



RICHARD III

Protocol

Anna Jennings, Dramaturg

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Shakespeare's Biography



The English playwright, poet, and actor William Shakespeare (1564-1616) is generally acknowledged to be the greatest of English writers and one of the most extraordinary creators in human history.

The most crucial fact about William Shakespeare's career is that he was a popular dramatist. Born six years after Queen Elizabeth I had ascended the throne, contemporary with the high period of the English Renaissance, Shakespeare had the good luck to find in the theater of London a medium just coming into its own and an audience, drawn from a wide range of social classes, eager to reward talents of the sort he possessed. His entire life was committed to the public theater, and he seems to have written nondramatic poetry only when enforced closings of the theater made writing plays impractical. It is equally remarkable that his days in the theater were almost exactly contemporary with the theater's other outstanding achievements--the work, for example, of Christopher Marlowe, Ben Jonson, and John Webster.

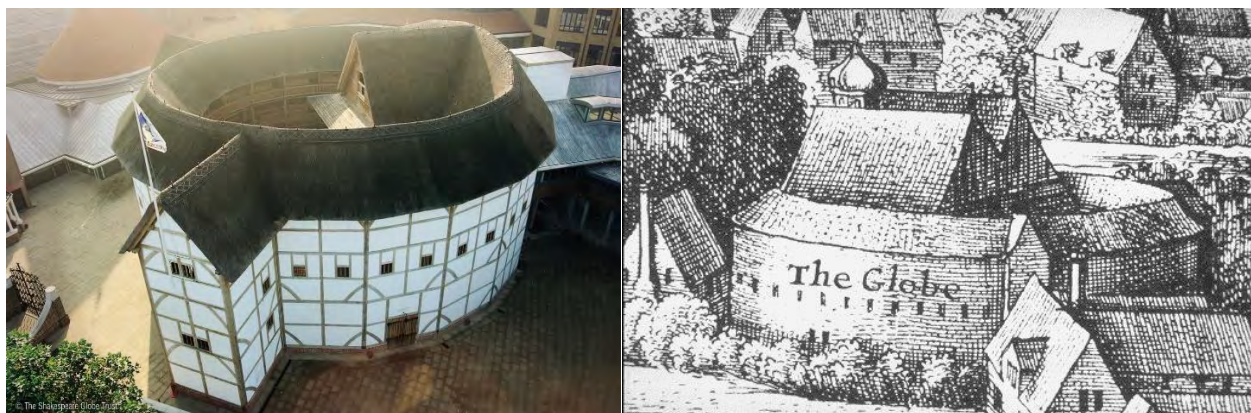
Shakespeare was born on or just before April 23, 1564, in the small but then important Warwickshire town of Stratford. His mother, born Mary Arden, was the daughter of a landowner from a neighboring village. His father, John Shakespeare, son of a farmer, was a glove maker and trader in farm produce; he had achieved a position of some eminence in the prosperous market town by the time of his son's

birth, holding a number of responsible positions in Stratford's government and serving as mayor in 1569. By 1576, however, John Shakespeare had begun to encounter the financial difficulties that were to plague him until his death in 1601.

Though no personal documents survive from Shakespeare's school years, his literary work shows the mark of the excellent if grueling education offered at the Stratford grammar school (some reminiscences of Stratford school days may have lent amusing touches to scenes in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*). Like other Elizabethan schoolboys, Shakespeare studied Latin grammar during the early years, then progressed to the study of logic, rhetoric, composition, oration, versification, and the monuments of Roman literature. The work was conducted in Latin and relied heavily on rote memorization and the master's rod. A plausible tradition holds that Shakespeare had to discontinue his education when about 13 to help his father. At 18 he married Ann Hathaway, a Stratford girl. They had three children (Susanna, 1583-1649; Hamnet, 1585-1596; and his twin, Judith, 1585-1662) and she was to survive him by seven years. Shakespeare remained actively involved in Stratford affairs throughout his life, even when living in London, and retired there at the end of his career.

The years between 1585 and 1592, having left no evidence as to Shakespeare's activities, have been the focus of considerable speculation; among other things, conjecture would have him a traveling actor or a country schoolmaster. The earliest surviving notice of his career in London is a jealous attack on the "upstart crow" by Robert Greene, a playwright, professional man of letters, and profligate whose career was at an end in 1592 though he was only six years older than Shakespeare. Greene's outcry testifies, both in its passion and in the work it implies Shakespeare had been doing for some time, that the young poet had already established himself in the capital. So does the quality of Shakespeare's first plays: it is hard to believe that even Shakespeare could have shown such mastery without several years of apprenticeship.

[...]



Lord Chamberlain's Men

By 1594 Shakespeare was fully engaged in his career. In that year, he became principal writer for the successful Lord Chamberlain's Men--one of the two leading companies of actors; a regular actor in the company; and a "sharer," or partner, in the group of artist-managers who ran the entire operation and were in 1599 to have the Globe Theater built on the south bank of the Thames. The company performed regularly in unroofed but elaborate theaters. Required by law to be set outside the city limits, these theaters were the pride of London, among the first places shown to visiting foreigners, and seated up to 3,000 people. The actors played on a huge platform stage equipped with additional playing levels and surrounded on three sides by the audience; the absence of scenery made possible a flow of scenes comparable to that of the movies, and music, costumes, and ingenious stage machinery created successful illusions under the afternoon sun.

[...]

King's Men

Promptly upon his accession in 1603, King James I, more ardently attracted to theatrical art than his predecessor, bestowed his patronage upon the Lord Chamberlain's Men, so that the flag of the King's Men now flew over the Globe. During his last decade in the theater, Shakespeare was to write fewer but perhaps even finer plays. Almost all the greatest tragedies belong to this period. Though they share the qualities of the earlier tragedies, taken as a group they manifest new tendencies. The heroes are dominated by passions that make their moral status increasingly ambiguous, their freedom increasingly circumscribed; similarly the society, even the cosmos, against which they strive suggests less than ever that all can ever be right in the world. As before, what destroys the hero is what is best about him, yet the best in Macbeth or Othello cannot so simply be commended as Romeo's impetuous ardor or Brutus's political idealism (fatuous though it is). The late tragedies are each in its own way dramas of alienation, and their focus, like that of the histories, continues to be felt as intensely relevant to the concerns of modern man.

(From "William Shakespeare," *Encyclopedia of World Biography*)

Shakespeare's Plays



"William Shakespeare Recites *Hamlet* in Stratford-upon-Avon."

For purposes of summary, it is possible to see Shakespeare's writing career as falling into a number of phases. The earliest work is that of the jobbing playwright looking for employment wherever he can get it. The three parts of *King Henry VI*, written around 1590, draw on the theatrical techniques and profit from the stage success of Thomas Kyd and Christopher Marlowe, as well as exploiting a current interest in England's contentious history. *Richard III*, a year or so later, develops that interest by blending historical material with the stage methods and the psychological concerns of tragedy; Shakespeare's earliest essay in that genre, *Titus Andronicus*, had been both lurid and sophisticated, drawing together Elizabethan pleasure in the tragedy of blood and a Renaissance reading of classical literature, especially Ovid. The earliest comedies, *The Taming of the Shrew*, *The Comedy of Errors*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, and *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, also blend elements from the native English tradition with sophisticated comic structures deriving from Plautus, Terence, and writers of the Italian Renaissance.

These plays of the earlier 1590's established Shakespeare's reputation, and led on through a mixed group of tragedy, history, and comedy--*Romeo and Juliet*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Richard II*, *The Merchant of Venice*, and perhaps *King John*--towards the core of Shakespeare's playwriting career as a leading dramatist. The plays show an increasingly flexible use of dramatic language, as the inventive brilliance of the earlier comedies makes way for stage-writing that, while still attracted by opportunities for the flamboyant set piece, is more disciplined by character and action. With the *Henry IV* plays, *Henry V*, *As You Like It*, and *Twelfth Night*, all written at the end of the 1590's or the turn of the century, Shakespeare's

writing achieved the mature correlation of eloquence and incident, actor's role and stage action, to which his earlier work pointed.

The period of the great tragedies, *Hamlet*, *Othello*, *King Lear*, *Macbeth*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, followed between about 1601 and 1607, providing powerful stage-roles for the company's leading actor Richard Burbage and providing demanding opportunities too for the apprentices, boys or young adults, who played the major women's parts. Interspersed with the tragic writing came mixed-mode plays, neither comic nor tragic, such as *Troilus and Cressida*, *All's Well That Ends Well*, and *Measure for Measure*, experimental pieces, wryly humorous or satiric, depending to a considerable extent on how they are played. Shakespeare's reading of Roman history, especially Plutarch's, had already led, around the turn of the century, to *Julius Caesar*, and about 1607 to *Antony and Cleopatra*, where the texture of the dramatic writing is profoundly influenced by the historian's interests and methods; it now led to *Coriolanus*, and in a somewhat different vein to *Timon of Athens*, a play of trenchantly condensed writing which some critics think an unfinished sketch.

The last segment of Shakespeare's career takes in such plays as *Pericles*, *Cymbeline*, *The Winter's Tale*, *The Tempest*, and *Henry VIII*, the first and last of which are collaborations, *Henry VIII*, probably with John Fletcher, co-author also with Shakespeare of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, and by this date established as the company's successor to Shakespeare as leading dramatist. Each play shows an interest in spectacular stage action, for example in Jupiter's descent on a property swan in *Cymbeline*, or the masque of Juno and Ceres in *The Tempest*, deriving from new audience tastes, the influence of court patronage, and improved stage technology (including artificial lighting) associated with the use of the indoor Blackfriars as principal playing-space after 1608.

"Shakespeare" means the career described above, but also takes in the performance history of the plays from the 16th century on. In the playwright's lifetime, revivals and command performances at Court provided opportunities for new interpretations, owing to changes in company personnel and changes in audience. Each new era has remade Shakespeare's work in its own idiom, responsive to cultural, architectural, and technical change. Germany, France, and latterly the eastern European countries have created their own "Shakespeares"; in this century distinctively Russian, Japanese, and Chinese "Shakespeares" have emerged; a long tradition of playing Shakespeare in the USA has produced a characteristic American "Shakespeare". "Shakespeare", like all significant terms, is subject to ideological interpretation. As a consequence, his work has been victim and beneficiary of much cultural re-making, testifying to the central place he holds in the national and trans-national imagination.

Works

Henry VI, part 1 (produced 1589-91?). In First Folio, 1623.
Henry VI, part 2 (produced 1590-92?). 1594 ("bad" quarto).
Henry VI, part 3 (produced 1590-92?). 1595 ("bad" quarto).
Romeo and Juliet (produced 1591-96?). 1597 ("bad" quarto); "good" quarto, 1599.
The Comedy of Errors (produced 1591-94?). In First Folio, 1623.
Richard III (produced 1592?). 1597.
The Two Gentlemen of Verona (produced 1592-98?). In First Folio, 1623.
Titus Andronicus (produced 1592-94?). 1594.
The Taming of the Shrew (produced before 1592?). As *The Taming of a Shrew*, 1594; without Christopher Sly episodes, in First Folio, 1623.
King John (produced 1594-96?). In First Folio, 1623.
Love's Labour's Lost (produced 1594?). 1598.
Richard II (produced 1595?). 1597.
A Midsummer Night's Dream (produced 1596?). 1600.
Henry IV, part 1 (produced 1596-98?). 1598.
The Merchant of Venice (produced 1596-97?). 1600.
Henry IV, part 2 (produced 1597-98?). 1600.
The Merry Wives of Windsor (produced 1598-99?). 1602 ("bad" quarto).
Much Ado About Nothing (produced 1598-99?). 1600.
Henry V (produced 1598-99). 1600 ("bad" quarto).
Julius Caesar (produced 1599). In First Folio, 1623.
As You Like It (produced 1599?). In First Folio, 1623.
Hamlet (produced 1599-1601?). 1603 ("bad" quarto); "good" quarto, 1604.
Twelfth Night; or, What You Will (produced 1601-02?). In First Folio, 1623.
Troilus and Cressida (produced 1602-03?). 1609.
All's Well That Ends Well (produced 1602?). In First Folio, 1623.
Othello (produced 1602-03?). 1622.
Macbeth (produced 1602-06). In First Folio, 1623.
Measure for Measure (produced 1603-04?). In First Folio, 1623.
King Lear (produced 1605). 1608 ("bad" quarto).
Antony and Cleopatra (produced 1606?). In First Folio, 1623.
Coriolanus (produced 1607-10?). In First Folio, 1623.
Timon of Athens (produced 1607?). In First Folio, 1623.
Pericles, possibly with George Wilkins (produced 1608?). 1609.
Cymbeline (produced 1610?). In First Folio, 1623.
The Tempest (produced 1610-11?). In First Folio, 1623.
The Winter's Tale (produced 1611?). In First Folio, 1623.
Henry VIII, with Fletcher (produced 1612?; definitely produced 1613). In First Folio, 1623.
The Two Noble Kinsmen, with Fletcher (produced 1613?). 1634.
Sir Thomas More, with Munday and others (produced 1954). Edited by Alexander Dyce, 1844, and by Vittorio Gabrieli and Giorgio Melchiori, 1990.

(from "William Shakespeare," *International Dictionary of Theatre*)

Death and Legacy

Shakespeare died in April 1616 and the First Folio was compiled by his contemporaries in 1623 by collecting available versions of his plays. Some of his plays were lost and, due to the flexible nature of playwriting in Early Modern England, the plays of the First Folio do not necessarily reflect the text spoken onstage. Through analysis, scholars continue to uncover new writing of Shakespeare and contribute writing in some of his plays to other English playwrights of the time. Due to this uncertainty of authorship in some cases, rumors that Shakespeare did not write all his plays persist. Many believe a man of Shakespeare's background would be unable to achieve his brilliance and prolificacy. While authorship is complicated in some cases, no reputable Shakespearean scholar believes that Shakespeare did not write his plays.

Production History

This production history includes the most famous and influential productions of Richard III. I've selected productions by mostly focusing on well-known actors playing the title role because the evolution of Richard as a character and the performance tradition for this role is integral to the understanding of this play's history.

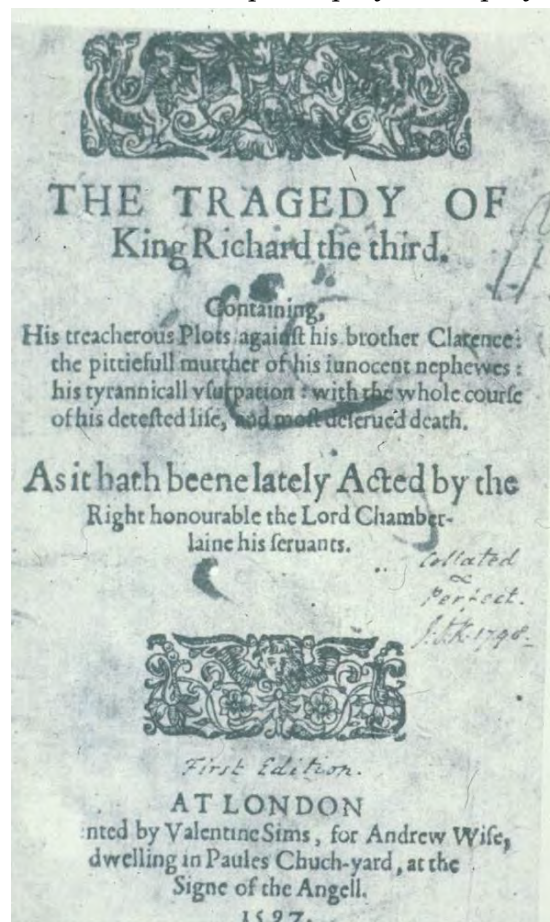
1593? – Possibly the first production of the play

The Earl of Pembroke's Men possibly staged the play in 1593 at the Theatre in London (Gurr 241).

1594 – 1st production recorded, Richard Burbage as Richard

Original Title: *“The Tragedy of King Richard the Third, containing his treacherous plots against his brother Clarence: the pitiful murder of his innocent nephews: his tyrannical usurpation: with the whole course of his detested life and most deserved death.”*

Performed at The Globe or the Theatre by the Lord Chamberlain's Men with Richard Burbage as Richard (Gurr 241; “Mr. Irving's *Richard III*”). Richard Burbage was often cast as the lead in Shakespeare plays. The play was published in 1597.



1633 – 1st Court Performance

The play continued to be popular with Early Modern audiences. *Richard III* was performed at court of Charles I which demonstrates the play's "continuing appeal" (Besnault and Bitot 122).

1700 – Colley Cibber adapts *Richard III*

Colley Cibber adapted and significantly shortened the play, making radical alterations and cuts including cutting Hastings, Clarence, and Margaret and integrating speeches from other Shakespeare plays ("Mr. Irving's *Richard III*" 1). This version became popular and was produced many times over two centuries, attracting the leading male actors of England to the role.

1741 – David Garrick as Richard

Using Cibber's version, David Garrick played Richard very humorously, avoiding melodrama and pure villainy which was a common interpretation of the role ("Richard at Lyceum" 138).

1821 – William Macready

Macready staged *Richard III* using the full text for the first time since Shakespeare's time, but the production was largely unsuccessful (Besnault and Bitot 123). Cibber's version continued to be the most popular for most of the 19th century.

1877 – Henry Irving

Henry Irving, actor-manager of the Lyceum Theatre in London, staged Shakespeare's original text (with minor cuts) and starred as Richard ("Mr. Irving's *Richard III*" 2). In addition to internal cuts in the dialogue, Irving combined Elizabeth's family members into one character called Rivers ("Richard III at Lyceum" 138). Far more successful than Macready, who kept *all* of Shakespeare's text, this production demonstrates the necessity of cutting Shakespeare's original language for a contemporary audience. Irving apparently did an excellent job editing the script and performing the title role. Twenty years later, Sir Russell Edward praised Irving's Richard as "one of the most wonderful pieces of acting of our, and probably of all, time" (151).

By the 20th Century, Irving's success allowed the reinstatement of Shakespeare's text (with edits) and the focus of many productions shifted to politics and tyranny, maintaining an emphasis on Richard's character.

1920 – Leopold Jessner

German theatre director, Leopold Jessner, produced a very symbolic *Richard III* in Berlin in 1920. During the sociopolitical upheaval of the time, critics praised the production's relevance. The production influenced other productions across the world interested in *Richard III's* relevance to 20th century tyranny (Besnault and Bitot 123).¹

1944 – Laurence Olivier

Olivier played Richard on stage in 1944 at the Old Vic in London. In 1955, a film version based on this staging was released. Olivier's Richard was "powerful [...] supremely cunning and devilish" (Besnault and Bitot 124). Alex von Tunzelmann gives a detailed critique of Olivier's melodramatic performance in the film in his review titled: "*Richard III*: Laurence Olivier's melodramatic baddie is seriously limp; Hunchbacked, conniving child-killer or slandered victim of Tudor propaganda? This 1955 film is an exaggeration of a distortion that gets us no closer to the truth." Much has been written on the film but I found no reviews critiquing his stage performance.

1963 – dir. Peter Hall

Inspired by Jessner's symbolist production twenty years earlier, Hall directed *Richard III* as part of a trilogy of Shakespeare's histories with *Henry VI 1-3* adapted into two plays. Some actors played in all shows, including the actor playing Margaret (Pouteau). This is among the first of productions of the 21st century to be presented in a series.

1977 – dir. Robin Philips, Stratford, Ontario

Critic Dan Sullivan found this production unsatisfactory. He is very critical of Brian Bedford in the title role and of the generally over-wrought style of the show. Margaret's voice was amplified with a mic and given an echo effect in this production.

1984 – Antony Sher, dir. Bill Alexander

Bill Alexander directed a 1984 production of *Richard III* at the Royal Shakespeare Company. Antony Sher's Richard was revolutionary in his quick movement and physicality, using crutches and displaying "spider-like appearance" (124) Critic Kevin Kelly praised the new interpretation of Richard: "Antony Sher's Richard is not only magnificently repellent, he's original in thought, word, deed, action!"

1990 – Ian McKellen as Richard, directed by Richard Eyre

Sir Ian McKellen starred in *Richard III* directed by Richard Eyre at the Royal National Theatre in 1995. The production went on a world tour and in 1996 Richard Loncraine directed a film based on this stage production (Hodgdon 266). The film takes place in 1930s Britain with the premise that Britain had been taken over by

¹ I was unable to find a review of this production in English.

fascism, removing the political frame from the War of the Roses to 20th century British politics. Critic David Denby called McKellen's Richard "mischievous . . . startlingly candid, almost a confession" (qtd. Hodgdon 266). The production was dark and shadowy in design and McKellen's Richard leaned into his villainy.

2008- Michael Boyd

Michael Boyd directed the entire history cycle but instead of ordering the plays chronologically, Boyd presented them initially in the order Shakespeare wrote the Histories, beginning with Henry VI 1, 2, & 3, the Richard III, Richard II, etc. Critic Coen Heijes lamented the later change to chronological order, admiring the possibility of seeing *Richard III* then *Richard II* and how the order illuminated change in characters. Heijes found this project, "one of the best, daring, and most complex moments of British theatre history" (143).

2011 – Kevin Spacey as Richard, directed by Sam Mendes

Mendes and Spacey worked together on *American Beauty* (1999) and Mendes had directed *Richard III* in London in 1992. This production was part of the "Bridge Project," which brought together American and British actors in a partnership between London's Old Vic and New York City's BAM theaters. Critics praised the production in 2011. Spacey's performance was also praised by many including critic Paul Levy who found his performance on par with those of Laurence Olivier, Ian McKellen, and Andrew Sher. The four-hour production was set in an unspecified time and place but with modern inspired dress. Richard's costume was inspired by Gaddafi. Removed from England's War of the Roses, critics found this production to speak to the Arab spring and modern dictatorship. The production went on a world tour and was the subject of a 2014 documentary titled *NOW*.



Kevin Spacey as Richard III (Carroll 28)

2014- Rikard III, Royal Dramatic Theatre, Stockholm

This Swedish production directed by Stefan Larsson was heavily meta-theatrical and drew attention to the constructed elements of theatre. For example, Henry's dead body moved slightly a couple times and was told to keep still. This production did not have Richard with a small arm and a large hump, but rather highlighted his difference with costume color and his slender build (Swardh 2).

The Theatre,

A CRITICAL REVIEW. 23023

No. 1. Vol. I.]

Registered at the G. P. O. as a Newspaper.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 30, 1877.

[PRICE FOURPENCE.

Free by Post, 4½d.

MR. IRVING'S RICHARD III.

THE tragedy of *King Richard the Third*. Containing his Treacherous Plots against his Brother Clarence, the Pittiefull Murther of his Innocent Nephewes, his Tyrannical Vsurpation, with the whole course of his Detested Life and most Deserved Death. As it hath lately bene acted by the Right Honourable the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants." Such was the title-page of a play issued to the public in 1597 "by William Wise, dwelling in Paule's Churchyard, at the signe of the Angell." The author, although his name did not appear in print, was known to be William Shakspeare, and the piece had been represented at the Globe or Blackfriars Theatre, with Burbage as the wicked crookback. "From the many allusions to it in books of that age, and the great number of editions it passed through, I suspect," writes Malone, "that it was more often represented and more admired than any of Shakspeare's tragedies." Queen Elizabeth, secretly pleased, no doubt, at seeing Henry VII. placed in the only favourable light in which he could be exhibited, somewhat ostentatiously patronised the play; the popular hatred of Richard's character had been rekindled by Sir Thomas More's "History of Edward V. and his Brother and Richard III.," which the dramatist had certainly not overlooked, and the dullest frequenter of the theatre must have felt the dramatic force of the piece. *Richard III.*, it is true, has many blemishes, but even after the most liberal deductions have been made on that head it is still a very striking play, and in the principal personage we have not only a wonderfully diversified character—a plotter and a soldier, a lover and a hypocrite, a statesman and a wit—but what has been described as "the most buoyant portrait of intellectual villany in the whole range of the drama—a portrait which almost makes mind triumph over morals, even in the estimation of the spectator. The voice of execration is lost in the awe and wonder with which we follow the crookback in his march; he belongs to a class above mankind, and we admire him in spite of ourselves."

Yet, notwithstanding its exceptional merits, *Richard III.*, like the best of Shakspeare's plays, fell into temporary oblivion during the Commonwealth, not to be heard of again until the seventeenth century was drawing to a close. Then, believing, like Davenant and Tate, that Shakspeare's plays were susceptible of very considerable improvement, Colley Cibber, recently made famous by his comedy of *Love's Last Shift* and his acting as Sir Novelty Fashion, prepared (mainly for his own sake) that version of the piece which has been so long and so roundly abused. In his pleasing autobiography he makes but brief references to this "sacrilege,"

but his reasons for undertaking the work may be readily divined. To him it appeared that *Richard III.* was incomplete in itself, overcrowded with characters; and disfigured by many trivialities and improbabilities. That *Richard III.* is not so well suited to the stage as the majority of Shakspeare's plays must, we think, be admitted. It was apparently written with more than the author's customary haste, and for an audience which cared very little for the niceties of dramatic construction and development. How Cibber dealt with the difficulty need hardly be stated. He commenced the play with the murder of Henry VI., removed the characters of Hastings and Clarence and Margaret as unnecessary and useless clogs on the wheels of the machine, and curtailed the dialogue or lengthened it by speeches imported from others of Shakspeare's historical plays or out of his own head. The introduction of the scene of the first murder is attended by a distinct advantage, for, although it robs the play of the dramatic effectiveness which is gained by the abrupt appearance of Gloster on the scene, it enables the actor to strike a clear keynote to the character.

"Let this word 'love,' which graybeards call divine,
Be resident in men like one another,
But not in me. I am myself alone."

