burgundianity’ which the town might epitomise.

On Friday, Isabelle Clauzel-Delannoy spoke about the county of Boulogne in the late fifteenth century. Although the title of this county (together with that of Charolais) was traditionally bestowed on the heir to the Valois dukedom of Burgundy, at this period the county of Boulogne was actually a relatively undeveloped backwater, frequented only by pilgrims to the shrine of Our Lady of Boulogne. Both Margaret of York and Charles the Bold visited the town of Boulogne on several occasions, but Margaret seems to have spent the night there only once.

Eric Bousmar then told us about Margaret’s foundation for repentant prostitutes at Mons. This foundation was very much in the pattern of good works which was both expected of one in Margaret’s position, and towards which she seems also to have felt a strong personal inclination. An additional motive for her charity in this particular case, however, may have been the fact that the Mons brothels were situated adjacent to Margaret’s palace there! This foundation was somewhat unusual, in that it was not a religious house, and the women could, if they wished, leave to get married. However, only women under thirty could enter, as Margaret wanted to encourage them to mend their ways, not to provide a comfortable retirement home for elderly prostitutes.

A talk by Bas Jongenelen explored the parameters of Burgundian literature. Samuël Lucas described the diplomatic career of François de Busleyden, who worked for Margaret of York, among others, and Krista de Jonge examined the development of the ‘Brabantine’ style of architecture in Burgundy and beyond (including England) in the late fifteenth century. Andrea Pearson illustrated portraits of Margaret of York from books which the duchess herself commissioned, and explored their possible significance, detecting possible references to Margaret’s personal religious beliefs, and also possible allusions to her reputedly less than satisfactory marriage. Finally Hanno Wijsman reconstructed on paper the Burgundian ducal library, and speculated whether its costly volumes were for reading, or merely for display. He argued that they were for use, observing that the volumes which belonged to Margaret of York represented an atypical selection for a woman, and were probably used by Margaret in the education of the ducal children whom she brought up: her step-daughter, Mary, then the latter’s children, Philip the Fair and Margaret of Austria, and finally Philip’s children.

This was a most interesting conference. It was a pleasure to attend it, and also to renew my acquaintance with Margaret of York’s dower town (though I found the Malines mosquitoes rather trying and wondered whether their ancestors had once plagued Margaret in the same way!) At the end of the conference I was also delighted to be approached by Baron Paternotte de la Vaillée, who expressed his wish to attend, if possible, the unveiling of the Waltham Abbey plaque in Margaret’s honour, in October. Let us hope that this may be a sign of developing links between the European Centre for Burgundian Studies and the Richard III Society.

John Ashdown-Hill
The Man Himself

Continuing our new series on Richard III. If you would like to contribute please contact Peter Hammond to discuss the subject matter and timescales.

Richard III’s Appearance

Many people’s image of Richard III is influenced by Shakespeare’s portrait of the ‘poisonous bunch-backed toad’, a limping hunch-back with a withered arm. Shakespeare’s sources were the Tudor chroniclers, hostile to Richard. Perhaps Shakespeare also wanted to reflect the medieval idea that an evil mind must dwell in a twisted body. But if we examine what the people who actually saw Richard said, or look at his portraits, then a rather different picture emerges. The earlier portraits, such as that belonging to the Society of Antiquaries, which although not painted in his lifetime are based on originals that could have been done from life, show no sign of deformity. Later portraits, further from the lost originals, and painted to fit in with the established myth, show uneven shoulders and a villainous countenance. The raised shoulder of the Windsor portrait can be shown under X-ray to be a later addition to a painting with a normal shoulder line.

The only totally unbiased commentator is von Poppelau, who mentions no deformity; the Crowland Chronicler, Mancini and de Comynes, none of them particularly pro-Richard witnesses, also make no mention of any deformity, although they must all have either met Richard themselves, or in the case of Mancini, spoken to those who had. Those writing under the early Tudors mention the unevenness of Richard’s shoulders, but since they cannot agree on which was higher, this may not have been very pronounced - perhaps just the result of more development of the muscles of the right arm and shoulder as the result of weapon training in his youth. Even the hostile witnesses agree on Richard’s bravery and prowess in battle, so any disablement must have been slight enough not to affect his use of weapons or control of his horse.

As Sir Winston Churchill said in his History of the English Speaking Peoples: ‘No-one in his (Richard’s) life time seems to have remarked these deformities, but they are now very familiar to us through Shakespeare’s play’.

Quotations about Richard’s Appearance

From a metrical account of the family of the Duke of York, written between 1455 and 1460 and quoted in James Gairdner’s History of the Life and Reign of Richard the Third, (1898), p. 5:

‘John after William nexte borne was
Whiche bothe be passid to Godis grace.
George was nexte, and next Thomas
Borne was, which sone aftir did pace
By the path of dethe to the hevenly place.
Richard liveth yit; but the last of alle
Was Ursula, to Hym whom God list calle.’

Does this mean Richard was a sickly child, or just that of the Duchess’ last six children only George and Richard were still living?

Nicolas von Poppelau

An itinerant knight of great strength from Silesia, who visited England in 1484 and was entertained by Richard:

‘Richard was three fingers taller than himself but a little thinner and not so thickset, also much more lean; he had delicate arms and legs, also a great heart’


Archibald Whitelaw, archdeacon of Lothian, who came to Richard’s court with an Embassy from James III of Scotland in 1484:

‘Never has so much spirit or greater virtue reigned in such a small body.’

[from his Latin speech of welcome quoted in
George Buck’s *The History of King Richard the Third*, ed. A.N. Kincaid, (1979), p 206

John Rous (c.1411-1491), an antiquary and chantry priest at Warwick, who probably saw Richard during his visits to Warwick:

‘Richard was retained within his mother’s womb for two years and emerging with teeth and hair to his shoulders’

‘He was small of stature, with a short face and unequal shoulders, the right higher and the left lower’

[from: *Historia Regum Angliae*, written towards the end of Rous’ life, i.e. after 1485; translated in Alison Hanham’s *Richard III and his early Historians 1483-1535*, (1975), pp. 120, 121]

During a drunken brawl in York in 1491 one protagonist criticised the Earl of Northumberland for betraying King Richard, whereupon the other retorted that:

‘King Richard was an hypocrite and a crockebake and beried in a dike like a dogge’

[case reported in Robert Davies’ *Excerpts from the Municipal Records of the City of York*, (1843), p. 221]

Sir Thomas More (1478-1535)

Spent some time as a page in the household of Cardinal Morton, he could have talked to those who knew Richard; his *History* was written about 1513, although not first published until 1557:

‘He was little of stature, ill fetured of limmes, croke backed, his left shoulder much higher than his right, hard favoured of visage... he came into the worlde with the feete forwarde ... and also not untothed.’

[from Thomas More’s *History of King Richard III*, ed. R.S. Sylvester (Yale, 1963), p 7]

Polydore Vergil (1470-1555)

An Italian cleric and scholar, commissioned by Henry VII to write an official history of England, which was first published in 1534:

‘He was lytle of stature, deformyd of body, thone shoulder being higher than thother, a short and sofre cowntenance, which semyd to savor of mischief and uter evydent craft and deceyt’


John Stow (1525-1605)

The London antiquary, who had talked to those who had seen Richard:

‘He was of bodily shape comely enough only of low stature’

Catherine Countess of Desmond (c.1464? - 1604): In his *Historic Doubts on the Life and Reign of King Richard III*, (1768), p. 102, Horace Walpole says that

‘the old Countess of Desmond who had danced with Richard declared that he was the handsomest man in the room except his brother Edward, and was very well made’

(this story is impossible to verify - the Countess certainly died in 1604, but was she born early enough to have known Richard?)

Carolyn Hammond

This article was originally published in *Speakers Notes* published by the Society in 1988. The second edition (1997) is still available from the Publications Office.
The Debate:
WHOSE BONES?

In 1933 bones in an urn in Westminster Abbey were examined for the first time since they were found in the Tower of London in 1674. The official results of this examination, that the bones are those of Edward IV’s sons, were published in 1934 and have been disputed ever since. We have here two articles, one supporting the original conclusion and one disputing it. Both are by experts, Bill White, Human Osteologist at the Museum of London and the other by someone equally expert who wants their name to be withheld. They are acting as a Devil’s Advocate, the popular name for the Promoter of the Faith in the Roman Catholic Church, who, when someone is being considered for beatification or canonisation, has the duty to put the best possible case for the opposition.

We are anticipating that many members will want to take part in this debate so that, for contributions to the Debate only, all contributions must arrive by the end of December. It is probable that some at least some will have to be edited to get them all in, although we will try to keep editing to the minimum. Please do type them (at least) and send them on disk if possible, this makes our task immeasurably easier.

The reading lists from each contributor and a glossary explaining the anatomical terms used in both articles have been placed at the end.

From Bill White

Under different circumstances the bones in the urn in Westminster Abbey examined in 1933 would warrant no great attention today. The description of the contents of the urn, comprising a mixture of human and animal bones, wood, building materials and metal objects, reveals nothing more remarkable than the sort of undistinguished disarticulated material to be seen today in environmental samples from many an archaeological excavation in London and considered of limited scientific interest. Regrettably, the disarticulated nature and under-documented provenance of the urn contents did not deter the archaeologically inexperienced team 70 years ago who instead drew unjustified but far-reaching conclusions (Tanner and Wright, 1935, pp. 1-26).

To summarise the conclusions by Tanner and Wright:-
(a) two human skeletons were present in the urn in Westminster Abbey
(b) one was of a person who had died aged between 12 and 13 years and the other between 9 and 11 years
(c) their calculated heights conformed to these ages
(d) owing to congenital traits such as large Wormian bones and anodontia (missing teeth) they were related.
(e) the skull of the older child had jaw disease and signs of murder by asphyxiation
(f) the More story is correct in all its essentials
(g) the children died in the Summer of the year 1483.

Needless, to say all of these findings have been challenged at various times during the subsequent 70 years.

Professor Wright, the anatomist, sorted the human bones into two separate but incomplete skeletons of juveniles based upon size criteria. No attempt was made to perform an exhaustive determination of the Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI), as would be done by modern forensic specialists. In the years that have intervened since the original investigation of the bones only once has this
estimate been challenged, by Philip Lindsay (1933, p. 36). Wright’s pre-judged and oversimplistic approach was to cause unforeseen problems. Among them certain anomalies in the estimation of what ages the children were at the time of death can only be resolved by assuming that the bones represent the co-mingled remains of more than two individuals.

The dental evidence for age remains the strongest part of the traditional case. It remains a fact, however, that estimates of the age of children based on the eruption or development of the teeth bear a degree of imprecision so that the older child reasonably could have been of any age from eleven to fourteen years and the younger from seven to twelve years, with a significant overlap (Harrison, 1998; Hammond and White, 2000, pp. 145-6). Wright found supporting evidence for his dental age estimate for the older child by looking at the extent of fusion of the bones of some parts of the skeleton. Thus, the unfused state of the odontoid process of the axis bone was taken to show that the child had not yet reached the age of thirteen (consistent with the age of Edward V in 1483), and this was said to be corroborated by the incomplete fusion of the laminae of the first sacral vertebra (the projections of bone that unite to form a neural arch around the lower end of the spinal cord). In fact modern research shows that these two bones show the requisite fusion by the age of twelve and between seven and fifteen years, respectively (Scheuer and Black, 2000, pp. 200 and 207). Taken together these observations instead would permit a revised conclusion that this child had died certainly under 15 but probably under 12 years of age.

A modern anatomist would not presume, as Wright did, to calculate how tall the children were when they died. Furthermore, the lengths of the individual long bones he measured reveal that using average modern standards the children were rather short to have been of the ages required by his theory. However, the recognition that the growth of earlier peoples during childhood lagged behind current conditions partly resolves this problem, although the gap in age between the two children is much closer to two years than the three-year difference required for the brothers Edward and Richard (Hammond and White pp.148-9). Theya Molleson, in comparing the skeletons examined by Wright with that of Lady Anne Mowbray who died at the age of 8 years and 11 months in 1481, was bothered that the younger child was rather too tall to have been Richard Duke of York at the age of ten; instead the child appeared to be of a size corresponding to that of a medieval child aged between 11 years 6 months and 14 years (1987, pp. 258-262). Close inspection shows that the leg bones attributed to the younger child are responsible for the age disparity, whereas the arm bone lengths are more consistent with the child’s age as indicated from the dental age quoted. These inconsistencies could be resolved by concluding that the older (now oldest) child has the most complete skeleton but that the younger (youngest) child is represented at most by a torso and skull fragments. Thus, the MNI figure (above) would become three and not two as presumed originally, for the other leg bones, the contentious axis, its associated atlas and sacrum could be held to belong to a third (or fourth!) child.

The evidence for family relationship between the children via missing teeth is undermined if the younger (youngest?) child lost its milk molar early in life, just as Anne Mowbray had (Rushton, 1965, pp. 355-9). The study of Anne Mowbray and her congenitally missing teeth broached the subject of a close family relationship with the Princes (through common descent from Edward III) because the elder (oldest?) of the children found in the urn also showed anodontia (Rushton, p. 359). Molleson took up this theme and drew upon familial dental studies (Brook, 1984, pp. 373-8). She quoted these studies as showing that in first-degree relatives the proportion of those showing anodontia was of the order of 30%. However, Edward V and Anne Mowbray were not related in the first degree but only in the fourth, somewhat weakening the argument for consanguinity among the skeletons. Similarly, in each of the two skulls in the urn there were two large Wormian bones on the lambdoid suture. The presence of these
‘extra’ minor bones (ossicles), visible on the suture line that divides the back and front of the skull, was thought to be suggestive of close family relationship between the children concerned. Why then should the skeleton of Anne Mowbray - their putative relative - be so different in showing instead at least fourteen small ossicles in this region of the skull? Modern archaeology shows that Wormian bones were much more common in some ancient populations than in others, so that their presence cannot be used to make meaningful deductions concerning consanguinity among those who share this trait (Hammond and White, pp. 159-60).

At this point the lack of comment upon sex ought to be seen as a failing but Wright seems to have regarded them as boys from the outset. However, Molleson in quoting the familial studies of teeth and their absence showed that congenital absence of permanent teeth occurred in only 3.1% of boys but in 5.7% of girls (Molleson, p. 259). That is, girls were twice as likely to have teeth missing congenitally, yet the obvious conclusion that the older child therefore is more likely to have been a girl than a boy has rarely been drawn (Hammond and White, p. 158).

According to Tanner and Wright the cause of death for the children was suffocation. The issue of diagnosing cause of death from bones alone has been considered and dismissed by many writers, too numerous to list here (Hammond and White, p. 162-4). Furthermore, the evidence for serious illness in the larger child has caused difficulties because of the primitive nature of the published X-rays, leading to modern pathologists being unable to agree on the nature of the disease represented by the lower jaw concerned (Bramwell and Byard, 1989, pp. 83-7; Hargreaves and MacLeod, 1994, pp. 98-101).

It remains the case that of all the human remains unearthed at the Tower of London during the past 500 years or so only one skeleton has been dated independently. This was the burial of a male adolescent found during works on the Education Centre in 1977 and which has been shown by radiocarbon dating to be more than 2,000 years old (Hammond and White p. 139). Until the bones in the urn in Westminster Abbey are equally securely dated they will constitute no more than a ‘red herring’ with regard to the problem of the disappearance of the sons of Edward IV (Hammond and White, p. 169).

From Anon

Members of the Richard III Society may believe that the recent paper by Peter Hammond and Bill White is the last word on the investigation of the bones (in Hammond, 2000). Close inspection shows that this paper is little more than a largely unrevised reprint of the version that appeared first in 1987. Therefore it ignores many important works on this very subject that have appeared during the past 15 years or so. Chief among these was Theya Molleson’s masterly article, which elegantly confirmed a close family relationship between the Princes and Lady Anne Mowbray (1987, pp.258-62). Her argument is summarised and brought up to date by her in a paper in a recently published anthology of current research on human remains (Bahn, 2003). This really is the last word on the matter.

Despite the passage of time the central discoveries of the investigation of the bones of the Princes in the Tower in 1933 still ring true. Professor William Wright, a respected anatomist, deduced that the older child had died at an age between twelve and thirteen years and the younger at the age of ten and that there was evidence of consanguinity between them. He demonstrated cleverly that the observed difference in the degree of preservation between the two skeletons could have been caused by the body of the younger boy lying on top of his older brother in the wooden chest in which they were found buried, affording additional protection to the other skeleton. The skeleton traditionally that of Edward V is then more complete and better preserved than that of his younger brother.

Theya Molleson recognised that Professor Wright’s estimates of age at death were based almost entirely on the state of eruption of the teeth in both children and that they needed to be confirmed. She brought in the new technique for determining the age of children
based on the overall state of tooth development rather than simplistic dental eruption studies. She showed that this technique could be used on fifteenth century children by first applying it to the teeth of Lady Anne Mowbray (d. 1481). The dental age that she deduced was 8.4 years on average with a range of uncertainty of 7.7 to 9.2 years. This compares rather well with Anne’s age when she died which is known to be 8 years, 11 months (Molleson, p. 260). Therefore this method could be used on the bones from the Tower. The age of the older child appeared to be 14.4 years (dying between 12.9 and 16 years) and the younger 9.6 years (8.6 to 10.7 years). She then refined these estimates by looking at certain other features of juvenile skeletons. The lengths of Anne Mowbray’s immature bones had been published (Warwick, 1986, pp. 176-9) and were used in comparisons with the data from modern child growth. They confirmed that the state of development of her skeleton lagged by two or three years behind the age deduced from her teeth. Turning to the bones of the Princes, it appeared that there was a similar lag compared to their dental development and it was therefore legitimate to make a correction by a factor of two or three years to the age apparent from the measured lengths of their bones, making the older a child between 12.7 and 14.5 years and the younger 11.5 to 12.5 years when he died (Molleson, p. 261). The near overlap in the ages of the two children vanishes if we look at the average ages based on the various techniques: this shows that one child was 2.7 years older than the other (Bahn, 152).

The term ‘boys’ for the remains of the two persons present in the urn in Westminster Abbey is used advisedly. Although the investigation by Tanner and Wright did not consider the matter, their published results do allow us to draw satisfactory inferences regarding the sex of these remains. The determination of sex in pre-pubertal skeletons is notoriously difficult and not very reliable. Theya Molleson seized upon this apparent problem, again using her great experience of human teeth in the archaeological record making use of her observation that teeth develop at significantly different rates in girls and boys. It is notable that a girl’s permanent canine teeth erupt shortly before the roots of her incisor and first molar teeth are completely formed. In boys, the eruption of the canine teeth is delayed by up to a year after the completion of the aforementioned tooth roots. If we look at the lower jaw of the younger child we see that the incisor and first molar have complete roots, yet the canine is not yet ready to erupt. The child therefore appears to be male (Molleson, p. 258). For estimating the sex of the larger child we must take maturity into account, since puberty on average occurs two years earlier in girls than in boys. In girls, by the time that the canine, premolar and second molar teeth have all erupted the epiphyses (i.e. the ends of the bones) have fused in the wrists and hands. Again, contrasting with this, the older child’s ulnar and metacarpal bones (the wrist and hand bones) are unfused despite the eruption of the above mentioned set of teeth so here is probably an adolescent boy (Molleson, pp. 258-9).

Professor Wright and Dr George Northcroft, ex-President of the British Dental association, showed that the two skeletons that they studied in Westminster Abbey shared the trait of congenitally missing teeth (anodontia or hypodontia). Taken together with the phenomenon of both skulls sharing an unusual trait of large Wormian bones on their lambdoid sutures, their conclusions suggested a close family relationship between these persons. The finding of hypodontia in the dentition of Anne Mowbray reinforced this theory as well. Although Anne Mowbray was married to the younger of the Princes a Papal Dispensation for the marriage had to be acquired because of their consanguinity, both being descended from Edward III but, more significantly still, from Ralph Neville and Joan Beaufort. Molleson drew attention to the fact that although anodontia of the upper molars occurred in about 1% of the jaws she studied from medieval Winchester, and is close to the frequency seen in modern populations, it does rise to about 30% of jaws in close relatives (Molleson, pp. 259-60). It seemed too much of a coincidence that this type of dental absence was shared between
Anne Mowbray’s skull and the remains attributed to the Princes in the Tower. If one casts the net wider to bring in the skeletal remains of Mary of Burgundy (d 1482), again showing hypodontia, is it not again too much of a coincidence that she should be descended from Edward III as well? (Bahn, pp. 152-3).

We have seen that the bones in the Westminster Abbey urn were probably those of boys who were of the right ages to support Wright’s conclusion that these were Edward V and Richard Duke of York. The observation that the average difference in their ages is 2.7 years is particularly convincing, given that Edward was two years and eight months older than Richard — Edward was 12.5 years old and Richard nearly 10 years old in 1483! (Bahn, p. 152). The evidence of consanguinity also cannot be ignored, especially bringing in supporting evidence based upon skeletons indisputably of relatives of the Princes. Does all this help us to arrive at a date for the death of the Princes? Wright suggested August 1483 for this event. Theya Molleson’s revised estimates instead suggest that they died during the following year, still comfortably within the reign of Richard III (Molleson, p. 262). Supporting evidence for a late medieval date for their deaths comes from Alison Weir, who pointed out that an eye-witness account of the discovery of the bones in 1674 mentions scraps of velvet about them, showing that they could not be ancient and had to date from after the invention of velvet (Weir, 1992, p. 255). Above all, as A.L. Rowe pointed out many years ago, the two skeletons were found exactly where Thomas More said they were buried (1966, p. 269).

Tanner and Wright summarised their findings by stating that the traditional story, told by Thomas More, was correct in its main outlines. Seventy years on there is no serious reason for revising this conclusion.

Bill White’s Reading List
Philip Lindsay. On some bones in Westminster Abbey, 1933.

Anon’s Reading List

**Glossary**

The axis is the second vertebra of the neck, numbering down from the skull, and in adults possesses a peg-like projection (the odontoid process), which allows the head to turn on the spine. In children this projection of bone connects to the vertebra by cartilage, which become ossified and therefore fused, before adolescence.

Lambdoid suture: the suture at the rear of the skull, where the occipital bone meets the right and left parietal bones, (the parietal bones form the top and sides of the head, above the ear, meeting the occipital bone so as to form the back of the skull), is so named because it resembles in form the Greek capital letter Lambda (like an inverted capital Y).

Wormian bones: first described by the Danish anatomist Ole Worm (1588-1654) these are extra bones that may be found on any of the suture lines of the skull, i.e. the edges of the bones of the skull that eventually fuse together in childhood to form the vault of the cranium.
Margaret of York’s ‘secret boy’: The Evidence from Binche

ANN WROE

Close to the end of his ‘Historic Doubts’ of 1768, Horace Walpole expressed a pious hope: that if a proper search was made ‘in the public offices and convents of the Flemish towns in which the duchess Margaret [of Burgundy] resided’, the truth about her and Richard, Duke of York, the younger of the Princes in the Tower, might come to light. Seven decades later, in his study of ‘Perkin Warbeck’, James Gairdner fired off a direct riposte to that. First, Gairdner said, he had looked in a better place, the archives of Tournai, where the evidence suggested that Warbeck’s confession was true; and, second, respecting the new evidence Walpole had hoped for, ‘there is absolutely none’.

Walpole hoped, without openly saying so, for proofs that Margaret had sheltered Prince Richard herself. In her time, several rulers of Europe — Charles VIII, Maximilian and James IV, to name but three — thought this had been the case. She herself, writing to the pope on ‘Richard’s’ behalf in 1495, dropped an intriguing hint that she might have done so. In her letter she retold the story of little Joash from the Book of Kings, stating (wrongly) that after he had been saved from slaughter he was secretly brought up, for six years, ‘in the house of his aunt’. The first rumours of ‘Richard’ that reached London, in 1490 or so, were spread by her and seemed to imply that she had taken charge of him — even if, at that point, he was no longer with her.

When the story shifted from young prince to young impostor, he too was said to have been sheltered and fostered by her for some time. Gairdner thought this an improbable story, but Margaret’s contemporaries did not. Both Polydore Vergil and Bernard André professed to believe it; and so, too, did Henry VII, for whom they wrote. A letter of his to Sir Gilbert Talbot, written in July 1493, straightforwardly made Margaret the originator of his tormentor. The king’s nastiest image of her — or possibly Dr William Warham’s, for he was the one who retailed it to Margaret’s face, though not without Henry’s approval — was of an old woman viciously and secretly sustaining a pregnancy for fifteen years.

Long concealment, combined with some sort of vicarious motherhood, was thus the common theory at the English court. Though all these men were keen to blacken Margaret, their calumny might not have taken such an intimate form unless some truth was perceived to lie behind it. There were earlier malicious French rumours, of course, of love affairs and a secret son. But Margaret herself used the simile of mothering to describe her relations with the Pretender; and their evident and lasting closeness, if not explained by blood, went far too deep for a mere political charade.

Margaret’s estate accounts are not, perhaps, an obvious place to look for her nurturing of princes or pretenders. Even if a boy was hidden, we might still expect him to be hidden in some style — in Malines, perhaps, or Brussels. It is the Malines accounts that contain the tantalising entry in 1486 for a present of eight flagons of wine ‘to the son of Clarence from England’, whoever that meant. But farther-flung estates had been used before by Burgundian rulers to shelter secrets or embarrassments, such as the dukes’ natural children. In the 1370s, for example, a little boy called ‘Will the Bastard’ was brought up in luxury in the palace of Binche, in Hainault. I found him only by chance, because two of the Binche account books had been given the
same number in the *Inventaire Sommaire* of the Brussels archive. But Will made a fascinating contrast with the other case I was investigating, from a century later. More on him anon.

Binche was a small town, with much of its life and economy centred on the palace, in gently hilly countryside 25 miles south of Brussels. The estate accounts for the late fifteenth century were kept in a series of parchment-bound paper volumes, one for each accounting year (running at first from September to September, but in later years from January to January) of large quarto size, about half an inch thick. They run from 1477 to 1504, or from the year of Charles the Bold’s death to the year after Margaret’s, and most of them are the work of Cornille le Cordier, ‘counsellor of my redoubted lady the Duchess of Burgundy’, who inscribes his name on the covers with some panache. The entries are divided naturally into receipts (rents, wheat and rye sales) and expenses, largely repairs to windmills in outlying hamlets and improvements to the palace. The first account book, for 1477-78, also saw payments to the archers of Binche for defending Margaret and the *francois, pillars et autres mauvais garchons* who were roaming the neighbourhood, as Louis XI of France tried to profit from the weakness and turmoil of Burgundy after the sudden death of Charles at Nancy.

Yet Binche, though not entirely safe, was pleasing to Margaret; and once Burgundy was quieter, and her beloved step-daughter Mary was settled with Maximilian, she spent far more time there. It seems gradually to have become her favourite place, away from the hubbub of a government in which, now, she was more marginally involved. Much money was spent on new windows and on the *grande salle*, or reception room, which was hung with new tapestries. The pages of entries for new ironwork and woodwork suggest that you could barely move without encountering a carpenter or a plumber. The entries for the windows tend to mention the views from them, as if Margaret often sat there, gazing ‘towards the fields’ or ‘towards St Brequier’, or down into ‘the big garden’ that had been laid out for her.

Beyond this constant rebuilding and decorating, the most regular entries in the *Depenses* are for works of charity: sacks of rye for the poor, cash for tenants who could not pay funeral expenses, donations to improve the town hospitals of St Jacques, St Pierre and St Nicholas ‘so that the poor membres de dieu may find daily help and comfort there’. Then, in the account book for September 1478 to September 1479, a new focus for Margaret’s altruism appears:

> To Sire Pierre de Montigny, priest, living in Binche, for the board and upbringing (gouvernance) of a little boy (un josne filz) called Jehan le Sage, aged about five years, whom Madame has put to live in her palace (*son hostel*), and has paid for his keep there: … £24 tournois

This entry occurs, in more or less the same words and with the same payment, for seven years. When I first read it, I imagined priest and boy living in the priest’s house: his education going on there, the priest buying bread and cheese for his charge, and Margaret distantly sponsoring. *Son hostel*, after all, is ambiguous both in grammar and in placing: it could be her house, or that of the priest. The accounts also say that Margaret paid for his keep there, which would seem to go unsaid if he was under her wing in the palace. Only as I got deeper into the accounts did I realise that the word *hostel* always means Margaret’s palace, and is applied to nowhere else. Jehan, therefore, was living in the great house, as his fine clothes and a special separate boy’s room, mentioned later, seemed to imply; the priest was his guardian and tutor, as well as being in charge of his meals. And Margaret, though her frequent absences necessitated such an arrangement, was by no means so distant from him.

What lay behind this? In the annals of Margaret’s charitable works, it is unique to see her minutely overseeing the bringing up of a child. The date of the boy’s ‘adoption’, and his age, are probably important. He had been born in 1473, the year when Margaret fell seriously ill with what may have been a miscarriage. He was not, as some have
speculated, a real hidden or illegitimate child (no son born to Margaret at that date would have been anything but the heir of Burgundy, hailed with public rejoicing), but he may well have been a substitute for a child she had lost. And the arrangement was put in place just after the death of Charles, when Margaret, though scarcely past 30, seemed resigned to a chaste and sombre widowhood. The chance to have children of her own, for which she had so devotedly prayed, had gone; but there remained this little boy.

His name was given as Jehan le Sage, good little John. This sounds less like a real name than a pet one, and strangely enough it had occurred in Margaret’s life before. When she sailed for Flanders in 1468 to marry Charles, her brother Edward IV lent her a jester of that name, allegedly his favourite fool, to keep her company and entertain her. Margaret may have naturally transferred his name to this five-year-old child, also small, mischievous and bright, and a bringer of comfort to her.

It is hard to tell, therefore, what nationality this boy was. If an English court jester could have a French name, an English foundling could have one too, especially when translated to a French-speaking world and French account books. On the other hand, the accounts did not call him ‘English’. A parallel case exists here, when Margaret in July 1499 adopted a baby and sent him to be nursed and brought up in a wealthy Flemish household, using revenue from her estates at Rupelmonde in Brabant. This child, the only other adopted ‘son’ for whom we have evidence, was explicitly identified as English: un josne enfant anglois. We may well speculate on what was going on here, and whose child this may have been; it is impossible to know. The 1499 case suggests that Jehan, by contrast, was not English, and he was certainly given a tutor/guardian whose first language was French. But it may equally suggest that Margaret’s habit, with the baby of 1499 and, implicitly, with Jehan 20 years earlier, was to adopt children through whom she could preserve some precious emotional link with England.

The name of the tutor-priest was Sire Pierre de Montigny. From the fourteenth century onwards the noble families of de Montigny and de Lalaing, the highest blood of Hainault, had been closely connected; the title ‘de Montigny’ seemed to be taken by the second de Lalaing son in each generation. This conjoined family had many connections with Margaret. It had long provided councillors for the dukes of Burgundy: at Philip the Good’s celebrated Feast of the Pheasant, in 1454, Guilmhem de Montigny had sworn ‘to wear a piece of his armour day and night, not to drink wine on Saturdays and to put on a hair shirt’ until he departed on crusade. The de Lalaings for their part, had served as troop commanders as well as jousters of international esteem. In 1477, Josse de Lalaing had helped Margaret sort out some of the tangles with her dower lands, and Roderick de Lalaing, an illiterate bastard son of the family, was to become chief military adviser to the young man who later appeared as ‘Richard Duke of York’. There had been, perhaps, an earlier association of these two, which might account for Roderick’s eventual cooling towards the ‘prince’ in Scotland. Beyond realising what a timid fighter the boy was, de Lalaing possibly also knew that he was not the man he claimed to be.

Sire Pierre de Montigny was therefore noble, but he had no degree (which would have earned him the title Maitre), and may have offered his charge instruction of a general and spiritual kind rather than anything academic. In 1479, when Jehan was six, he was given a rosary by Margaret; so he knew his Pater, Ave and Creed, the minimum requirement, the prayers any page was meant to say as he tumbled from bed in the morning. There is no hard evidence of any other lesson: itemised payments for him were quickly deleted from the accounts (almost the only deletion in them) and did not reappear, as if the details of his upkeep were intended to be secret. But the short yearly entries always state that he was receiving ‘instruction’, or was in Margaret’s hostel ‘to live and learn’, however far that went.

If the boy was indeed English, it is fair to assume that Margaret, when she was at Binche, would have spoken the language with
him. She treasured her English and, indeed, her Englishness, even while fulfilling the role of Dowager Duchess of Burgundy; and few things may have been more sweet to her, in that entirely French world in the hills of Hainault, than listening to the English prattle of a little boy. It is worth noting that Polydore Vergil, describing the background of the young man who eventually emerged as Richard, Duke of York, said that he already spoke English when Margaret found him. It was this, Vergil claimed, together with his natural acuity and elegance, that made him the perfect candidate to be trained in the part of a prince. And for what it is worth, for those impressed (as Frederick Madden was) with the ‘Englishness’ of the resurrected Richard’s handwriting, it was very close too to that of le Cordier, the Binche accountant.

Whatever he was, and whatever he became, the boy certainly received a prince’s upbringing: exclusive, cocooned and lonely, with perhaps no other children routinely round the palace. How luxurious this life was is harder to tell. The separate child’s room below the chapel seems to have been his, with the tennis court outside on which he may have played. Above him were the sounds of Mass and liturgy, though these were celebrated irregularly until the duchess’s last years. Here he may have eaten his meals, overseen by Father Pierre and cooked by the palace servants. Meals were usually private affairs at Binche: Margaret eating alone, in her own dining room, while the servants and ‘girls’ ate in the servants’ quarters, and guests in their rooms.

Only one set of accounts, those for 1478-79, list Jehan’s expenses in detail. From them, we can derive a picture of a life that fell slightly short of the usual conspicuous consumption. Compare ‘Will the Bastard’, the hidden prince from a century earlier. Little Will had several silk doublets embroidered with blue and green silk thread; Jehan’s doublets were of plainer stuff, merely striped with silk and sporting silk laces. Will had a wonderful rocking horse, on which he rode in a miniature helmet and leg-armour brandishing a proper sword, all made to measure by the palace armourer; the only toy listed for Jehan was a pair of skates, which may have helped him break his leg in the next accounting year. His clothes, though, of best scarlet cloth ‘against Easter’ and of finest linen, were certainly of high quality. In fact, they were almost exactly the same as those ordered by Henry VII for his henchmen as presents ‘against the feast of the Nativity’ in 1487; and this, together with mention of a livery jacket, suggests that Jehan was kitted out more as a royal attendant than a prince. On the other hand, Margaret in her widowhood was known for her sobriety in dress, jewellery and entertainments; and she may have cared far more for the boy’s reading, and his exposure to beautiful books and rigorous devotions, than for his physical comforts.