In other respects Cibber's version is not so satisfactory. By the removal of Clarence we lose the dream and the incomparable scene between the two murderers; by the suppression of Hastings we lose the council-chamber scene; by the suppression of Queen Margaret we lose the curses by which, "like another Cassandra," she prepares us for what is to follow. But, after all, Cibber's omissions are less objectionable than his interpolations. Not to multiply examples, we shall point simply to the allusion to Lancaster:—

"King Henry and Fortune are familiar.
He ever threw with an indifferent hand,
But never yet was known to lose his patience."

to the reference to the theatre:—

"This prologue lets me in
To a most fatal tragedy to come; "

to the doubt thrown upon the probability of the wooing scene:—

"When future chronicles shall speak of this,
They will be thought romance, not history; "

and, lastly, to Richard being made willing to feed the starving enemy and their horses before the battle begins. In a word, however defective Shakspeare's play may be, it is preferable in many respects to this "improved version." The shade of the illustrious dramatist at first had some consolation for its sufferings. In an advertisement at the end of the *Generous Choice*, published in 1700, we find an allusion "to the last new tragedy, called *Richard III.*, by Mr. Cibber."

This "new tragedy" at once took possession of the stage, and with the exception of a few nights in 1821, when Macready ventured to restore the original text, has been adopted in substance by every actor who has made the slightest mark in the principal character. First of these, in the order of time, was Cibber himself. According to Downes, "he screamed through four acts without dignity and decency"; and his

"A horse! a horse! my kingdom for a horse!"

was ludicrous by reason of his affected pronunciation. It should not be forgotten, however, that he was deprived of valuable means of impressing the audience, for the censor, apprehensive lest the picture of the distresses of Henry VI. should remind the people of a certain royal exile at St. Germain's, insisted upon the first act being omitted, and for three years was the piece played in this mutilated shape. Richard III. is mentioned as one of Betterton's best impersonations, but no detailed account of the performance has come down to us. The character may be said to have been without a representative until 1741, when Garrick appeared. Enemies and friends unite in praising his acting, and if Hogarth's famous picture be true, as there is no reason to doubt it is, his acting in the tent scene must have been marvellous in the expression of strong emotion and passion. In one important point of view, however, the value of the portrait seems to have been very slight. He did not give sufficient prominence to the courtier, he did not make sufficient use of the relief which Shakspeare had imparted to the character in its humour and pleasantry. This is proved by the surprise created by the Richard of Edmund Kean, even in the minds of those who, like John Bannister and Robert Palmer, retained a vivid recollection of "little Davy." "Mr. Kean," writes an excellent judge, Mrs. Richard Trench, "showed that Richard possessed a mine of humour and pleasantry, with all the grace of high breeding grafted on strong and brilliant intellect. He gave probability to the character by throwing the favourable light of Richard's higher qualities on the character, and he made it more consistent with the varied lot of poor humanity." The splendour of the execution was not less remarkable than the originality of the conception. The portrait was drawn throughout by a firm and masterly hand, and the attitude in which he stood after his sword had been taken from him—"his hands stretched out, as if his will could not be disarmed, and the very phantoms of his will had a withering power"—was one which if once seen could never be forgotten. Cooke had previously associated his name for a time with the part, but mainly on account of the keenness of his sarcasms. Of later Richards it is unnecessary to speak.

Thus much—and why should not we avow it?—was written in anticipation of the performance at the Lyceum last night, to which we now turn our attention. In the first place, Cibber's version is discarded in favour of the original text, with such trifling omissions as the exigencies of the stage and modern ideas have rendered necessary. This is to the credit of Mr. Irving's moral courage, for Macready's experiment in 1821 was so little favoured that even Mr. Charles Kean was afraid to repeat it, and in Cibber's version the chief personage is, from a theatrical point of view, more conspicuous than in Shakspeare. The result, of course, depended entirely upon the merit of Mr. Irving's acting, which we now propose to examine in detail. Since he came forward as Mathias in the *Bells*, and still more since he came forward as Hamlet, Mr. Irving has been marked out by the playgoing public as an actor to be studied. In characters already tried, he showed that he was untrammelled by the fetters of tradition, and the way in which his conceptions were worked out has betokened executive power and thoughtful study. The opinion entertained by com-

petent judges in the matter of elocution, that his somewhat jerky delivery and "mannered" demeanour are seriously against him, is just; but to all this there is the unanswerable argument of the "great effect" as a whole, his evident hold over the sympathies of his audience. It is from these points, more than from that physical superiority which some tragedians possess in an eminent degree, that Mr. Irving's latest performance must be considered. Shakspeare's *Richard III.* is less a tragedy than a comedy; but the demand it makes upon the physique of a man playing Richard is very great, and only an actor who possesses comedy powers of the highest order could venture to undertake the task. That this was the feeling of the dense audience which assembled last night at the Lyceum Theatre cannot be doubted. From the first moment the actor made his appearance, his performance was watched with a closeness, in itself a striking proof of the interest and consideration in which he is held. Let us first state that Act I. is played in one scene, "a street," effectively painted by Mr. Craven. The time is morning, the shadows of the sun shift along the ground as the scene progresses, and the bells of distant churches are heard ringing. A guard of soldiers passing across the stage is the sole introduction to the action of the play, and immediately they have passed Gloster enters at back in a picturesque dress. It needed not two steps before the audience for Mr. Henry Irving to be recognized, and his welcoming was loud and prolonged. Then followed the well-known speech beginning, "Now is the winter of our discontent," spoken as given in the first folio of 1623. The expression of his intention since he has no delight in the "weake piping time of Peace," to "prove a villain," to murder Clarence, and wed the Lady Anne, made Mr. Irving's first point. The burial procession of Henry has been arranged with an eye to dramatic effect; mail-clad soldiers, with arms reversed, and friars and Jesuit monks accompany the coffin over which Gloster woos the Lady Anne; this love-making in the presence, as it were, of death. Throughout this scene it seemed to be unanimously agreed that Mr. Irving had never acted better. We may say of him, as Hazlitt said of the elder Kean, "the progress of wily adulation, of encroaching humility, was finely marked throughout by action, voice, and eye. He seemed, like the first tempter, to approach his prey certain of the event, and as if success had smoothed the way before him." Praise, too, is due to Miss Isabel Bateman as the Lady Anne. She forsook the style of bitter declamation which is usually adopted by representatives of the part, and even the line, "would they were basilisks to strike thee dead," was delivered in a tone of fear, seemingly designed to suggest that she had a foreboding of the misery that awaited her. It may be added that Miss Isabel Bateman, if differing from the conventional Lady Anne, and perhaps failing somewhat in point, was thoroughly successful in catching the sympathies of the audience. The applause for both at the close of the act was most enthusiastic, and Mr. Irving obtained a double call before the curtain. Act II. contains three scenes—1, the King's Ante-Chamber; 2, Prison in the Tower; and 3, the Ante-Chamber again. That the first scene contained good opportunities for Mr. Irving must be seen when Gloster's bitter invectives against Queen Elizabeth (Miss Pauncefort) and the courtiers surrounding her are remembered, and still more in his impatience under the almost maniacal cursing of Margaret. It is sufficient to recall these points to the thoughtful reader to bring vividly before him the effect which the peculiar intonation of Mr. Irving gave to every biting utterance. Margaret was personated by Miss Bateman (Mrs. Crowe), and the terribly long and perhaps overdrawn curse which she has to deliver was given with immense effect. It may be a question hereafter, whether some of the long

lines of the curse should not be struck out. In announcing the death of Clarence, Mr. Irving made a strong point, and the act is well closed by a procession of priests, the pealing of an organ being heard, and the chant of monks on the death of King Edward, Gloster kneeling with Buckingham as the priests pass. The third act has three scenes—the Chamber in the Tower; (the scene with the young Princes); Hastings' House; and the Council Chamber in Baynard's Castle. The effect of Mr. Irving's acting in the difficult scene with the Lord Mayor was very great. Of the fourth act, two of the scenes deserve more than passing mention; the first Presence Chamber, with Richard crowned, and the third, Tower Hill, with Richard marching to Bosworth. From this point the action of the play of course becomes hurried, and the five scenes into which the act is divided, afford less opportunity for full development of effect. Richmond (Mr. E. H. Brooke, who played exceedingly well,) has his two scenes, and two scenes are occupied by the tent of Richard. The camps and watch-fires of the royal army are seen in the distance, and within the tent the dim, almost ghostly light gives considerable dramatic force to the apparitions. Perhaps there is a loss of anticipated effect in Mr. Irving's delivery of the familiar speech, "Give me another horse," &c., and more, we doubt not, will yet be made of his subsequent speech—"I shall despair there is no creature loves me, and if I die no soul shall pity me." As it was, the effect created was full of promise. Bosworth field, the fifth scene, was, it must be admitted, perhaps the least effective of all, possibly, from the inherent weakness of the action of the play at this point, but also, perhaps, from the unequal *physique* of the actor.

[For Opinions of this Morning's Papers on Mr. Irving's RICHARD III., See Page 11.]

Globe Theatre.

MR. EDGAR BRUCE has removed *Hunted Down* from the programme of this theatre, and *Squabbles*, a two-act comedy, by Mr. Sterling Coyne, takes its place. The change was made last night, and *Squabbles* proved to be the little piece called *My Wife's Daughter*. The plot is rather intricate, but well told in the two acts. A young man, who has lived a town life, has married a widow who has a daughter of seventeen. Instead of introducing her daughter to her new stepfather, the lady allows her husband to think her offspring still an infant, and the husband actually buys a perambulator for it. The young lady arrives during the temporary absence of her mother, discovers herself to her "new papa," and admits that she has come to London to get his consent to her marriage. The husband looks her in his study, and this proves to be the ground for suspicion and jealousy on the part of the wife, who, however, receives an explanation, and admits that she is not herself as young as she looks. Miss Drummond played the part of the *nouvelle mariée* very creditably, and Miss Rachel Sanger that of the daughter. Mr. George Barrett was the young lady's lover, and Mr. Beveridge the husband. The piece was well received, and the humour was well developed by the actors. Miss Nelly Harris has returned to this house, and appears in the *Invisible Prince* and a *Breezy Sketch*.

Mr. JUSTICE LOPES was yesterday engaged in the Common Pleas Division in trying an action brought by Mr. and Mrs. Metcalf, known upon the stage as Mr. E. Rosenthal and Miss Beauclerc, against Mr. Horace Wigan, to recover damages for alleged slander. The language complained of on the part of the defendant was that he had charged Mrs. Metcalf with incompetence in her profession, and this allegation she denied. Her examination had not been brought to a close at the rising of the Court.

A General Surbey.

THE spirit which praises times past at the expense of times present is perhaps more rampant in the criticism, whether written or verbal, directed towards the dramatic art than in that bestowed upon any cognate subject. For the causes which bring about this result we shall not have far to seek, if we bear in mind that it is in a man's youth that he is most readily and most deeply impressed by the mimic passions of the stage, and that, as a rule, his love for the theatre wanes rapidly with the approaching years which make him more sensitive to the physical discomforts necessarily attendant upon a visit to the play. Thus he not only goes far less to the theatre, but when he does go it is in a frame of mind much less attuned to its enjoyment than on the occasions of his patronage of the playhouse, eager, spontaneous, and perhaps surreptitious, in years gone by. For himself he will be inclined to account for the change—which he cannot but admit—by deciding that he has grown more critical, that he looks for more and is thus more easily disappointed. It is probable, however, that if he were either more candid or more experienced in introspection he would find that it is not so much his criticism which has grown more keen, but his taste which has become dulled. His faculty of appreciation has, so far as the theatre is concerned, dwindled away; and if he could now witness the self-same performances which gave him such pleasure *se puero* he would be as surprised as any one to discover how little delight—save perchance that of old association—he was able to derive from this veritable revival.

Be its origin, however, what it may, it is certain that the attitude of the oft-quoted *laudator temporis acti* is one which is apt to provoke a vigorous reaction on the part of those who, from a younger standpoint, discuss the doings of the theatres of to-day. Irritated by the constant comparisons drawn in disparagement of the only dramatic art which their age allows them to enjoy, they are inclined to rush in retaliation into exaggerated expression of the contrary opinion. They will write and speak of the popular stars of the hour as though their brilliancy must certainly be greater than that of the stars which have waned and disappeared, save from the memory of those who beheld them. They fancy that their favourite players are always making discoveries in their art, are doing what none had done before them, and are making for themselves names in the future adequate to their current reputation. The reaction is natural, nor is it wholly to be regretted, though of necessity it leads not unfrequently to estimates which are erroneous in themselves and misleading in their consequences. At the present moment the tendency is fortunately able to work less mischief than would often be the case, since a survey of the theatres shows that we have just now fair reason to congratulate ourselves, even if we take the highest available criterion by which to judge the chief current productions.

We may rightly be proud of possessing in the Lyceum a theatre which, thanks in great measure to the talents of Mr. Irving, has become the chief home of what is popularly called the legitimate drama. We may rightly be proud of possessing companies able to combine in the representation of modern comedy the finish and force characteristic of the interpretation of "Peril" at the Prince of Wales's, and "New Men and Old Acres" at the Court. There is little on the French stage to surpass in culture and in dramatic intelligence such fine all-round performances as are these; and it is surely a satisfactory indication of the soundness of public taste that we find these three theatres making the striking pecuniary successes of the

the ranks, is one which those who are responsible for the Army Estimates are naturally unwilling to face. It would result in a kind of State education for boys who would be capable in civil life of partially providing for themselves, and consequently the advantages that would arise from this source of supply, and the probable saving of expense in other departments of the service, remain to be proved by those who advocate the scheme.

Perhaps the most exhaustive arguments in its favour are those that were elicited by a paper read by Mr. Macgregor at the United Service Institution, when the subject was fully discussed, and many valuable opinions were called forth. It was urged that, if encouragement were given, a very large number of boys would be ready to volunteer for service in the army, five thousand annually being mentioned as a probable estimate. The formation of training establishments connected with the army was advocated, where discipline would be inculcated, and, in addition to drill, trades would be taught—such as tailoring, shoemaking, and the artificers' work required from pioneers. Some objection was made to calling these establishments schools, lest the boys, who might at fifteen or fifteen and a half be dismissed from the industrial or parish schools, should be unwilling to subject themselves to what they might conceive to be a similar system of discipline. It was proposed that the organization should be a military one, and that the lads should either be collected in suitable and separate buildings, or be attached as companies to the depot centres, being treated, so far as might be possible, as soldiers. By this means it was hoped that, at an age suitable for entering the ranks, which might be seventeen and a half or eighteen, the young men could with very little extra drill be received as trained soldiers, ready at all events for home service. To afford security that they would enlist into the army, and so give a *quid pro quo* for their education, they would be required to engage for military service when they entered the training establishments. The alleged advantages of this scheme were that it would ensure a constant supply of men to the ranks, forming no mean proportion of the annual number required; whilst the knowledge of the physical and moral qualities of the youths by those in charge of them would enable them to detect unfitness for a military career before enlistment, and the habits of order and discipline which would prevent the feeling of irksomeness consequent on the necessary restraints to which soldiers are subject, would, it was contended, tend to diminish the percentage of desertions. As regards expense, the cost of the training establishments was to be counterbalanced by the advantage of obtaining a superior class of recruits, by a diminished outlay on the recruiting service, and by the fewer number of desertions, with the serious losses in various ways which these entail on the country. The success of a somewhat similar scheme for manning the navy and the mercantile marine was urged as practical proof of its feasibility, although it was allowed that sea service, which finds places for boys more readily than the army, affords a somewhat more suitable field of experiment.

Such is the general outline of the scheme, and to appreciate it in its various bearings, the difference between this mode of training men for the ranks and the plan of providing for the education of musicians, drummers, and other boys who are permitted to be borne on the roll of regiments, ought to be clearly kept in view. The number of the latter is of course very small, and any increase would take away from the strength of the army, as it is obvious that the substitution of boys for men would diminish its efficiency. The scheme under consideration proposes to train youths for soldiers, and to hand them over to the colonels fit for their places in the ranks. The difficulties are, first, the expense, especially if the whole number were to be included in the army estimates, and thus to provoke criticism and excite discontent. But if a portion of the cost could be fairly borne by some other department, and form part of the sum allotted to education, this difficulty might be diminished; whilst the country would benefit indirectly by the education and supervision of lads who are often discharged from school at an age when restraint is more than ever required, and who subsequently swell the numbers of the idle and dangerous classes. Another difficulty which has been put forward arises from the supposed unwillingness of parents and guardians to permit those under their charge to become soldiers, and possibly the distaste of the boys themselves for a military life. The removal of the prejudice which is felt against soldiering by the artisan and labouring classes may perhaps be a work of some little time; but as the recent changes in the army are more and more appreciated, and as the value attaching to the discipline and education of men who, enlisting for only six years, re-enter civil life in the prime of manhood, comes to be understood—which it soon will be through the situations easily obtained by good soldiers—the feeling that a boy who enlists is a son to be grieved over will gradually disappear. If in the Government and parochial schools pains are taken to put before the boys the advantages offered by a soldier's career, and at the same time to stimulate an honest ambition by military history and anecdotes, a taste for the army will gradually be developed. This taste will be promoted by the drill which is practised in most of the larger schools, especially if care is taken to make proficiency a matter of emulation under a system of inspection by properly qualified officers. In fact, as Mr. Macgregor points out, the proper persons to recruit for the army should be those who have charge of the education of the country, and those who voluntarily devote much of their time to military work. If clergymen, schoolmasters, and the Volunteer officers of the country districts could

be induced to throw their influence into the scale, the recruiting-sergeant would be little needed.

The scheme would at first be tentative; possibly some use might be made of the two educational establishments now connected with the army, the Duke of York's and the Hibernian schools, as, in consequence of the short-service system, there will soon be but few sons of soldiers who under the present regulations will be eligible for admission to them. The proposal to attach companies of boys to the depôts of the regular and militia battalions, and then to train them for the two years that would intervene before they would join the ranks, presents considerable difficulties. The boys would have to be kept apart from the troops, and the same system which would be suitable to the disciplining of soldiers would not be well adapted for lads of sixteen. In addition to duty which would only occupy a small part of the day, and to the ordinary schooling which would have to be kept up, education in trades which would afterwards be useful in the regiments would be carried out. There is a constant demand for tailors, shoemakers, and artificers to act as pioneers, and this demand might easily be supplied by the young men trained at these schools. There is also some difficulty, owing to short service, in procuring a supply of non-commissioned officers—a position to which well-trained lads, carefully educated in all that pertains to a military career, might reasonably aspire. The question whether the utility of the scheme would compensate for the cost is the main point at issue; but, seeing the difficulty of procuring recruits of a proper stamp, and the necessity of warding off forced service as long as possible, few will deny that it merits careful consideration, and, if possible, a fair trial on such a scale as would not necessitate any large outlay of money.

RICHARD III. AT THE LYCEUM.

THE production of *Richard III.* last Monday had a double interest in its being, as far as we know, the first restoration to the stage of the original text since the days of Burbage, and the occasion of Mr. Irving's appearance in a part for which his powers have always seemed eminently fitted. The advertisement of the play announces "strictly the original text, without interpolation, but simply with such omissions and transpositions as have been found essential for dramatic representation." Amongst the omissions of things that might be well restored are certain lines of Richard's in the tent scene, which may be spoken of more particularly in discussing that scene; amongst the transpositions may be included the turning Rivers, Vaughan, and Grey into "three gentlemen in one" under the name of Rivers; the ingenious, but somewhat confusing, tagging together of odds and ends of lines from other scenes to announce the King's death in the second act; and the assigning the speeches of the Second to the First Murderer; while certain speeches which have been retained might perhaps as well have been left out. But it would be ungracious to carp at a thing which has on the whole been done with most praiseworthy care and skill. We may, however, suggest that for the record of Mr. Irving's success in Dublin printed on the back of the playbills there might be substituted some account of the manner in which the play has been arranged for the stage, or even a slight historical sketch of the period.

The attention of the spectator is naturally centred on Richard, although it must be said that the general performance of the other characters is to be commended; and it may be well first to give some general impression of Mr. Irving's performance. There is an interesting paper in the *Dramatic Magazine* for August 1830 on the "Genius and Acting of Kean," in which occurs this passage:—"We now proceed to Mr. Kean's Richard. . . . which, though bitterly satirical, crafty, and heroic, is neither the Richard of Shakespeare, Cibber, or the Richard of history; for Gloster, instead of being morose, snarling, and dissatisfied, as Kean represents him, abounded in vivacity and humour. . . . He can smile and murder while he smiles, not so much hypocritically as from the pure love of the sport; indeed, he cannot murder without a smile, as he cuts a joke upon all his deeds of blood; and such is the sprightliness of his disposition that even his own deformity, the contemplation of which is the only thing capable of disturbing the self-complacency of his thoughts, often excites merriment. . . . Gloster, to those who did not know him, must have appeared one of the most delightful persons imaginable." In comparing this writer's account of Kean with Hazlitt's, it would seem that it is somewhat overcharged; for, although Hazlitt complains of Kean's being too ostentatious a hypocrite, too intelligible a villain, he speaks also of his giving at times too great an air of "tiptoe elevation" to the part. The writer in the *Dramatic Magazine* goes on to say that, according to all accounts, Garrick's Richard was highly lively and humorous. "Mathews some years ago spoke the opening soliloquy in the manner he had seen Tate Wilkinson give his imitation of Garrick. The lines were not growled out in a snappish dissatisfied tone and manner, but with a cheerful and highly animated look and an exulting spirit, not as if the clouds he mentioned were buried (instead of in the ocean) in the dark bosom of the speaker." Mr. Irving has clearly seized the humorous side of the character here spoken of; and he has also avoided all ostentation of hypocrisy and villainy; it is possible to think of his Richard as of a man who seemed to mere acquaintances "one of the most delightful persons imaginable." At times he misses something of the natural gaiety and high spirits of the character; and

at others, notably in the tent scene, he seems to attach more importance to the stings of conscience than so bold and light-hearted a villain as Richard was likely to do. But by doing this he gains something in dramatic effect of light and shade; and throughout, in the sarcastic passages of the play he is admirable. The opening soliloquy was in some respects better spoken on the first night than it has been on a later occasion when the actor discovered something of a tendency to sluggish and monotonous utterance which has marred some of his other performances. His action and look as he speaks of grim-visaged war capering "to the lascivious pleasing of a lute" are admirable in their mocking scorn, and the change of tone as he dwells upon his own deformity is highly effective, although there is perhaps too much savagery in his rage as he sums up his grievances against nature. It would be more in accordance with our notion of Richard's talent for turning everything to his own amusement and profit if here he took the same tone of humorous triumph that he does after his courtship of Lady Anne, or of wicked mirth that possesses him as he tells how he has got Clarence mewed up, "about a prophecy which says that G. Of Edward's heirs the murderer shall be." Another change of tone and look which is, we think, better considered, is adopted after Clarence goes out. The way in which the smile of affection and the caressing voice gradually give way to the expression of triumphant hatred is admirably natural; in such touches as this Mr. Irving's power of grasping the dramatist's meaning and giving it apparently spontaneous expression comes out better than in speeches which appeal more directly by their violence to an audience, but in which Mr. Irving is apt, in the momentary excitement, to lose control over his resources. From many instances of the actor's brilliant interpretation of suddenly changing emotion may be selected the transition from the smooth villany of his courtship to the harsh tone of command in which he cries "Take up the corpse, Sirs."

The scene of the courtship is one that presents unusual difficulties to an actor; the rapidity with which Lady Anne's repugnance is overcome is so great as to be almost incomprehensible; and it is Mr. Irving's merit that, by his admirable assumption of adulation, and of penitent, humble looks through which one can scarce discern a gleam of expectant victory, he makes the scene seem probable. But for its success Miss Isabel Bateman is no less to be praised than Mr. Irving; without her skilful representation of the graceful weakness which made Lady Anne fall a prey to Gloster's seductive tongue, all Richard's plausibility might fail to make one accept the incident as natural. There is a strange reading here adopted, which does not strike one as happy. The line "Out of my sight! thou dost infect mine eyes," is delivered, not as an expression of repulsion, but as if Lady Anne already felt herself giving way to Richard's arts, and feared to fall completely within his power. This is in contradiction to the stage direction—"She looks at him scornfully"—which comes twenty lines later, and jars somewhat with the otherwise well-managed gradual progress of the scene. Another point to which Miss Isabel Bateman might give attention is that swords, unless they are rapiers, generally have sharp edges; and that Lady Anne, if she had grasped the blade of Richard's sword in her closed hand, would probably have cut her fingers. As a matter of history, Lady Anne's marriage with Gloster is easily explained by the fact that she was hiding, disguised as a cook-maid, from Clarence, who was married to her eldest sister, and wanted the whole Warwick estates for himself. Richard, it may be observed, was only twenty when he wooed her, and it is interesting to find that, on the death of his son by her, at the age of ten, he, according to an old chronicler, "run almost mad."

The third scene of the first act in Shakspeare becomes the first of the second act in the Lyceum arrangement, according to which Queen Margaret is introduced, not perhaps very wisely, to do her cursing. Miss Bateman deserves credit for having, in the interest of the drama, disfigured herself with grey tangled hair and hollow cheeks, and for delivering her speeches with much vigour. Unfortunately the vigour is not of the right kind; to render desirable the spectacle of a half-mad woman cursing and swearing at every one a fiery passion is wanted, which Miss Bateman, who has great dramatic qualities in other directions, does not apparently possess. As a result the scene is, as far as Queen Margaret is concerned, painful without being impressive, and its interest is derived from the byplay of Mr. Irving, to which our only objection is that he seems too much impressed by Margaret's threats of the torments of remorse and retribution to his deformity. The scene following this, of Clarence's murder, is retained, and there is some force in Mr. Bentley's delivery of the dream. His elocution, however, is marred to a great extent by such gurglings and gaspings in the throat between his words as might come from him if he were in truth drowning; and his attitudes are assumed with too obvious an intention. There is an excellent grimace of humour in Mr. Mead's Murderer.

From this we must pass to the third act, in the first scene of which may be noted Mr. Irving's extremely plausible gentleness and confidence to the children, his well-imagined byplay with his dagger while Buckingham and Catesby talk, and the sudden fierceness of "Chop off his head, man; somewhat we will do," in answer to Buckingham, giving place to a persuasive promise of an earldom when he sees that he has somewhat shocked his questioner. The scenes within the Tower and at Baynard's Castle in this act are run together, which makes the action a little sudden, but it might have been difficult to find any other way of compressing the act into reasonable limits; here Mr. Irving's smooth and cheerful

aspect and his subsequent passionate denunciation of Hastings are alike good, and his reluctant acceptance of the crown is the essence of wily dissimulation; his look of fiendish exultation at Buckingham as the curtain falls, while his face is hidden from the rest by a Prayer-book, is especially fine. The well-known contemptuous rejection of Buckingham's suit in the next act is given with what seems to us the just interpretation. Richard's voice takes a harsh, insulting tone as he asks, "Well, what's o'clock?" and "I am not in the vein" is given with a bitter, mocking accent which we must prefer to the "stiffed hatred and cold contempt" which Hazlitt thought should belong to the words.

In the scene on Tower Hill the actor is perhaps less successful than he has been up to that time, partly because the demand of her daughter's hand from Elizabeth is little more than a repetition of the courtship of Lady Anne. And here he seems to make a mistake in treating the answer to her, "You mock me, madam; this is not the way to win your daughter," as if it were the expression of petulant anger. It should rather, we conceive, be given in the same tone of insinuating submission that marks the rest of the scene. The end of this scene is spirited and bustling, and more in consonance with the daring restlessness of Gloster's character than the extreme depression which Mr. Irving gives to him in the tent-scene in the last act. It is true that he says himself that he has not "that alacrity of spirit nor cheer of mind" that he was wont to have; but this is surely a momentary feeling, which he would banish quickly, and carefully conceal from those about him. Mr. Irving's Richard, however, remains anxious and depressed; paces about moodily, looks slowly and shiveringly out into the night, and seems to dread lying down to sleep. When he wakes from the visions that haunt him, he seems still too much overcome by terror. The actor, to bring the speech at this point within his own conception of Richard's mood, and be able to dwell only on the terror of awakened conscience, has omitted the line "Fool, of thyself speak well; fool, do not flatter," and has also stopped short at "if I die, no soul will pity me," leaving out "Nay, wherefore should they, since that I myself find in myself no pity to myself?" Mr. Irving is, we think, wrong in his conception of the scene, and is certainly not justified in cutting the text to suit it. Mr. Irving has, however, the excuse that the Richard of history, according to Sir Thomas More, was before Bosworth in a terrible state of agitation, confusion, and dread. "He never had quiet in his mind; never thought himself sure; when he went abroad his eyes whirled about; his hand was on his dagger. . . . he took ill-rest at night; rather slumbered than slept; troubled with frightful dreams; sometimes started up and ran about his chamber; so was his restless heart continually tossed and tumbled." Nevertheless it seems to us that Mr. Irving is mistaken in the idea which makes him, when Ratcliff enters, speak of his fearful dream as if he were still trembling under its influence; he would surely by that time have shaken it off, and begun to laugh at it. The bustle and animation of the last scenes are well conceived; but their execution is spoiled by the terrible indistinctness of the actor's speech as he grows more excited—a fatal fault, of which it is necessary before all things that Mr. Irving should cure himself. His death is finely imagined; he seems, as it is reported Kean did, to fight with the mere power of his will after his physical strength is exhausted; beaten down to his knees, he tears with his teeth at the sword that kills him, and when Richmond has left him dying, he still raises himself again to his knees, and glaring frantically at the advancing foe seems to struggle moment by moment with the death that presently beats him down.

On the whole, Mr. Irving's is a performance full of fine and fiery qualities, which it is to be hoped will not encounter the risk of being ruined by the senseless custom of long runs. No actor can night after night play such a fatiguing part as Richard III. without injury to himself and his art. When Kean was announced for a third representation of the part, even after the rest of a Sunday night, cries of 'No! no!' from every part of the house testified the sense entertained by the audience of the impropriety of requiring the repetition (so soon) of this extraordinary effort." It remains to add that the play is extremely well mounted at the Lyceum, and that none of the actors of smaller parts need be blamed, while in some cases, notably in that of Mr. Beaumont's King and Mr. Brooke's Richmond, there is special merit.

REVIEWS.

WYATT'S HISTORY OF PRUSSIA.*

REVIEWERS are at times accused of want of fairness in trusting too much to first impressions; but Captain Wyatt, we must confess, has tried us hard. He has chosen a theme not less seasonable than interesting; nor is it necessary to appeal to the authority of her present Sovereign's explicit declaration in support of the fact that the history of Prussia is to a great extent that of her army. Captain Wyatt's title-page is therefore full of promise, and one willingly takes for granted his professional qualifications for that part of his task to which he promises to

* *The History of Prussia: from the Earliest Times to the Present Day; tracing the Origin and Development of her Military Organization.* By Captain W. J. Wyatt. Vols. I. and II. (700—1390; 1390—1525). Longmans, Green, & Co. 1876.

The Round Table.

SIR HENRY IRVING'S RICHARD III.

BY SIR EDWARD RUSSELL.

IF the affairs of the nation could be directed with full intelligence, one theatre at least, managed as the Lyceum Theatre is now managed, would be subsidised by the State. The difficulties are obvious and the idea is Utopian, but one cannot help wishing that the difficulties could be overcome and that the thing were practicable. The production of standard masterpieces is an onerous, costly, and risky undertaking. Yet who can deny that it is of the first importance? The Lyceum management has incited the managements of the Haymarket Theatre and the St. James's Theatre to worthy emulation, and it is an open secret that a new Hamlet is likely to challenge public judgment at the first opportunity in the person of Mr. George Alexander, whom everyone will wish good speed in the undertaking. But in view of the changes—perhaps one might say the degradations—of public taste, there is an unpleasant feeling that production of standard plays is attributable rather to managerial enthusiasm than to public demand; and that the supply of entertainment of this highest class is always liable to cease. Up to now, however, there has been no such cessation of it as even the most exactly intellectual playgoers can complain of, and the latest Shaksperian revival was so splendid alike in decoration and in acting that it might well create a renewed and emphatic public desire for the multiplication of such triumphs.

Richard III. was first played by Sir Henry Irving about twenty years ago, and his conception of the part was distinguished by brilliant and, till then, unrealised truth. In the old Richards there was too much of Richardson's show. Before Garrick's time the performances of the character were stilted in a manner then thought classical. From Garrick's time they were melodramatic. There was no very valid objection to this, because the play is melodramatic. There is in it, besides other melodramatic traits, which were much aggravated by Colley Cibber's telling,

tags, that compression of action which excludes the visible gradual operation of motive; so that when Princess Anne is induced in a brief and terse dialogue to marry the murderer whom she hates, the effect even in reading is that dramatic probability has been melodramatically disregarded; and similar excuses for a merely melodramatic rendering of Richard abound throughout the play. Nor need the melodramatic style of the pre-*Irving Richards* be exaggerated, though their comedy was meagre and artificial. *Charles Kean* and *Barry Sullivan* had their sardonic moments. But it was left for *Irving* to present a vivid and convincing picture of a villain almost entirely made up of humour—so humorous that cruelty is a sincere amusement to him—a royal rascal compounded of humour, magnetism, cruelty, and mimetic power. This is the true *Richard Crookback* of *Shakspeare*. Looking back over *Sir Henry Irving's* career, it is an extraordinary record that he has up to the utmost tidemark of modern thought satisfied the world with entirely new and entirely true "creations" of *Hamlet*, *Shylock*, and *Richard*. For our own part we would confidently add *Macbeth*, and as confidently declare that his *Othello* surprised the candid by wonderful and corrective new lights on the character of the Moor; but we admit that as yet we are in a minority on these points. As to the *Richard*, there is no difference of opinion.

Of course, there must be something gruesome about such a personage and his doings. But we have to accept the theory of the chronicler and the dramatist that, though *Richard's* remorseless character was pretty well known, he got his way and held his own until *Richmond* beat him in the field. The cue of explanation is given in the opening soliloquy, where *Irving* buoyantly expresses in the sunshine and with a sunny face the villainy which he means to practise, and on that cue—the cue of humorous enjoyment—he acts throughout, as cajolment, treachery, malignity, and barbarous cruelty alternate in horrible yet curiously entertaining variety. To follow the character through the splendidly and truthfully represented historic scenes of the play is of course impossible, and only by seeing the representation can any idea of its supple and elastic and drastic humour be got—only thus, moreover, can it be realised how this humour, never mere antic or out of the classic key, strengthens the play and raises it towards the higher drama to which its diction belongs. But we shall mention three illustrative points. All playgoers of any standing can remember the mechanical manner in which the proposal scene with the *Lady Anne* used to be performed. The spectator had to take all for granted and to look on at a see-saw of hate and condonation in which it was

impossible to believe. Sir Henry Irving makes the scene almost entirely credible. At all events, his amusement at the situation, his powerful and winning predominance, make it impossible wholly to disbelieve in the effect that is being produced. The thought that there may have been such a man, and that he was capable of such an achievement, gets into the half-amused, half-horrified mind, and cannot be dislodged. Then, observe how a scene with which Richard has comparatively little to do is lit up by Irving's humorous conception. The old Richards in the Court scene, where so many of the illustrious wrangle, vapoured about and strutted and worked their eyebrows and hoisted their humps and displayed their knotted legs and forced themselves into prominence. Irving sits thoroughly enjoying the railings of his royal relatives at each other, and at the point where the discussion comes loudest and nearest and most offensive to him goes to a table and, hearing everything all the time, writes out a warrant of arrest. Our last point is one of contrast. Richard is alone in his tent the night before Bosworth. What has come to him? He walks the walk of an old man. He stoops. He almost totters. He moves heavily and feebly, and a helpless fretfulness seems unchecked to have infected his very gait. The reason? He is alone; much battered, much worried, at a troublesome crisis, and—nobody is looking. Thus in this shambling contrast there lives, as in the reverse of a medal, the full meaning of all the high-spirited, revelling devilry which he has kept up before the world. It is one of the greatest things in the impersonation, and we believe has never before been thought of. Old playgoers will perhaps miss more than they will care to confess the good old melodramatic points of Cibber; but they will perceive a rare elevation of the style and of the theme produced by returning to the text of Shakspeare under the illumination of one of the most wonderful pieces of acting of our, and probably of all, time.

A NOTE ON "MAKING UP."

BY ARTHUR WILLIAM A BECKETT.

WHEN it was announced that Sir Henry Irving intended to appear as Napoleon the Great, a feeling of curiosity was universally aroused. The public were accustomed to see our greatest actor in a variety of characters. The lessee of the Lyceum was an excellent Becket, a capital Louis XI., an ideal Charles I., ut all these impersonations permitted latitude as to height.

Richard III: Laurence Olivier's melodramatic baddie is seriously limp; Hunchbacked, conniving child-killer or slandered victim of Tudor propaganda? This 1955 film is an exaggeration of a distortion that gets us no closer to the truth

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<http://www.guardian.co.uk/theguardian>

Full Text:

Byline: Alex von Tunzelmann

Richard III (1955)

Director: Laurence Olivier

Entertainment grade: B+

History grade: D--

Richard III is one of the most notorious kings in English history. His popularity has revived since his long-lost remains were discovered beneath a Leicester car park in 2012.

Sources

The film opens with a subtle disclaimer:

Here now begins one of the most famous, and at the same time, the most infamous of the legends that are attached to the crown of England.

Can't say fairer than calling this a legend. Laurence Olivier recut and altered William Shakespeare's play, which had a distinct bias for the Tudors and against the Plantagenets. Shakespeare's sources included Raphael Holinshed's pro-Tudor Chronicles ; Thomas More's History of King Richard III, written when he was still very much a Tudor supporter; and the Anglica Historia of the historian Polydore Vergil, who had once been thrown into the Tower of London for annoying Henry VIII and therefore generally tried to keep the Tudors as sweet as possible.

The only one of these historians who was alive and in England during Richard's reign was More, who was seven years old at the time of the Battle of Bosworth Field -- though he is thought to have based his account on a first-hand story. There are, therefore, at least four layers of interpretation and wilful dramatic exaggeration standing between the real Richard III, and Laurence Olivier prancing about onscreen with a fake nose, rolling his Rs like there's no tomorrow and threatening to kill everyone.

Character

Having said that, Olivier's performance is terrific. It's far too camp and stagey for cinema, really, as are the luridly coloured costumes and absurdly clean and tidy "medieval" sets. But he is magnetic to watch as he delivers his scheming monologues straight to camera. It is impossible not to be reminded of Frank Underwood in House of Cards (or Francis Urquhart in the earlier BBC version).

Olivier's Richard is the charismatic antihero who, confiding directly in you as the viewer, makes you complicit in his plots and crimes. "I'll have her," he says casually of the widowed Anne Neville (Claire Bloom), "but I will not keep her long." Olivier changed Shakespeare's play so that Richard seduces Anne not at the coffin of her father-in-law, Henry VI, but at that of her husband, his son Edward. Historically, this is an approximately acceptable switch. Both men died in May 1471, though Edward was killed at the Battle of Tewkesbury and was buried at the abbey there.

Physicality

The real Richard's skeleton shows he suffered from scoliosis -- which made him short, but not especially misshapen. He is not thought to have walked with a limp. More's description of him, laced with Tudor contempt for the physically imperfect -- "little of stature, ill-fetured of limmes, croke-backed" -- informed the lines Shakespeare gives to Queen Margaret, who calls him a "poisonous bunch back'd toad" and a "bottled spider". Olivier has, if anything, toned this down. His Richard has only a mild limp, a withered hand and some quite subtle padding on the back, which just makes him seem stocky. Historians may nearly approve.

Crime

The biggest controversy of Richard's reign is the case of the princes in the Tower. These two boys -- 12-year-old King Edward V and his brother, nine-year-old Richard, Duke of York -- were taken to the inner apartments of the Tower of London after Richard's accession. They were never seen again after the summer of 1483. It cannot be said definitively that the princes were murdered, for no confirmed remains have been found. Two skeletons were found in the Tower in the 17th century, which may be their remains, but the Church of England refuses to allow DNA tests.

Was Richard an innocent man unjustly blamed for their deaths, or was his funeral last week -- complete with tearful crowds clutching white York roses, the Countess of Wessex and Benedict Cumberbatch (Richard's third cousin, 16 times removed, gasped divine-right fetishists) -- a tasteless glorification of a double child-murderer?

Shakespeare and Polly Toynbee also claim he murdered his wife, though historians are pretty convinced she died naturally of tuberculosis). Nor is he really thought to have contrived the deaths of her former husband, her father-in-law, or his own brother George, Duke of Clarence (John Gielgud). But the case of the princes in the Tower remains open -- and controversial.

Battle

Olivier chose to film the Battle of Bosworth Field in Spain, where the parched brown grass failed to resemble the green fields of Leicestershire. It's not one of cinema's great battle scenes, anyway. Dwarfed by the epic Spanish landscape, 500 extras simply could not pass for the 26,000 or so soldiers involved in the real thing. The film-makers win realism points for using real arrows, though this didn't work out well either. Olivier was trying to film an archer bringing down Richard's horse, which had been fitted with padding to protect it from injury. Unfortunately, Olivier moved as the archer took his shot -- and the arrow went straight through his leg. Apparently Oliver was such a pro that he made sure the scene was perfect before he submitted to the attentions of a doctor. Filming was not held up: Olivier had already been affecting that historically inaccurate limp on his left leg, and luckily that was the one that got injured.

Death

In the end, Richard is surrounded by Yorkists and hacked to death. There are several contemporary accounts of Richard's demise, but an autopsy on his skeleton showed 11 injuries, nine to the head. They were, according to analysis, consistent with the tradition that he forsook his horse and then died fighting a group of enemies.

So the film's ending has turned out to be historically feasible -- though Olivier milks it to the max, having the crowd pull back so he may perform his death-throes with unrestrained melodrama. Richard was then stripped naked and trussed like a hog, in a crude mockery of his emblem, the silver boar. Olivier spares Richard, and himself, the full force of this indignity.

Verdict

A fine adaptation of Shakespeare's brilliant but slanderous play. Richard did not commit most of the foul deeds here attributed to him -- though there may always be a question mark over his involvement in the disappearance of the princes in the Tower.

Alex von Tunzelmann

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'Richard III' Continues Peter Hall's Trilogy

BY JACQUES POUTEAU

STRATFORD - ON - AVON, England, Aug. 20 [Reuters]—Peter Hall's splendidly begun Shakespearean trilogy "The Wars of the Roses," continued tonight with its third and last part, "Richard III," which was given a triumphant reception at the Royal Shakespeare theater here.

A few weeks ago the first two parts—a skillful adaptation of the three Henry VI plays into two plays entitled "Henry VI" and "Edward IV"—painted in vivid strokes the bloody course of the struggle for power between the Houses of York and Lancaster.

• • •

In "Richard III," Hall has continued to present, with superb drive and clarity, the result of this struggle, and 32-year-old Ian Holm scored a great personal success in the title role.

The actor's portrayal of the murderous scion of the House of York as a Satanic comedian was clever, often impressive, but seldom spine-chilling and his end, conceived by Hall as a grotesque contrast to his paranoic outbursts, was an anticlimax.

On Bosworth field the famous cry "my kingdom for a horse" is but a whimper and in the fight with Richmond, the king becomes a tottering, squealing puppet in armor.

• • •

The actual death, with Richmond opening his vanquished adversary's visor to plunge a dagger in his throat, is one of Hall's most telling strokes of horror.

Richard's wooing of Lady Anne over the hearse of Henry VI has probably never been

more effectively done, the king's body being actually seen with blood pouring out of his lips as Richard touches it.

But the greatest moment of pure tragedy belongs to Dame Peggy Ashcroft in the cursing scene of Queen Margaret of Anjou, a part she plays throughout the trilogy.

Another beautiful performance was given by Charles Kay as Clarence and among the rest of a very strong cast, Tom Fleming stood out as Buckingham.

STAGE REVIEW

'Richard III' at Stratford

BY DAN SULLIVAN

Times Theater Critic

STRATFORD, Ont.—"Richard III" began the Stratford Festival 25 years ago. It was done in a circus tent and Tyrone Guthrie's production is fondly remembered here as a black circus, ending with the evil Richard (Alec Guinness) being hanged over the battlefield. One man who saw it thought that Guinness really was dead, and the festival too.

The silver anniversary production at the Festival Theater (Stratford has three theaters now) stars Brian Bedford. Bedford does not stand our hair on end. Neither does he treat his villainy as a jolly joke, the way Laurence Olivier did in the film of "Richard III." True, murdering one's way to the top has its lighter side. But it takes planning.

Bedford is still working it out in that first "Now is the winter of our discontent . . ." soliloquy. He might be an executive making a presentation to his board of directors. Given the parameters of the situation—the people he has got to get rid of, the temporary lull at court, his own capacity for action—is this the proper time to move?

Yes, Bedford decides. "I am determined to prove . . . a villain." No gloating. It's a business decision and one is inclined to congratulate him on how unemotionally he has thought it through. Capable man.

Bedford's Richard is also a very good actor. His victims don't sense danger because he looks like such a loser—pouchy, prissy, unkempt, vaguely depressed. The twisted back and the withered arm only add to the sense of futility

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'RICHARD III'

Continued from First Page

and impotence. He's a useful henchman, but not a force in his own right. Rather a bore, in fact.

Bedford's knowledge of the figure he doesn't cut is one of his greatest assets. He can blend with the furniture, playing poor-old-Richard-whom-nobody-likes. Or he can do something totally outrageous, such as make advances to the wife of the man he has just slain. Martha Henry is so shocked at Stratford to see this slug of a man suddenly daring this that she thinks it's sex; and Bedford's got her.

Driving toward the throne, Bedford knows exactly what mask to use when, and he is good about letting us in on his strategy. At the top, though, he loses touch.

The coronation scene—his magnificent red velvet robe by Daphne Dare harkens back to Tanya Moiseiwitsch's design for that first production—sees him falling into smugness, which in turn declines to discontent. Now it's downhill, a matter of defending himself against other knives. The part grows duller. "My kingdom for a horse!" has the adrenalin of battle behind it, but Richard is tired and ready to die. A loser after all.

Bedford doesn't give a vibrant performance, the kind an audience feels on its nerve ends. But he presents a penetrating study of a conniver finally caught in his own toils. Moreover, the flatness of it has a particularly modern ring, suggestive of computer frauds, stolen credit cards and bugged offices. It's not quite a Watergate "Richard III," but it tends that way. We understand its coldness very well.

Robin Phillips' production is slightly less contemporary. It's very much in the Stratford vein, full of candlelit processions, brave trumpets and costumes, particularly on the women, one is sure nobody ever wore. It is not stodgy. Quite the reverse: there's movement every minute. But the emphasis is a touch too much on glamor to be taken quite seriously. Margaret Tyzak's ranting as the savage Queen Margaret, for instance, would have been magnificent on its own. Given an echo mike, it becomes corny. Louis Applebaum's score suggests Kojak rather more than the Globe. "Richard" makes a brave show but a little less trim would have added credibility. Perhaps Bedford will try the part again in plainer surroundings.

Other shows on the Stratford Festival season this year include "Romeo and Juliet," "A Midsummer Night's Dream," "All's Well That Ends Well," "Ghosts," "Miss Julie," "The Guardsman" (the production that played the Ahmanson last season with Bedford and Maggie Smith) "Much Ado About Nothing," "As You Like It" and Noel Coward's "Hay Fever." The festival runs through Oct. 15. Box 520, Stratford, Ont. N5A6V2. 519-271-4040.

Royal Shakespeare's riveting 'Richard III'

Kevin Kelly Globe Staff

Boston Globe (1960-1986); May 30, 1985; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Boston Globe

pg. 37

Royal Shakespeare's riveting 'Richard III'

(The London theater scene right now is lively, with 40 theaters going strong in the West End and repertory at the Barbican by the Royal Shakespeare Company, plus new plays in two theaters at the National. There's work by Shakespeare, Pinter, Michael Frayn, Chekhov, Howard Brenton in collaboration with David Hare, Stephen Pollakoff, not to mention four Broadway musicals and Agatha Christie's "The Mousetrap," the latter in its 33rd consecutive year. The following review is the first in a series on the London stage.)

RICHARD III - Play by Shakespeare, directed by Bill Alexander, set by William Dudley, music by Guy Woolfenden, lighting by Leo Leibovitz, presented by the Royal Shakespeare Company, at the Barbican Center.

By Kevin Kelly
Globe Staff

LONDON - In the current Royal Shakespeare Company production of "Richard III" Antony

Sher plays Shakespeare's warped king as a quadruplegic

in a ballet class. If you find that startling you don't know the half of it. Pitched forward on two black, steel-cuffed crutches, Sher now and then dangles above Richard's revenge like a damaged puppet, his boneless feet a pair of forgotten slippers. But when rage is upon him, or when his malice lurches into sudden action, Sher suddenly flies high on his crutches, legs fluttering behind him in something like a reverse grand jeté, spine straining against his humpback until it seems he will splinter, and the image is extraordinary. Extraordinary, extracrutiating and exact.

Mesmerizing as this RSC production is, it's a lot more than an actor's wilful exercise. It permanently lays to rest the limping, lopsided, arm-withered cliché of Shakespeare's purest and most fascinating villain. In seeing him

as a weightless cripple capable of fleeting movement, Sher has brilliantly captured Richard's double-weighted soul. He's malice and merriment in one hot/cold breath, guile and sincerity, discipline and flight. Accosting Lady Anne, whose father, husband and king he has murdered, this Richard tantalizes her into marriage with hypocrisy fueled on eroticism. Lady Anne is trapped between his crutches and his calumny. Richard draws her to him with smirking grace. She can't take her eyes off him. Neither can we. And our case is almost as dangerous as hers. At any one moment he may rise on his iron wrists and vault with his crutches into the Barbican seat next to us, there to clasp his hand on our shoulder as he beseeches his evil into our heartfelt consideration. Antony Sher's Richard is not only magnificently repellent, he's original in thought, word, deed, action!

The RSC production around him is no less insightful.

Under the direction of Bill Alexander, Shakespeare's plot moves with steady hypnotic control. If Richard's malevolence is tangible, so is the helplessness in its path. Queen Margaret, widowed through Richard's assault on the throne, first appears off to one side as though suspended in a dream. She seems to speak out of Richard's memory as his conscience until it becomes ominous-



Antony Sher as Richard III and Penny Downie as Lady Anne

ly clear that she's the voice of torment and prophecy. Image after image rivets attention. Richard toys with the necessity of murdering the young sons of slain King Edward. The boys innocently play with his crutches which, now, reach forth like spider's tentacles. In the nightmare scene on Bosworth Field when Richard's victims appear before him, his misshapen shape is a shadow engulfing him, evil consuming evil.

Antony Sher occasionally cuts a mordant line in the manner of a stand-up comic. Again, the effect is devastating. What Sher magically has done is to make the blackness in Richard's soul gleam so that it almost blinds us. He takes such obvious delight in his

malice that we do, too, no matter the cost. His paralyzed body is capable of awesome feats (flying somersaults, bounding leaps, silent landings), and the warped grace is fair comment on all political ambition. Penny Downie is terrifying in the ease with which she agrees to Richard's proposal, the ease suggesting dark appetites of her own. There are strong performances from Roger Allam as Clarence, whose murder in the Tower is out of Hitchcock; Malcolm Storry as Buckingham; Christopher Ravenscroft as Richmond; Patricia Routledge as Queen Margaret. The ensemble performance is wonderful down to and including the eucationary, brat-boy roles of the unfortunate Princes. There is stunning music by Guy Woolfenden, lushly shadowed lighting by Leo Leibovitz, opulent costumes and scenery by William Dudley.