The only other fact we know about this boy is that, by the end of 1485, he and Father Pierre had disappeared from the accounts. He was now 12 years old, and had a career to make. By this time, Margaret may already have decided that his career should be that of Richard, Duke of York, the vanished Yorkist prince who had been born, like him, in 1473; and perhaps that he needed more training, and in safer places, than she could provide. At this point, we wade deep into speculation.

Yet the abiding mystery in this story — a mystery that seems to hold the key to so much else — is less what happened to this boy after 1485, than where he had come from in the first place. Inevitably, it is tempting to try to tie Margaret to the family from which the Pretender was said to have come: the Werbecques, or Weerbeckes, of Tournai. She had no dealings with Tournai, a French city outside her jurisdiction; but Flemish Oudenaarde, from which the family originated, was one of her dower-properties, and Gaspar van Weerbecke, from that town, was a musician of international repute who was recruited in 1496, fairly late in his career, for the chapel of the court of Burgundy. Jehan Werbecque, “Perkin’s” supposed father (who had been banished from Beveren, near Oudenaarde, to Tournai) had a different reputation, as a violent brawler and trouble-maker, and it is possible that a child of his was removed, or sent away, for safe-keeping while he served time for his crimes. At one point, Maximilian,
King of the Romans, was spreading a rumour that the young man he knew as Richard, Duke of York was in fact the son of Margaret and the Bishop of Cambrai. The part of Tournai where Jehan Werbecque lived (the rough, industrial, wrong-side-of-the-river part) fell in Cambrai’s diocese; perhaps it was there that the unlikely association of Margaret, Cambrai and the boy had started.

A more intriguing possibility is the one suggested by the boy’s name: that he had been sent out from England by Edward IV to comfort Margaret, as his namesake had been sent some years before. Some historians have speculated that the boy who emerged as ‘Richard Duke of York’, was one of Edward’s bastards; certainly a physical likeness existed, which has always needed accounting for. The boy was too young to have been the fruit of a liaison during Edward’s exile in Flanders; but he could have been a bastard sired by the king in England. Whatever the truth, in 1478 Edward’s ship Falcon, on which Margaret was to travel to England two years later, was sent for some unstated reason to Flanders and back again; 52 men and two grooms were on board, suggesting less spying than escort duty. In the summer of that year William Lord Hastings, perhaps Edward’s most trusted advisor, was paid for sending ‘certain secret persons into the parties beyond the sea [Flanders] to bring us knowledge of certain matters such as they were sent thither for, whereof we have the perfectness to our great pleasure.’ Again, this may have been routine spying, but the last phrase does not read that way.

Evidence as fragmentary as this can point only to possibilities; but sometimes, when all the fragments are put together, they are powerfully suggestive. This is particularly true of certain entries in the Binche accounts from later years, when the young man known across Europe as ‘Richard, Duke of York’ was trying, and failing, to win England. Margaret was spending much of her time in those years at Binche, hearing Mass with increasing frequency, often in such turmoil of mind that she could not decide where to eat or where to sleep. In 1499, when all was lost, a painting of herself as the matriarch of the House of York, lamenting as Christ was deposed from the Cross, was commissioned to hang in the palace.

In one room, towards the end of 1496, she set up a screen and installed a special candle, a present from the pope, to make a sort of shrine. A new brick oven was also installed, to warm the cold hours of prayer, and several new windows a la petit lozenge were put in to shed light on the scene. The room was personal and important, mentioned third after her chamber and her dining room. She had renamed it ‘Richard’s room’. No other Richards are found in the whole span of the Binche accounts. This English name, therefore, most probably referred either to the Pretender or to his son - also called ‘Richard’ in the one slim piece of evidence we have1 who was born in September that year.

This was same child’s room where, years before, little Jehan had probably lived in privileged solitude as Margaret’s ‘secret boy’. Wherever he had come from, his room was now ‘Richard’s’; and it is not outlandish to wonder whether his life, too, had become his. Margaret’s anxious heart held the certain answer, and holds it still.

Notes
This article is recast and expanded from the account in my book, Perkin: A Story of Deception (2003), which also contains all I have been able to discover or surmise about Margaret’s relations with the Pretender and full reference notes to much that appears here. I would be happy to supply references to the remainder, which includes original research into the Binche Estate accounts. Readers are most welcome to write to me, c/o The Economist, 25 St James’s Street, London SW1A 1HG, if they have any points to raise or would like more information.

1 Both registers are numbered AN CC 8838; the number should belong only to the later one. The mistake may have been rectified since I pointed it out — or maybe not.
I'd like to do some research ... but into what?

LESLEY WYNNE-DAVIES

In December 2002, when we first announced that the *Ricardian* would become an annual publication, we also said that the quarterly *Bulletin* would carry ‘historical articles based more on secondary sources’ and asked for contributions. The response has been very encouraging, and we have several good articles waiting their turn for publication. Some have arisen from the work done by the volunteers on the Wills Project, others have come from people lucky enough already to have a suitable topic at their fingertips. But we still need more.

Are there some of you who would like to do some research, but have no particular topic in mind? I have sorted out some possibilities. Would anyone like to take them on? I am not addressing the expert researchers and scholars who produce work for the *Ricardian*, but the people who want to get started on research for the fun of it, and are not sure how to begin. You would need access to a reasonably good library but you have that as a member of the Society, the postal Barton Library.

**Sir John Yong’s expensive quarrel**

The first possible investigation comes from one of the wills in the Logge register (our no. 31, PRO reference PCC 4 Logge). From this we see that Sir John Yong of London has had a dispute with Lord Ferrers. It is over, and they are reconciled, but Sir John’s daughters now have cause to be annoyed:

‘Item whereas heretofore of gode zele and tender faderhode toward my iij doughters that is to saie my lady Parre my doughter Mollyeuxe and my daughter Brixe I was in wille and purpose to have given unto thaim certaigne plate aftir my decease so it is that I have been late in a grete and grevous trouble for a variaunce bitwene my Lord Ferrers and me which Lord Ferres is nowe my veray gode lorde. In which trouble I have spent largely of my goodes for my defense and peas to be had which hath caused me of the said plate as of myn own goodes to helpe my silf wherfore I can nott perfourme my first wille and purpose made of the same plate butt by this my present testament I utterly revoke and repelle all former willes gifts and biquestes by me made unto my saide iij doughters or eny of thaim of the saide plate or of anny parte therof So that nowe I woll that noon of my saide doughters shalhave anny parte of the said plate ne nothing therfor trusting that they full wele woll consider my grete age with my grete expenses and litle gettinges manny a day and my grete trouble aforesaide.’

The upshot is that he leaves his daughters nothing at all. If his male heirs fail, then his lands are to be sold and the money spent on works of charity. His executors are to be Sir Walter Devereux (i.e. Lord Ferrers), Mr Richard Martyn, archdeacon of London, and Hum-

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² For a detailed discussion of the evidence for this, see Wroe, *Perkin*, pp. 78-9.
frey Starky, sergeant-at-law and Recorder of London. He made this will on 8 November 1481, and it was proved on 14 February 1482.

What was the quarrel about? Do we know? Does any history book tell us? Was it political? Devereux had been a councillor of Duke Richard of York, and was knighted after Towton by Edward IV, and remained one of Edward’s loyal and established servants. He was killed at Bosworth. Sir John Yong was also a Yorkist, a member of the Grocers’ Company, an M.P. for London, Lord Mayor of London, and a mayor of the Calais Staple. Where did his path cross that of Sir Walter Devereux, Lord Ferrers of Chartley?

If you would like to investigate this quarrel, I think the first step would be to compile short biographies of the two men from printed sources to see if there is any point of contact. It may perhaps have been a quarrel over land. I don’t know the answer, though I think I know some good places to look — if you would like some pointers, do get in touch with me.

Sir John Yong’s mother-in-law

If you consult the Great Chronicle of London (edited by A.H. Thomas and I.D. Thornley (1938), reprinted by Alan Sutton, 1983, and in the Barton Library), you will find that Sir John Yong had a somewhat spectacular mother-in-law named Joan Boughton. Whoever compiled the Great Chronicle was viscerally hostile to her and said so viciously. You can sense the venom dripping from his pen. She died, aged over 80, but not from natural causes, on 28 April 1494. Was she related to the Richard Boughton who was sheriff of Warwickshire in 1485 and (probably) died fighting for Richard III at Bosworth? Would anyone like to research and write up Joan or Richard Boughton — or both?

Richard of Gloucester in Southampton

This is an extract from the Steward of Southampton’s Accounts for 1472/3, folio 30r (Hampshire Record Office SC 5/1/14):

‘Item ye xvj day of ye month of desember payde for iiij galonnes of wynne that was I sende unto my lorde of Glouceter hys dener unto John Walter hys howse be ye Commandement of ye mayer . . . summa ij s. viij d.’

It will probably not be all that difficult to work out what Richard was doing in Southampton in December 1472 (or should that be 1473? — a tiny but necessary point to establish in its own right). But who is the John Walter who is entertaining him to dinner? He isn’t the mayor, because the mayor has ordered the wine to be sent. Are there any Hampshire local historians in the Society who can find out more about the Walter family of Southampton?

Do let me know if you are interested in researching any of the above. If you need any help, I’ll be glad to provide it. My address is: 47 Wyndcliff Road, London, SE7 7LP.
The Location of the Battle of Bosworth

JOHN ASHDOWN-HILL

With regard to the current debate upon the location of the battle fought in August 1485, I should like to draw attention to a source which may previously have been overlooked. I refer to the collection of popular verses entitled Mirror for Magistrates.

The Mirror for Magistrates appeared in various versions, published originally during the reigns of Elizabeth I and James I. A collection bearing this title first appeared in London in 1559. Since it was a collection, it follows that the material which it comprised pre-existed in some form, and had already enjoyed a period of transmission by word of mouth or in manuscript prior to the date of publication. The verses in Mirror for Magistrates tell the story of the famous and infamous Richard III was absent from the 1559 edition. He made his first appearance in the 1563 edition. He made his first appearance in the edition of the Mirror most readily available today is perhaps the version edited by Haselwood and reprinted in London in two volumes in 1815. The Richard III poem in that edition mentions both Bosworth and Ambion Hill. The relevant material is in volume 2, part 2, p. 802 of the 1815 edition, and runs as follows:

Verse 65
'To Lester we forward did advance:
Through which we past to Bosworthe’s ample plaine,
Where I did end my wretched life and reigne'.

Verse 66
'And there upon an hill, Anne Beame by name,
I downe did pight my standard, and fast by
My campe in martiall order I did frame:
Richmond fast by us on the plaine did lie'.

The spelling of Ambion (‘Anne Beame’) is interesting. As Angela Moreton has kindly pointed out to me, it is a corruption of the old English ‘ana beame’ (‘one tree’). The relative placing of the royal and rebel forces as here described certainly sounds like what is presented in the modern display on the traditional battlefield site.

Unfortunately, however, the Richard III poem contained in the 1815 edition is a late entry to the collection. It first appeared only in the edition of 1610 (folio 763). Earlier editions (1563, 1574, 1578 and 1587) had contained a completely different Richard III poem, which did not mention Ambion Hill. Nevertheless, these earlier versions had specifically referred to both Bosworth and to the county of Leicester as the location of the battle. In these earlier editions the Richard III entry is listed on the contents page under the title ‘Rychard the thyrd slayne at Bosworth fyeld’, and the poem itself contains the words:

‘. . . at last our armies met
On Bosworth playne besydes Lecester towne.’
(folio cliii recto in the 1563 edition).

It would appear, therefore, that the location of the battle of 1485 was firmly established in the popular mind at the traditional site, marked by the present battlefield centre, by the mid-sixteenth century at the latest, and before the publication of Holinshed’s Chronicle.
Correspondence

Dear Editor,

The correspondence in the Summer/June Bulletin raised a number of interesting issues. May I comment on points raised in three letters, in the hope of clarifying them?

Vicki A. Hild’s fascinating letter on the possible pathology of Richard III (p. 44) raised the question of whether there is any evidence of genetic defects in Richard’s ancestry. Richard’s ascendants are, of course, very numerous. He was extensively descended from the royal houses of France, Castile, Navarre and Aragon, where his ancestors include both saints and sinners but no recorded deformities as far as I am aware. However, Richard also has many non royal and non-noble ancestors (particularly on his mother’s father’s side) and little is known about many of these. Who, for instance, has ever heard of Bertred Mainwaring, or knows whether or not she suffered from any congenital abnormality? Nevertheless, it is certain that in the paternal line of descent, Richard III was related to (although not descended from) Edmund Crouchback, Earl of Lancaster, who presumably did have a physical deformity similar to the one which has been attributed to Richard.

Mention of Edmund Crouchback brings me to Elaine Brooksbank’s comment to the effect that if John of Gaunt was illegitimate that would invalidate the Lancastrian and Tudor claim to the throne (pp. 44-5). This statement, alas, is incorrect. As can be seen from my Festschrift article on ‘The Lancastrian claim to the throne’, this claim was based not on Henry IV’s paternal descent from John of Gaunt, but on his maternal descent from Edmund Crouchback, through Blanche of Lancaster. It was Henry IV’s view that Edward I, II and III and Richard II were all usurpers. This was made abundantly clear by Henry IV himself, when setting out his claim to parliament in 1399. In view of this fact, the Tudor claim to the throne is invalid in any case, because the Tudors were not descended from Blanche of Lancaster, and thus could not possibly be the heirs of the Lancastrian kings. I hope that Elaine will not mind my pointing out that the legitimacy or otherwise of John of Gaunt is therefore of no relevance in the matter.

Finally may I turn to Isolde Wigram and the Bosworth crucifix (p. 44). The research which I undertook at the invitation of the Society of Antiquaries was specifically directed to the question of the provenance of this crucifix. The earliest surviving report of its discovery was published in 1811 by Nichols. He quoted verbatim a report from a Coventry antiquary stating that the crucifix was dug up in 1778 at the Bosworth battlefield site. Nichols himself, however, while listing the crucifix among the surviving artefacts pertaining to the battle of Bosworth, also speculated in a footnote that it might perhaps have been found not at Market Bosworth at all, but at Husband’s Bosworth, more than twenty miles away. I very much hope that the Society of Antiquaries will eventually publish my research, which is in their hands, but in the meanwhile, suffice it to say that Nichols’s speculation about Husband’s Bosworth can be shown to have absolutely no basis in fact. We must therefore conclude that, as originally reported, the crucifix was dug up near Market Bosworth, at what was then popularly regarded as the battlefield site. Personally I am inclined to agree with Isolde that the crucifix is, therefore, probably evidence (albeit of a rather imprecise nature) as to the general location of the battle of Bosworth. However, we must recognise, I think, that this is merely an opinion, and rests on several assumptions. Unfortunately, we have no precise information as to where the crucifix was found, nor in what archaeological context. There is thus no definite proof that the crucifix has any link with either the battle or the house of York, although it is indisputably an artefact dating
from the right period. This makes it possible to argue, as Geoffrey Wheeler does, that even though the crucifix was discovered near the traditional site of the battle of Bosworth, it may, in fact, have no connection with either the battle or the house of York.

John Ashdown-Hill

Dear Editor,

**Richard – modernish style**

A belated birthday gift — chauffeur driven there and back to Stratford upon Avon on 7 August, to see the RSC *Richard III*. We did not know what to expect as no reviews from critics had been read.

To my horror Richard (Henry Goodman) came on stage in a light biscuit coloured suit sporting a straw hat. He looked like the jazz singer George Melly! ‘Now is the winter ..’ etc., and after this famous opening speech, Goodman undressed on stage, removing the biscuit suit, and went into the villainous Richard: his left boot larger than the right, his left hand clasped to his chest, the hump was there. Then with bent knees causing an awkward gait, he shuffled around the stage. Goodman was Richard. The costumes were a mish-mash of late Victorian/Edwardian. It took some getting used to. However I have not been to the theatre for such a long time that maybe that is why I enjoyed the play.

I wore the Society badge and a white china rose brooch. In the interval I was approached by several people, asking questions on Richard and what I thought of this production. It would appear lack of medieval costume did not go down at all well. Support for Richard is now high, I noted. Some of Goodman’s wicked grasps for the crown were greeted with laughter, never heard of years back.

It was Sir Laurence Olivier’s film of Richard III which struck such a lasting cord with me which eventually led me to find the Richard III Society, just changed from the Fellowship of the White Boar. This film was shown in 1955 so it has been 48 years of ‘loyalty’ and interest in Richard. The realisation of time has put me in a state of shock!

**Ticket to Bosworth – for one this time**

So, walking the site, visiting the shop, the exhibition, then into a field with surrounding medieval tents, some selling wares, others as display. The centre was roped off for the coming display of military, falconry and of course the 1485 battle. Wooden painted boxes to seat a few ... a hot dry day.

I had hoped to meet up with the London coach contingent, but suffering possible sudden coughing fits prevented me attending the memorial service. Instead I did the above, and went on to talk to Steve Wright, the falconer. We had a lot in common as I have been trained in falconry by Emma and Steve Ford in 1986. Then I went on to see the horses: such splendid beasts they are. It was time now to sit on a box to watch a display of slicing a cabbage with a sword, from horseback. Either side of me were families: didn’t the children fidget! To my right, three sons, mum and dad, with a delightful mongrel puppy, which insisted on eating cowpats. Then I moved on to another position — just for the field was filling up. By now the children had been bought wooden shields and swords and mini battles were going on around me, also with ice creams, lollies and sloshing drinks. Some children were on the shoulders of dads, waving swords around: I feared for my head and spectacles. The adults were busy munching from picnic coolers. The worst distraction was cameras being rewound, right in one’s ears, by the standing public behind! I retreated before the end of the battle, and made my way to St James’s church at 16.50, when I had the whole church to myself — wonderful. Sitting amongst the Society-given kneelers, I said my prayer to Richard, admired the wreaths with white roses, picked up a copy of the Memorial Service sheet and then made my way home.