Nowhere is the dampness that falls over this "Richard III" more bone-chilling than the exultant Coronation Scene closing the RSC's first act. A brassy Gloria thunders through the theater, heavy with mass hysteria, as Richard and Anne parade swathed in blood-red silk. Already contaminated by Richard, Anne is sickly, death-faunting. They kneel side by side before the throne upstage. The silk robes are slipped from their shoulders for the blessing, revealing Richard's ridged hump. Anne's bird-like frailty. Then, as the Gloria crashes through Westminster, Richard, a shiny red insect on the floor, crawls spastically to the throne, clawing his way hand over hand. He hoists himself onto the dais exhausted but not yet satisfied, eyes glistening with horror, red silk dripping over his useless feet like a river of blood and, all the while, the chorus calls out Glory to God. The image stains the night. And the soul.

A full week's listing of activities, events and suggestions for leisure appears in today's Calendar magazine.

Stratford Keeps Its Kingly Standards: "The Royal Shakespeare Company ...

By MEL GUSSOW

New York Times (1923-Current file); Aug 12, 1984; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times

pg. H5

Theater

"The Royal Shakespeare Company seems to have a constant replenishment of talent. As actors move up in the company, newcomers assume their positions."

Stratford Keeps Its Kingly Standards

By MEL GUSSOW

The key to Antony Sher's daring performance as Richard III is a pair of crutches. Glistening like highly burnished ebony bones, the crutches become an extension of Richard's maimed physique and perverted psyche. Mr. Sher's Richard becomes stronger *because* of his incapacity; the crutches are a compensation, and he uses them to their utmost advantage. They make him the equivalent of a bionic king. He is as quick with his crutches as he is with his wit. They are his sword and battering ram, prod, whipsaw and vaulting pole. Powered by his crutches, he is a jet-propelled projectile, flying across the stage to pinion an opponent. Always in earnest, he can also be fiendishly playful, holding the crutches in front of his face and peering through them as if they form a fan. In every regard, they enlarge his opportunity for dastardy, and they serve as a twin scepter of office.

In performance, what could be considered simply an actor's choice — like a hat or a false nose — becomes a concept. Crutches define the character and the production. This is the most mobile and physically aggressive Richard within my memory; he is very much a man of action. In his hands, these supports are so integral to his performance that when Richard is unseated in battle, one almost expects him to cry not for a horse but for his crutches.

The Richard that Mr. Sher has created in collaboration with his director, Bill Alexander, is the centerpiece of a Stratford season that, for the most part — for better or for worse — buttresses theatrical tradition. The 1984 Henry V, Kenneth Bra-

nagh, is as heroic as Richard is villainous. As played by Ian McDiarmid, Shylock, in the weakest of the company's three Shakespearean productions, is an unsuccessful attempt at revivifying the stereotypical moneylender. On the company's second stage, the Other Place, Pam Gems offers a double dosage of the old coughing "Camille." However, Louise Page's "Golden Girls" — along with "Richard III," a work of persuasive merit — is a study of the changing and challenging role of women in sports.

Mr. Sher eschews any attempt to be charming. Savoring his own malice, he manipulates his way step by step to the top as if climbing a pyramid. For him, murder and marriage are equally justified political expedients. In this unabashed attempt at in-

carinating evil, Mr. Sher is monstrously convincing, a Richard that is guaranteed to cause others to cringe. Skittering across stage he resembles various venomous creatures — from spiders to vipers. The physicalization leads to an emotional identification. When he and Lady Anne are seen briefly with bare shoulders, he seems to have retained his hump. His eyes are also of enormous aid in evoking the spirit of Richard, darting feverishly with a madman's glint. As for his voice, it is a carefully modulated instrument with a vibrato of range and depth.

Necessarily, Mr. Sher carries the production on his back. Except for Malcolm Storry who emphasizes Buckingham as a political animal of a smoother stripe, Brian Blessed and a

few others, the actors are not contestants in Mr. Sher's court. The women, in particular, fade, and the dimmest is Penny Downie's Lady Anne. This limited support blurs the background but does not detract from Mr. Sher's brilliant impersonation.

Last year at Stratford, he played the Fool to Michael Gambon's Lear. They equally shared the stage and the play; Mr. Sher's Fool was a baggy pants vaudeville clown and kind of shadow king, with Mr. Gambon as his straight man. For Mr. Sher, "Richard III" is a further, Olympian leap.

As this season's ascendant star, Mr. Sher is one of several skillful new actors appearing to advantage on Stratford's two stages. The Royal Shakespeare Company seems to have a constant replenishment of talent. As actors move up in the company — or sideward to the National Theater — other newcomers assume their positions. This is also the summer of Mr. Branagh, making his Royal Shakespeare debut as Henry V, a king of youthful exuberance, monarchically speaking the very opposite of Richard III.

Introduced to West End audiences several seasons ago in the role of a Cambridge University student in "Another Country," he moves with assurance into the classic lineaments of the warrior king. As with "Richard," the production is not seamless; it is strong in court, less secure in the tavern. But Mr. Branagh is well outfitted to carry the kingly standard, whether it is spreading a little Harry in the night, thundering on the battlefield or wooing the discreet Princess of France. In a subtly unadorned production, Adrian Noble, the most consistently imaginative of the company's younger directors, has filled the stage with the white heat and fire of heroism.

At season's end, both Mr. Sher's Richard and Mr. Branagh's Henry will undoubtedly move to the R.S.C.'s London home in the Barbican Center, as other successful productions have done in the past. On the other hand, John Caird's production of "The Merchant of Venice" may have a future only at a Stratford equivalent of a tag sale. In this studiously eccentric stag-

Reg Wilson
Antony Sher in the title role of "Richard III"—the most mobile and physically aggressive Richard within memory

ing, the properties and scenery are the thing. The opulent design by Uitz turns Venice crimson-plush, festooning walls and floors with carpets and tapestries. Is Antonio a rug merchant of Venice? Introduced into these surroundings is a most bizarre conception of Portia's caskets, man-size urns that are swung on stage on hydraulic forklifts, like some futuristic battle instruments of the Jedi. Inside each is a prize, including a weird, life-size replica of Portia's face. Between lift-offs, the caskets linger in the air like astral dustbins.

Enter Shylock — Mr. McDiarmid, wearing a wizard's hat. He is an adenoidal crank, with a voice that wavers from Hebraic to Fu Manchu, the sort of all-purpose comic accent that was patented by Peter Sellers. For Shylock, however, the approach is absurd. The central performance is somewhat offset by Christopher Ravenscroft's ascetic Antonio and a Portia by Frances Tomelty that becomes increasingly commanding, but the production is best summed up by the Prince of Morocco's exclamation on opening the wrong casket: "O,

hell! What have we here?"

To my surprise, however, I found myself looking back with some affection on the quirky Stratford "Merchant" while enduring the Patrick Garland version of the play at the rival Chichester Festival. Except for Alec Guinness's straightforward Shylock, the Chichester production was inept, in stage design as well as acting. Even the caskets were piddling, looking like steam-table tureens. After two "Merchants," one felt surfeited by Shylocks. I preferred to remember the last two previous, admirable productions at Stratford, starring Patrick Stewart and David Suchet. Were Antony Sher to attempt the role, however, one would look forward to another Shylock.

While the main Royal Shakespeare stage is busy with Shakespeare, the Other Place has turned its attention to new plays by women dramatists — Miss Page's provocative "Golden Girls" and Miss Gems's superfluous revamping of Dumas's "Camille."

Miss Page's characters are relay
Continued on Page 18



Josette Simon in Louise Page's "Golden Girls" at the Other Place—explores the need for concord among team players

Donald Cooper

Stratford Keeps Its Kingly Standard

Continued from Page 5

racers, united in tandem, but with individual obsessions. Each is compelled to run for a different, interesting reason. These are amateurs seduced by professionalism, weighing their will to race against their need to succeed. Miss Page is the author of "Salonika," a prize-winning London play about the aftermath of war. Her new work is a further advancement. She does not allow it to become a case history, a romance (like Robert Towne's "Personal Best") or a polemic, but strikes for a deeper veracity. Insightfully, she investigates cross-currents of feminism, commercialism and racism, and also the need for concord among individuals engaged in team play.

There are plot contrivances as well as several intrusive subsidiary characters, including a nosy reporter and a washed-up male runner (played by Mr. Branagh). But the play has intelligence and momentum and it sprints

to a finish that makes dynamic use of the familiar device of strobe lighting. As concisely staged by Barry Kyle, the play benefits from a team of actresses who are adept at passing the acting baton. They look lithe and they act like runners. At the center is the stunning Josette Simon as a racer who compromises her own integrity and that of her peers.

On alternate evenings, Miss Simon can be seen as a member of Camille's demimonde team. Among other tasks, she has to loll on a salon floor, which in this barebones production by Ron Daniels is devoid of all covering. A spare Venetian rug by Ultz might lend an authenticity but the design is only one of many errant features. Lacking even a romantic impulse the play becomes a potboiler. One wonders what drew Miss Gems (the author of "Piaf") to the old story. Perhaps it was to try to uncover covert feminism in 19th-century France. In contrast, "Golden Girls" is vitally concerned with contemporary issues that are especially pertinent in this Olympic year. ■

Ian McKellen's Royal Monster

San Francisco Chronicle (CA) (Published as THE SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE) - August 21, 1992

- Author/Byline: Gerald Nachman, Chronicle Theater Critic
- Edition: FINAL
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- Page: C1

RATING: (POLITE APPLAUSE)

RICHARD III: Tragedy. By William Shakespeare. Presented by the Royal National Theatre of Great Britain. Starring Ian McKellen. Directed by Richard Eyre. (At the Curran Theatre. Through September 13.)

Ian McKellen, who delighted and dazzled American audiences in his 1987 tour de force, "Acting Shakespeare," is back with another interesting one-man show, called "Richard III."

This time, in the Shakespearean classic that opened Wednesday night at the Curran Theatre, Sir Ian surrounds himself with a large supporting cast from the Royal National Theatre of Great Britain on a six-city U.S. tour. Even when McKellen is offstage, his larger-than-life -- often larger than Shakespearean -- presence casts a looming shadow, and a luminous talent, over the play.

Make no mistake: This is a showy performance in the grand manner, often showier than necessary, at times upstaging the part if not the play, but the sort of thing one only reads about in stories of the glory days of Edmund Kean, Otis Skinner and Edwin Booth.

THE DEFORMED DUKE

As Shakespeare's most despicable heavy, the deformed Duke of Gloucester with his withered arm, McKellen -- heir to the theatrical throne of England once held by Olivier -- struts and frets his three hours and 15 minutes upon the Curran stage.

He snarls, he sputters, he bellows, he sneers, he twitches and, at one particularly juicy moment in a crazed oration to his soldiers at the Battle of Bosworth, McKellen foams at the mouth in his portrayal of a crazed military man on the brink of absolute power he has clawed his way to achieve.

As staged by the National Theatre's artistic director Richard Eyre, the production -- bathed in black in Act 1, with actors in black shirts, black tie and tails and thick black overcoats against a jet-black setting -- is updated to London in the 1930s with Richard a fascist general gone mad. Not quite Hitler or Mussolini or Mosby, but close, with armbands depicting the Cross of St. George in lieu of swastikas and quasi-goosestepping soldiers.

SMOKY ENTRANCE

Unlike Olivier's famous film version, in which Richard is a charming, cunning and self-justifying villain, McKellen presents a dastardly bully who, from the first moment he enters amid a monstrous rumble, a crowd roar and clouds of smoke, is clearly an ogre; so clearly, in fact, that you wonder how anyone could be taken in by him. No charming rogue he. Olivier was a "bottled spider," McKellen more a tarantula on the loose.

In the opening "winter of our discontent" speech, one of several soliloquies, McKellen bites off his words ("My queen is sick-k-k and like to die") with a menacing glint in his eye, but we almost don't hear the lines because the actor is busily displaying his vocal prowess, twisting words with too-obvious relish, snapping his head this way and that, squinting, grinning like a jack-o'-lantern, narrowing his eyes as he sucks on a cigaret and whistling in a grim warble.

McKellen italicizes nearly every gesture, look and blink. In this hammiest (and second longest, after "Hamlet") of Shakespearean roles, he goes to the very edge of caricature in a part already so melodramatic it seems more like some cackling evildoer out of "Batman." He's so blatantly nasty, it's funny, and, to be sure, McKellen wrings every ounce of mordant humor out of the lines, yet never seems truly, humanly, hateful.

MYSTIFYING MASK

McKellen is literally two-faced, with half his head shaved, creating an eerie if mystifying mask; from certain angles, it looks like a Mohawk, at other times like he's just undergone a frontal lobotomy.

He limps and has a damaged left arm ("a blasted sapling") he keeps clenched in pockets, as if clutching a shotgun, but this is no "Richard Crookback," no "bunchbacked toad" you need feel sorry for.

McKellen's Richard subtly uses his grotesqueries to intimidate his rivals, once even swinging his bad arm like a weapon; he limps with a vengeance. Yet it's hard to get a handle on what fuels his evil, well beyond mere ruthless ambition, why he takes such pleasure in his own evil. If he's simply berserk, as McKellen portrays him, it's an amusing spook show but not so intriguing dramatically.

MANIC PATTON

At times, he seems literally drunk with power, some manic General Patton lurching his way toward the throne, at other times totally nerveless, or just too deep in his own misdeeds and intrigues to turn back ("I am so far in blood that sin will pluck on sin"). Richard, goes one theory, uses his deformities as a rationale for his cruelty, his way of evening the score with God.

He brandishes his good arm with glee, as if to say he can any lick any man in the House of York or Lancaster with one arm tied. He wriggles into a black glove one-handedly, his hand twitching like Dr. Strangelove, and snuffs out candles with his fingers, a la Gordon Liddy.

CONFIDENT SWAGGER

McKellen's Richard wallows in his own villainy and lechery, wooing the widowed Lady Anne, whose husband he's just slain, with the confident swagger of a tyrant, embodying Henry Kissinger's phrase that "power is the ultimate aphrodisiac." McKellen's Richard is more interesting and flashy than effective, except as raw spectacle.

He takes what he wants without pondering consequences, brushing aside stabs of conscience and ghosts of the six people he's slain to gain a bloodied crown later lost to Richmond, a nobleman whose instant corruption is hinted at in a Nazi salute that closes the play ("The bloody dog is dead!").

In a grisly touch, when Hastings' head is delivered, in a water bucket marked "fire," McKellen fondly plays with a wisp of hair and dabs at the severed head as a look of sexual pleasure crosses his seamed face; it seems he's also a closet necrophilic.

FLINTY QUEEN ELIZABETH

Most of the fine if unmemorable RNT cast is swallowed up in McKellen's display of acting Shakespeare, although Charlotte Cornwell's flinty Queen Elizabeth, Antonia Pemberton's wailing Queen Margaret and Malcolm Sinclair's pathetic Clarence make themselves heard above the noise in various lamentations; when they meet to mourn their husbands' deaths, comparing woes, it turns into a kind of weep-off. Anastasia Hille's Lady Anne, Terence Rigby's Buckingham and others in the company tend to fade into the gilded woodwork.

At first, resetting the play in the '30s appears pointless, a stunt, of no time or place, but gradually the details fill in Eyre's grand scheme, simply but boldly carried out in Bob Crowley's scenic design:

A huge mural of "Third Reich" art depicting an idealized Richard with a white steed that unfurls; a wry group photo that captures the royal court in a posed shot of rare calm at a 30-foot-long table; a threatening throne that descends like a space module as if about to squash everyone below; a tall platform, pointedly reminiscent of political conventions, from which McKellen delivers two manic orations and accepts the crown in a superb display of creepy obsequiousness ("So many are my defects . . . I am unfit for state"), allowing himself to be talked into it; to me, it's his most effective, surely most subtle, moment.

BLEAK AND BLACK

Most of the scenes are performed on a bleak expanse of blackness dominated by four rows of harsh institutional lights -- a government office, a prison, a hospital, a train depot -- that cast glaring rays over the action and play nicely over McKellen's shadowy changeling face.

McKellen's Richard is a star turn, perhaps unavoidable in a part so theatrically oily that it's really a grand parody of villainy, a role that demands a virtuoso performance. In Ian McKellen, it surely gets one.

• Caption: PHOTOLan McKellen in the Royal National Theatre's production of 'Richard III': a relentless performance at the Curran

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Review of Richard III (directed by Michael Boyd) at the Courtyard Theatre, January 2007

Will Sharpe

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Review of *Richard III* (directed by Michael Boyd) at the Courtyard Theatre, January 2007

Will Sharpe

The first striking detail in the opening of Michael Boyd's *Richard III* occurs before a line of the play is spoken. We hear the sound of a child's voice through the tannoy instructing us to switch off our mobile phones. Whether intentional or not, this acts as a vivid and rather grim echo of the notorious double infanticide about to be narrated. The second, even more striking than the first, is that Richard (Jonathan Slinger) is not actually alone onstage. In a visual continuum from the ending of the company's *Henry VI Part 3*, Richard is still holding the swaddling clouts of the young Prince Edward as he enters, which he snaps unfurled like a conjurer whipping back the curtain. In a brilliant moment of theatrical sleight of hand, a child actor has quickly entered behind to appear as if by magic and become "this son of York". It throws the opening speech into a completely new relief; the boy can hear Richard and is sheepishly aware of us as Richard touts him as England's saviour. Thus, the dissimulation of the opening fourteen lines is for the benefit of an onstage character, and it is only when he is allowed to leave, at the "lascivious pleasing of a lute" line (1.1.13), that Richard can finally drop the front and engage with us, his confidantes, about his real plans.

The pseudo-medieval aesthetic of Boyd's *Henry VI* trilogy has been dropped in favour of a Cold War era fascist state zeitgeist. In accordance with the look of a nation that has decided to let the austere times roll, Catesby (Julius D'Silva), here a textbook KGB stooge, bespeaks Soviet-block poverty and 1970s fashion suicide in his cheap, polyester turtleneck and shapeless slacks, and his horn-rimmed Dame Edna glasses. The two identical goons Richard sends to dispatch Clarence impart the same sense of monochrome, state-sponsored dread in their lumpen suits and haircuts, and their synchronized voices. Richard is dressed in a black bomber jacket, black trousers, steel-toe-capped boots, and gloves, and looks like a council bin-man. He has also been made to appear more physically grotesque than the wig and fur-wearing psycho-dandy of the Henrys. His head has been completely

Correspondence to: Will Sharpe, The Shakespeare Institute, Church Street, Stratford-upon-Avon, Warwickshire CV37 6HP, UK. Email: willdotsharpe@yahoo.co.uk

shaved, and a huge, red birthmark slapped on to the side of it. In this production's previous incarnation (2000/1, which, incidentally, maintained the aesthetic through-line from the trilogy), Aidan McArdle, with his long black hair and strong facial bone structure, brought to the role a sort of Byronized handsomeness, with a nicely understated stoop and limp employed to conceal an otherwise unmistakably athletic frame. Slinger, on the other hand, cuts an altogether different figure: an awkward, plump, hairless waddler with a withered left flank, he looks unnervingly (and in keeping with the production's emphasis on sons) like an overgrown infant, an effect heightened in the foot-stamping petulance that his soliloquies can veer in and out of. There is nothing of the lover about this guy.

Which brings us on to the first real mistake of the evening: if Richard cannot be presented as plausibly handsome (which the text never suggests anyway), he must be plausibly charismatic (which it does), and the wooing of Anne, an almost risibly bad Hannah Barrie, feels wrongly handled from the start. He enters with a machinegun-toting duo of thugs to halt the funeral, clearing the stage of all other mourners by instructing his henchmen to "let them go". My ears bristled, sensing extra-textual interpolation (the first of several occasions), and all for the sake of an idea that the text cannot support here: that of Richard as tough guy only when hiding behind the strength of others. It strips the moment of its chance to wow us with his absurd self-confidence. The beauty of the scene on the page is that it offers levels for the master actor, who must try and improvise and adapt, or fail: he must go through belligerent authority, doe-eyed self-pity, unbounded personal charm, obsequious flattery, stichomythic bombardments to the senses, and, finally, draw the line in the sand with the prospect of a revenge killing. Slinger seems out of his depth here, keeping his distance, his body language shrunken and submissive, and his voice a barely audible whine. The production subscribes heavily to the fact that Richard is vulnerable to the charms and curses of women, which of course he is, but not this early on.

One understands that part of the problem is that he has been directed this way, but one also senses—a suspicion that becomes vindicated as more scenes unfold—that a lead role is an uncomfortable fit for Slinger. In his previous work for the RSC (Puck, Dromio of Syracuse, Bastard of Orleans/Richard Gloucester in the *Henry VI* trilogy) he has consistently shown a predisposition for slipping in from left-field, grabbing scenes by the throat and snatching them away from those whose staid discipline must be held if the play is to be steered home. You can see why Boyd thought he would be the perfect choice to carry this play, as Richard is apparently a scene stealer writ large, a lead role that baulks at restraint. One does not have to look too closely though to see that Richard's is a clear journey from devilishly comic master of ceremonies to ferociously resolute facer of death, via broken, loveless penitent. One cannot play the role on a single note and Boyd clearly knows this, forcing Slinger out of his comfort zone at every opportunity. The licensed mischief-maker is thus forced to don the mantle worn by those he has been upstaging throughout his career rise, and the result is a strange over-compensation, a Richard that does not seem to know what he wants to be. Comic flights are consistently dampened by evidence of mental damage,

with Richard always struggling for a sense of control. The obvious route for Slinger would be to go all out on his trademark sense of fun, and such insistent psychological justification, whether the result of directorial hedging or the actor's desire to be thought of as more than a one-trick pony, feels forced. Slinger also has the most active salivary glands I have ever seen in a person; he showered the stage, his clothing, and the faces of others so many times that it actually became difficult to determine whether or not this was a character choice. In any case, it heightened the sense of macabre tension during any of Richard's close-up interactions with other characters.

Boyd's *Henry VI* trilogy took generation as a central motif, frequently embodied in the figures of the Talbots (Keith Bartlett and Lex Shrapnel), who appeared as themselves in *Part I*, and as ghostly arbiters over the affairs of the living in *Parts II* and *III*, doubling as the son who has killed his father (and vice versa) in *Part III*. The idea is carried over into *Richard III*, with Bartlett and Shrapnel playing Stanley and Richmond, symbolically completing the cycle and making the spectral pariahs of the past the living redeemers of the present. The ghosts of the dead children do not stop there; Wela Fraser, who was Prince Edward in *Part III*, plays the Marquis of Dorset, and Margaret's rebuke to him at 1.3.255 is an arrestingly tearful and tender lullaby to the living image of her dead son (who is also present onstage in the form of a pile of bones she carries around with her). The ghosts of the princes also appear at the battle, and Richard is crowned by his father's ghost.

The highlight of the evening though comes in the dream sequence before the battle, something I do not imagine I will ever see realized with such inventive potency again. Richard "awakes" to find himself able-bodied and *sans* birthmark. Admittedly, he still does not seem a "marv'lous proper man" (1.2.241), with his outsized Y-fronts and chubby legs, but his fleeting sense of joy is truly moving. Suddenly, the procession of ghosts across the stage begins, and it is they who come to re-damage his body, as well as weaken his mind, in a series of brilliantly conceived parallels: Anne places a ring on his finger which withers up his left arm; Rivers and Grey (Geoffrey Streatfield and Chris McGill), who we had earlier seen being shot in the head, put a bullet in his leg, and Hastings (Tom Hodgkins), who was last seen having the Bishop of Ely's strawberries squashed into his face by Richard, squashes some of his own onto the side of Richard's head, putting the unsightly red scar-tissue right back where it was. It is an astonishing moment, and Richard now knows beyond doubt that he has made himself grotesque by the things that he has done.

The ensemble principles that made the *Henry*s such a triumph are not able to function in the same way here on account of the structural makeup of *Richard III* as a play about an individual, though it may equally be due to the fact that they are far less familiar plays. Slinger's partial failure to rise to the challenge also contributes to the sense of this production as a mildly disappointing final chapter to Boyd's grand saga, yet there is still much to take away from the evening. It is Boyd's taste for continual reinvention that makes it never less than thoroughly engaging, though the aesthetic redesign and rethinking of the central character make it feel, in the end, too much like over-reinvention.

Being Richard III

WAIKER, TIM . The Sunday Telegraph ; London (UK) [London (UK)]03 July 2011: 21.

[ProQuest document link](#)

ABSTRACT

Alas, the period seems unresolved: in the opening scenes, there is black and white film footage, apparently from wartime Britain, but some of the characters wear modern, open-necked shirts and earrings, which makes it feel a lot more present-day.

FULL TEXT

Richard III ***

Old Vic, London SE1 (0844 871 7628) to September 11

Being Shakespeare ***

Trafalgar Studios, London SW1 (0844 871 7632) to July 23

Given all that they have achieved in the film world - not least when they last collaborated on the Oscar-winning *American Beauty* - it is heartening that the London stage should still exert such a powerful hold on Kevin Spacey and Sam Mendes.

The actor and director have alighted on Richard III as they feel the story of the "deformed, unfinished" king - who is reviled by his people but determined to cling on to power at all costs - has a special resonance in these, the final days of Colonel Muammar Gaddafi.

Spacey, in the title role, sports sunglasses and full dress military uniform and looks very much like the "mad dog of the Middle East". It occurs to me how clever it would have been to transport the whole production to contemporary Libya.

Alas, the period seems unresolved: in the opening scenes, there is black and white film footage, apparently from wartime Britain, but some of the characters wear modern, open-necked shirts and earrings, which makes it feel a lot more present-day.

This is, however, a huge undertaking - the epic, sprawling production lasts almost four hours - and perhaps it's inevitable that it should always seem, in some respects, "unfinished" itself.

How churlish it would be not to acknowledge how well Spacey acquits himself in the title role: there is perhaps no greater test of an actor's craft, as well as of his stamina. He wears hi-tech callipers, a traditional hump, and, for the most part, an oily, ingratiating smile. I don't say his is the greatest Richard III I have ever seen - he has none of the inveigling, spidery menace that Antony Sher brought to the part in the ground-breaking production of 1984, for instance - but he communicates something of the banality of evil. Spacey's is a necessarily unshowy performance, but it is respectable and thoughtful none the less.

Mendes's direction is, similarly, efficient rather than inspirational. There are a number of beautifully realised scenes - I think, in particular, of the throne room lined with courtiers beating on drums as Richard heads towards his crown, and, too vain to use his stick, stumbles and falls.

I could, however, have done without the names of the major characters being highlighted in huge capitals above the stage - honestly, the Old Vic is a theatre, not a classroom for slow learners - and I didn't see the point, either, of casting women as the princes in the tower (Katherine Manners and Hannah Stokely).

Still, for all that, it works, and I have a hunch it will be a big success.

ALL THAT preening, lip-smacking, eyebrow-arching, posturing, winking, ruddy-faced, bequipped, gadzooks thespiness of Simon Callow always used to strike me, in its post-ironic way, as hugely entertaining.

Then, suddenly, watching him play Sir Toby Belch in Twelfth Night earlier this year, I started to feel nauseous. I can only attribute it to a surfeit of ham. Actors should, it's true, always be a bit larger than life, but they should still bear some resemblance to a life form.

Frankly, one's heart sank at the prospect of the old boy appearing in Being Shakespeare. The title alone made me shiver: most other actors would be content simply to appear in a play by the Bard, without actually metamorphosing into him.

In the event, this one-man show, directed by Tom Cairns and written by Jonathan Bate, is unexpectedly rather good. It shows how the tragedies and triumphs of the playwright's life inform his most eloquent and heartfelt writing.

But it is the little human touches that Callow invests his Shakespeare with - the understated look of sorrow on his face at the death of his 11-year-old son, for instance - which prove the most affecting. Callow is at his best these days when he is doing his least.

Credit: TIM WALKER

Illustration

Caption: Epic Kevin Spacey in Sam Mendes's 'Richard III'; AIASTAIR MUIR

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Kevin Spacey Is the Perfect 'Richard III'

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FULL TEXT

LONDON—Sam Mendes is candid about his reasons for wanting to direct "Richard III" for the final year of the Bridge Project, the touring collaboration between artistic director Kevin Spacey's Old Vic here and BAM in New York. "It was about finding a vehicle for Kevin," says Mr. Mendes, who had directed this early Shakespeare play 20 years earlier, but chose it for the star of "The Usual Suspects" and "Seven" because "I wanted him to access that truly dark part of himself again."

But there's a bonus. This production will be seen all over the world, from China to Greece and Turkey. Mr. Mendes points out that when you divorce the play from its historic moorings of the Wars of the Roses—by, for example, using Catherine Zuber's modern dress, Tom Piper's timeless sets and Paul Pyant's projections—"it becomes a piece less about monarchy" than "one of the first great portraits of a modern dictator."

As Simon Tisdall's program essay says, "It is not a long jump from the winter of discontent to the Arab spring."

But Mr. Spacey not only has Gaddafi, Mubarak, Saddam Hussein and the others to emulate, he has the memories of performances by (the Old Vic's own) Laurence Olivier, Ian McKellen and Antony Sher to contend with.

He succeeds. His hunchback and his twisted gait are so integrated into his character that you stop noticing them. He uses Richard's unusual soliloquies directed at the audience to build up a repertory of gestures—crooked smiles, raised eyebrows, for example—that bond with the audience. The logical follow-up is his full-face appearance on a big screen, where his subtle facial expressions compare favorably with our recollections of Lord Olivier's film version.

This means, unhappily, that less trouble has been taken with the rest of the cast—especially the American members, who seem unaware that much of the play is written in verse. Only Chuk Iwuji makes much impression, as the ingratiating, then desperate, dumped co-conspirator, the Duke of Buckingham. The playing of the four women characters is variable, although there is something to be said for Gemma Jones's Hippy-costumed, witchy Mad Margaret, as she reaches into her shoulder bag for a handful of dust to cast a spell on all the naughty besuited dukes, earls and lesser lords. No doubt the actors' delivery (and projection) will improve as the run continues, as it's obvious that Mr. Mendes has laid the foundations of a potentially great production.

Yet, there are already some wonderful effects—of which the best are the post-interval repetition (à la Rupert Goold's "Macbeth") of the play's great moment when Richard crowns himself; and the drumming.

Most of the actors play a great variety of drums, from tympani and bass, to African drums thumped with hands and fists. This ratchets up the exciting moments, including the battle scenes, until your heart thumps too. Though they may not speak the verse well, they've definitely got rhythm.

EARLY MODERN LITERARY STUDIES



***Richard III (Rickard III)*, presented by the Royal Dramatic Theatre, Stockholm, 29
May 2014**

Anna Swärdh
Karlstad University, Sweden
anna.swardh@kau.se

Directed by Stefan Larsson. Scenography: Rufus Didwizsus. With Jonas Karlsson (Richard, Duke of Gloucester/ Richard III), Rebecka Hemse (Lady Anne), Ingela Olsson (Elizabeth), Gunilla Nyroos (Margaret), Irene Lindh (Duchess of York), Björn Granath (Buckingham), Torkel Petersson (Clarence, Hastings, Young York, Lovell, Tyrrel, Messenger), Reuben Sallmander (Brakenbury, Edward IV, The Bishop, Catesby, Lord Cardinal), Danilo Bejarano (Rivers, Murderer, Messenger, Stanley, Lord Mayor, Richmond), Christopher Wagelin (Grey, Murderer, Messenger, Dorset, The Prince of Wales, Ratcliffe, Page boy).

By lucky chance, I queued up at just the right moment for returns for the Stockholm Royal Dramatic Theatre's Swedish language production of *Richard III*, sold out since it opened in February 2014. An excellent seat allowed me to enjoy a production that more than anything was an examination of performance, pretence, and acting. Already before the curtain rose, the game was on as Jonas Karlsson (Richard) sidled on stage, back towards audience, along the curtain, until he discovered us (and found himself discovered), thermos flask in hand. The hesitant stand-up show that followed gave us the first intimations about what was to come, with Karlsson hovering somewhere between acting himself—awkwardly small-talking with the audience, commenting on the coffee in the flask and what a nice Thursday evening it was, the last performance of the season—and slipping into the character of Richard, more and more attracted to the attention we gave him, returning for more when he had started to leave the stage, not quite able to give up his place in the spotlight. And Karlsson was already here in full command of the audience. This was only the first of many meta-theatrical references that kept breaking the illusion, drawing attention to the play as a play, and the actors as

players of parts. It was skilfully done, even if some of the moments risked stealing too much attention from whatever else was going on.

Another overt meta-theatrical moment that broke the illusion came early, when Henry VI's dead body started moving too soon, twice, and was told by Karlsson/Richard to keep lying for a little longer. This happened just before the wooing of Anne, and adversely affected this scene as the audience were not given time enough to re-focus and switch into a serious mood until much of the scene had been played out. Still, we had already understood that Anne (Rebecka Hemse) was distraught with grief to the point where her legs hardly supported her, and not capable of getting her defences up. A different but strong reminder of the theatrical situation was the constant presence on stage of the actors, who, when not involved in the action, took their places on simple black chairs on the turning section of the stage, slowly turning throughout the whole evening. At times they watched what went on in front of the turning stage, but sometimes they just sat, seemingly lost in their own thoughts. A brief text in the programme drew attention to a line in the play about the wheel of fortune, and the turning stage could, of course, represent that wheel. But the actors' movement between the raised turning section of the stage down onto the lower acting space was also a further comment on the uncertain line between fiction and reality, as the spaces for 'stage' and 'reality', or at least 'off-stage', seemed to have changed places.

As may be seen in the list of roles above, four of the actors took between five and seven parts each, yet another move that reminded us that we were in a theatre watching actors playing parts. The men all wore black trousers and white shirts, and most of the shifts from one character to another were made by simply changing voice and body language. For the young princes, the trouser legs were turned up. Hastings was played with glasses, providing another opportunity to break the illusion as the actor who played him, Torkel Petersson, also played Lovell and 'forgot' to remove the glasses when entering with Hastings's head in a bag. He noticed his mistake in a moment of stressed inter-collegial recognition that we were meant to see, and removed his glasses. One Swedish review complained that parts of the ensemble remained anonymous with this type of uniform modern dress, but surely that was intentional, the potential mixing up of actors as well as characters being on the one hand part of the play's exploration of performance, and on the other a comment on power and how we are all exchangeable before it. The women similarly all wore black, with one white dress for Anne's coronation, but still stood out against the multitude of interchangeable male characters. Margaret (Gunilla Nyroos) made the strongest impression in her long skirt and sturdy boots, reflecting her power and separating her from the younger women in elegant

dresses and high heels. To indicate a character's death, a film was projected onto an overhead screen where blood was poured over his or her head.

In this anatomy of acting, Richard was, hardly surprisingly, the shape-shifter par excellence. Karlsson's acting was subtle, understated, and therefore the more powerful and frightening in strong scenes where he flipped into a less controlled state. There was no hump, no twisted arm, but the actor was pale with hair combed back, a narrow jacket accentuating his thin frame. His pre-show stand-up act signalled a slippage between actor and part, but also the attraction to acting and skill at playing before and with an audience so central to Richard's character. A couple of early scenes may have indicated a personality disorder as Richard mimicked Clarence's gestures, adjusting his cuffs, buttoning already fastened buttons, as Clarence did the same, perhaps to gain the other man's confidence in more senses than one. In the reconciliation scene (2.1) Richard *became* Edward, or rather Edward's words, as he embodied the king's power, gesturing as if he, Richard, was giving the orders. Again, he mimicked in order to both flatter power, and to impersonate it, to take it on for himself and place himself on the same level as the king before the other characters. In the seduction scenes with Anne and Elizabeth—scenes that were played almost without any sexual tension—the cool, polished surface was maintained even in violent actions, as Richard twisted Anne's wrist or dragged Elizabeth across the floor. The result was chilling. Interestingly, Richard's brown jacket was the only garment in the production that was not black or white. This separated him from the rest of the group, perhaps indicating his outcast state, perhaps signalling that unlike the other characters, he was of a less clear-cut shade, prone to dissembling and shifts.

The programme was unusually clear in accounting for the inspiration behind the production, including bits of texts by Machiavelli on how it is better to be feared than loved and the importance of seeming and pretence; Jan Kott on the cycle or wheel of power built into the 'Grand Mechanism' of history, where the mechanism is stronger than the person who sets it spinning—another potential reference for the turning stage; Nicholas Brooke on Richard as an actor of a line of roles; and a text by Anders Olsson, professor of Comparative Literature at Stockholm University, on among other things René Girard's theory of mimetic desire and violence. All these texts are relevant for the play and for this production. The ending, however, could be taken to indicate a stop to the spinning of power, desire and pretence, as the lights went out after Richard's famous call for a horse and his face was projected overhead, blood pouring over him, before the curtain fell.

Critical History

Written in 1593, discussion of *Richard III* began as early as 1614 when Christopher Brooke wrote a long poem in response to the play. In the Restoration, Colley Cibber completes his adaptation of the play and discusses its reception in the early 18th century. By the mid-18th century, scholars wrote mostly on morality in the play and Richard as a character, while very little is said about other characters of the play. Emphasizing Richard's journey in the play, the fascination continued into the 19th century with Kemble's 1817 essay comparing the Richard to Macbeth for the first time. Later in the 19th century, the scholarly writing on the play is less prevalent with more focus on production reviews.

By the early 20th century, scholars turn their focus more to the historical sources Shakespeare used in his play. Many scholars painstakingly detail each instance of similarity between Hall, Holinshed, and More's works and the play. Towards the middle of the 20th century, scholars begin to use the play as a tool to explore Shakespeare's composition and comparing it to others including *Romeo and Juliet* and *Macbeth*. By the 1960s, criticism becomes much more detailed, characterized by close readings of small parts of the play to illustrate larger issues of political commentary and English dramatic tradition.

In the 1970s and 1980s, scholars become more interested in applying psychology to the text including Richard and the audience reception of the character. In 1998, Hodgdon puts the play in conversation with many contemporary scholars and the rising discourse of performance studies. The discourse around the play begins to become more rooted in semiotics and the construction of the Richard myth. Scholars in the 21st century begin turning their attention to the women characters of the play and discussing the potential for the play's subversion in the Early Modern period. The discovery of Richard's remains in a car park in Leicester in 2012 has reignited an interest in Richard as a character and the play's historiography. Recent articles continue to discuss the function of the women characters and how they reflect attitudes toward women in Early Modern England.

The following is a selected list of important and relevant articles to this production.

17th Century – Richard Becomes Popular

1614 – Christopher Brooke, *The Ghost of Richard the Thirde*

While this is not a critical article in the contemporary sense (it is written in verse as a poem) it is the earliest example of writing about Richard in response to Shakespeare's play. Brooke divides his poem into three parts: The Character, the Legend, and the Tragedy.

1700 – Colley Cibber, Preface to *Richard III*

Colley Cibber adapted the play making heavy alterations. In his Preface, he discusses that the play was originally rejected by the censors because the death of Henry VI would remind the audience of the late King James. Therefore, he cut the Act I entirely. Cibber also states that he left all of Shakespeare's lines in italics so as not to take credit for the masterful language that was not his.

18th Century – Morality and Character

1748 – John Upton, *Critical Observations on Shakespeare*

Very critical of the play, John Upton finds Richard an unsuitable character for the stage based on his complete lack of morals. Only worse than Richard, in Upton's opinion, is Shylock.

1775 – Mrs. Griffith, *The Morality of Shakespeare's Drama Illustrated*

Mrs. Griffith's book goes through each Shakespeare play, scene by scene, discussing the morality of the characters and narrative. Mrs. Griffith discusses conscience and alteration of historical facts. She finds the women characters in this play "unnatural representations of female frailty."

1798 – William Richardson, "Dramatic Character of King Richard the Third"

Richardson focuses primarily on the villainous, deformed Richard. He criticizes Shakespeare for taking too long to punish Richard, which is "our chief enjoyment" (199). Richardson says, "the whole tragedy is an exhibition of guilt" (199). He discusses Richard, who is "destitute of virtue, [but] possesses ability," being a difficult character because he is so guilty. Richardson also finds Anne to be a "frivolous" character with "no steady virtues" (200).

19th Century – Fascination with Richard the character continues...

1817 – John Philip Kemble, "Macbeth, And King Richard the Third: An Essay, In Answer to Remarks on Some of the Characters of Shakespeare"

Kemble writes a lengthy "essay" comparing the heroes on *Macbeth* and *Richard III*. Kemble reveres Shakespeare, predicting that he would "maintain the highest place among the poets of the stage" (6). He compares the elements mostly to the Neoclassical ideal, though he himself does not believe a play must subscribe to these ideals.

1830 – Review of "Twelve Designs for Shakespeare's *Richard III*"

This review of a book containing twelve designs for the play based on engravings is not critical history exactly. However, in discussing the costumes worn for these characters, the author of the review veers off into discussing how factually accurate the play was and then discussing the character of Richard himself. It seems the fascination with Richard as a character remains strong into the 19th century.

I found very few scholarly articles on the play in the mid to late 19th century. However, there is a wealth of production reviews during this time. These are listed in the Production Review section of this Protocol.

20th Century – Historical Sources and Composition

1900 – J.L. Eddy, "Shakespeare's History, Studies in: III. *Richard the Third*"

Eddy continues the discussion of Richard as a character but widens this to the historical accuracy and structure of the play. He argues that the grim and messy nature of the play is "intentional and appropriate," reflecting more the madness of the War of Roses than the historical figure Richard III himself (15).

1935 – Edleen Beggs "Shakespeare's Debt to Hall and to Holinshed in *Richard III*"

Beggs argues that there is no main historical source Shakespeare used to write *Richard III*, meaning he used Holinshed *and* Hall in about equal parts. She cites 13 examples of Holinshed and 18 of Hall. She criticizes recent scholars who acted like there was nothing more to be said about Shakespeare sources, calling Boswell-Stone's exploration "superficial" (189).

1945 – Fred Manning Smith "The Relation of *Macbeth* to *Richard the Third*."

Smith compares *Macbeth* and *Richard III* carefully and more extensively than had been done before. Previous scholars have noted the similarities in structure, character, and genre but Smith also argues that Shakespeare used *Richard III* as an inspiration for *Macbeth* later.

1945 – Robert Adger Law, "*Richard the Third: A Study in Shakespeare's Composition*."

Law looks at *Richard III* as a tool to learn more about Shakespeare's composition of plays. He compares it to *Romeo and Juliet*, another early play, in its technique. Both plays use source material but do not strictly adhere to facts.

1954 – Wolfgang H. Clemen, "Tradition and Originality in Shakespeare's *Richard III*."

Clemen discusses the criticism of the play as being generally a critique of the plays adherence to certain dramatic criteria. Acknowledging that the play seems messy in certain aspects, Clemen argues that the play should be looked at for what it is. He believes it's "decisive step in the history of English Drama" (247). Shakespeare is utilizing convention of dramatic tradition before his time while infusing his own style and *Richard III* is a good example of this.

1960-2000 – Detailed Analysis of Elements of the Play

1962 – Albert B. Weiner, “Two Tents in *Richard III*?”

In his short article, Weiner focuses on the tent scene in the play. He discusses scholars’ opinions about how it was originally staged. It is possible it was only one “tent.” This is one of the first examples of criticism that relies on very specific, close reading of a smaller part of the larger play.

1968 – Nicholas Brooke, “Shakespeare’s Early Tragedies”

Brooke was the first to show “how Shakespeare’s use of the villain’s role to parody Tudor ideology and its appropriation of the gigantic Christian machine” (Berger 401). That Richard might not be completely celebratory of the Tudors but subversive is discussed by Linda Charnes in the 90s and continues in scholarship today.¹

1974 – Bettie Anne Doebler, “Dispaire and Dye’: The Ultimate Temptation of *Richard III*.”

Doebler discusses the use of *ars moriendi*, or the literary trope of an evil person dying badly. Shakespeare’s use of *ars moreindi* belongs to a tradition stemming from antiquity. Doebler’s article is focused on convention and form and she supports her arguments with close reading and ample examples from the text.

1975 – Michael Neill, “Shakespeare's Halle of Mirrors: Play, Politics, and Psychology in *Richard III*.”

Neill continues the scholarly comparison of *Macbeth* and *Richard III*. However, this article closely looks at more characters than just Richard. Neill presents close readings and roots much of his argument in modern psychology.

1986 – Peggy Endel, “The Throne Scene of Shakespeare's *Richard III*.”

Endel focuses on the throne scene as an example of private matters taking place in the public. She acknowledges that critics for a long time have expressed frustration over this scene, but she finds it to be a crucial scene for the play. She is concerned with the reception of the original Elizabethan audience while also rooting her arguments in Freudian psychoanalysis.

1998 – Barbara Hodgdon, “Replicating Richard: Body Doubles, Body Politics”

Hodgdon discusses the body of the actor and the character of Richard by examining the performances of Al Pacino in *Looking for Richard* (1996) and Ian McKellen in *Richard III* (1996) directed by Richard Loncraine. Both are films based on stage productions. Incorporating theory from a variety of important scholars, including Schecner, Fuchs, and Haraway, Hodgdon is putting the performance of Richard into conversation with the emerging discourse of performance theory.

¹ This summary of Brooke comes from an article by Harry Berger Jr. not Brooke’s original article.

21st Century –Metatheatricality and the Women Characters

2006 – Marie-Hélène Besnault and Michel Bitot, “Historical Legacy and Fiction: The Poetical Reinvention of King Richard III.”

Besnault and Bitot discuss the construction of Richard as a character, but go beyond this over-written-about subject and discuss the dramatic conventions and rhetorical devices Shakespeare uses. They also argue that Margaret is a very important character as she structures the action. They focus on the reception of the play by the original audience.

2009 – Harry Berger Jr., “Conscience and Complicity in *Richard III*.”

Berger continues the long discussion of Shakespeare’s sources, but he complicates the notion of this being purely a play celebrating the Tudor dynasty. Berger cites scholarship that suggests the play is subversive in its depiction of the Tudor ascension to the throne detailing the meta-theatrical devices, or “theatrical hi-jinx,” Richard employs (402).

2013 – Brian Carroll “Richard as Waking Nightmare: Barthesian Dream, Myth, and Memory in Shakespeare's *Richard III*.”

Carroll applies the semiotics of Barthes to the play, demonstrating how the play is participating in creating a cultural myth of Richard.

2013 – Philip Schwyzer, *Shakespeare and the Remains of Richard III*.

Considering the 2012 discovery of Richard’s remains, Schwyzer draws on interdisciplinary research to trace the memories and remnants of the real Richard III. With Shakespeare as a touchstone, Schwyzer discusses the creation of the character, the historiography, myth-making, and reign of Richard.

2017 – Allison Machlis Meyer, “*Richard III*’s Forelives: Rewriting Elizabeth in Tudor Historiography.”

Meyer argues the agency of the female characters in the play exemplifies the anxiety of Early Modern England over having a childless, female monarch. Tracing through the War of the Roses tetralogy, Meyer demonstrates that Shakespeare’s sources gave the women of the narrative more emphasis and responsibility.

Annotated Text

Folio/Quarto Text

For the base text, I've chosen the Folger Shakespeare Library's Digital text of *Richard III* which is based on the First Folio (Mowat lv). To compare, I've also referenced the 2009 Norton edition, which is based on a Quarto of the play (Cartelli 108). Both editors cross-referenced the F and the Q, not remaining strictly loyal to either. Speculation and opinions abound over the origins of each and which is the most "correct." Using a handy table provided in the Norton edition listing the textual variances, I've chosen the most "correct" for the goals of this production.

Annotations

For annotations, I recommend the Folger Shakespeare Library's hardcopy which is the same as the digital text we will use for the scripts. This edition is user-friendly with the text of the right page and the annotations on the left. Small and inexpensive, we can easily purchase enough copies for the actors secondhand online or in used books stores. In the script I include glosses only for the most pertinent information.

Editing

I cut the text for a smaller cast size, clarity, pace of action, balance between men/women characters, and overall shortening of length. In my edits, I focus on these elements:

Rhetoric— Shakespeare learned classical rhetoric and demonstrates this skill in *Richard III* which is Richard's primary weapon. The women also utilize rhetoric in their curses, especially Margaret. Some rhetorical devices which are particularly effective: *Anaphora* (repetition of a word at the beginning of successive lines) and *epistrophe* (repetition of the last word of successive lines) (Lull 100). I've maintained these rhetorical devices. The play uses very little rhyming, which made it easier to cut, but those lines that do rhyme I've left intact.

Margaret— We will emphasize Margaret as a powerful force in this play. As critics Besnault and Bitot point out, while "Richard initiates and propels the action forward, Margaret structures it and she orchestrates it" (Besnault and Bitot 117). Therefore, in cutting, I preserved most of the language for Margaret and the other women to give the play more balance of dialogue between men and women. In this play where words are as powerful as action, the women's agency should be emphasized as much as the men's.

Insults about Richard— Nearly all insults hurled at Richard ("dog," "boar," "cur," etc.) will easily be understood by a contemporary audience. Additionally, the enormous number of insults highlight the general abhorrence of Richard. Therefore, I left nearly all of those from the original text.

Themes/Imagery— Throughout the text, the repetition of dreams, eyes, heaviness, and conscience will serve our production and speak to a contemporary audience well. Therefore, in my cuts I maintain many of the repeated thematic ideas and imagery.

Historical Facts— I cut several instances of characters referring to historical facts and people that a modern audience would not be familiar with. However, I left in Prince Edward's discussion of Caesar building the Tower of London, which many productions cut, but is essential to our focus on the tension between myth and recorded history

Larger Structural Cuts

Queen Elizabeth's family— I've combined Grey, Vaughn, and Dorset into Rivers. This eliminates 3 actors and simplifies Elizabeth's family which can be confusing.

Clarence's daughter— I've cut the daughter; Clarence's son can be doubled by one of the boys playing the Princes. I've cut the lines about his daughter. With this cut, we only need two child actors.

Catesby— I've folded Ratcliff, Lovell, Norfolk, and Surrey into Catesby, to simplify the story and cut four more actors.

Archbishop/Cardinal— The Archbishop and Cardinal will be the same character, I've left it as the Archbishop. It is up to costumes how to characterize this character who essentially is just a high clergyman.

Scrivener— This scene is cut because the revelation that Richard was planning Hasting's imprisonment is not very surprising and can be communicated in an earlier scene with one or two lines.

Richmond's followers— Richmond has too many followers. They have been combined into two, Oxford and Blunt, and can be played by doubling actors.

Cut Scene

Act IV Scene 4

Enter old Queen Margaret.

QUEEN MARGARET

So now prosperity begins to mellow
And drop into the rotten mouth of death.
Here in these confines slyly have I lurked
To watch the waning of mine enemies.

~~A dire induction am I witness to,~~ 5

~~And I~~ will to France, hoping the consequence
Will prove as bitter, black, and tragical.

Withdraw thee, wretched Margaret. Who comes
here? *She steps aside.*

Enter Duchess of York and Queen Elizabeth.

QUEEN ELIZABETH

Ah, my poor princes! Ah, my tender babes, 10

~~My unblown flowers, new appearing sweets,~~

If yet your gentle souls fly in the air

~~And be not fixed in doom perpetual,~~

Hover about me with your airy wings

And hear your mother's lamentation. 15

QUEEN MARGARET, *aside*

Hover about her; say that right for right

Hath dimmed your infant morn to aged night.

DUCHESS

So many miseries have crazed my voice

That my woe-wearied tongue is still and mute.

Edward Plantagenet, why art thou dead? 20

QUEEN MARGARET, *aside*

Plantagenet ~~doth~~ quit for a Plantagenet;

Edward for Edward pays **his** dying debt.