A far cry from previous visits, some with the London contingent, individuals, and even Jeremy Potter years ago. On the battlefield I mentioned to him how much I would give for a piece of history of Richard’s reign. Jeremy put his hand in his pocket and produced a Richard III groat. I gazed at this in wonder, determined to get my own. I did at a later date — it took some finding, as they are rare.
I only met two members sporting Society badges on 17 August: one lady came from Wales: yes — Wales! — coming every year for the weekend, and she had her dog with her with white roses on the collar.

The feel-good factor on this day was the public, in that they support Richard: cheers for him on his horse, boos for Tudor. The Society has certainly helped in this turnaround. Well done! Next year, not the entertainment side for me, I vowed: never again.

For the future, as I now live near Bosworth Field and Fotheringhay etc., should anyone want putting up, e.g. B&B, please let me know.

Yvonne Ginn, 7, St Aidans Avenue, Syston, Leicestershire LE7 1NW.

Dear Editor,
I recently saw the new RSC version of Richard III at Stratford with my mother and sister (our Group has seen it so many times there was not the enthusiasm for yet another trip to see Shakespeare's old tarradiddle!)

In fact it was quite a treat and a feast for the eyes, set largely in Victorian mode. Henry Goodman's performance was excellent, playing on the pantomime villain aspects of the play, yet with just enough hinting at the horror in his soul. One of the most effective scenes was the acceptance of the Crown. This was "stage managed" to the nth degree, the point being driven home by a wondrous pair of red curtains on either side of the throne - the Spinmasters at work even then. (Nothing new to Elizabethan audiences of course, what was Polydore Vergil and Thomas More's work other than supreme examples of Spinmeistry?)

Later in the battle scene, more subtly, was the cry of 'A horse, a horse!' just as Richard saw the ghosts who accompanied him onto the battlefield, the silent young princes on the nursery rocking horse.

However, I thought readers might be interested in our return trip to Stratford a few weeks later. We did our usual walk by the river (nice level walking as my sister is in a wheelchair) and for a change went further into the town, turning back by the Guildhall Chapel. Just as we were leaving we talked with the curator, partly about Stratford in general, and also the play currently running. I am pleased to report that the custodian of the Guildhall Chapel is a sympathiser – he said that Richard has been 'much maligned', to use the well-worn phrase.

We continued our walk into the gardens of New Place; where there are some intriguing new bronze sculptures representing some of Shakespeare's plays, and then back towards the theatre. We had just passed the Dirty Duck (the Black Swan on the other side of the sign!) and were nearing The Other Place when a man walked towards us. Dark haired, vigorous and with very brown eyes and with a certain 'air' about him, he smiled at us as if expecting us to speak. I suddenly realised it was 'Richard' — Henry Goodman no less, from the Royal Shakespeare Company.

Forty years of Stage-Door Stake-outs came to the fore, (Ian Holm, Derek Jacobi, Antony Sher and Ian McKellen) and instinctively I pounced! I just managed to restrain myself from asking for an autograph; but we all had a very pleasant conversation about the production we had seen, his role in the play and about the real Richard, and again I am glad to report that Henry Goodman is a supporter and told us that he has long believed Richard to be the victim of Tudor historians and Henry VII's propaganda.

So Stratford may be the home of Shakespeare, but there is still much sympathy for our Richard to be found there. Long may it so continue.

Anne Ayres

Dear Editor,
I think Muriel Smith (Bulletin, Autumn 2003, p. 36) and I will have to agree to differ on the subject of Edward of Lancaster's paternity.

Being king from early childhood it is quite possible that Henry VI understood all of the qualities required of a medieval king, but failed abysmally to aspire to any of them. Even John Blacman was of the impression that Henry was one whose thoughts were withdrawn from mundane things. He was also accused, by more than one contemporary, of being too simple-minded and child-like to be the king.
Margaret of Anjou, on the other hand, came from a line of formidable women, used to taking charge. She was intelligent, resourceful and feisty, and understood the position better than her husband — the House of Lancaster needed an heir, one way or another. I have read many books on the fifteenth century in general and the Wars of the Roses in particular, and, whether the author was biased towards the Yorkists or the Lancastrians, Margaret of Anjou was never portrayed as a woman afraid to take personal risks.

As for the lack of privacy for royalty at the time, did not Edward IV get married and consummate the marriage in secret, and keep that secret for four months before dropping the bombshell at Reading? The amount of privacy enjoyed by a medieval king may have differed from that of a medieval queen under normal circumstances, but Margaret of Anjou hardly led the cozy and sheltered life of ‘er indoors’. Where there’s a will there’s a way applies to any age, and Margaret of Anjou was intelligent enough and resourceful enough to find a way.

At the end of the day none of us will ever know for certain, but I remain firmly of the belief that Henry VI was too prudish, too monk-like and, yes, too other worldly to ever have fathered a child. However I am sure that other Ricardians will try to convince me otherwise, and I look forward to hearing their comments.

Elaine Brooksbank

Dear Editor,
The Origins of Royal Porphyria. Henry VI is unlikely to have been a porphyriac: his disease has been diagnosed as schizophrenia, like his grandfather’s. His mother Catherine was in any case a Valois, not a Capet, the earlier source through which the condition was at least fortified by repeated marriages into the Plantagenet line.

I submit that the origins of porphyria, in the royal lines of both England and Scotland, may well have been at least latent in the marriage of Henry II and Eleanor of Acquitaine. They were related to one another through a Capet ancestor, Robert the Pious, king of France from 996 to 1031. It would be tempting to think of Henry, with his red hair and violent outbreaks of temper, as a classic case, but although we are given fairly close physical descriptions of him including his ingrowing toenail, we are not informed of the colour of his urine. This last is diagnostic, and in the case of James VI and I was ‘the colour of Alicante wine’, or, these days, probably Merlot. For that reason James is accepted as a porphyriac even by the stiffer-necked of the medical profession who still doubt the porphyria of George III.

George III’s mother was Augusta of Saxe-Gotha, a descent of Henry and Eleanor’s daughter Matilda who married Henry the Lion of Saxony in 1168. Although the direct line petered out in the fifteenth century, it is improbable that there was no inheritance in the resulting Saxon dukedoms whose descendants in due course married those of George III: Saxe-Meiningen and Saxe-Coburg, to name two. The notably fecund Clarence, later William IV, having sired ten children on his Irish mistress, produced only dead ones for Adelaide of Saxe-Meiningen except for a large girl who died in infancy of a condition which may indicate nervous incoordination. It has been said Queen Victoria was a porphyriac, also her daughter the Empress Frederick and the latter’s son the Kaiser.

To return to Henry II, none of his sons and Eleanor’s reached old age; the longest-lived was John, who died of ‘fever’ probably brought on by distress and rage, at 47. John had earlier been described as breaking out in a rash of blue spots ‘against the pink of his cheeks’ by his brother Richard’s chancellor, and this apart, John’s aberrations are remembered. He was the ancestor of the later Plantagenets by a young Angoulême wife.

Leaving out Henry III and Edward I, whose temper was vicious and unpredictable, the first, Castilian, marriage, produced mostly daughters, four sons, three of whom died, and few grandchildren, except by the surviving Edward II. He cannot be described as normal, but in pursuance of porphyriac evidence it is instructive to remember that although Edward III whose mother was a Capet, had many sons, few lived to maturity. John of Gaunt, dying at 59, is curiously said to have
had syphilis, but that had not yet crossed the Atlantic, where an immunity to it had been built up by Columbus’s Amerinds, brought back after 1492. If what Gaunt had instead was porphyria, many of the symptoms are the same, and of his three marriages, the second, to a Castilian princess, produced only daughters (Isabel of Portugal, mother to Charles the Bold, was of this line and her portrait shows the Plantagenet features clearly). Otherwise there is the Lancastrian inheritance. Henry IV is said to have died of leprosy, which was the name given to almost anything not proven. Henry V was, in my view, a possible porphyriac: witness his unbalanced behaviour to the Lollards, Wyclif’s bones, his own stepmother, and the French. I include his planned vengeance on the Duke of Orleans, who had married Isabelle, the child widow of Richard II, courted by Henry but firmly rejected by her. The result was Charles of Orleans’s long imprisonment in the Tower, not ended until the next reign: to set him free was to be the final triumph of the Maid of Orleans, but that part of the plan failed.

Going back again to Eleanor of Aquitaine, she rode, a widow of eighty, into Spain to bring back her granddaughter Blanche of Castile as a bride for the future Louis VIII of France. This, and the descent of old Edward I’s second marriage to a Capet princess, spread the royal illness to Scotland with the marriage of Joan Beaufort, Gaunt’s descendant and that of the Fair Maid of Kent, part Capet, to King James I in 1424. Although the marriage was a love match there were no sons until shortly before the king’s murder; before that, similar to the children of Edward IV, there had been a batch of daughters, mostly barren. (This statement of mine has been disputed, but I maintain that barrenness was carried on in the case of Katherine Gordon and that the misuse of the Scots term ‘childer’ is responsible for the chimera about a hidden child of hers and Warbeck’s in Wales).*

The final injection, if it may be so described, of porphyria occurred when Henry VIII married a daughter of Castile and his sister Margaret married James IV of Scots. In both cases the mortality of children was the same; the only survivor, James V, was from his behaviour a certain porphyriac. He could be charming and able, or else viciously cruel, as in the burning of an innocent woman, Lady Glamis, in 1537. He had red hair. After the mysterious deaths in infancy of two sons, he became the father of Mary, Queen of Scots, who like her son had satiny white skin that slid to the touch, a foot that gradually turned inwards, and other symptoms also present in the history of Lady Arbell Stuart, her niece by marriage, and the daughter of that, Margaret Douglas, Countess of Lennox, was almost certainly a porphyriac. This niece of Henry VIII had at least two colicky attacks, the second of which killed her in old age, and of all her eight children only one lived to die young as Arbell’s father. Darnley’s own changes of personality and the history of his rashes lend probability to the presence of porphyria rather than syphilis; the last would not have had time to develop to the described stage by the time of his murder.

Variegate porphyria can have so many manifestations that it cannot be excluded in many instances where it can never now be proved, for example Queen Anne’s dead children. I only remember a case of a young girl I saw in a ward in Glasgow in 1951. She had red hair, a white skin, purple urine, and was raving in distress. The consultant in charge then has since become a world famous authority on porphyria and his consulting rooms are filled with patients who claim to be descended from the royal Stuarts, James II and Charles II. The later history of Bonny Prince Charlie, with his rashes and personality change, may also be considered, though certainly helped by the bottle.

Pamela Hill

At the risk of being tedious and re-opening this debate I would draw reader’s attention to a new piece of evidence found by Ann Wroe about Warbeck and Lady Katherine’s son. A reference is made to the couple and their ‘one-year-old son’ in a report to Maximilian in October 1497, see *Perkin: A Story of Deception* by Ann Wroe, London 2003, pp. 265 and 511. Wendy Moorhen
The Barton Library

Latest additions to the non-fiction books and papers library

Listed below are a selection of books and articles that have been added to the Non-fiction Books and Non-fiction Papers Libraries. All the books are hard back unless otherwise described.

Books
DYER Christopher *Making a Living in the Middle Ages: The People of Britain 850-1520* (Penguin Books, 2003, paperback). Christopher Dyer covers British social and economic history from the Viking invasion to the Reformation. He describes all these developments as seen by contemporaries as they went through them. He argues that economic change arose not just from the influence of the powerful and rich but from ongoing social process and decisions made by ordinary folk. (A full review of this book by Wendy Moorhen will appear in the 2004 Ricardian.)

DUFFY Mark *Royal Tombs of Medieval England* (Tempus Publishing 2003, paperback) Mark Duffy provides a comprehensive guide to the ritual and mysticism which surrounded royal burials and which was so important to the medieval mind. He attempts to explain what medieval tombs show about the status and attitudes of the people buried in them and brings to life the beliefs, passion and individuality behind medieval death rites.

HICKS Michael *Edward V* (Tempus Publishing, 2003). Michael Hicks gives us the background to Edward’s life. His upbringing and family are covered but Hicks also gives us an overview of the contemporary political situation. He argues that Edward made his own achievements within his short life and explains how young Edward was the hope of the Yorkist dynasty yet also an integral cause of that dynasty’s collapse.

Papers


HARDY Robert ‘Robert Hardy on Longbows’ (*Living History*, issue no 5, August 2003.) The longbow is the archetypal medieval English weapon. It enabled a succession of monarchs from Edward I to Henry V to record notable victories over French and Scottish forces. So what was it about the great war-bow that made it such a mighty force for England and such a scourge for England’s enemies?

LAYNESMITH Joanna ‘The People’s Other Princess’ (*BBC History*, vol. 4, no. 2, February 2003.) An article on Elizabeth of York.

MARCHINGTON James ‘Northern Fortress’ (*Heritage*, no 109, February/March 2003.) A beautifully illustrated article on Raby Castle.


Latest additions to Audio-Visual Library, April - October 2003

In addition to the items listed below the library has also acquired copies of Michael Wood’s BBC2 series *In Search of Shakespeare* which is reviewed in Media Retrospective, and BBC4’s
screening of the Globe’s Richard II (courtesy of Pam Benstead) as well as the V&A’s Gothic Art for England reviews mentioned on p. 12, BBC4s Front Row and Channel 5s The Glory of Gothic.

The Bloody Tower of London – History Channel, April 2003 (courtesy Pam Benstead). The title says it all – a sixty minute survey stressing the more grisly aspects of the Tower’s history, which apparently is what the visitors demand these days, as The Times reported (22April) the installation of a new exhibition there ‘Torture at the Tower’, despite protests from medieval historians at the lack of evidence for such practices and the overall misleading impression this gives. As well as interviews with Yeomen Warders, the programme fielded two resident experts, Graham Keevill (Archaeological Officer of the Tower) and Geoffrey Parnell (Keeper of Tower History, Royal Armouries), but the main commentator was the ubiquitous Alison Weir ‘author and historian’, so that we heard in the ‘Wars of the Roses’ with its ‘scenes of regicide and fratricide’, the red rose was ‘part of the Lancastrian coat of arms’, and Edward IV pursued ‘a brutal campaign to silence his enemies’ including Clarence, who apparently had a ‘reputation as a drinker’. Richard’s arrest of Hastings was ‘an act of pure tyranny, which set off a reign of terror’ and inevitably ‘only one person can be held responsible for [the princes’] death – Richard III’. The caveat was introduced that the crowning of Henry VII (illustrated, typically, by a Holbein portrait of Henry VIII !) ushered in ‘the bloodiest period in the Tower’s history’. Very much a ‘budget’ production, extensive use was made of re-cycled excerpts from previous programmes, including at one point the familiar figure of Richard III from the ‘Missing Princes of England’ (April 2000), illustrating the first prisoner in the Tower – the Norman, Ranulf Flambard!

The Canadian TV children’s production Mystery Hunters (courtesy Wendy Moorhen), found the case of the missing princes investigated by a couple of over-eager teenagers, and sandwiched uncomfortably between two stories of local ghost stories and murders, which involved the introduction of a medium or ‘channeler’, rather irresponsibly encouraging children to dabble in the occult, further confirmed by a demonstration of how to make a ‘ouija’ board – something which certainly would not be allowed on British terrestrial television! After a brief interview with the Society’s Research Officer, the presenter was filmed running into Westminster Abbey and emerging triumphantly with a copy of the 1930’s report on the examination of the bones, which he then delivered to the crypt of St Brides Church, and the ‘forensic anthropologist’ who examined the x-rays, and with a few further deductions and reconstructions, delivered her verdict, which despite the acknowledgement to Dr Bill White and the Richard III Society on the rapidly rolling end credits, still maintained that they were of two ‘possibly related boys’.

Channel 4’s six part series on Castles with Marc Morris presented the latest research into their construction and role in medieval warfare, agreeably accompanied by evocative time-lapse images of scudding clouds and sunsets, with mercifully few re-enactments. From their Norman origins, each episode concentrated on one particular aspect or site, as in the case of the siege of Rochester, with later programmes devoted to Bodiam and Raglan, so whilst a number of ‘Ricardian’ castles put in an appearance, the ‘Wars of the Roses’ were relegated to a footnote and few of his Yorkshire homes were featured.

Finally on BBC Radio 4 to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the Coronation Julian Glover and Isla Blair performed poems from Eleanor and Herbert Farjeon’s anthology Kings and Queens which according to the Radio Times gave an ‘irreverent but accurate’ history of English monarchs whilst Anne Harvey revealed how ‘it shaped the lives of eminent historians and still influences young minds today’.

National television’s obsession with lists surfaced again with Channel 5 dedicating a series to ‘Britain’s finest ..’ culminating in the top ten ‘castles’ presented by Professor Richard Holmes. Inclusion of a couple of Edward I’s fortifications in Wales, and Scotland’s Eilean Donan (6) and Edinburgh (2) must have assuaged national pride, but the list threw up a couple of surprises: Alnwick (8) probably now more famous as a film set than for its Percy connections, and the scant remains of Tintagel (3) for its Arthurian and Camelot legends, rather than any architectural merit.
Robert Hardy was on hand to demonstrate with the longbow the defensive inadequacies of Bodiam (4), while at the Tower (5) Professor Holmes assured viewers ‘within yards of Tower Green the princes in the Tower were murdered’. His grasp of history was just as shaky when it came to No. 1, the tourist’s favourite, Warwick, where in a ‘potted’ biography of Richard Neville (curiously without any sight of or reference to the 1471 exhibition) we were told that the Wars of the Roses were fought between ‘the great families of York and Lancaster’ and, with a rather over-inflated view of his importance, ‘the kingmaker skilfully played one faction off against another to his own advantage’.