QUEEN ELIZABETH

Wilt thou, O God, fly from such gentle lambs?

~~And throw them in the entrails of the wolf?~~

When didst thou sleep when such a deed was done? 25

QUEEN MARGARET, *aside*

When holy ~~Harry~~ **Henry** died, and my sweet son.

DUCHESS, *to Queen Elizabeth*

Dead life, blind sight, poor mortal living ghost,

Woe's scene, world's shame, grave's due by life
usurped,

Brief abstract and record of tedious days, 30

Rest thy unrest on England's lawful earth,
Unlawfully made drunk with innocent blood.
QUEEN ELIZABETH, *as they both sit down*
~~Ah, that thou wouldst as soon afford a grave~~
~~As thou canst yield a melancholy seat,~~
Then would I hide my bones, not rest them here. 35
Ah, who hath any cause to mourn but we?

QUEEN MARGARET, *coming forward*
~~If ancient sorrow be most reverend,~~
~~Give mine the benefit of seignior,~~
~~And let my griefs frown on the upper hand.~~
If sorrow can admit society, 40
Tell **Count** over your woes again by viewing mine.
I had an Edward till a Richard killed him;
I had a husband till a Richard killed him.
Thou hadst an Edward till a Richard killed him;
Thou hadst a Richard till a Richard killed him. 45

DUCHESS
I had a Richard too, and thou did'st kill him;
I had a Rutland too; thou ~~help'st~~ **helped** to kill him.

QUEEN MARGARET
Thou hadst a Clarence too, and Richard killed him.
From forth the kennel of thy womb hath crept
A hellhound that doth hunt us all to death— 50
That dog, that had his teeth before his eyes,
~~To worry lambs and lap their gentle blood;~~
That excellent grand tyrant of the Earth,
~~That reigns in galled eyes of weeping souls;~~
That foul defacer of God's handiwork 55
Thy womb let loose to chase us to our graves.
O upright, just, and true-disposing God,
How do I thank thee that this carnal cur
Preys on the issue of his mother's body!
~~And makes her pew fellow with others' moan!~~ 60

DUCHESS, *standing*
O ~~Harry~~**Henry**'s wife, triumph not in my woes!
God witness with me, I have wept for thine.

QUEEN MARGARET
Bear with me. I am hungry for revenge,
~~And now I cloy me with beholding it.~~
Thy Edward he is dead, that killed my Edward, 65
Thy ~~other Edward~~ **young Princes** dead, to quit my Edward;
~~Young York, he is but boot, because both they~~
~~Matched not the high perfection of my loss.~~
Thy Clarence he is dead that stabbed my Edward.

~~And the beholders of this frantic play,¹~~ 70
~~Th' adulterate Hastings, Rivers, Vaughan, Grey,~~
~~Untimely smothered in their dusky graves.~~
Richard yet lives, hell's black intelligencer,
~~Only reserved their factor to buy souls~~
~~And send them thither. But at hand, at hand~~ 75
~~Ensues his piteous and unpitied end.~~
Earth gapes, hell burns, fiends roar, saints pray,
To have him suddenly conveyed from hence.
Cancel his bond of life, dear God I pray,
That I may live and say "The dog is dead." 80

QUEEN ELIZABETH, *standing*
O, thou didst prophesy the time would come
That I should wish for thee to help me curse
That bottled spider, that foul bunch-backed toad!

QUEEN MARGARET
I called thee then "vain flourish of my fortune."
I called thee then poor shadow, "painted queen," 85
The presentation of but what I was,
~~The flattering index of a direful pageant,~~
~~One heaved a high to be hurled down below,~~
~~A mother only mocked with two fair babes,~~
~~A dream of what thou wast, a garish flag~~ 90
~~To be the aim of every dangerous shot,~~
A sign of dignity, a breath, a bubble,
A queen in jest. ~~only to fill the scene.~~
Where is thy husband now? Where be thy brothers?
Where are thy two sons? Wherein dost thou joy? 95
Who sues and kneels and says "God save the
Queen?"
Where be the bending peers that flattered thee?
Where be the thronging troops that followed thee?
Decline all this, and see what now thou art: 100
For happy wife, a most distressed widow;
For joyful mother, one that wails the name;
~~For one being sued to, one that humbly sues;~~
~~For queen, a very caitiff crowned with care;~~
For she that scorned at me, now scorned of me; 105
For she being feared of all, now fearing one;
For she commanding all, obeyed of none.
~~Thus hath the course of justice whirled about~~
~~And left thee but a very prey to time,~~
~~Having no more but thought of what thou wast~~ 110
~~To torture thee the more, being what thou art.~~

¹ I don't like getting rid of this reference to the play, but I had to cut references to characters who I've cut.

Thou didst usurp my place, and dost thou not
Usurp the just proportion of my sorrow?
~~Now thy proud neck bears half my burdened yoke,~~
~~From which even here I slip my weary head~~ 115
And I leave the burden of it all on thee.
Farewell, York's wife, and queen of sad mischance.
These English woes shall make me smile in France.

She begins to exit.

QUEEN ELIZABETH

O, thou well-skilled in curses, stay awhile,
And teach me how to curse mine enemies. 120

QUEEN MARGARET

Forbear to sleep the nights, and fast the days;
Compare dead happiness with living woe;
Think that thy babes were sweeter than they were,
And he that slew them fouler than he is.
Bettering thy loss makes the bad causer worse. 125
Revolving this will teach thee how to curse.

QUEEN ELIZABETH

My words are dull. O, quicken them with thine!

QUEEN MARGARET

Thy woes will make them sharp and pierce like
mine. *Margaret exits.*

DUCHESS

Why should calamity be full of words? 130

QUEEN ELIZABETH

~~Windy attorneys to their clients' woes,~~
~~Airy succeeders of intestate joys,~~
Poor breathing orators of miseries,
Let them have scope; though what they will impart
Help nothing else, yet do they ease the heart. 135

DUCHESS

If so, then be not tongue-tied. Go with me,
And in the breath of bitter words let's smother
My damnèd son that thy two sweet sons smothered.

A trumpet sounds.

The trumpet sounds. Be copious in exclams.

Enter King Richard and his train, including Catesby.

RICHARD

Who intercepts me in my expedition? 140

DUCHESS

O, she that ~~might~~ **should** have intercepted thee,
By strangling thee in her accursèd womb,
From all the slaughters, wretch, that thou hast done.

QUEEN ELIZABETH, *to Richard*
~~Hid'st thou that forehead with a golden crown~~
~~Where should be branded, if that right were right,~~ 145
~~The slaughter of the prince that owed that crown~~
~~And the dire death of my poor sons and brothers?~~
Tell me, thou villain-slave, where are my children?

DUCHESS, *to Richard*
Thou toad, thou toad, where is thy brother Clarence,
~~And little Ned Plantagenet his son?~~ 150

QUEEN ELIZABETH, *to Richard*
Where is ~~the~~ my gentle Rivers, ~~Vaughan, Grey?~~

DUCHESS, *to Richard* Where is kind Hastings?²

RICHARD
A flourish, trumpets! Strike alarum, drums!
Let not the heavens hear these telltale women
Rail on the Lord's anointed. Strike, I say! 155

Flourish. Alarums.

~~Either be patient and entreat me fair,~~
~~Or with the clamorous report of war~~
~~Thus will I drown your exclamations.~~

DUCHESS Art thou my son?

RICHARD
Ay, I thank God, my father, and yourself. 160

DUCHESS
Then patiently hear my impatience.

RICHARD
Madam— ~~I have a touch of your condition,~~
~~That cannot brook the accent of reproof.~~

DUCHESS
O, let me speak!

RICHARD Do then, but I'll not hear. 165

DUCHESS
~~I will be mild and gentle in my words.~~

RICHARD
And Be brief, good mother, for I am in haste.

DUCHESS
Art thou so hasty? I have stayed for thee,
God knows, in torment and in agony.

RICHARD
And came I not at last to comfort you? 170

DUCHESS
No, by the Holy Rood, thou know'st it well.
Thou cam'st on Earth to make the Earth my hell.
A grievous burden was thy birth to me;
Tetchy and wayward was thy infancy;

² Breaking scansion but maintained repetition of "Where is ...?"

Thy school days frightful, desp'rate, wild, and 175
 furious;
 Thy prime of manhood daring, bold, and venturous;
 Thy age confirmed, proud, subtle, sly, and bloody,
~~More mild, but yet more harmful, kind in hatred.~~
 What comfortable hour canst thou name, 180
 That ever graced me with thy company?
 RICHARD
 Faith, none ~~but Humfrey Hower, that called your~~
 Grace
~~To breakfast once, forth of my company.~~
 If I be so disgracious in your eye, 185
~~Let me march on and not offend you, madam.—~~
 Strike up the drum.
 DUCHESS I prithee, hear me speak.
 RICHARD
~~You speak too bitterly.~~
 DUCHESS ~~Hear me a word,~~ 190
 For I shall never speak to thee again.
 RICHARD So.
 DUCHESS
 Either thou wilt die by God's just ordinance
~~Ere from this war thou turn a conqueror,~~
 Or I with grief and extreme age shall perish 195
 And nevermore behold thy face again.
 Therefore take with thee my most grievous curse,
~~Which in the day of battle tire thee more~~
~~Than all the complete armor that thou wear'st.~~
 My prayers on the adverse party fight, 200
 And there the little souls of Edward's children
 Whisper the spirits of thine enemies
 And promise them success and victory.
 Bloody thou art; bloody will be thy end.
 Shame serves thy life and doth thy death attend. 205

She exits.

QUEEN ELIZABETH
 Though far more cause, yet much less spirit to
 curse
 Abides in me. I say amen to her.

RICHARD

Stay, madam. I must talk a word with you.

QUEEN ELIZABETH

I have no more sons of the royal blood 210
 For thee to slaughter. For my daughters, Richard,
 They shall be praying nuns, not weeping queens.
~~And therefore level not to hit their lives.~~

RICHARD

You have a daughter called Elizabeth,
Virtuous and fair, royal and gracious. 215

QUEEN ELIZABETH

And must she die for this? O, let her live,
And I'll corrupt her manners, stain her beauty.
~~Slander myself as false to Edward's bed,~~
~~Throw over her the veil of infamy.~~
~~So she may live unscarred of bleeding slaughter,~~ 220
I will confess she was not Edward's daughter.

RICHARD

Wrong not her birth. She is a royal princess.

QUEEN ELIZABETH

To save her life, I'll say she is not so.

RICHARD

Her life is safest only in her birth.

QUEEN ELIZABETH

And only in that safety died her brothers. 225

RICHARD

~~Lo, at their birth good stars were opposite.~~

QUEEN ELIZABETH

~~No, to their lives ill friends were contrary.~~

RICHARD

~~All unavoided is the doom of destiny.~~

QUEEN ELIZABETH

True, when avoided grace makes destiny.
~~My babes were destined to a fairer death~~ 230
~~If grace had blessed thee with a fairer life.~~

RICHARD

You speak as if that I had slain my cousins.

QUEEN ELIZABETH

Cousins, indeed, and by their uncle cozened
Of comfort, kingdom, kindred, freedom, life.
Whose hand soever ~~launched~~ **pierced** their tender hearts, 235
Thy head, all indirectly, gave direction.
~~No doubt the murd'rous knife was dull and blunt~~
~~Till it was whetted on thy stone hard heart,~~
~~To revel in the entrails of my lambs.~~
~~But that still use of grief makes wild grief tame,~~ 240
~~My tongue should to thy ears not name my boys~~
~~Till that my nails were anchored in thine eyes,~~
~~And I, in such a desp'rate bay of death,~~
~~Like a poor bark of sails and tackling reft,~~
~~Rush all to pieces on thy rocky bosom.~~ 245

RICHARD

~~Madam, so thrive I~~ **Let me go forward** in my enterprise

~~And dangerous success of bloody wars~~
 As I intend more good to you and yours
 Than ever you or yours by me were harmed!
 QUEEN ELIZABETH
 What good is covered with the face of heaven, 250
 To be discovered, that can do me good?
 RICHARD
 Th' advancement of your children, gentle lady.
 QUEEN ELIZABETH
 Up to some scaffold, there to lose their heads.
 RICHARD
 Unto the dignity and height of fortune,
 The high imperial type of this Earth's glory. 255
 QUEEN ELIZABETH
~~Flatter my sorrow with report of it.~~
 Tell me what state, what dignity, what honor,
 Canst thou demise to any child of mine?
 RICHARD
~~Even all I have—ay, and myself and all—~~
~~Will I withal endow a child of thine;~~ 260
~~So in the Lethe of thy angry soul~~
~~Thou drown the sad remembrance of those wrongs~~
~~Which thou supposest I have done to thee.~~
 QUEEN ELIZABETH
 Be brief, lest that the process of thy kindness
 Last longer telling than thy kindness' date. 265
 RICHARD
~~Then know that from my soul I love thy daughter.~~
 QUEEN ELIZABETH
~~My daughter's mother thinks it with her soul.~~
 RICHARD—What do you think?
 QUEEN ELIZABETH
~~That thou dost love my daughter from thy soul.~~
~~So from thy soul's love didst thou love her brothers,~~ 270
~~And from my heart's love I do thank thee for it.~~
 RICHARD
~~Be not so hasty to confound my meaning.~~
 I mean that with my soul I love thy daughter
 And do intend to make her Queen of England.
 QUEEN ELIZABETH
 Well then, who dost thou mean shall be her king? 275
 RICHARD
 Even he that makes her queen. Who else should be?
 QUEEN ELIZABETH
 What, thou?
 RICHARD Even so. How think you of it?

QUEEN ELIZABETH

How canst thou woo her?

RICHARD That would I learn of you, 280

As one being best acquainted with her humor.

QUEEN ELIZABETH And wilt thou learn of me?

RICHARD Madam, with all my heart.

QUEEN ELIZABETH

Send to her, by the man that slew her brothers,

A pair of bleeding hearts; thereon engrave 285

“Edward” and “York.” Then haply will she weep.

Therefore present to her—~~as sometime Margaret~~

~~Did to thy father, steeped in Rutland’s blood—~~

~~A handkerchief, which say to her did drain~~

~~The~~ **With** purple sap from her sweet brother’s body, 290

~~And bid her wipe her weeping eyes withal.~~

If this inducement move her not to love,

Send her a letter of thy noble deeds;

Tell her thou mad’st away her uncle Clarence,

Her uncle Rivers, ay, and for her sake 295

Mad’st quick conveyance with her good aunt Anne.

RICHARD

You mock me, madam. This is not the way

To win your daughter.

QUEEN ELIZABETH There is no other way.

~~Unless thou couldst put on some other shape~~ 300

~~And not be Richard, that hath done all this.~~

RICHARD

Say that I did all this for love of her.

QUEEN ELIZABETH

Nay, then indeed she cannot choose but hate thee,

Having bought love with such a bloody spoil.

RICHARD

Look what is done cannot be now amended. 305

~~Men shall deal unadvisedly sometimes,~~

~~Which after hours gives leisure to repent.~~

If I did take the kingdom from your sons,

To make amends I’ll give it to your daughter.

If I have killed the issue of your womb, 310

To quicken your increase I will beget

Mine issue of your blood upon your daughter.

~~A grandam’s name is little less in love~~

~~Than is the doting title of a mother.~~

They are as children but one step below, 315

Even of your metal, of your very blood.

~~Of all one pain, save for a night of groans~~

~~Endured of her for whom you bid like sorrow.~~

~~Your children were vexation to your youth,~~
~~But mine shall be a comfort to your age.~~ 320
 The loss you have is but a son being king,
 And by that loss your daughter is made queen.
~~I cannot make you what amends I would;~~
~~Therefore accept such kindness as I can.~~
~~Dorset your son, that with a fearful soul~~ 325
~~Leads discontented steps in foreign soil,~~
~~This fair alliance quickly shall call home~~
~~To high promotions and great dignity.~~
~~The king that calls your beauteous daughter wife~~
~~Familiarly shall call thy Dorset brother.~~ 330
 Again shall you be mother to a king,
 And all the ruins of distressful times
 Repaired with double riches of content.
 What, we have many goodly days to see!
~~The liquid drops of tears that you have shed~~ 335
~~Shall come again, transformed to orient pearl,~~
~~Advantaging their love with interest~~
~~Of ten times double gain of happiness.~~
 Go then, my mother; to thy daughter go.
 Make bold her bashful years with your experience; 340
 Prepare her ears to hear a wooer's tale;
 Put in her tender heart th' aspiring flame
 Of golden sovereignty; acquaint the Princess
 With the sweet silent hours of marriage joys;
 And when this arm of mine hath chastised 345
 The petty rebel, dull-brained Buckingham,
 Bound with triumphant garlands will I come
 And lead thy daughter to a conqueror's bed,
 To whom I will retail my conquest won,
 And she shall be sole victoress, Caesar's Caesar. 350

QUEEN ELIZABETH

What were I best to say? Her father's brother
 Would be her lord? Or shall I say her uncle?
 Or he that slew her brothers and her uncles?
 Under what title shall I woo for thee,
 That God, the law, my honor, and her love 355
 Can make seem pleasing to her tender years?

RICHARD

~~Infer fair England's peace by this alliance.~~

QUEEN ELIZABETH

~~Which she shall purchase with still-lasting war.~~

RICHARD

~~Tell her the King, that may command, entreats—~~

QUEEN ELIZABETH

~~That, at her hands, which the King's King forbids.~~ 360

RICHARD

Say she shall be a high and mighty queen.

QUEEN ELIZABETH

To veil the title, as her mother doth.

RICHARD

Say I will love her everlastingly.

QUEEN ELIZABETH

But how long shall that title "ever" last?

RICHARD

Sweetly in force unto her fair life's end. 365

QUEEN ELIZABETH

But how long fairly shall her sweet life last?

RICHARD

As long as heaven and nature lengthens it.

QUEEN ELIZABETH

As long as hell and Richard likes of it.

RICHARD

~~Say I, her sovereign, am her subject low.~~

QUEEN ELIZABETH

~~But she, your subject, loathes such sovereignty.~~ 370

RICHARD

~~Be eloquent in my behalf to her.~~

QUEEN ELIZABETH

~~An honest tale speeds best being plainly told.~~

RICHARD

~~Then plainly to her tell my loving tale.~~

QUEEN ELIZABETH

~~Plain and not honest is too harsh a style.~~

RICHARD

~~Your reasons are too shallow and too quick.~~ 375

QUEEN ELIZABETH

~~O no, my reasons are too deep and dead—~~

~~Too deep and dead, poor infants, in their graves.~~

RICHARD

~~Harp not on that string, madam; that is past.~~

QUEEN ELIZABETH

~~Harp on it still shall I till heart strings break.~~

RICHARD

Now by my George, my Garter, and my crown— 380

QUEEN ELIZABETH

Profaned, dishonored, and the third usurped.

RICHARD

I swear—

QUEEN ELIZABETH By nothing, for this is no oath.

Thy George, profaned, hath lost his lordly honor;
 Thy Garter, blemished, pawned his knightly virtue; 385
 Thy crown, usurped, disgraced his kingly glory.
 If something thou wouldst swear to be believed,
 Swear then by something that thou hast not
 wronged.

RICHARD
 Then, by myself— 390

QUEEN ELIZABETH Thyself is self-misused.

RICHARD
 Now, by the world—

QUEEN ELIZABETH 'Tis full of thy foul wrongs.

RICHARD
 My father's death—

QUEEN ELIZABETH Thy life hath it dishonored. 395

RICHARD
 Why then, by God.

QUEEN ELIZABETH God's wrong is most of all.
 If thou didst fear to break an oath with Him,
 The unity the King my husband made
 Thou hadst not broken, nor my brothers died. 400
 If thou hadst feared to break an oath by Him,
~~Th' imperial metal circling now thy head~~
~~Had graced the tender temples of my child,~~
And Then both the Princes ~~had been~~ **would be** breathing here,
~~Which now, two tender bedfellows for dust,~~ 405
~~Thy broken faith hath made the prey for worms.~~
 What canst thou swear by now?

RICHARD The time to come.

QUEEN ELIZABETH
 That thou hast wrongèd in the time o'erpast;
 For I myself have many tears to wash 410
 Hereafter time, for time past wronged by thee.
~~The children live whose fathers thou hast~~
~~slaughtered,~~
~~Ungoverned youth, to wail it in their age;~~
~~The parents live whose children thou hast~~ 415
~~butchered,~~
~~Old barren plants, to wail it with their age.~~
 Swear not by time to come, for that thou hast
 Misused ere used, by times ill-used o'erpast.

RICHARD
 As I intend to prosper and repent, 420
~~So thrive I in my dangerous affairs~~
~~Of hostile arms! Myself myself confound,~~
 Heaven and fortune bar me happy hours,

Day, yield me not thy light, nor night thy rest,
~~Be opposite all planets of good luck~~ 425
 To my proceeding if, with dear heart's love,
~~Inmaculate devotion, holy thoughts,~~
 If I tender love not thy beauteous princely daughter.³
 In her consists my happiness and thine.
 Without her follows to myself and thee, 430
 Herself, the land, and many a Christian soul,
 Death, desolation, ruin, and decay.
 It cannot be avoided but by this;
 It will not be avoided but by this.
 Therefore, dear mother—I must call you so— 435
~~Be the attorney of my love to her;~~
 Plead what I will be, not what I have been;
~~Not my deserts, but what I will deserve.~~
 Urge the necessity and state of times,
 And be not peevish foolish found in great designs. 440
 QUEEN ELIZABETH
 Shall I be tempted of the devil thus?
 RICHARD
 Ay, if the devil tempt you to do good.
 QUEEN ELIZABETH
 Shall I forget myself to be myself?
 RICHARD
 Ay, if your self's remembrance wrong yourself.
 QUEEN ELIZABETH Yet thou didst kill my children. 445
 RICHARD
 But in your daughter's womb I bury them.
~~Where, in that nest of spicery, they will breed~~
~~Selves of themselves, to your recomforture.~~
 QUEEN ELIZABETH
 Shall I go win my daughter to thy will?
 RICHARD
 And be a happy mother by the deed. 450
 QUEEN ELIZABETH I go. Write to me very shortly,
 And you shall understand from me her mind.
 RICHARD
 Bear her my true love's kiss; and so, farewell.

 Relenting fool and shallow, changing woman!

Queen exits.

Enter Ratcliffe. Catesby.

**Heavy cuts here to move the action along and
 Not get bogged down with too much info or people:**

³ This messes up the scansion, but makes more sense which is important here because this is where he convinces Liz.

How now, what news? 455
~~RATCLIFFE-CATESBY~~
 Most mighty sovereign, on the western coast
Rides Richmond and his navy to our shores.
~~Rideth a puissant navy. To our shores~~
~~Throng many doubtful hollow-hearted friends,~~
~~Unarmed and unresolved to beat them back.~~
 'Tis thought that Richmond is their admiral; 460
 And there they ~~hull~~ **wait**, expecting but the aid
 Of Buckingham to welcome them ashore.
 RICHARD
~~Some~~ **Go** light-foot friend post to the Duke of
 Norfolk—
 Ratcliffe thyself, or Catesby. Where is he? 465
~~CATESBY~~
~~Here, my good lord.~~
~~RICHARD Catesby, fly to the Duke.~~
~~CATESBY~~
 I will, my lord, with all convenient haste.
~~RICHARD~~
~~Ratcliffe, come hither. Post to Salisbury. When thou com'st thither—~~ *To Catesby. Dull,* 470
~~unmindful villain,~~
 Why stay'st thou here and go'st not to the Duke?
~~CATESBY~~
 First, mighty liege, tell me your Highness' pleasure,
 What from your Grace I shall deliver to him.
 RICHARD
 O true, good Catesby. Bid him levy straight 475
 The greatest strength and power that he can make
 And meet me suddenly at Salisbury.
~~CATESBY~~ I go. *He exits.*
~~RATCLIFFE~~
~~What, may it please you, shall I do at Salisbury?~~
~~RICHARD~~
~~Why, what wouldst thou do there before I go?~~ 480
~~RATCLIFFE~~
~~Your Highness told me I should post before.~~
~~RICHARD~~
~~My mind is changed.~~

Enter Lord Stanley.

Stanley, what news with you?
 STANLEY
 None good, my liege, to please you with the hearing,

Nor none so bad but well may be reported. 485

RICHARD
 Hoyday, a riddle! Neither good nor bad.
~~What need'st thou run so many miles about~~
~~When thou mayst tell thy tale the nearest way?~~
 Once more, what news?

STANLEY Richmond is on the seas. 490

RICHARD
 There let him sink, and be the seas on him!
~~White livered runagate, what doth he there?~~

STANLEY
~~I know not, mighty sovereign, but by guess.~~

RICHARD ~~Well, as you guess?~~

STANLEY
~~Stirred up by Dorset, Buckingham, and Morton, —~~ 495
 He makes for England, here to claim the crown.

RICHARD
 Is the chair empty? Is the sword unswayed?
 Is the King dead, the empire unpossessed?
~~What heir of York is there alive but we?~~
~~And who is England's king but great York's heir?~~ 500
~~Then tell me, what makes he upon the seas?~~

STANLEY
 Unless for that, my liege, I cannot guess.

RICHARD
 Unless for that he comes to be your liege,
~~You cannot guess wherefore the Welshman comes.~~
 Thou wilt revolt and fly to him, I fear. 505

STANLEY
 No, my good lord. Therefore mistrust me not.

RICHARD
 Where is thy power, then, to beat him back?
~~Where be thy tenants and thy followers?~~
~~Are they not now upon the western shore,~~
~~Safe conducting the rebels from their ships?~~ 510

STANLEY
~~No, my good lord.~~ My friends are in the north.

RICHARD
 Cold friends to me. ~~What do they in the north~~
~~When they should serve their sovereign in the west?~~

STANLEY
 They have not been commanded, mighty king.
 Pleaseth your Majesty to give me leave, 515
 I'll muster up my friends and meet your Grace
 Where and what time your Majesty shall please.

RICHARD

Ay, thou wouldst be gone to join with Richmond,
But I'll not trust thee.

STANLEY Most mighty sovereign, 520
You have no cause to hold my friendship doubtful.
~~I never was nor never will be false.~~

RICHARD

Go then and muster men, but leave behind
Your son George Stanley. Look your heart be firm,
Or else his head's assurance is but frail. 525

STANLEY

So deal with him as I prove true to you.

Stanley exits.

Enter a Messenger.

~~FIRST MESSENGER~~

My gracious sovereign, now in Devonshire,
~~As I by friends am well advertised,~~
Sir Edward Courtney and the haughty prelate,
The Bishop of Exeter, ~~his elder brother,~~ 530
~~With many more confederates are in arms.~~

~~*Enter another Messenger.*~~

~~SECOND MESSENGER~~

In Kent, my liege, the Guilfords are in arms,
And, my liege—
~~And every hour more competitors~~
~~Flock to the rebels, and their power grows strong.~~

Enter another Messenger.

~~THIRD MESSENGER~~

~~My lord, the army of great Buckingham~~ 535

RICHARD

Out on you, owl! Nothing but songs of death.

He striketh him.

There, take thou that till thou bring better news.

~~THIRD MESSENGER~~

More news I have to tell your Majesty
Is that by sudden floods and fall of waters
Buckingham's army is dispersed and scattered, 540
And he himself wandered away alone,
No man knows whither.

RICHARD I cry thee mercy.

There is my purse to cure that blow of thine.

He gives money.

Hath any well-advised friend proclaimed 545
Reward to him that brings the traitor in?

THIRD MESSENGER

Such proclamation hath been made, my lord.

Enter another Messenger.

FOURTH MESSENGER

~~Sir Thomas Lovell and Lord Marquess Dorset,
'Tis said, my liege, in Yorkshire are in arms.
But this good comfort bring I to your Highness:— 550
The Breton navy is dispersed by tempest.
Richmond, in Dorsetshire, sent out a boat
Unto the shore to ask those on the banks
If they were his assistants, yea, or no—
Who answered him they came from Buckingham— 555
Upon his party. He, mistrusting them,
Hoised sail and made his course again for Brittany.~~

RICHARD

~~March on, march on, since we are up in arms,
If not to fight with foreign enemies,
Yet to beat down these rebels here at home.—— 560~~

Enter Catesby.

CATESBY

My liege, the Duke of Buckingham is taken.
That is the best news. That the Earl of Richmond
Is with a mighty power landed at **Milford on Wales' shores**
Is colder tidings, yet they must be told.

RICHARD

Away towards Salisbury! While we reason here, 565
A royal battle might be won and lost.
Someone take order Buckingham be brought
To Salisbury. The rest march on with me.

Flourish. They exit.

Historical, Social, and Cultural Milieu

The play takes place in the early 1480s during the last part of Edward IV's reign and Richard III's brief reign from 1483-1485. The play ends with the ascension of Henry VII and the beginning of Tudor rule. The play was probably written around 1591, concluding the History plays in chronology. *Richard III* performed soon after it was written in 1594 and was first published in 1597 with 8 quartos versions appearing periodically until 1634, suggesting it was popular (Lull 104). Because this play is so rooted in Elizabethan period and does not adhere strictly to the historical facts, it is also important to understand the cultural milieu of Elizabethan England.

I included biographical information about the characters of the play, historical information about the Wars of the Roses, and social and cultural context of the Elizabethan period.

Shakespeare's Sources

The Elizabethans were fascinated with history and obsessed with lineage. History was not only popular but a potentially powerful tool for social commentary: "the past could be used as a mirror to project critical reflection on present realities" (Goy-Blanquet 61). For this reason, the Queen's Privy council required permission to publish on English History (62). Historians, much like playwrights, did not adhere strictly to facts, but often bended or changed facts to support their own perspective or, more often, that of their patron (Lull 89). The following historical chronicles on English history which influenced Shakespeare's *Richard III*. Each author referenced those works before him, but emphasized elements he found important to serve his agenda:

Polydore Vergil's *Anglicae Historiae* (1534)

Thomas More's *History of King Richard the Thirde* (1543)

Edward Hall's *Union of the Noble and Illustre families of Lancastre and York* (1548)

Rafael Holinshed's *Chronicles of England and Scotland* (1577/87)

More's History was celebratory of the Tudors and Henry VIII and therefore painted Richard III very badly as "malicious, wrathfull, envious" (qtd. Moseley 36). This perspective on Richard filtered through to Hall and Holinshed's works, which are generally considered to be Shakespeares primary sources. However, Shakespeare shifted dates, morphed facts, and filled in the blanks creatively. For example,

Richard III wooing Lady Anne is not in the history books and Margaret was dead by the time Richard rose to power (37).

While critics painstakingly trace Shakespeare's plot through the English historical chronicles, it is most important to understand that Shakespeare is continuing a tradition and elaborating on myths about Richard. Shakespeare's elaboration, however, would prove the most potent in creating Richard as a villain.

Time

“Now is the winter of our discontent
Made glorious summer by this son of York” (I.i.1-2)

These famous opening lines spoken by Richard establish Shakespeare's manipulation of time. Shakespeare asserts “now” at the beginning of the play to bring England's past to the present for his Elizabethan audience. Shakespeare is “manipulating or otherwise playing with the notions of historical, narrative, and dramatic time” (Carroll 29). Shakespeare's audience knew exactly what Richard means in these lines that may seem vague to us. Harry J. Berger explains this soliloquy “presumes familiarity” with Hall, Holinshed, and More's chronicles, especially when Richard refers to the “grim visag'd War” (400; I.i.9). Richard is describing the Wars of the Roses.

The Wars of the Roses (1455-1485)



The Wars of the Roses refers to “the series of dynastic civil wars whose violence and civil strife preceded the strong government of the Tudors. Fought between the Houses of Lancaster and York for the English throne, the wars were named many years afterward from the supposed badges of the contending parties:

the white rose of York and the red of Lancaster” (“The Wars of the Roses, *Encyclopædia Britannica*).

This chart shows the succession of the English throne with Shakespeare’s history plays on the left:

SHAKESPEARES PLAYS ----- ENGLISH KINGS

<i>King John</i> (1594-95)	Plantagenet: John (1199-1216) Henry III (1216-1272) Edward I, II, III (1272-1377) Richard II (1377-1399)
<i>Richard II</i> (1595)	
<i>Henry IV, 1 & 2</i> (1596-98)	Lancaster: Henry IV (1399-1413) (descendants of John of Gaunt)
<i>Henry V</i> (1599)	Henry V (1413-1422)
<i>Henry VI, 1, 2, & 3</i> (1589-1592)	Henry VI (1422-1461)
	York: Edward IV (1461-1483), his son Ed V (1483) Richard III (1483-1485)
<i>Richard III</i> (1592-93)	Tudor: Henry VII (1485-1509)
	Henry VIII (1509-1547)
<i>Henry VIII</i> (1612-13)	Edward VI (1547-1553) Jane Grey (1553) Mary I (1553-1558) Elizabeth I (1558-1603) James I (1603-1625) *unites England and Scotland Charles I (1625-1642)

Edward IV won the throne after the Yorks killed Henry VI, leading to the brief York rule of England of which *Richard III* dramatizes the later part. However, even within the house of York, quibbles of possession of the throne continued.

The action *Richard III* is based on begins during Edward IV’s reign: “In 1483 Edward’s brother Richard III, overriding the claims of his nephew, the young Edward V, alienated many Yorkists, who then turned to the last hope of the Lancastrians, Henry Tudor (later Henry VII). With the help of the French and of Yorkist defectors, Henry defeated and killed Richard at Bosworth Field on August 22, 1485, bringing the wars to a close. By his marriage to Edward IV’s daughter Elizabeth of York in 1486, Henry united the Yorkist and Lancastrian claims” (“The Wars of the Roses”).

Henry VII was succeeded by the infamous Henry VIII, known for his six wives including Katherine of Aragon and Anne Boleyn. Henry VIII was succeeded by his only son Edward VI, who was a young, sickly teenager. The Tudor House continued with Mary I, known as Bloody Mary, the daughter of Henry VIII and Katherine of Aragon. Mary I died childless, leaving the throne to her half-sister, Elizabeth I, the daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn. Elizabeth I reigned for 45 years.

Elizabethan Audience

The original audience would have been generally familiar with the events depicted in the play and the characters. History plays were a powerful tool in creating a national identity which was an emerging notion in the Elizabethan period (Carroll 38). Shakespeare's history plays were a collective activity which strengthened the "English" identity while also celebrating the Tudor family: "For Elizabethans, history meant political history" (Lull 89).

Elizabethan audiences saw the play in a large, outdoor theatre which used little onstage scenery. Location changes were signaled through the language, Elizabethan theatre used almost no scenery. Shakespeare's "generalized setting" in many of his plays allows a quick pace and transitions (Lull 103).

Elizabethan Opinion of Monarchy

While the depictions of Richard and the other characters seem on the surface to be celebratory of the Tudor rise to power, Elizabethan playwrights often used plays for social commentary and subversion. As mentioned above, Elizabethan history plays "construct a national identity as male, ... critiquing the female monarch" by making the women characters of the play ineffective (Meyer 172). While Elizabeth I's reign was a peaceful and fruitful time for England, many were nervous about having a female monarch and no heir to the throne. The anxiety over women's roles in politics manifest in *Richard III* in many ways including restricting women to only rhetorical power, conjuring the language of witchcraft in the women's lines, referring to the unnatural power of women, and emphasizing barren and childless women. When Margaret curses and the women later beg her to teach them her rhetorical power, Smith argues that Shakespeare is conjuring the language of witchcraft (143). When Margaret blames the Duchess for her role in the events in Act IV scene iv, Smith argues that "the political machinations of these women ... figuratively birth the tyrant Richard III" (144). Furthermore, the agency of the women in this play is lessened than that of the women in the historical sources Shakespeare used for the play (Hall, Holinshed, and More) (Meyer 172).

Though it seems the play is venerating the ascension of the Tudor House, underneath the surface the anxieties and misogyny of the Elizabethan era is palpable.

Historical Figures and Characters

The "Real" Richard

Previous representations of Richard, which come from literature, poetry, and music, paint him as a madman, villain, tyrant, mediocre king, deformed creature, etc. Representations became more complex in the Elizabethan era, including Shakespeare among many other playwrights plays.

The myth-making power of Shakespeare's representation of Richard was extraordinary. Brian Carroll details "dreams and dream world" function in the play to create a "national memory" to support the Tudor Queen (28). *Richard III* has much in common with hagiographies, or stories about saints, in its construction of a larger than life character (Pomerleau 70). Richard III is an "anti-hagiography" (69). Saint plays, along with morality and mystery plays, belong to the religious drama of the English Middle Ages. With the Reformation, the Catholic hagiographies were adapted in Protestantism (79). The older members of the audience may have remembered these traditions, but the audience as a whole would likely recognize the elements of religious drama in this play (Pomerleau 72).

In 2012, Richard's remains were discovered in a carpark in Leicester near the Leicester Cathedral. A news report from 2015, when his bones were reinterred, is linked [here](#) (King Richard III to Be Reburied 530 Years After Death"). Using his remains, scientists have recreated Richard's actual appearance, finding he did not have a hunchback or a withered arm ("Richard III body debunks image").



The "Real" Richard

A video describing his real appearance is linked [here](#) ("Richard III Body Debunks Image")

However, Phillip Schwyzer examines in his book *Shakespeare and the Remains of Richard III* the real Richard who during his brief reign did achieve some success and some English people were sad to see him die (4-5). We can thank Richard for the many social programs including bail and supporting the emerging

printing industry. All English monarchs had blood on their hands like Richard, but most also contributed to the welfare of the country in some way.

Historical Biographies of Characters

In the following pages are biographies of the historical figures of this play including:

- Richard
- Margaret
- Queen Elizabeth
- Duchess of York
- Lady Anne
- Buckingham Clarence
- Edward IV
- Richmond
- Prince Edward
- Richard, Duke of York
- Elizabeth of York (*absent from play but referred to in Act IV and V*)
- Mistress Shore (*absent from play but referred to several times*)

Richard III

(1452–1485)

by: Rosemary Horrox



Richard III (1452–1485)

by unknown artist, c. 1516

Society of Antiquaries of London

Richard III (1452–1485), king of England and lord of Ireland, was born on 2 October 1452 at Fotheringhay, Northamptonshire, the youngest surviving child of Richard, third duke of York (1411–1460), and Cecily, duchess of York (1415–1495), the daughter of Ralph Neville, first earl of Westmorland, and Joan Beaufort.

Childhood 1452–1468

Little is known of Richard's early life, although he can occasionally be glimpsed on the margins of the developing struggle for power between his father and the circle around Henry VI's queen, Margaret of Anjou. After the Yorkist rout at Ludford in 1459 Cecily Neville submitted to Henry VI and was placed in the keeping of her sister Anne, duchess of Buckingham, with an annual allowance of 1000 marks for the maintenance of herself and her younger children. It may be during the months after Ludford that Richard and his elder brother George were in the care of the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Bourchier, who was later (in December 1471) to be rewarded by Edward IV for supporting the king's brothers 'for a long time at great charges' (Ross, *Richard III*, 7).

In July 1460 the political situation was transformed by the Yorkist victory at Northampton. In September Cecily and her three youngest children, Margaret, George, and Richard, arrived in London to await the return of the duke of York from Ireland. They stayed in the Southwark house formerly owned by Sir John Fastolf, where the children remained (visited daily by their eldest brother, Edward, earl of March) while the duchess travelled to meet her husband. On his return York asserted his claim to the throne, and, in a compromise solution, was recognized as Henry VI's heir. This agreement, which disinherited Edward of Lancaster, was never likely to hold, and on 30 December York's forces clashed with those of the queen near Wakefield, and York and his second son, Edmund, were killed. The royal army then advanced towards London, meeting and defeating an army under the command of the earl of Warwick at St Albans on 17 February.

With the Lancastrian army at the gates of London, George and Richard were sent for safety to Burgundy. Their arrival was something of a diplomatic embarrassment for Duke Philip and they were initially placed in the household of the bishop of Utrecht, one of the duke's illegitimate sons. News of the battle of Towton (29 March) and Edward IV's accession transformed them into visitors of consequence, and the brothers were invited to the ducal court at Bruges before returning to England early in June. On 26 June, as part of the ceremonial preceding Edward's coronation two days later, both brothers were created knights of the Bath, but, whereas George was made duke of Clarence at the coronation, Richard had to wait until 1 November before becoming duke of Gloucester. He was still only nine, and his early grants were clearly regarded as provisional, with much of what he was given in August 1462 subsequently regranted, including the forfeited de Vere estates, which were restored to the earl of Oxford at the beginning of 1464.

Richard was left with a geographically scattered collection, designed to provide him with an income rather than any sort of power base. In 1465 he was granted the duchy of Lancaster lordships of Bolingbroke, Lincolnshire, and Pickering and Barnoldswick, Yorkshire, but evidently enjoyed no direct influence within the lordships, where the officers remained unchanged. The three lordships yielded £1000, and the grant was probably designed to meet Richard's costs within the household of his cousin, Richard Neville, earl of Warwick, which he had entered by Michaelmas 1465. He had spent some, at least, of the previous years with Margaret and George at Greenwich, in an

establishment under the aegis of the royal household. It is possible that the period when he was in Archbishop Bouchier's care should also be dated to the early 1460s rather than to 1459–60.

First steps in war and politics, 1468–1471

Richard probably remained in his cousin's household until late in 1468, when he was sixteen; it is likely that, as with his brother Clarence, he was then deemed to have come of age. In February 1469 he was with the king, and took an active role in the trial for treason of Henry Courtenay and Thomas Hungerford. Late in 1468 Richard had been granted the forfeited estates of Thomas's father, Robert, Lord Hungerford: a sign that Edward was trying to put together an endowment for his youngest brother. But royal resources were in short supply. When in May 1469 Richard was granted a significant collection of duchy of Lancaster land, including Clitheroe, Liverpool, and Halton, the grant cut across the existing interests of Thomas, Lord Stanley, and triggered a dispute in which Edward IV had to intervene in 1470.

Richard's emergence on the public scene took place against a background of growing opposition to Edward IV from Clarence and Warwick. In spite of his links with the earl, Richard's loyalties remained with Edward, and he was with the king in Norwich when trouble finally erupted in June 1469. His movements over the next few months are unclear. He was apparently not with the king when Edward was captured by the rebels in July and is next mentioned in October, when Edward, having reasserted his freedom of action, returned to London. The death of several of Edward's leading allies in the rebellion meant that Richard's loyalty could now be rewarded. On 17 October he became constable of England in succession to the king's father-in-law, the executed Earl Rivers. A month later Richard was granted the castle and manor of Sudeley, Gloucestershire, but his major gain from the events of 1469 was the acquisition, for the first time, of a regional sphere of influence. The rebels' execution of William Herbert, earl of Pembroke, had seriously compromised royal authority in Wales, and the grant to Richard of Herbert's key offices, including the justiciarships of north and south Wales and the stewardship of the principality, cast him, in effect, as Herbert's replacement. His influence, unlike that of Herbert, did not have a territorial base, apart from Chirk, which he had held since September 1462 and where he was retaining men in 1470. He was essentially intended to act as a focus for lesser royal servants in the region. But that role was an important one, actively pursued. Richard probably left for Wales in November 1469 and may have spent most of the next few months there. He was certainly in Wales in mid-June 1470 when he presided as justiciar over the Carmarthenshire great sessions.

By that date Edward had weathered another rebellion by Clarence and Warwick, who, after gaining little support, had fled to France. There is no evidence that Richard played any part in the suppression of the rebellion itself, but in July he joined Edward in mopping up one of the after-effects: the rebellion of Warwick's kinsman, Lord Fitzhugh, in Yorkshire. In August he was granted Warwick's forfeited office of warden of the west march, although there is no other suggestion that he was intended to take over the Neville role in the north. The king's plans must, however, remain doubtful, for in September Warwick and Clarence invaded with French backing to restore Henry VI and it was the turn of Edward and Richard to escape into exile, sailing from Bishop's Lynn on 29 September. Their ships were scattered by storms, and Richard landed at

Weilingen in Zeeland, while Edward put ashore further north, at Texel, but by the middle of October the exiles had assembled at The Hague as the guests of Louis, Lord Gruthuyse.

Charles, duke of Burgundy, was initially not convinced that he wished to help his brother-in-law regain the throne, but the alliance of the new regime in England with France, and the increasingly bellicose stance taken by Louis XI, changed his mind, and at the beginning of January 1471 he agreed to support Edward's invasion of England. The fleet sailed early in March and, after an abortive landing near Cromer, where they were opposed by the earl of Oxford, landed in Holderness on 14 March. The Yorkist army defeated Warwick at the battle of Barnet on 14 April and then the Lancastrian army at Tewkesbury on 4 May. Richard commanded the vanguard in the second battle, and may also have held a command at Barnet, where none of the Yorkist commanders, other than the king, is named by the chroniclers. After returning with his brother to London, Richard was sent ahead of the king into Kent to deal with Thomas Neville, the Bastard of Fauconberg, who had led an assault on London in the king's absence. Neville submitted to Richard at Sandwich on 27 May.

Heir of Neville: marriage

Richard, predictably, was the chief beneficiary of Edward's restoration, emerging as the heir to Neville power in the north. On 29 June he was granted the Neville strongholds of Middleham, Sheriff Hutton, and Penrith. On 14 July this was superseded by a grant of all the lands in Yorkshire and Cumberland entailed to Richard Neville and his heirs male. He also assumed the key offices held by Warwick in the region, notably the chief stewardship of the duchy of Lancaster in the north, which he was formally granted on 4 July but which he had been exercising at least since the beginning of June, and which gave him extensive influence from Lincolnshire and Leicestershire northwards. These grants formed the foundation of what became a great northern power base for Richard. The grant of the Neville lands meant that the earl's retainers, in urgent need of effective lordship following Warwick's death at Barnet, turned naturally to Richard, and he was retaining within the lordship of Middleham by August 1471. The grant of the duchy stewardship put him at the head of the royal servants in the north, for whom duchy patronage provided the major source of reward and influence.

The grants thus benefited Richard. But they also benefited the king. There had been disaffection in the north for much of Edward's first reign: in the beginning from committed Lancastrians, and later from Warwick. The assertion of Richard's authority was *de facto* the assertion of royal authority. The reverse was also true, and much of Richard's authority in the north derived from contemporary awareness that he had royal backing. The steady extension of Richard's hold on the north after 1471 should therefore not be seen as unilateral empire building by an 'over-mighty' subject. It was achieved with royal approval and was dependent on the continuance of that approval.

Warwick's patrimony had come to Richard by an exercise of royal patronage: since it was held in tail male it should have passed to Warwick's nephew George on the earl's death. But c.1472 Richard married Warwick's second daughter, Anne (1456–1485), the widow of Edward of Lancaster, and thus became eligible for a share of the Beauchamp and Despenser lands that had come to the earl by marriage. Clarence, who had married Anne's sister Isabel in 1469, was strongly opposed to the prospect of Anne's marriage, reputedly even to the extent of trying to hide her from his brother. The ensuing dispute between the two men was not finally resolved until 1474, when the land was divided between them as if the dowager countess were dead. Richard's major gain in the north was Barnard Castle, which allowed him to extend his influence into the county of Durham, but he also acquired land in Derbyshire and Hertfordshire, which he exchanged in 1475 for land in Yorkshire, notably the castle and lordship of Scarborough. In another exchange accomplished under the royal aegis in 1475, Richard received the Clifford barony in the West Riding, consisting of Skipton and Marton in Craven, from William Stanley in exchange for Chirk. In the same year Richard was made sheriff of Cumberland for life, with the demesne lands of the castle of Carlisle.

Northern pre-eminence

By 1475 Richard had emerged as the pre-eminent nobleman in the north-east and far north-west. The only area outside his sphere of influence was Lancashire and Cheshire. The grant made to him of land there in 1469 had been replaced in 1471 by a grant of office, but even that trespassed on Stanley interests, and there seems to have been continuing friction between them. By 1475 it was clear that Richard was not going to absorb central Lancashire into his sphere of influence, in spite of his duchy office, although he was the leading figure in Clitheroe and Furness (which complemented his West Riding and Westmorland interests respectively). Elsewhere in the north, however, local noblemen, including the restored earl of Northumberland, apparently accepted a place within the duke of Gloucester's connection.

Richard was never an exclusively northern figure. Although the role envisaged for him in Wales in 1469–70 was abandoned in Edward's second reign, his share of the Warwick inheritance, including Glamorgan and Abergavenny, ensured him a continuing interest in the region, which was strengthened in 1478 when he exchanged the Neville lordship of Elfael for Ogmore. He also held land in East Anglia, where he was granted the lion's share of the forfeited de Vere lands in 1471. These did not include the lands held by the widow of the twelfth earl of Oxford, who was persuaded to make an estate in her lands to Richard in 1473. According to her servants she capitulated under threat of a forced removal to Middleham, which 'considering her great age, the great journey, and the great cold there then was of frost and snow' (Hicks, *Last days*, 91) she thought would be the death of her. Richard's East Anglian grants from the crown were reordered and somewhat reduced in 1475, and he was subsequently prepared to sell off parts of the de Vere dower lands, implying that he now saw them as peripheral to his main concerns. Similarly, in 1478, he was prepared to exchange Sudeley in Gloucestershire, Farleigh Hungerford in Wiltshire, and Corfe in Dorset for land in Yorkshire forfeited by his executed brother, Clarence, including the castle of Richmond which filled an obvious gap in his Middleham-based domination of Richmondshire.

As brother of the king, Richard's importance was national as well as regional. Throughout Edward's second reign the duke was constable and admiral of England, and was active in both capacities. As constable he presided over the trial of the Lancastrian captives after Tewkesbury, and in 1473 looked into a dispute between two London goldsmiths which was thought to have treasonable overtones: an example of Edward IV's willingness to extend the constable's jurisdiction beyond military and chivalric matters. In 1475 Richard led the largest private retinue on the campaign against France which was ended by the treaty of Picquigny. He did not attend the meeting of Louis and Edward at which the treaty was agreed, and evidently disapproved, although he later paid a courtesy visit to Louis at Amiens. His military skills, unused in France, were not called upon until the end of Edward's reign when the war against Scotland was resumed. Little came of the planned invasion of 1481, which was to have been led by the king in person, but the campaign of 1482 led by Richard penetrated as far as Edinburgh in support of the duke of Albany, who had sought English help against his brother James III. At that point, however, Albany backed down, and the English forces had little option but to retreat, with only the capture of Berwick to show for their efforts. English opinion was divided on the value of the campaign, but in the parliament of 1482–3 Richard was rewarded with the grant of palatine authority in any land that he could capture in the Scottish dales along the west march. He was also given the wardenship of the English west march in hereditary right, along with extensive lands and royal rights in Cumberland, where the shrievalty of the county and control of Carlisle were vested in him and his heirs.

Protector of the realm

Edward IV died on 9 April 1483. His death seems to have taken the political community by surprise. Richard was in the north, and the prince of Wales was with his senior maternal uncle, Anthony Woodville, Earl Rivers, at Ludlow. Immediate authority thus rested with the royal council. Edward's own plans for the succession are unclear, but the implication of the Crowland chronicle is that he favoured the immediate coronation of his twelve-year-old son. Some of the council, however, evidently preferred the idea of a protectorate, for which the obvious candidate was Richard, now Edward IV's only surviving brother. There were clearly anxieties within the council about the degree of influence likely to be wielded over the young king by his maternal kinsmen, the Woodvilles. The debate was, however, overtaken by events at the end of the month, when Richard, *en route* for London, took possession of the prince at Stony Stratford, and arrested Rivers and other members of the prince's circle. By the time the prince and his uncle entered London on 4 May it seems to have been generally believed that Richard would indeed be protector, and he assumed the office almost immediately.