Appropriately broadcast on 22 August from the Shakespeare Centre, Stratford, BBC Radio 4’s ‘Straw Poll’ debate proposed the motion that ‘the heritage industry distorts British history’. In favour Terry Deary (author of the ‘Horrible Histories’ series), recalled a visit to Bosworth recently, where he arrived just as the Battlefield Centre was closing and so he was ‘forced to stand on Ambion Hill, look down, and saw what Richard III had seen, and thought, was this worth dying for? I did not need the high-tech centre. History is about things – it’s about people’, adding later, in parenthesis ‘only last week I read a book which said actually Bosworth Field didn’t happen there anyway!’ The Jorvik Viking Centre and the Tower of London were also prime targets for criticism, as well as certain re-enactment societies that despite pretensions to scrupulous accuracy nevertheless inevitably present a ‘sanitised’ version of events. The opposing team included Jeffrey Richards. At the end of the forty-five minute, good natured, but sometimes heated debate, the motion was defeated 4-1 (unsurprisingly, given that the host town relies for the most part on tourism for its survival).

Channel 5 TV’s Battlefield Detectives – Agincourt’s Dark Secret questioned the long held belief that it was the English longbow that won the day, as well as exploding other myths, drawing on the latest technology to recreate the terrain and experts in crowd control to analyse the cause of the French defeat. One important fact omitted from the broadcast (but included in the accompanying book by David Wason, Granada, 2003) revealed that the oft-repeated tale, much beloved of popular commentators and historical interpreters, on the origins of the ‘V’ sign, has no basis in contemporary accounts and is unknown before the nineteenth century. Surely now Bosworth, with its disputed site, and numerous such legends, deserved similar in-depth reappraisal, if a further series is planned?

In the meantime, local midlands TV Look In (courtesy Richard Smith) offered a well made short account of the latest controversial re-siting of the battle, with Michael K Jones at Merevale, aided by local historian John Austin, advancing his theories, with the counter arguments being summarised by Chief Ranger for the Battlefield Centre, David Hardwick. Inevitably concessions were made to ‘popularise’ the academic views for the general public. Doubtless never before has the battle been re-fought with burgers and a bacon roll standing in for the main protagonists (with predictable use made of the tomato sauce !), together with an ironic soundtrack, courtesy of ‘The Smiths’, though clever use was made of some unfamiliar excerpts from the Olivier film.

Revised, up to date copies of Audio Visual Library Catalogue for audio and video tapes will be available in the New Year. For details please send a 5” x 7” s.a.e. to: Geoffrey Wheeler, 195, Gloucester Place, London NW1 6BU.

Geoffrey Wheeler, Audio-Visual Librarian

Postal Book Auction

May I extend my thanks to all those members who participated in the postal book auction announced in the Autumn Bulletin. The number of bids was disappointingly low this year but those
who did bid were extremely generous. The auction has raised about £315 for library funds. The most popular item was *The Crowland Chronicle Continuations 1459-1486*, edited by Nicholas Pronay & John Cox. The winning bids for each title were as follows:

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<tr>
<th>Author/Autors</th>
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<tr>
<td>Barracough Geoffrey</td>
<td>The Medieval Papacy</td>
<td>£12</td>
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<td>Cheetham Anthony</td>
<td>The Life and Times of Richard III</td>
<td>£12</td>
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<td>Chrimes S.B.</td>
<td>Lancastrians, Yorkists and Henry VII</td>
<td>£7</td>
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**New fiction book librarian**

Having been Fiction Librarian since 1997, Anne Smith has decided that, due to other commitments, it is time she hand the mantle on to another member. Anne Painter from the Devon & Cornwall Branch has very kindly offered to take on this role and the Fiction Library has moved down to her house in Helston.

Anne Smith has done a first rate job of increasing and maintaining the fiction stock and has made a valuable contribution to the Barton Library over the past six years. However, I am confident that Anne Painter will also do a fantastic job with the Fiction Library and I welcome her onto the Library team.

From now on, please can you send your requests for fiction book loans to Anne Painter at the address given on the front inside cover of the *Bulletin*. If you have already sent requests to Anne Smith or returned books to her, Anne will forward on all outstanding loan requests and books to Anne Painter to handle.

*Jane Trump, Society Librarian*
‘The Edward IV Roll’ A Personal Memoir
Free Library of Philadelphia MS Lewis E201

LAURA BLANCHARD

I

n the Summer issue of the Bulletin, I mentioned the manuscript genealogy of Edward IV at the Free Library of Philadelphia, which has been restored to its fifteenth-century splendor with the financial assistance of the Richard III Society.

In the spring of 2001, this genealogy was the centerpiece of an exhibition of medieval manuscripts at the Philadelphia Museum of Art. Not only was it on display, but it was also featured in a full-color catalog, a CD-ROM, and on the Free Library’s website. As a companion piece to this, I wrote an article for our branch publication, the Ricardian Register, about the story of how I came to discover this manuscript and what it has meant to me over the last forty years.

Back in the spring of 1961, when I was barely a teenager, I became fascinated with Shakespeare’s Richard III after seeing the film version starring Laurence Olivier. When an encyclopedic article about the historic Richard III mentioned that he might not have had a withered arm, I was hooked. ‘If Shakespeare was wrong about that, what else might he have been wrong about?’ I asked my family, who were curiously unconcerned about this gripping issue.

Because our neighborhood library contained less than nothing about Richard III, my father took me, one cold Saturday morning, to the main branch of the Free Library of Philadelphia. Confronted with a card catalog that filled a cave-like room, with at least a dozen entries on Richard III, I froze. What to do? Where to start? My father, a journalist by training, was there with advice. ‘This is a historical controversy,’ he said, ‘so you want to get as close to the source as possible. Look for the catalog entry with the oldest copyright date.’

The oldest ‘copyright’ date in this research library was actually pre-copyright — a first edition of Horace Walpole’s Historic Doubts on the Life and Reign of Richard III printed in 1768. I don’t know what my father said to the librarians to pull this off, but fifteen minutes later I found myself sitting in a reading room of the Rare Book Department with Historic Doubts on a book cradle in front of me, its pages held in place by a velvet ‘snake’ filled with buckshot. In this pre-Xerox era I read and copied, read and copied, and came back on three consecutive Saturdays.

On the third of these Saturdays the curator, whose name I never knew, brought me the precious volume but then came back somewhat later. ‘You’re interested in Richard III, aren’t you?’ he asked. Startled and a little overwhelmed, I nodded. ‘Come into the Manuscript Room,’ he said. ‘There’s something here that I think you’d like to see.’

I am older now, and have been to many rare book libraries, and I know that he didn't actually do what I remember him doing. The manuscript he showed me was kept in a red box, and I know now that he must have unrolled it very carefully and displayed the first half of the 19-foot scroll on the long table in the Manuscript Room, then rolled up the first half and unrolled the second half. But when I remember my first sight of the manuscript, by some trick of memory I see him opening the box, flicking his wrist and whoosh! - this magnificent document comes spinning out in front of me in exuberant abundance, spilling over the edge of the table and coming to rest on the floor below. Be that as it may - the curator explained that this the family of Richard’s elder brother Edward IV, going clear back to Adam. But where’s Richard? I wondered. He knew this would be my question, and he showed me the little boxes down at the bottom of the scroll that
showed George and Richard and all of Edward’s sisters.

Time passed. I set aside my youthful interest in Richard III in the early 1970s and then picked it up again in the mid-1980s. Thirty years after I first saw that manuscript, in 1991, the Southeastern Pennsylvania Chapter planned a trip to the Rare Book Department and I - a New Jersey resident at the time - joined them. When the tour ended I asked the librarian, Karen Lightner, why she hadn’t brought out the Edward IV scroll for my fellow Ricardians to see. What scroll? she asked, and I described the manuscript in its red box, and pointed to the shelf in the manuscript room where I’d remembered it being. It was still right where my old mentor the curator had left it. ‘Oh, now I know which one you mean!’ she exclaimed, and she got it and unrolled it for us.

The memory of that second look came back to me suddenly, a few months later, and I was possessed with the overwhelming feeling that I had to have photographs of the manuscript. A day or two later I called to make arrangements to come down and photograph it. The librarian who answered the phone paused, then asked me how I came to know of the scroll. When I told him the story of the curator and my experience as a girl, he said, ‘I know exactly who showed you that manuscript. Funny you should call today. He just died; his funeral was this morning.’ Wondering about the eerie coincidence - or was it? - I made the appointment, and the Reluctant Ricardian (my husband Roy) and I spent a morning photographing it.

In 1993 Ralph Griffiths (Henry VI’s biographer, from the University of Swansea, and an authority on manuscripts of this type) came to Philadelphia to study on the manuscript. The Southeastern Pennsylvania chapter joined him to hear his insights and view the manuscript again. Those of us who viewed it under Griffiths’ tutelage feel especially privileged.

The manuscript was on private display for Ricardians again in 1996 when about thirty of us went over just before the AGM to see it. Shortly afterwards we decided to raise money for its conservation, and were successful in raising a total of $5,000 for this project. The return on our investment can be plainly seen in before and after pictures — the illustrations are much more vivid, the writing much more easy to read. What we can’t see, but what is just as important, is that we have stabilized the manuscript so that paint and ink are far less likely to flake off when it is unrolled and re-rolled.

Forty years after I first saw this manuscript it was placed on public display — for possibly the first time since Edward IV’s coronation — at the Philadelphia Museum of Art, one of the cornerstones of a magnificent manuscript exhibition called Leaves of Gold: Treasures of Manuscript Illumination from Philadelphia Collections. The exhibition, sponsored jointly by the Museum and the Philadelphia Area Consortium of Special Collections Libraries, was on display from March 10 through May 13, 2001. A special exhibition case was constructed for the Edward IV Roll so that the entire 19-foot length of the scroll could be viewed at once. The exhibition then traveled to the Frist Gallery in Nashville, Tennessee, where it was part of that gallery’s grand opening exhibition, from September 27, 2001 - January 6, 2002.

The charm of this manuscript for Ricardians should be its heraldic material. There are 54 shields and banners, along with every Yorkist badge I know of - roses, suns, fetterlocks, falcons - reinforcing the Yorkist claim to the throne of England by right of inheritance, by right of conquest, and by right of divine approval. As an added bonus, as we know, Richard III founded the College of Arms in 1484, and this manuscript is unique among the 20 genealogies of his brother that survive for its wealth of heraldic material. (Indeed, Ralph Griffiths commented that this wealth of heraldic material strongly suggests participation in its creation by someone skilled in heraldry such as John Smert, who served both Henry VI and Edward IV as Garter King of Arms.) I occasionally wonder whether the seven-year-old Richard saw this during the coronation festivities, and whether it played a role in his later decision to found the College of Arms. I imagine him tugging on his big brother’s sleeve, asking when his new ‘Duke of Gloucester’ title would be added to the roll — as indeed it was, some time after the manuscript was finished. What a perfect circle that would be, for us to have a hand in preserving the manuscript that sparked Richard’s interest in heraldry!
What is also exciting to me, as an American Ricardian, is that this priceless treasure is in an American collection by the purest serendipity. The purchaser of this manuscript was John Lewis, a Philadelphia lawyer whose hobby was collecting the history of the book. His collection spans the written word from the earliest cuneiform tablets through materials that were on the cutting edge of publishing at the time of his death. He bought this manuscript in 1927 for 120 pounds. Even allowing for inflation, this is an incredible bargain! Besides being a beautiful manuscript, this is unquestionably the most elaborate pedigree of Edward IV that has survived — and the number of pedigrees of Edward IV that have survived tell us how important these manuscripts were to the Yorkists.

In the past decade this manuscript has been studied more, photographed more often, and cited in more publications than in the whole half millennium of its existence. Scholars all seem to be agreed that this is the ‘official’ pedigree of Edward IV, commissioned to celebrate his coronation and possibly displayed in public on that triumphant occasion. It has been mentioned and catalogued in surveys of late medieval English manuscripts, in Society publications, in other publications about Richard III’s books and about the reburial of Richard Duke of York, and in publications by heralds (notably the most recent visitation of Wales).

As Ricardians, we can be very proud of our role in safeguarding this manuscript for generations to come. Carole Rike produced a full-color supplement to the issue of the Register in which this article originally appeared. Those with web access can see it in color online at the link at the end of this article. The manuscript begins with a magnificent equestrian portrait of Edward IV, continues with a history of the world from the Creation, and traces the lines of descent of the nobility of Britain, the Saxon kingdoms, France, Spain, Aquitaine, and Normandy. Illuminated roundels illustrate God in Majesty, the Fall of Man, and the Flood. A diagrammatic map in the shape of a Yorkist rose shows the seven Saxon kingdoms. Seven charming half-portraits show the Princes of Wales, the Dukes of Cornwall, Aquitaine and Normandy, and the Kings of England, France and Castile/Leon.

Throughout the manuscript, Edward's white rose and his motto ‘comfort et liesse’ (comfort and joy) and the badges of the sun in splendor and the fetterlock reinforce Yorkist imagery. The badges of the white hart (Richard II), black bull (earls of Clare) and white lion (earl of March) telegraph to a later-medieval audience Edward IV’s right to inheritance from Richard II through the Mortimer line. All the ‘gold letter’ captions of the manuscript illustrations are direct quotations or paraphrases from the Vulgate, reinforcing the idea that it was divine will that Edward IV should be king.

This project is very special to me because it reaches back through time and touches a thirteen-year-old girl who stood open-mouthed before a half-comprehended manuscript. I hope that I have been able to share some of my wonder and delight with my fellow Ricardians and to give a belated tribute to a kindly librarian who made such an important impact on my life.

This article was adapted from one that originally appeared in the Ricardian Register, XXV, 4, Winter 2002. For an extensive article on the manuscript and a digital facsimile, together with before and after photos from the conservation process, visit http://www.r3.org/bookcase/misc/e201.html. For information on other manuscripts on display at the Leaves of Gold exhibition, see http://www.leavesofgold.org/

Further reading about the manuscript and similar manuscripts:


Laura Blanchard has served as vice chair and, currently, as recording secretary of the American Branch, in addition to serving as webmaster and administrator of the Schallek Fellowship project. She is the executive director of the Philadelphia Area Consortium of Special Collections Libraries and lives in Philadelphia with her husband Roy, the Reluctant Ricardian.

The manuscript opens with a portrait of an armed equestrian Edward IV. Right of conquest, right of descent, the sovereignty of England, and the Hand of God are all represented in this initial image.

The roundel commemorating the Flood shows Noah and his wife in an ark that resembles a fifteenth-century ship.

This section continues the British and French lines of descent and the histories of the Saxon kingdoms through the reigns of Cadwallo, Alfred and Rollo.
The 2003 Australasian Ricardian Convention

On 22-24 August the Queensland Branch hosted the 2003 Convention, titled ‘Splendour in the Sunne’ (our being optimistic about our sub-tropical winters). The weather may have been less than splendid (warm, but damp) but the occasion and the company more than made up for it.

The convention was attended by members from all over Australia and New Zealand, and even as far afield as the U.K., with almost everyone contributing to the lecture and entertainment program in some way.

Friday evening opened with a cocktail party and Bosworth commemoration ceremony, followed by an ice-breaker of a quiz, called ‘Ye Medieval Brain-crackers’.

Saturday consisted of a full program of lectures and lighter presentations, including: the Victoria Branch’s presentation of President Michael Illife’s original and entertaining dramatization of the Battle of Towton; an interactive (and hilarious) ‘Hypothetical’ look at the life of Perkin Warbeck; and a fascinating look at the life of the little known Cecily Bonville by Babs Creamer of the Dorset Group.

Saturday evening was, for many, the highlight of the weekend. We held a medieval banquet catered by re-enactment group the Knights’ Guild of Wessex and Mercia. The food was excellent and the atmosphere as authentic as it is possible to be, so far from Medieval Europe. Selected guests from various branches were invited to sit at the high table, but those of us below the salt enjoyed the food, music, plays and dancing no less.

Sunday morning took us to the picturesque church of the Transfiguration for a Bosworth Memorial service, conducted in a similar fashion to the medieval rite of Sarum. Back at the conference centre afterwards, we held a round table discussion covering several issues of concern to branches trying to build up membership and survive, so far from the centre of Ricardian activity.

Lastly, the Queensland Branch unleashed what may be the only Ricardian-themed Goon Show in captivity for a half-hour of lunacy, before the official close.

The weekend was voted a splendid success by all, and we are already looking forward to the mooted 2005 convention in Sydney. Conference papers from the 2003 convention available from the Queensland Branch from November.

Johanna Stewart
Report On Society Events

Salisbury Day Visit – 14 June 2003

Thirty-six Ricardians set off from London, meeting with a further six in Salisbury, and practically every member of the coach party has contributed to this collective review of our visit.

Armed with our notes we dispersed on arrival in Salisbury, to sample the many excellent eating places available, after which there was time for some exploring before our guided tour of the cathedral, as well as after it. In the course of these explorations, we noted that Debenhams, on the site of the Blue Boar Inn, where in 1483 Henry, Duke of Buckingham was executed, has plaques on either side of its main entrance recording the execution and mentioning Richard III without any sniping or adverse innuendo. We felicitate them for this, and for their ‘Blue Boar Restaurant’ a charming ‘fifteenth-century’ pastiche.

Another interesting combination of old and new was John Hall’s House, a fifteenth century building housing the Odeon cinema. As soon as we saw it, we felt certain that the duke of Buckingham would have felt at home there. The general consensus was that he would probably have enjoyed a good western, having been a bit of a cowboy himself. Buckingham no doubt got on well with John Hall, his contemporary, and the builder of the house, for Hall was also something of a rebel. As mayor of Salisbury he infuriated Edward IV who deposited him in the Tower and ordered the town council to elect someone else (they refused, incidentally, and obstinately re-elected the deposed and imprisoned Hall). Hall’s son was involved in Buckingham’s rebellion.

Not far away was the beautiful St Thomas’s Church, where medieval wall paintings survive, including a striking ‘Doom’ painting, over the sanctuary arch. There was a lunch-time concert in the church. There was also entertainment in the streets of Salisbury, and we especially liked the ‘Huckleberries’, Irish street musicians.

The Salisbury Museum, in the King’s House, has one of the best collections of medieval lead pilgrim and livery badges in the country. There were a number of examples of Yorkist roses on display, but sadly, no Ricardian boars. Only the porch of the King’s House dates back to the fifteenth century, most of the building being seventeenth century, as is the charming Mompesson’s House in the cathedral close.

The cathedral was the high point of the visit. Three local Ricardians who are also cathedral guides, took us round, and we would like thank Sylvia Biggs, Celia Tate and Caroline Waldman for a fascinating visit. We were struck by the delightful siting of the cathedral, surrounded by the open green space of the close. The overall impression of the building is one of architectural unity and we were impressed to learn that it was completed in only thirty-eight years — a tremendous achievement. There is now no choir screen and on entering the nave we had a clear view right through to the east end, and the striking modern blue ‘Prisoners of Conscience’ window. It was made by an artist from Chartres and echoes the colours of the medieval glass in Chartres Cathedral (which also received a Ricardian visit recently).

The cathedral houses so many items that it is possible only to mention some. We liked the scale model of the building in progress, with the workers on strike because they wanted their wages increased by a farthing from 1d. to 1¼d. a week. We liked the medieval choir stalls, especially the little carving of a beaver. There were numerous interesting tombs. These included the possible tomb of Bishop Woodville (Elizabeth’s brother), also the undoubted tomb of John Cheney (whose remains were examined in the 1970s, proving that he really was nearly seven feet tall), of Lady Catherine Grey (Jane’s younger sister), of William Longespée the elder, Earl of Salisbury (son of Henry II and — probably — Rosamund Clifford), and of his son William
Longespée the younger — both of the latter being ancestor’s of Richard III on his mother’s side. The tombs all had good modern plaques, which, without overloading the visitor, provided more information than just names and dates. Unfortunately the tombs were ‘rearranged’ in the nineteenth century by James Wyatt, who also committed other atrocities, including covering the cathedral’s remaining medieval wall paintings in two coats of thick grey paint.

The cathedral’s spire was inspiring. We should have liked to see the medieval crane, left in position inside the spire when the building was completed. We regretted that the relics of blue cloth, supposedly from the Virgin Mary’s dress, were removed from beneath the finial cross when discovered in the 1960s and replaced by a mere ‘time capsule’. We were fascinated to see the bending of the pillars at the crossing, as a result of the weight of the spire rising above, and also the clever and decorative medieval measures taken to prevent further movement, which had proved so strikingly successful.

The tour ended in the wonderful chapter house. Itself a delightful building with a medieval carved frieze of Old Testament scenes, this now houses a small museum and treasury. There was an original copy of Magna Carta, excellently displayed, an Anglo Saxon psalter, where the illuminated capital letters were all provided with little arms and legs, and a late fifteenth century service book. The latter was open at the pages recording the dead who were to be prayed for in the cathedral. In the original handwriting it listed the kings of England up to and including Edward IV. Other hands had then added Henry VII, Henry VIII and Edward VI. Both Edward V and Richard III were left out of the list, and the whole list had been crossed out in the reign of Elizabeth I, when the cathedral chapter decided that prayers for the dead were incompatible with the new Anglican order. Amongst the treasures were chalices and pattens, some of them medieval, and two medieval bishop’s rings, so large in their circumference that they could only have been worn over a heavily gloved finger.

We much enjoyed our visit to Salisbury, though there was a general feeling that it was too short, and that we should perhaps return one day, using Salisbury as the base for a weekend visit. We enjoyed meeting up with fellow Ricardians, especially Maureen and Pat Keegan. Thanks from us all go to Kitty Bristow for organising this most successful day.

John Ashdown-Hill

Society Visit to Kent – July 2003

On Friday, 11 July, thirty of us left London to travel through the pleasant Kent countryside to our first stop, at Penshurst Place, a beautiful and fascinating medieval house. The Baron’s Hall still has the original octagonal central hearth and two original twenty foot long trestle tables. Many rooms have the original panelling and some enormous early fireplaces. The formal gardens with their ‘rooms’ are a joy to discover. Technically, the house is a particularly fine and complete fourteenth century manor house with strong Ricardian connections. Licence to crenellate was granted in 1341 to Sir John de Pulteney, a wealthy draper, who was four times Lord Mayor of London, when he completed the great central hall. In 1430 the house passed into the royal hands of John of Lancaster, Duke of Bedford, whose wife, Jaquetta de St Pol, Elizabeth Woodville’s mother, lived here. After the accession of Edward IV, Penshurst passed first to Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, and his wife Katherine, sister of Elizabeth Woodville, and then to Richard III. In 1484 Richard appointed Sir Robert Brackenbury as Receiver of Penshurst, but after Bosworth the property reverted to the Stafford family.

We then travelled to Eastwell to pay our respects at the putative grave of one Richard Plantagenet in the graveyard of the ruined church there. An eighteenth century legend relates that an illegitimate son of Richard III was present before the battle of Bosworth, was told to flee, became a bricklayer and eventually settled in Kent. He is said to have been buried at Eastwell in 1550, a worn-out old man. While there is no documentary evidence for this, the Eastwell parish records do include an entry for the burial of a man called, or calling himself, Richard Plantagenet on 22
December 1550. The tomb now said to be his is more probably that of Sir Walter Moyle who died in 1480. We shall probably never know who Richard of Eastwell really was.

We reached the University of Kent at Canterbury (‘UKC’), where we were to spend the next three nights, in the late afternoon. UKC is a very 1960’s style concrete and glass campus with well maintained lawns set about with many trees and lovely views over the City of Canterbury.

On Saturday our coach dropped us near the cathedral, where we were allowed entry into the Chapel of St Michael (normally private). Here were, among others, the tombs of Lady Margaret Holland (great-grandmother of Henry Tudor) and her two husbands, John Beaufort, first Earl of Somerset and Thomas of Lancaster, Duke of Clarence. Of interest were the ceiling bosses in the form of red roses, white roses and red and white (‘Tudor’) roses: however the decoration apparently results from extensive renovation after bomb-damage during the last war.

One day gave insufficient time to visit all the places of interest, so we decided to visit some of the lesser known ones. One little gem was St Martin’s Church, originally a Roman building and given to Queen Bertha as a chapel before St Augustine reached England. The ruins of St Augustine’s Abbey are very peaceful, and lovely to wander round imagining how it used to be. We then walked along the mediaeval city walls to the ‘Dane John’ (or ‘Donjon’) Gardens and monument, the remains of the Roman wall and the Norman keep of Canterbury Castle (in the nineteenth century used as a water reservoir by the Gas Light and Coke Company!)

The Greyfriars was another site to which many of us found our way; the thirteenth century Guest House of the Franciscan Priory still exists. It is built over the river and shows the construction of a medieval building with its exposed beams and studding.

In the town centre is the Eastbridge (Pilgrims’) Hospital, built by the city in 1176 to house the increasing numbers of pilgrims converging on Becket’s shrine in the cathedral. We found the original undercroft, where the pilgrims slept, particularly evocative, as was the later dining hall and chapel above.

On Sunday we visited Walmer Castle and Hythe. There is a long history of coastal defences in Kent and Sussex, particularly in Roman times, the Norman period, Tudor times and the Napoleonic wars as well as the more recent two world wars. Walmer Castle and Deal Castle were built for King Henry VIII to counter the threat of invasion by forces armed with the new artillery weapons. They were therefore built low and squat in form, with thick masonry walls behind earthen ramparts to deflect enemy missiles. Other defences have long since disappeared, but Deal and Walmer still retain much of their Tudor form.

The rooms here have many examples of English furniture, interesting pictures and plans of the castle and coastal area, some showing Rye and Winchelsea still as real ports. One room is set up as a Wellington museum (with his boots!) and another to Pitt the Younger. The rooms used for entertaining by Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother are still as they were with the dining table laid for dinner with a Minton service which had belonged to Queen Alexandra. These rooms open out onto a sunny terrace which was the gun bastion. It is very pleasant and no surprise that the Queen Mother spent time here every summer. One of the gardens designed to celebrate her 95th birthday has a large rectangular pond bordered by paving and flower beds with a pavilion at one end giving welcome shade on the very hot sunny day we were there.

Before leaving, we learnt that somewhere in the State Apartments is a portrait of Richard III, listed in a framed inventory but within a room to which the public is not allowed access; the provenance of this portrait is therefore not apparent, but perhaps on some future visit it might be possible to arrange to see it.

We drove on to Hythe, another of the Cinque Ports. Here we had a cultural talk in the Town Hall followed by a tour of the town with a guide from the Hythe Civic Society. Of particular note were the undercroft to the 1794 Town Hall, which had been the old Town Market and where the Moot Horn, the Arms of the Cinque Ports and the seals of the town and Jurat of Hythe are displayed, Stade Street, once the landing place for passengers from Boulogne before the harbour silted up, and Red Lion Square, where the army’s Small Arms School is still remembered in 49
‘Musketry Park’ and where a couple of tram lines are all that is left of the horse-drawn tramway that once ran from a terminus here to and from Sandgate. Among other places of interest we also saw the White Hart, where it is said that Mr Pitt planned the defence of Britain with the duke of Wellington and that Field Marshal Lord Montgomery planned a more recent war.

A few of us preferred to study the military history and industrial archaeology provided by the Napoleonic defences of the ‘Royal Military Canal’ and the steam-powered Romney Hythe and Dymchurch Railway.

On Monday our first stop was at Leeds Castle, where we strolled along the streams and through the woods to our first view of the lake and castle.

Leeds Castle is claimed to be ‘The Loveliest Castle in the World’ and is certainly in a very beautiful setting, almost entirely surrounded by water. The external structure is mostly original but the interior has been almost completely refurbished by Lady Baillie. The rooms which most interested us are known as the queen’s rooms. They have been beautifully restored in the French style with elaborately carved beams and doors. The walls are hung with damask decorated with the initials H and C for Henry and Catherine — no, not Henry VIII and one of his Cathertines but Henry V and Catherine de Valois! She has much to answer for to Ricardians for running off with Owen Tudor and producing Henry VII as a grandson — oh the trouble she caused! The rooms contain a state bed, like other state beds in other palaces, but here with a copy of a mediaeval day bed and bath tub all with their circular canopies surmounted by crowns, signifying that they were for royalty only. The banqueting hall is in Tudor style but most of the other principle rooms are in later French style, very tasteful but of no particular medieval interest.

The castle was built by a Norman Baron, Hamo de Crevecoeur, nearly 900 years ago. Later it was held by Queen Eleanor of Castile and then by Edward I, followed by a whole succession of monarchs down to Edward VI. In 1552 it then passed into private hands, and was owned by successive wealthy families until it was bought in 1926 by the Hon Mrs Wilson Filmer, later the Hon Olive, Lady Baillie, a wealthy Anglo-American heiress. After her death in 1974 the whole property was acquired by the Leeds Castle Foundation, in perpetuity.

It is of particular interest to us that in the entrance hall, where portraits of most of the previous owners of the castle hang around the walls, a portrait of Richard III (possibly copied from the National Portrait Gallery original) hangs next to one of Queen Anne Neville, with the inscription, “Richard III and Queen Anne Neville 1452 – 1485 A much maligned prince who spent so much time trying to secure his throne that he was never able to visit this beautiful castle. Killed at Bosworth Field August 1485”

Our last visit was to Ightham Mote which has been described as ‘the most complete small mediaeval manor house in the county’, and probably takes its name from a mound, once the meeting place, or moot, of the hundred in which it stood. The original great hall has been dated back to the 1340s, and is reputed to have been built by one Sir William Cawne, although the first documented owner is Sir Thomas Cawne in 1360. When his son Robert inherited in 1374 it would probably have consisted of the great hall, the kitchen, the chapel, the crypt and two solars, all of which still remain.

The Haut family owned the house during the fifteenth century, and according to the National Trust handbook, in the Yorkist period William Haut Esquire of Ightham was first cousin of Queen Elizabeth Woodville, his mother, Joan, being the sister of the Queen’s father, Earl Rivers.

The National Trust guide records that:

‘William Haut did not always side with his wife’s family, coming out in support of Jack Cade’s rising, which convulsed Kent in 1450. Perhaps thanks to his brother-in-law Lord Rivers, who was sent to put down the rebellion, he was able to win a royal pardon. Such royal connections were dangerous during the Wars of the Roses. William’s younger son Richard, who inherited Ightham, became Controller of the Household to the young Prince of Wales, and was lucky to survive when the prince was murdered in the Tower during
the Duke of Gloucester’s coup in 1483. Seeking revenge, Richard joined the Duke of
Buckingham’s rebellion against Richard III. He had his estate confiscated when the revolt
failed, but lived to see Richard toppled two years later and his property returned.

However, according to the authors of our notes Richard Haut was pardoned by Richard III before
Bosworth. It seems clear where the sympathies of the National Trust lie!

The Clement family next owned Ightham, until in 1591 it was purchased by Sir William
Selby, whose family owned it until 1889. After the death of the owner in 1951 local business-
men rescued the house from demolition and started to restore it. They later sold it to an Ameri-
can, Charles Henry Robinson, who had fallen in love with Ightham Mote and in 1985 bequeathed
the property to the National Trust. The Trust found it to be in a ruinous condition; some £9m has
already been spent, and this is likely to rise to around £13m by the time they have finished — and
that does not include the associated properties nearby.

From the outside the building looks very medieval with mullioned windows in the stone walls
in some parts and half timbered upper storeys in others. Inside however is a different story. There
have been many additions and alterations to the original house and much of what is seen is not
original, even allowing for the repairs being executed by the National Trust. The great hall is
part of the original building and still has the original roof beams, which are very striking. The
stained glass in the c. 1480 window of was added for the visit of Henry VIII and Catherine of
Aragon and depicts their badges. The ‘new’ chapel was formerly one of the early guest cham-
bers and has very unusual paintings in narrow panels on the walls and lining the roof. They also
depict Henry and Catherine’s emblems — pomegranates, red roses, portcullises, Castilian castles
and fleur-de-lis. Very little else in the house is original; almost all altered and modernised and
with many items such as fireplaces and panelling having been brought in from elsewhere.

And so we left the ‘Garden of England’ for the bustle of noisy London, after a thoroughly
enjoyable weekend, greatly assisted by Lesley Wynne-Davies excellent organisation, wonderful
weather and the skill of our driver, Phil.

Diana and Peter Lee

The Society’s Annual Visit to Bosworth, Sunday, 17 August 2003

The Society visited Sutton Cheney and Bosworth for the 518th anniversary of the Battle on Sun-
day 17 August, 2003. We had a particularly small party this year. Why? Was the Bulletin no-
tice too discreet? Was the programme unattractive? Please let me know. The Rev. Brenda
Campbell welcomed us to Sutton Cheney church and thanked the Society for its contribution of
funds, notifying us that the bells had been restored and re-dedicated. The service followed its
usual form: George May read the first lesson, Dr Phil Stone read the second lesson, and the two
memorial wreaths were laid: that on behalf of the Society by Elaine Robinson and that on behalf
of the Canadian Branch by Beth Argall, over from America and fiancé of the Chairman. As
usual, we thank Ruth Green for the making of the two teardrop laurel chaplets with white roses
and purple ribbons, and Margaret York for delivering them to the church. The preacher was Mr
Richard Gill, who referred to Blake’s comment on Milton’s Devil: he makes him attractive, as
did Shakespeare with his character of Richard III. The Tudor myth develops from the Tudor
problem of harmonising the need to support an anointed king, while Henry Tudor is usurping one
… it is only all right if the anointed king is a bad one … ! He went on to point out that while
Richard’s conduct after Edward IV’s death might be called into question, it followed ten years of
loyal service in the north. Here is human ambiguity, a difficult concept for Christianity, but one
which can be accommodated in a religion of transformation. After the service, lunch was taken in
the newly refurbished village hall or the church field and we then departed for the Battlefield,
where the usual ‘special event’ was taking place, but could be avoided to visit the ‘death stone’
and the well. I always like to attend ‘Bosworth day’ before the actual date of the battle: you can
kid yourself he might win this time, and certainly the crowd would have liked that: the cheering for Richard as he entered the arena was enthusiastic: Henry Tudor was greeted with as many boos. We then repaired for tea to the village hall, where the Chairman, Dr Phil Stone, said the customary ‘few words’, welcoming all present and particularly our overseas member. We thank the ladies of Sutton Cheney for providing lunch, as usual, and helping Cherry Orton’s staff in the provision (and washing-up!) of tea.

The Visits Team will be discussing the format of next year’s Bosworth visit, and will consider inclusion of visits to one or more of the alternative battlefield sites, possibly combining this with continued support for Sutton Cheney, but visiting an alternative site instead of the ‘official’ site in the afternoon. We do need of course to find a suitable place for the tea, without which no Ricardian visit is complete! Please let me have yours views on the format of the day so that we can structure it according to members’ wishes.

E M Nokes, General Secretary

Eltham Palace Visit—Sunday 7 September 2003

I met up with a small group at Charing Cross and we all travelled to Mottingham on the train, meeting up with the rest of the party outside the palace. We started our guided tour opposite the main entrance. Our guide pointed out the great hall and talked a little about the history of it (how Edward IV had it built etc.) and also of the adjoining buildings which were built in the 1930s.

Then we entered the house making first for the great hall.

My initial impression of the great hall was wow! It is enormous (it measures 101 feet by 36 feet and is 55 feet tall to the apex of the roof). It has been compared to the great hall at Hampton Court. The magnificent oak roof has been substantially restored especially during 1911-1914 when it was systematically dismantled and reassembled with the insertion of steel braces to strengthen the weakened timbers. The stained glass windows (an addition to the hall from the 1930s) contain roundels depicting the badges of Edward IV: the sun in splendour, the Yorkist white rose, the ‘rose en soleil’ and the falcon and fetterlock, and the stained glass in the bay windows at the dais end depicts some of the owners of the Palace: Bishops Odo and Bek, Edward I, Edward III, Richard II and Henry VIII in the south bay and Edward IV and Elizabeth Woodville in the north. The hall also contains a minstrel’s gallery and a screen (which was based on the fifteenth-century rood screen in Attleborough Church, Norfolk) but they were both added in the 1930s and are pure invention of the designers. On the walls are modern copies of the ten metal sconces with coronet surmounts, behind which are hangings from the 1980s.

Next on the tour was the Courtauld’s house. We were shown the boudoir and the library, both on the ground floor. The walls are lined with wood veneer and both rooms contain various replica pieces of furniture based on the originals. A feature of the boudoir is a leather map which depicts Eltham Palace and its surroundings. The library displays a collection of watercolours, which are copies — apparently the originals, including fourteen Turners, are presently on display in the Courtauld Institute.

Upstairs we entered Stephen Courtauld’s suite. I thought the hand-printed wallpaper was the most striking item. It depicts Kew Gardens, was designed by Sanderson and was very expensive. The en suite bathroom of blue mosaic tiling was quite impressive, apart from the large water-stain on the bath. Next door was Virginia Courtauld’s bedroom. It was much more flamboyant than her husband’s room and it is lined with maple flexwood and is supposed to have the appearance of a primitive temple. The en-suite bathroom is equally exotic with walls lined with onyx and gold-plated taps. The bath sits within a gold mosaic niche containing a statue of the goddess Psyche, the lover of Cupid.

We returned to the landing and passed the remains of the fifteenth-century timber windows and followed the corridor to the cage of ‘Jongy’ the ring-tailed lemur. The cage was apparently centrally heated and the walls decorated with bamboo forest scenes. The next bedroom was the
Venetian Suite, which was one of the two double bedrooms in the house. The walls are covered with some fragments of 1780s Venetian panelling and arabesque designs painted onto mirrors. My overall impression of the landing, together with the cabin type bedrooms was of an ocean liner, which I think was the intention.

Returning to the ground floor we entered the drawing room. Again this was very exotic. The plaster ceiling beams which dominated the room had been painted to look like timber and the decoration was inspired by Hungarian folk art.

We then went back to the entrance hall and had a chance to have a longer look. Here the wood veneer incorporates a magnificent marquetry panel, and there is a 23 foot diameter glass domed roof. The house had a centralised vacuum cleaner system, gas central heating and full electricity supply, which were relatively rare in the mid-1930s. Also they had a telephone in every room and a loudspeaker system that could broadcast music throughout the ground floor. The tour ended with the dining room. It was dominated by the ceiling decoration of aluminium leaf on a blue background, which has built in lighting to make the metal shimmer at night. The dining table and pink leather chairs are replicas and the dramatic doors with applied lacquer animals and birds have been restored.

After a very interesting tour there was still time for a second look at the great hall and also to see the garden, which was lovely. In conclusion, it was an excellent day trip and I would like to thank Rosemary Waxman for organising it.

Elaine Robinson

Unveiling of plaque commemorating the birth of Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy, Waltham Abbey, Essex, Saturday 18 October 2003

The day started off from London, travelling to Waltham Abbey by coach. There were about thirty of us on board. On arrival we met up with other members inside the Town Hall and Councillor Watts, the Deputy Mayor, welcomed us on behalf of the Waltham Abbey Town Council. At 12.00 noon we assembled outside the Town Hall and our Chairman, Dr Phil Stone, called upon Councillor Watts to do the honour of unveiling the plaque. Following the unveiling Councillor Watts thanked John Ashdown-Hill and the Richard III Society and spoke about Margaret of York’s connection with Waltham Abbey and also mentioned that our patron, HRH The Duke of Gloucester had visited the town a number of times. Phil responded by thanking Councillor Watts, and also gave special thanks to the Town Clerk, Richard James, Dinah Dean, secretary to the Waltham Abbey Historical Society, to the members of the Mid Anglian and South Essex Groups of the Richard III Society, who funded the plaque, to John Ashdown-Hill for organising the event, and Geoffrey Wheeler, who was responsible for the design of the plaque. Phil then spoke a little about Margaret of York’s life in the reign of Henry VII: how she was the last great protagonist of the House of York and how the Richard III Society was proud to honour Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy on the quincentenary year of her death, in the country, and possibly the town, that gave her birth.

Following the ceremony and refreshments in the Town Hall, we were left to do our own thing. The first place I visited was Waltham Abbey Church. My overall impression was that I had walked into a small version of Durham Cathedral. The church is very beautiful and well worth a visit. They also had a small exhibition in the crypt relating to the history of the abbey. We next visited the museum in Sun Street, which is housed in a Tudor building dating from the early sixteenth century. This is a small museum displaying many items dating from Roman to Victorian times. I thought it would appeal mainly to school children, especially the ‘labyrinth’, which consisted of a diagram on the floor, which I could step over easily, but it was good fun.

At 14.30 we departed Waltham Abbey for our visit to St Dunstan’s Church in Hunsdon, which dates back to the seventh century, but has undergone various alterations mainly in the fifteenth century. On arrival we were met by the Rev. John Risby, who showed us around the
church and vestry. He was very enthusiastic and pointed out various details which we might otherwise have missed. Unfortunately Hunsdon House, in which the duke of York and his family once lived, is not open to the public but we could see a tantalizing glimpse of the house from the grounds of the church.

Finally, we visited Van Hage’s Garden Centre in Hertfordshire for a very welcome cup of tea before the coach left to takes us home. Overall I thought the day trip was delightful and would like to thank John Ashdown-Hill for arranging it and also Dave Perry for acting as courier on the coach.

Elaine Robinson

Future Society Events

Bookable Events

Colchester Visit, Saturday 17 January 2004

For some months I have been cataloguing the large collection of seals and seal impressions, many of them medieval, held in the Resources Department of the Colchester Museums Service. In the course of this work I have come across many seals of Ricardian interest. There are seals of some of Richard III’s close relatives. These include several different seals of Edward IV and seals of George, Duke of Clarence, Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick and John de la Pole, Earl of Lincoln. There are also seals of some of Richard’s ancestors such as Isabella of France (queen of Edward II) and her son, Edward III. Then there are seals of noted aristocrats of the second half of the fifteenth century: de Vere, Mowbray, Howard, Tiptoft. Finally there are numerous seals of the second half of the fifteenth century from religious houses and private individuals.

Colchester Museums Service has kindly agreed to make a selection of these seals available at 14.00 on the afternoon of Saturday 17 January 2004. After looking at the seals there will be a break for tea, after which we shall make our way to St. John’s Abbey Gatehouse. Almost the only part of the abbey surviving above ground and in situ, the gatehouse is well preserved. Beneath its arch Francis, Viscount Lovell rode, in August 1485. Fleeing from the Yorkist defeat at Bosworth, Lovell took sanctuary in St John’s Abbey, and from there, plotted (unsuccessfully) the overthrow of Henry VII.

This visit is, in origin, a visit of the Mid Anglia Group, but we are pleased to invite other members of the Society to join us. Colchester is less than an hour from London (Liverpool Street) by train, and the visit begins at Colchester Castle at 14.00. The visit is free, but non-local participants will need to make their own travel arrangements. Please note that space in the Museum Resources Building is restricted so only a limited number of people can be accommodated and places will be allocated for this visit strictly on a first-come first-served basis. If you would like to take part, please complete the booking form and return it to me: John Ashdown-Hill, 8, Thurlston Close, Colchester CO2 3HF as soon as possible, and no later than Monday 29 December.

John Ashdown-Hill
Study Weekend, Friday 16 — Sunday 18 April 2004

Next year’s study weekend has been arranged for Friday evening to Sunday lunchtime, 16 – 18 April 2004 (one week after Easter), at the College of St John, Lord Mayor’s Walk, York. This is the College’s main campus, just outside the city walls opposite the Minster. Accommodation will be in single study bedrooms. The college does not have any en-suite facilities.

The theme for the weekend will be Medieval Women. Talks will cover ladies of high status (Joanna Laynesmith), women in trade (Dr. Jeremy Goldberg), housewives and children (Toni Mount), and religious women (Kenneth Hillier). Peter Hammond will discuss Lady Snawsell of Barley Hall and theatrical costume designer Suzi Clarke will discuss medieval dress.

Barley Hall will be the venue for Sue Taylor’s performance of her one-woman play Margaret Paston and other activities in the Hall are being investigated including a demonstration of spinning. The now traditional medieval banquet will again take place in the great hall with medieval style food, live medieval music and participants are encouraged, though it is not mandatory, to wear medieval dress.

The cost of the weekend will be £125.50 with a supplement of £31.50 for the banquet. Participants not wishing to attend the banquet can take dinner at the college. There will be a limited number of non-residential places at a cost of £67.50 and this includes Friday night dinner, lunches and refreshments. The banquet cost for non-residents is £44. Places for the banquet are strictly limited and will be allocated on a ‘first come, first served basis’.

If you would like to attend please complete the centrefold booking form and send to Mrs Jacqui Emerson, 5 Ripon Drive, Wistaston, Crewe, Cheshire, CW2 6SJ. Joining instructions will be sent out in January 2004.

Wendy Moorhen

Visit to Devon and Cornwall, Friday 2 July – Monday 5 July, 2004

The summer weekend in July 2004, will take place in the Devon and Cornwall area, where the local branch will be celebrating its twenty-fifth anniversary.

The visit will be based on the University of Plymouth for three nights, bed and breakfast, with dinner on Friday 2nd and Sunday 4th. Dinner on Saturday 3rd will be with local branch members in a Plymouth hotel, celebrating their anniversary. Accommodation – single study bedrooms with en-suite facilities.

The coach will start from London Victoria on Friday 2 July at 09.00. On the way to Plymouth we will stop at Tiverton for lunch and to visit the castle and church. Edward IV’s daughter Catherine, who married William Courtenay (later earl of Devon) lived there and is buried in the church, although her monument is no longer there.

Saturday: in the morning we will visit Cotehele House (National Trust), which takes its name from Hilaria de Cotehele who married William Edgcumbe in 1353, the Edgcumbes remaining in Cotehele House until 1553, when a new house was built at Mount Edgcumbe and became the main seat. The original house and contents have been preserved virtually intact. In the afternoon time will be spent in Plymouth, where you may decide to visit places of interest in the town, or just shop. In the evening we will join local branch members for a celebration dinner.

Sunday: we hope to visit St Michael’s Mount, where Perkin Warbeck was allowed entry and left his wife Lady Katherine Gordon while he tried to rally people to his cause. This is a National Trust property, but at weekends it is opened for charity, therefore N.T. members will have to pay for entry. On the way to the Mount, we hope to visit Godolphin House (N.T.) and Pengersick Castle (c. 1343).

Monday: we leave Plymouth for the return home, via Exeter so that members will be able to
visit the cathedral, Rougemont castle, etc. Perkin Warbeck laid siege to Exeter but the town was held for Henry Tudor by the Courtenays, Edward Earl of Devon and his son William, who later became Earl of Devon. After lunch we will leave for the journey back to London.

Cost of the trip: around £190.00, including accommodation, the coach (with loo), driver’s tip, admin., and a written tour guide. Admission charges have not been included. We do not arrange group insurance for visits in this country, but you may well wish to take out your own cover.

If you wish to come on this trip, please complete the booking form and send it with £50.00 cheque per person deposit, to Marion Mitchell, address on booking form. Applications to be received not later than 1 March, 2004.

Kitty Bristow, Marion Mitchell

If you wish to attend any of these events please complete the booking form(s) in the centre of the Bulletin

Reminder and Late Bookings

Requiem Mass and Rose Planting, Clare Priory – 13 March 2004

Places are still available. For details and booking form see Autumn Bulletin.

John Ashdown-Hill

Originally published in Yorkshire Branch’s Blanc Sanglier December 2002
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Gloucestershire
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Mrs Helen Ashburn, 36 Clumber Road, Gorton, Manchester M18 7LZ. Tel. 0161 320 6157

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Mrs Christine Symonds, 2 Whitaker Avenue, Bradford BD2 3HL. Tel. 01274 774680

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Tel. 01258-450403

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Tel. 01325 310361

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Mid Anglia
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Lincolnshire Branch

The branch has enjoyed some wonderful times in the last months of its twenty-sixth year. In April we had a superb guided tour of the medieval section of the British Museum, and later in the month John Ashdown-Hill gave us a thought provoking talk on Lady Eleanor Talbot and the pre-contract. In May we had a successful stall at Denton street market, boosting branch funds, and a weekend in Yorkshire, staying in Ilkley and visiting Ripon, Markenfield Hall, Jervaulx Abbey, Skipton Castle, Middleham, Aysgarth, Newburgh Priory, Coxwold church, Lastingham and Saxton. Everyone agreed that it had been a memorable weekend. In June we had a visit to Gipping chapel and Wingfield Old College, and were pleased to have with us Miss Margaret Tyrrell and also Maureen Jones from the British Museum. In July we held the Zarosh Mugaseth memorial lecture, when Richard Knowles gave us a very interesting talk on ‘Tomb effigies of the Wars of the Roses’. In August we had a successful table top sale in aid of our chosen charity, followed the next day by a visit to Winkburn Hall, where we were able to picnic in the grounds by invitation of the owner. Our French weekend in September based around Rouen proved to be one of the best foreign trips ever, the visit to the Abbey of Jumièges being one of the highlights. At our AGM on the last Saturday of September, the committee was re-elected en bloc, and Jean presented the next year’s programme, which bodes well for another good year.

Forthcoming event:

The Lincolnshire Branch Medieval Banquet
Saturday, 3 April, 2004
To be held in the great hall at Southwell Minster
Tickets: £25.00 (includes four course meal and entertainment)
There are plenty of B&B addresses in the Southwell area, so why not make a night of it, or even a weekend?
Contact: Jean Townsend, 01636-626374

Marion Moulton

London and Home Counties Branch

Would all members please note that the AGM of the London and Home Counties Branch will be held before the meeting on Thursday, 29 January, 2004. Nominations for the Committee and motions for the agenda should reach the secretary fourteen clear days beforehand, i.e. by 14 January, 2004.

Elizabeth M Nokes

Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire Group

Another busy year has flown by for the Notts and Derby Group – since our last AGM in October we have had three lectures, four home meetings of varying success, two local visits and three coach trips.

Our first lecture on the ‘Development of Music’ was more in the nature of a lively demonstration by Tony Westran, who brought along a huge collection of instruments for us to hear and try, from wood blocks to temple bells, from the aeolian harp to the lute – he can certainly play them too.

This was followed by David Baldwin's talk on Elizabeth Woodville, who he claims has had almost as bad a press as Richard; and Jean Townsend of the Lincoln Branch on Ricardian Myths and Legends, which was fascinating as always and very entertaining.

Local visits were to Bestwood Country Park (where Richard first heard of Tudor's landing whilst at his hunting lodge) and to Felley Priory Gardens where each terrace is divided up into
‘rooms’, including topiary, a lake and a delightful tiny recreation of a medieval garden. The owner, the redoubtable Mrs Chaworth-Musters who had planned the garden, was most welcoming and informative when we chanced to meet her during the afternoon and the Elizabethan Manor (not open to the public) provides an enchanting backdrop to these delightful gardens.

Further afield, our three coach trips this year led us to Middleham and Richmond, Oakham, Rutland Water, Nassington Manor (with its lovely garden) and Fotheringhay. In August, we journeyed to Crowland Abbey with the triangular bridge in the centre of the town, Ely Cathedral and Oliver Cromwell's house.

Our most memorable home meeting was held outdoors (gardens again) in a member's beautiful garden. We each brought a favourite plant (or suitable picture) known in medieval times and just gave a few short details about its history, uses, growing hints and why we liked it. This proved very successful, not too individually demanding and crowned by the surprise provision of deliciously light homemade rosemary scones by another member. Thank you Joyce.

The Midwinter Fuddle for about fifteen people was enlivened by our medieval ‘Call My Bluff’ game, which was great fun and has since been exported successfully to New Zealand! Jane Bayley of the Christchurch Group was in touch asking me for details and then reported back that it had made for a very good meeting. Wonderful to think that we have links with people on the other side of the world, all because of Richard!

Our future plans took shape at the AGM in September and include:

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Our home meetings are confined to members only but talks at Sutton-in-Ashfield library and the coach trips are open to friends and family, so if anything attracts you, do contact me for details and you will be very welcome to come along.

Anne Ayres

**Thames Valley Branch Chronicles – 2003**

At our AGM in January our founder member Marie Morris, announced that she and her husband would be moving out of the area during the course of the year. We extend our grateful thanks to her, not only for starting the Berkshire Group, our original name, but also for allowing us to meet in her house regularly over the past fifteen years. We wish Marie and John every happiness in their new home.

Our external speakers this year were authors Dr Michael K Jones, Ann Wroe, and historical costumer Suzi Clarke. Presentations by our own Branch members included talks on Prince Arthur, castles, and readings taken from works by Scottish poets William Dunbar and Robert Henryson, both contemporaries of Richard III.

The branch was well represented at the Research Weekend in York, and we also joined our neighbouring group West Surrey for a medieval ‘buffet’ lunch.

In May we visited St Albans taking in the Abbey, with its subterranean tomb of Humphrey of Gloucester, and the only surviving medieval town belfry in England. Its bell rang out for the First
Battle of St Albans. In June we visited the Beauchamp Chantry in St Mary’s, Warwick, just prior to the effigy of Richard Beauchamp being moved to the V&A for the Gothic exhibition.

This year’s ‘weekend away’ was in Bury St Edmunds, once the capital of East Anglia. Little remains of the original abbey that used to be one of the richest and most powerful Benedictine monasteries in England. When the remains of the martyred King Edmund were enshrined at the Saxon monastery in 903 it became a popular place of pilgrimage, although Henry VIII dismantled the abbey following the ‘Dissolution’. We made our own ‘pilgrimage’ to the ruins, which were very atmospheric. St Edmundsbury Cathedral is the only incomplete cathedral in Britain although a millennium project is currently underway to complete the cathedral with a 140-foot Gothic style lantern tower. St Mary’s church was built in the fifteenth century and it is here that Mary Tudor, sister of Henry VIII, is buried. The ceiling of the nave boasts eleven pairs of beautiful life-sized wooden angels, which have been in place for nearly six hundred years. Moyse’s Hall, the oldest building in East Anglia and the second oldest in England, is one of few surviving Norman houses. It has been many things in its time but is now a museum. Our prime interest centred on a lock of Mary Tudor’s hair, but the museum also houses a fine selection of unsavoury items such as mantraps, gibbet cages, stone coffins, and mummified cats, which also attracted our attention.

Our next port of call was Wingfield where there are three significant buildings — St Andrews church, the College, and the castle. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Wingfield was home to two of the greatest and most powerful families in England, the Wingfields and the de la Poles. The castle, formerly the manor house of the de la Poles, is now privately owned and, unfortunately, can only be glimpsed from the road. The church is magnificent with superb medieval tombs including those of John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk and his wife Elizabeth Plantagenet, the sister of Edward IV and Richard III. Wingfield College was founded in 1362 under the will of Sir John de Wingfield, close friend of the Black Prince, and ancestor of the de la Poles. It is now a private home but is open to the public. Perhaps the most quirky feature of the College on that particular hot summer’s day was the invasion of ants in the hall.

Framlingham’s twelfth-century castle consists of a continuous curtain wall linking thirteen massive towers. King John besieged Framlingham after its incumbent, the second earl of Norfolk, rebelled and defied him after Magna Carta. The Earl surrendered after two days and the castle was restored to the family after John died. For the next two hundred years, ownership was passed between royalty and their favourites, ending up in the possession of the Howard family. The Church of St Michael the Archangel in Framlingham is, without doubt, one of the region’s most imposing buildings. The capitals of the chancel arch survive from the twelfth century but the bulk of the church was built between 1350 and 1555. The roof is especially glorious with intricate fan tracery. The magnificent tombs of the Howard family date from the sixteenth century. On Saturday night we watched a most spectacular thunderstorm that roared, poured and flashed almost overhead. As the weather for the rest of the weekend was fine and hot we can only conclude that the said storm was a result of a well-known resident of Bury St Edmunds informing us that it rarely rained there!

Our journey home was carefully planned to allow the holiday to endure until the last possible moment. We could not resist a quick visit to Lavenham — a medieval wool town with whole streets of timbered houses built between 1450 and 1500. Close by is Melford Hall — a romantic turreted brick Tudor mansion set in what was once a medieval hunting park. The house has changed externally very little since 1578 and still has an original panelled banqueting hall. Long Melford has a ‘wool church’ of cathedral proportions. A tiny window panel showing three rabbits with only three ears between them is a symbol of the Trinity, and the stained glass window depicting Elizabeth Talbot, Duchess of Norfolk, is said to have inspired Tenniel when illustrating Alice in Wonderland. Our final visit was to Clare Priory to see the Society plaque, and we were completely enchanted by the tranquillity of the whole place which was slightly shattered by the
customary hilarity that accompanies the taking of the group photograph.

We now look forward to our Christmas Lunch as the chance to reflect on another enjoyable
year. It will also be an occasion to thank our retiring secretary, Jane Trump, for all her hard work
over the past few years and to welcome Jenny Hutt into the role.

Sally Empson

Worcestershire Branch

We have had an eventful year, with the highlight being the talk by Dr Michael K Jones in Malvern about his new book. We had stalls, including a tent we erected ourselves at two re-
enactments, this year at Mortimer’s Cross and Tewkesbury, both very enjoyable, although we did
get rather wet at Mortimer’s Cross, especially when the ‘easy erect’ tent proved to be a bit more
difficult than we thought. Tewkesbury was very hot and on a new site which made things rather
different.

Personally I went back to Bosworth after several years absence and was pleased to find some
very pleasant changes to the last time I visited. We had the opportunity to visit Guy’s Cliffe,
now a private house belonging to the freemasons, just outside Warwick, once home to Guy of
Warwick and John Rouse and with a remarkably complete chapel.

We had another of Ralph’s diabolical quizzes, multiple choice this time and my team man-
gaged not to disgrace itself. I went to see the restored fountains at Witley Court, not exactly Ri-
cardian but well worth the visit. We returned to Much Wenlock, both its book shops and the
Priory ruins. Our evening outing was to Chaddesley Corbett and was a great success.

In October we held our social tea and book sale and a bring and buy sale in an effort to raise a
bit extra for the funds. In November Kevin Down spoke about Richard III and his Churchmen.

Our future programme looks good with visits to Hereford and the Mappa Mundi, Hellens and
Much Marcle as well as our usual programme items of the AGM and for the first time a library
open day, to enable everyone to browse through the library without other distractions. There will
also be a debate: something we have not yet tried.

Our Programme 2004

10 Jan - Browse and Borrow, Library open day with social tea. Venue The Oaks
14 Feb - Debate ‘The Princes in the Tower, is Richard the only suspect ?’ Venue
Inkberrow
13 Mar - Visit to the costume department of the RSC, Stratford.

Jane Tinklin

[Apologies to member Kevin Down, whose talk to the Branch was reported in the Autumn Bulle-
tin, when his name was incorrectly given as David Down. Ed.]

Yorkshire

The Branch held its annual Bosworth commemoration at St Alkelda’s, Middleham, on 24 Au-
 gust. As has become a tradition, Margaret Moorhouse of our Airedale Group provided an ar-
rangement of beautiful flowers, including this year some white roses of a strain developed in
Holland – another nice Ricardian link.

Following our AGM in York in September, John Audsley remains our Chairman for 2003/4,
with Sharon Stow as our Vice-Chairman, Moira Habberjam as our Secretary, Christine Symonds
our Treasurer and Librarian and Janet Senior our Research Officer.

Several members attended the Society AGM in London: a very pleasant opportunity for so-
cialising, and for persuading fellow Ricardians to part with money. Our stall did very good busi-
ness during the course of the day and the new Branch Christmas cards in particular were very
popular. There were, too, several orders for the new publication from Rosalba Press, Jean Gid-
man’s study of Sir William Stanley of Holt (see p. 11) or contact Mary O’Regan Tel 0113-262-
4131 or email: maryoregan@hotmail.com

Our medieval banquet was held in York at the end of October, at a new venue – the Black
Swan, Peaseholme Green – and with live music by Trouvère. There had been such a demand for
tickets that our treasurer had to open a waiting list. It was, as always, a very splendidly-dressed
occasion, with plenty of ‘glitter’, and some members had also employed their needlecraft skills in
producing striking heraldic banners to adorn the panelled dining-room.

We are able to let you know that the speaker at our Spring Lecture on Saturday 3 April 2004
will be Michael K. Jones, who will discuss Richard Gloucester as a military commander, particu-
larly in the North. We hope to give final details in the next Bulletin.

I should like to remind subscribers to our magazine Blanc Sanglier that subscriptions are now
due for 2003/4 – still only £5.00 for three issues, with Newsletters, if you live in the UK; £6.50 in
Europe and £8.00 for the rest of the world. Cheques payable to: Yorkshire Branch should be
sent to our Treasurer Mrs C J Symonds, 2 Whitaker Avenue, Bradford BD2 3HL, as should or-
ders for cards, notelets and other branch merchandise. Please note her email address is sy-
mondscj@aol.com and not as printed in the last Bulletin.

Angela Moreton

Classified Advertisements

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appliqué motifs. For further details please send SAE to Brenda Cox, 42, Whitemoor Drive,
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British Library Harleian Manuscript 433

Edited by Rosemary Horrox and P.W. Hammond

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ments are accompanied by a translation. Volume 4 is an index of people, places and subjects.

Published by the Richard III Society 1979-83

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New Members

UK 1 Apr 2003 — 30 Sep 2003

Mrs M Allan, Mansfield  
Mrs J Arnopp, Llanbydder  
Mr K T Astley, Mirfield (F)  
Mrs G M Barrett, Billesdon  
Mr F Bland, Oxford  
Rev A R Bond, Castle Cary  
Mrs W M Brown, Kettering  
Mr I Burton, Bath  
Mrs L D Butler, Hatfield  
Mr K Butterick, Halifax  
Mrs FM Capleton, Neston  
Mrs V Coleman, Woodford Green  
Miss J Cony, Harrold  
Ms S Crossman-Jelliff, Norwich  
Mrs L Cutherberton, Consett  
Prof P Fellgett, Bodmin  
Mr J Folliott-Vaughan, Sudborough  
Mr C Francis, Washington  
Ms A Garthwaite, Bridgnorth  
Mrs A Gibson, London W8  
Mr S Green, Milton Keynes (F)  
Mrs E E Hall, London E18  
Mrs J Hall, Crowthorne  
Mrs V M Hitchenor, Rugeley  
Mrs S Hovland, Egham  
Miss S Jackson, Shaftesbury  
Mr K Jones, London SW1A  
Miss C Kempson, Edinburgh  
Mrs J Lawrence, Newmarket  
Mrs G Lazer, North Harrow  
Mr S Mandelbaum, London N3

Mrs S Manning, Grantham  
Mrs A Mattox, Llangollen  
Ms J May, Daventry  
Mrs P McRae, Reading  
Mrs S Minshull, Great Barr (F)  
Mrs A Moore, Winchester (F)  
Ms C Mundy, Sheffield  
Mr A Murty, Norwich  
Miss A Nelson, Rossendale  
Mr M Nyman, Barnet  
Miss C O’Driscoll, Old Arley  
Mrs C Parker, Huntingdon  
Mrs A Parris, Aylesford  
Ms E Phillips, York  
Mrs M Portingale, Bristol (F)  
Miss J Quesne, Bangor  
Mrs P Read, Colchester  
Mr S Reed, Middlesbrough (F)  
Mr L Rodriguez, London SW1  
Mrs L Scott, Gloucester  
Miss C Sharpe, Christchurch  
Miss J Smallman, Ludlow  
Miss L Smith, Hereford  
Mrs W A Stagg, Cheltenham  
Mrs L Stevens, Worcester Park  
Mr D Sutton, Caerphilly  
Mr R Temple, Nuneaton  
Mrs I Thornton, Potters Bar (F)  
Miss E Tubb, Witney  
Mrs H Wilkie, London W13  
Mrs J A Williams, Annfield Plain

UK 1 Apr 2003 — 30 Sep 2003

Mrs D Bliss, Australia  
Mrs G Bucher, Australia  
Capt LM Costen, USA  
Mr J Nesbitt, Australia  
Mr G L. Parkes, South America  
Mr M J Wolff, Canada

US Branch 1 Jun — 31 Aug 2003

Carol S Armen  
Kimberley Barnhart  
Edith Charet  
Connie Collignon  
Kenneth Gibson  
June A Gorbisky  
Tiffany Hanks  
Floyd G Kitchen  
Maria Koski  
Carolyn MacQuarrie  
Hillary Martin  
Sheri Meriman  
Claudia & Edmund Nowos  
Betsy Osgood  
Paula Richards  
Amy Sharistanian  
Sharon Springer  
Justin Swansstrom  
Polly H Wilson
Obituaries

**Pat Cook**  When I joined the Society in 1975, whilst living in Western Australia, there were to the best of my knowledge only one or two other members living in the state. Little did I know that one of these was Pat Cook, who had been a family friend since we migrated to Australia in 1968. When I mentioned that I had joined the Richard III Society she responded by announcing that she too was a member and had been for a number of years. The odds on such a co-incidence I think would be rather long. Pat was a teacher and librarian by profession, with a wide range of interests including history. When she retired to the town of Augusta in the south west of the state she became involved in the local museum and soon became its curator. Her other abiding passion was family history, which she pursued with determination accompanied by prodigious research. Hearing about other people's family history can sometimes be tedious, but it was never so with Pat. Sadly her last years were blighted by Alzheimer's and in a sense her death in September was a release. I will always remember her as a keen Ricardian, a lively companion and an honest friend.

*John Saunders*

**Dr Lesley Gordon**  It is with great sadness that I announce the death, after a short illness, of Dr Lesley Gordon. Although she had been a member of our small group for eight years, essentially she was a very private person, telling us little about the other areas of her life. It was only at her funeral we learnt her age and that she had been the first amongst her friends at the time to wear a miniskirt! Achieving a first for her English literature degree, she finally become the Special Collections Librarian at the Robinson Library, Newcastle University, and gained her doctorate for work on George Eliot. Her flat, crammed with books, bore evidence to her continuous love of reading and her preference for the printed word. Although a self-styled academic and intellectual, she continually surprised us by joining in our more light hearted moments. I recall one such, an irreverent balloon debate, when we each took the role of a member of the extant royal family. Amidst the ensuing hilarity as the evening progressed Lesley tried, unsuccessfully, to announce haughtily, ‘But I am the Queen,’ to defend her position in the balloon. We had never seen her laugh so much and it was a defining moment for the group. For a small group such as ours the loss of any member leaves a gaping hole. Lesley brought to our meetings a sharp wit, an indomitable spirit, strongly held views on animal welfare and, on occasion, some pithy comments. But we also remember her as a valued friend and stalwart supporter of Richard; only absent from meetings to visit her beloved Scotland. Her roses definitely were white and ‘Loyaulté me Lie’ is a fitting tribute to her.

*Julia McLaren, Secretary North East Group*

**Pat Hood**  The Sussex Group is very sorry to announce the death of Pat Hood. Pat was a founder member of our Group, to which she contributed greatly through her enthusiasm and hard work. Having served for several years as Group Chairman, she latterly held the post of Secretary until shortly before her death. We express our condolences in particular to her brother Peter, who is also a member of our Group. Pat will be greatly missed.

*Josie Williams*
Richard Kilner  The parents of Richard Kilner have provided the following: ‘Our son was in a near fatal car accident in April 2002 in which he sustained major brain injuries. He fought so courageously and eventually came home in January this year. However after catching an unnamed virus in April, his fight was over and he died aged eighteen on the 6 May 2003. He was so proud to be called Richard after Richard III, and his middle name was Warwick after Anne. He knew from being a very small child Richard III’s history and spent many a happy day with us at Bosworth Field’.

R and W E Kilner

Anne Mantle  It is with much sadness that I have to report the death of one of our long serving members of Sussex group. Anne Mantle died on Thursday, 11 September, after a year long battle against cancer. After the sudden death of our then secretary, Richard Playell, Anne took over at a moments notice and ran the group for several years, before persuading me to take over. Nevertheless, she continued to help me a great deal, organising trips, etc., and helping with paperwork. Her knowledge of history was very wide and we could always depend on lively discussions at our meetings. She will be greatly missed by all in our group.

Pat Hood

Irene Podeur  We were very sorry to learn that Irene Podeur died earlier this year. Those who come on the continental visits will remember her with much affection. She had a very warm personality and was always very good-humoured; and she wore the most enormous and impressive ear-rings. She and her husband Charles (who was French) came on many of the earlier visits and one in particular, that to Saumur in 1977, has passed into legend, when after a cancelled ferry and consequent late arrival, Charles and Irene, who were both built on a generous scale, found themselves sharing a single bed. In later years she had problems of mobility, but was happy to sit outside cafés with her friend Lillian Phillips, watching the world go by while the rest of us struggled uphill to castles. Occasionally they would chug past us on a petit train. And her fluent French was invaluable - recovering people's lost property, soothing irate motorists when the coach had to back a long way down a narrow road because it couldn't get round the corner… It is sad to think we won't see her again.

Lesley Wynne-Davies
The Society runs a calendar of all forthcoming events: if you are aware of any events of Ricardian interest, whether organised by the Society - Executive Committee, Visits Team, Branches/Groups, or by others, please let the editor have full details, in sufficient time for entry. The calendar will also be run on the website, and, with full details, for members, on the intranet.

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<td>Yorkshire Branch Spring Lecture in Leeds Michael K. Jones ‘Richard of Gloucester as a military commander’ Lincolnshire Branch Medieval Banquet, Southwell</td>
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<td>Fotheringhay Service of Nine Lessons and Carols and Lunch</td>
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