For the next few weeks the regime functioned smoothly. Richard's claims that the Woodvilles had been threatening to take power by force may not have been believed in detail (and he was unable to secure their execution on the grounds that their actions against him constituted treason) but there seems to have been little sympathy for them, and the protector was able to call on the support of Edward IV's former servants against Rivers's brother Edward Woodville, who was in command of a fleet in the channel. The regime's main problem was financial rather than political. Edward IV had left little cash in hand at his death and it was unclear where the money was to be found for the coronation, now scheduled for 22 June. Richard himself paid £800 towards the king's household expenses within this period. This period of harmony is ignored by the chroniclers, who tend to telescope the seizure of the prince and Richard's usurpation, as if one led inexorably to the other. That was not the case, and the protectorate was still viable when Richard chose to end it.

The usurpation of the throne

The date of that decision can be fixed fairly precisely. On 9 June government was still proceeding as normal, and the council meeting that day was still absorbed in how to meet the costs of the coronation. On 10 June 1483 Richard wrote to York for military help against Queen Elizabeth and her associates 'which have intended and daily doth intend to murder and utterly destroy us' (Attreed, 714). A Woodville conspiracy against Richard is not improbable—the measures he had taken against the family since seizing power gave them grounds for resentment—but given their political isolation it is hard to see them as a serious threat. It is more likely that, as at the beginning of May, Richard was maximizing the danger of disaffection as an argument for increasing his own authority as a bulwark against political instability. In April and May it had justified his assumption of the protectorship; now it was tacitly to justify his taking the throne.

On 13 June Edward IV's chamberlain and friend, William, Lord Hastings, was seized and executed at the Tower of London; again, it was claimed, this action was in response to an attempt by him to attack the protector. A more likely explanation is that Hastings had been sounded on Richard's plans to claim the throne and had refused to

be party to them. Other councillors were arrested: Lord Stanley, the archbishop of York, and the bishop of Ely. With hindsight it seems a clear avowal of Richard's designs on the throne, but contemporaries apparently still hesitated to draw that conclusion. On 16 June the queen (who had taken sanctuary at Westminster at the end of April) was persuaded by the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of Lincoln to hand over her second son, the duke of York, to attend his brother's coronation. With both the sons of Edward IV in his hands, Richard immediately postponed the coronation, this time until 9 November.

From this point government business began to wind down as men awaited a change of ruler. On 22 June Dr Ralph Shaw publicized Richard's claim to the throne in a sermon at Paul's Cross. According to Dominic Mancini, Richard initially claimed that his brother had been illegitimate, but, if so, this line was afterwards abandoned and it was argued instead that his sons were illegitimate, on the grounds that Edward IV, before his marriage to Elizabeth Woodville, had been precontracted to another woman—later identified as Eleanor Butler (*née* Talbot). Contemporaries, and most subsequent historians, have regarded this as an *ex post facto* justification for a decision taken on other grounds: Richard took the throne because he wanted it. But that still leaves open the question of Gloucester's motivation. Ambition no doubt played a part, but Richard may also have persuaded himself that he was genuinely the best man to preserve the polity created by his brother. In one sense he was probably right, but many contemporaries were not prepared to accept that the end (the accession of an experienced adult) justified the means (the deposition of a child king).

That hostility was not, however, immediately apparent. Richard's seizure of power evidently happened too quickly, and was too shockingly unexpected, for people to concert opposition. He took his seat at Westminster on 26 June, in a ceremony modelled on that of his brother in 1461, and was crowned on 6 July. At that stage Richard clearly still believed that he had carried all his brother's servants with him, save for the Woodvilles and their immediate circle, and the opening weeks of his reign are marked by almost complete continuity of personnel in central and local government.

The rebellion of 1483

After the coronation Richard set off on a progress around his realm, which was to culminate in his triumphant entry into York on 29 August. Shortly after he left London late in July news reached him of an attempt to rescue the princes from the Tower of London. The attempt had failed, but it probably prompted the princes' death. Certainly contemporaries quickly came to believe that the princes were dead, for, when opposition next surfaced, it did so with Margaret Beaufort's son, Henry Tudor, as its figurehead: an inconceivable choice if Edward V and his brother were thought to be still available. News of the rebellion in Tudor's favour reached Richard as he travelled south through Lincolnshire in the second week of October, although it took time for the full extent of the unrest to become apparent. The rebellion affected English counties south of a line from the Wash to the River Severn. It was probably also intended to include Wales, where the elevation during the protectorate of Richard's ally, the duke of Buckingham, had challenged the power of Edward IV's servants in the region; but Buckingham's decision to join the rebels neutralized that element of the rising directed

against him, and Tudor writers were agreed that it was the failure of Buckingham to win support that led to the collapse of the rising elsewhere. By the beginning of November the rebellion was effectively over.

Although the rebellion had collapsed without coming to battle, it left Richard III with two uncomfortable legacies. One was the existence, for the first time since 1471, of an acknowledged rival claimant to the throne. The other was the revelation that Richard did not, as he had assumed, enjoy the support of his brother's former servants in the south, many of whom had joined the rebels. The king's response was to use the land and offices forfeited by the rebels to establish trusted servants, many of them from the north-east, in the areas most badly affected by the rebellion, where they could spearhead the reassertion of royal authority: a process which was already under way before the attainder of the rebels in the parliament of January 1484. This 'plantation' of outsiders was deeply unpopular, and was to breed further disaffection in the counties concerned.

Continuing unrest

In the short term, however, the rebellion's failure brought Richard a few months of apparently unchallenged authority. Parliament endorsed his title to the throne and granted him the customs revenues for life. Some rebels had sued for pardon before parliament rose, and escaped attainder; others returned to the fold in the course of the spring. But in July 1484 there were further signs of unrest. A commission was appointed to investigate 'great treasons' in the south-west, and, in London, William Collingbourne and others conspired to incite Tudor to invade. On 18 July Collingbourne pinned rhymes and ballads of seditious language on the doors of St Paul's including, presumably, the doggerel credited to him by Tudor writers:

The Cat, the Rat and Lovell our Dog
Rule all England under a Hog.

Ross, *Richard III*, xxxiii Although Richard's inner circle was not limited to William Catesby, Richard Ratcliffe, and Francis, Viscount Lovell (the others, including James Tyrell and Marmaduke Constable, did not lend themselves to animal imagery), the verse highlights Richard's identification with an unacceptably narrow clique.

There was more unrest in the winter of 1484–5, centred on Essex and Hertfordshire but with links to the Calais garrison, where the commander of Hammes, James Blount, freed the Lancastrian earl of Oxford and went with him to Tudor. Again the unrest came to nothing, partly at least because Tudor was not yet ready to act. But it involved members of Richard's own household: former servants of Edward IV who had initially supported Richard but had now reconsidered their position. This continuing seepage of loyalty reflects the growing credibility of Henry Tudor. At Christmas 1483 Tudor had strengthened his appeal to disaffected Yorkists by promising to marry Edward IV's daughter Elizabeth were he to gain the throne. Of more practical consequence, however, was his acquisition of military backing from France. After the collapse of the rising of 1483 Tudor had returned to Brittany, and during 1484 Richard had been negotiating with Pierre Landais, the Breton treasurer, for Tudor's surrender. By autumn the negotiations were close to success, but Tudor was alerted and escaped to

France, offering Charles VIII a chance of putting pressure on England. Polydore Vergil, who was well informed about this stage in Tudor's career, noted that once he was based in France men began to make their way from England to join him.

The search for stability

Richard's response to Tudor's growing authority was to seek an understanding with the Woodvilles. Edward IV's daughters had left sanctuary and entered Richard's care in March 1484, but the first indication of a real thaw in relations came at Christmas 1484, when the attention paid by Richard to his niece Elizabeth scandalized the Crowland chronicler. The king's motives were, however, likely to have been political rather than sexual. In January Richard Woodville and John Fogge bound themselves to be faithful lieges of the king, and in March Richard Haute of Ightham, like Fogge a close Woodville associate, secured a royal pardon. Richard had also won over Elizabeth Woodville and it was probably about this time that she persuaded her son the marquess of Dorset to abandon Tudor and return to England, although the plan was foiled by Humphrey Cheyne, one of the other exiles in Tudor's company.

In England, too, there were powerful vested interests opposed to the Woodvilles' rehabilitation. On 16 March 1485 Queen Anne died and Richard, whose only legitimate son had died the previous year, began the search for a second wife. Joanna of Portugal was among the candidates under consideration and so, evidently, was Elizabeth of York. Indeed the rumour that reached Tudor claimed Richard had already married her —news which, in Vergil's graphic phrase, 'pinched him by the very stomach' (*Polydore Vergil's 'English History'*, 215). But Henry's anxiety was premature. According to the Crowland chronicler, Catesby and Ratcliffe were intent on blocking the proposed marriage. They found canonists to argue that it would be impossible to secure a dispensation for an uncle's marriage to his niece, and further claimed that such a marriage would lose Richard the support of his northern allies, who would think that Richard had murdered Anne Neville in order to marry Elizabeth. The claim echoes the Crowland chronicler's own suspicions of Richard's relationship to Elizabeth, but he adds that the counsellors' real motive was unwillingness to see the restoration of the Woodvilles.

Faced with such opposition Richard publicly denied that he had considered marriage to Elizabeth. His declaration, made before 'the substance of all our household' (Attreed, 360), was a tacit assurance that the interests of his servants who had benefited from the forfeitures of the Woodvilles and others would be protected. The episode reveals the extent to which Richard's reliance on trusted associates in the aftermath of the rebellion of 1483 had created a power base that was not only limited but self-limiting. Richard therefore had little hope of winning over former opponents, and instead had to deal with opposition as it occurred. Although he issued orders against seditious speech and probably engaged in counter-espionage, the efficacy of such measures is likely to have been limited.

Even so, time was probably on Richard's side. Much of Henry Tudor's credibility derived from French backing and, if French policy towards England changed, that backing would be withdrawn. As king, Richard still commanded obedience. Although there are signs that the associates of the inner circle to whom he turned for particularly sensitive assignments were finding themselves overstretched, the routine

manifestations of royal government (such as local commissions) could still be maintained. In spite of the erosion of loyalty, in practical terms Richard's regime had not ceased to be viable.

The king's difficulties in 1485 were not only political. Finance was evidently also a problem. Richard had inherited an empty treasury from his brother, although he may have taken over Edward's jewels and plate, the fate of which is unknown. One measure of financial stringency is likely to be the truce with Scotland in September 1484. Richard had probably regarded the campaigns of 1481–2 against Scotland as 'his' war, and he agreed to the truce grudgingly. Another sign of difficulty is his request for loans from his subjects in February and March 1485. These were not the same as the 'benevolences' to which Edward IV had resorted and which Richard had outlawed in parliament—which were gifts rather than loans—but the Crowland chronicler thought that there was nothing to choose between them, and the insistence of Tudor chroniclers that Richard had squandered the wealth left by Edward IV, although assuming a royal hoard which (in cash terms, at least) did not exist, may also be testimony to contemporary dislike of his financial expedients. Those expedients also included maximizing the yield from the royal lands, and from what would later be called 'prerogative' revenues—tactics previously employed by Edward IV.

The Bosworth campaign

The military defeat of Tudor would have resolved many of Richard's problems, as well as giving him the divine sanction that his regime signally lacked, and it is likely that Richard genuinely welcomed his rival's invasion. According to the Crowland chronicler, when the king heard of Tudor's landing he rejoiced; after his victory he would 'comfort his subjects with the blessings of unchallenged peace' (Pronay and Cox, 176). But the king's public confidence was misplaced. When the two armies met near Dadlington, Leicestershire, on 22 August 1485 the victory was Tudor's, although Richard, who had the larger army, seems to have come close to success. Almost nothing is known of the course of the battle, now known as the battle of Bosworth after the nearby town of Market Bosworth, but it is generally assumed that the climax of the engagement was a charge against Tudor's position led by the king in person. The Yorkist forces apparently came very close to Tudor himself, but at the last moment William Stanley threw in his troops, hitherto unengaged, on Tudor's side, and Richard was overwhelmed and killed, 'fighting manfully in the thickest press of his enemies' (*Polydore Vergil's 'English History'*, 224).

Richard had already been aware of the risk from the Stanleys. Indeed he had probably expected Thomas, Lord Stanley, to support his stepson Henry Tudor in 1483. In the event he did not, and Richard's surprise as much as his gratitude is reflected in the rewards that Stanley received and in the lenient treatment accorded to his wife, Margaret Beaufort, who was Tudor's mother. This harmony had eroded by the summer of 1485, when Richard was not prepared to allow Lord Stanley to leave court unless he left his son George, Lord Strange, as hostage for his good behaviour. This subsequently kept Lord Thomas from the battle, and the family forces were led instead by his brother William. In spite of Richard's manifest hostility, William Stanley seems to have hesitated before committing his men on Tudor's side, which may imply that even when battle was engaged Stanley thought Richard likely to win.

Richard III and the north

By the time William Stanley acted, Richard's numerical superiority had probably been eroded by the failure of the earl of Northumberland to engage his troops. Recent writers have been divided on whether the earl's inactivity was deliberate, but most have regarded him as the leader of the many who, according to Vergil, 'forbore to fight ... and departed without any danger, as men who desired not the safety but destruction of that prince whom they hated' (*Polydore Vergil's 'English History'*, 224). If Northumberland was sufficiently disenchanted to withhold his support, it was presumably as a result of Richard's manifest unwillingness to allow him to take over his own former role in the north. Once the rebellion of 1483 had shown the limits of southern support for the new regime, Richard's northern retinue became a vital prop to royal authority, and something which he could not risk allowing to pass under other control. Initially Richard's former ducal council, now nominally acting for his son Edward, served as a focus for the king's affinity. After Edward's death in April 1484 the council was reconstituted as the council in the north, and was headed, not by Northumberland, but by the king's nephew John, earl of Lincoln, whose independent standing in the north was negligible. In spite of Lincoln's royal status (he may by this date have been regarded as Richard's heir apparent), Northumberland must have seen the appointment as a snub.

Richard's accession had brought the north into a new, and much more immediate, relationship with the crown. The treatment of Northumberland suggests that the change might not have been without its problems, but, for those of Richard's northern associates who benefited from the forfeitures of his opponents, his brief reign must have seemed a golden age. Francis Bacon, writing of the rising of 1489 in which Northumberland was killed, blamed it on the fact that in the north 'the memory of King Richard was so strong that it lay like lees in the bottom of men's hearts, and if the vessel was but stirred it would come up' (Bacon, 94). Richard's self-identification with the north is reflected in his plans for a chantry of 100 priests in York Minster, where he surely hoped to be buried. In the event his body was taken from the battlefield for burial in the church of the Franciscans at Leicester. In 1495 Henry VII paid for a tomb, but the body was never (as in the case of other deposed kings) translated to a more prestigious burial site, and the tomb was destroyed at the Reformation.

Image and reputation

One strand of Henry Tudor's justification for taking the throne was that he was rescuing England from a tyrant, and Richard III's reputation inevitably darkened under his successors in a way that Edward IV's did not—partly because of Henry VII's marriage to Elizabeth of York and partly because the early Tudor regime was very largely staffed by Edward IV's men. This initial image of a king who seized power and ruled unjustly, best exemplified in the work of Polydore Vergil, gradually developed into a more elaborate picture of an ambitious man intent on clearing his way to the throne from at least 1471. This picture, most potently embodied in Shakespeare's tetralogy (of which *Richard III* is the shocking denouement), presented Richard's career as a series of calculating murders: Edward of Lancaster and Henry VI in 1471; Clarence in 1478;

Hastings, Rivers, Vaughan, and Grey in June 1483; Edward V and his brother later that year; and finally Richard's own wife in 1485. Shakespeare's Richard III was compellingly depicted on film by Laurence Olivier (1955) and Ian McKellen (1995).

Much subsequent writing about the reign centred on whether what came to be called the 'Tudor myth' was true or not. Sir George Buck, who died in 1622, and Horace Walpole, whose *Historic Doubts* appeared in 1767, were early defenders of the king (although Walpole did have second thoughts), and efforts to reverse the Tudor view culminated in Clements Markham in 1906, who saw all hostile references to Richard as the product of Tudor propaganda. Twentieth-century scholarly treatments of the reign have tended to occupy a middle ground, although some popular treatments have remained polarized, including A. L. Rowse's *Bosworth Field* (1966), which accepts Shakespeare as a legitimate historical source for the reign, and P. M. Kendall's sympathetic *Richard III* (1955).

It is easy to refute the 'Tudor myth', with its cold-blooded schemer who revels in evil. Responsibility for the death of Henry VI and Clarence rests at Edward IV's door, although in the latter case it is probably fair to say that Edward could not have executed one brother without at least the tacit acquiescence of the other. There is no evidence that Richard had ambitions to seize the crown before Edward's death, and no evidence that he was someone who enjoyed violence for its own sake. When he ordered the death of his nephews he may very well have justified it to himself (as he justified his own usurpation) as a way of averting unrest, although that, of course, was synonymous with securing his own position. It is unlikely in the extreme that Richard murdered his own wife. But Richard's bad reputation was not entirely a Tudor creation. His usurpation was profoundly shocking, and it is striking that many of the rebels in 1483 had no material motive to rebel, since Richard had shown himself willing to keep them in office. The continuing seepage of loyalty later in the reign also suggests growing reservations in some circles about the propriety of Richard's regime.

These reservations derived from Richard's inability to deliver the continuity and stability that he had promised—the tacit justification of his usurpation. In 1483 he had identified the Woodvilles with factionalism, but his own regime came to be perceived as dominated by a regional clique. Although he expressed a strong commitment to the maintenance of law and order, his reign was marked by unrest and the large-scale seizure of forfeited land, which would have been unsettling in itself, but also led to actions of dubious legality. Richard was condemned out of his own mouth, and it is significant that one of the early criticisms of him was that he was a hypocrite: the word used by William Burton of York in 1491.

Burton also described Richard as a 'crochebak', a description that was to figure largely in later accounts of the king. If Richard did have some physical deformity it is likely to have been slight, probably no more than the uneven shoulders mentioned by Rous and Vergil. Contemporary chroniclers seem agreed that he was small and slight, and the Crowland chronicler refers to his haggard face, a detail that gains support from the most nearly contemporary portraits. These also show Richard fiddling with his rings and tight-lipped, an image of nerviness that recurs in the chronicles, most graphically in Vergil's description of him biting his lower lip, and 'ever with his right hand pulling out of the sheath to the middle, and putting in again, the dagger which he did always wear' (*Polydore Vergil's 'English History'*, 227).

The king's character

Richard's character is even more contentious than his appearance. Many of his attributes were conventional: he enjoyed splendour, he was devout, committed to law and order, an accomplished soldier. But these were the attributes to which anyone of his social standing would aspire. Some traits, however, were more personal. Richard's piety, which manifested itself in conventional ways, seems to have been coloured in his later years by a deep sense of insecurity, at least judging by the prayer for King Richard copied into his book of hours, in which the king identifies himself with unjustly persecuted heroes and heroines of the Old Testament. Earlier in his career he may more naturally have associated himself with the judges and commanders of Israel. His career as a soldier was evidently important to him, and was accompanied by the physical bravery to which Vergil testifies. But it is his role as arbiter and judge that appears most strongly in the records, and there is no reason to doubt his assertion, uttered twice in the course of an Essex legal dispute, that 'we intend, nor will none otherwise do at any time, but according to the king's laws' (Horrox, *Richard III: a Study of Service*, 66).

Richard's career in the north showed him capable of inspiring great loyalty, although this is much less marked after his accession, perhaps in part because of the strain he found himself under. His sense of insecurity may explain the apparent deviousness that Tudor writers thought they could identify in him. In other respects he does not seem to have been the calculating schemer of later writing. On the contrary, confronted with a problem, Richard seems to have had a preference for immediate action. His usurpation and reign rested on a whole series of short-term solutions, and many of the difficulties of his reign had their roots in his apparent failure to think through the likely consequences of his actions. Impulsiveness of a rather different kind comes across in Nikolaus von Poppelau's account of his meeting with the king in 1484. It was to Poppelau that Richard blurted 'With my own people alone and without the help of other princes I should like to drive away not only the Turks, but all my foes' (*Usurpation of Richard III*, 137). Poppelau may have been responding to this openness in Richard when he praised the king's 'great heart', and Vergil, for all his belief in Richard's dissembling, paid a similar tribute to his 'courage ... high and fierce' (*Polydore Vergil's 'English History'*, 227).

Richard and his wife had only one surviving son: Edward, who was probably born in 1476 and died in April 1484. Richard also had two acknowledged bastards: John and Katherine. It is not known when they were born. John, variously described as of Gloucester and of Pontefract, was made captain of Calais in March 1485, and went there in person. He was presumably back in England by the first year of Henry VII's reign, when he was granted an annuity of £20 from Kingston Lacy, Dorset. The manor had previously been Richard's, and the annuity may therefore be a confirmation of provision earlier made by Richard himself. John's later career is not known, but he is presumably the illegitimate son of King Richard who died in captivity in the Tower at about the time of the Warbeck–Warwick conspiracy. Katherine was betrothed in February 1484 to William Herbert, earl of Huntingdon, the marriage to take place before Michaelmas. At the coronation of Queen Elizabeth on 25 November 1487 Herbert is described as a widower, so Katherine may then have been dead, or Herbert may have repudiated the marriage.

Margaret of Anjou



(born March 23, 1430, probably Pont-à-Mousson, Lorraine, Fr.—died Aug. 25, 1482, near Saumur), queen consort of England's King Henry VI and a leader of the Lancastrians in the Wars of the Roses (1455–85) between the houses of York and Lancaster. Strong-willed and ambitious, she made a relentless, but ultimately unsuccessful, effort to obtain the crown for her son, Prince Edward (1453–71).

Margaret was the daughter of René I of Anjou, titular king of Naples. Her marriage to the ineffectual, mentally unbalanced Henry VI in April 1445 was arranged as part of a truce in the Hundred Years' War between France and England. Soon she became a key member of the king's party, which was bitterly opposed by the powerful Richard, duke of York. In May 1455 this factional dispute erupted into armed conflict with a Yorkist victory over the Lancastrians at St. Albans; Richard of York then controlled the government until the indomitable Margaret ousted him from power in 1456.

When hostilities again broke out in 1459, Margaret embittered the struggle by outlawing the Yorkist leaders. After the king was captured by the Yorkists at Northampton in July 1460, she upheld her son's claim to the royal succession and refused to accept the compromise by which York was declared Henry's heir. Her partisans killed York near Wakefield, Yorkshire, in December 1460 and freed the king from captivity at the second Battle of St. Albans in February 1461. But Edward of York, Richard's son, seized the throne as Edward IV on March 4 and crushed Margaret's army at the Battle of Towton, Yorkshire, on March 29. She fled to Scotland with her husband and son.

In 1470 Margaret, then in France, became reconciled with her former Yorkist enemy, Richard Neville, earl of Warwick, who was plotting to overthrow Edward IV and restore Henry VI to the throne. Warwick successfully carried out his plan in October 1470, but Margaret did not return to England until April 14, 1471, the very day that Warwick was killed in battle against Edward IV. At Tewkesbury on May 4, 1471, Margaret was defeated by Edward IV, and her son was killed. Soon afterward her husband was murdered in the Tower of London. Margaret remained in custody in England until the French king Louis XI ransomed her in 1475. She returned to France, where she died in poverty.

"Margaret of Anjou." *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

Elizabeth Woodville

(born 1437—died June 7/8, 1492, London), wife of King Edward IV of England. After Edward's death popular dislike of her and her court facilitated the usurpation of power by Richard, duke of Gloucester (King Richard III).

A woman of great beauty, she was already a widow with two sons when Edward IV married her in May 1464. The match was repugnant to the ruling nobility of the House of York because she was a daughter of the Lancastrians, the traditional enemies of the Yorkists, and because she was not of royal rank. Her penchant for procuring high offices and titles of nobility for her relatives increased her widespread unpopularity.

Because Elizabeth bore Edward two surviving sons and five daughters, the Yorkist succession seemed secure. Within three months after the death (on April 9, 1483) of Edward IV, however, Gloucester had defeated Elizabeth's party and seized the throne from Edward IV's son and successor, the 12-year-old Edward V. It is not entirely clear why Elizabeth, who had taken sanctuary, surrendered her younger son (on June 16) and later her daughters to Richard III. Soon both sons disappeared from Richard's custody, presumably murdered.

After Henry Tudor became king as Henry VII in 1485, he married Elizabeth's eldest daughter; but in 1487 Elizabeth was disgraced—probably for treasonable activities—and forced to withdraw to a convent, where she died five years later.

"Elizabeth Woodville." , Encyclopædia Britannica, 31 Oct. 2017.

Cecily [Cicely] [*née* Cecily Neville], duchess of York

(1415–1495)

By: Christopher Harper-Bill

Cecily [Cicely] [*née* Cecily Neville], duchess of York (1415–1495), Yorkist matriarch, was born on 3 May 1415, eighteenth child of Ralph Neville, first earl of Westmorland (c. 1364–1425), and the tenth from his second marriage, to Joan Beaufort (d. 1440). Some time before 18 October 1424 she was betrothed to Richard, duke of York, Neville's ward, and they married shortly before October 1429. This was one among what has been described as 'the most amazing series of child marriages in English history' (Lander, 121), designed to forge a network of aristocratic alliances. Between 1439 and 1452 Cecily gave birth to twelve children, of whom only six survived infancy. The first, Anne, and the last, the future Richard III, were born at Fotheringhay Castle, Northamptonshire, which appears to have been her favourite residence. Another daughter, Margaret, duchess of Burgundy, may also have been born there. Edward of March (later Edward IV) and Edmund of Rutland were born at Rouen, while their father was governor of France, Elizabeth, who married John de la Pole, second duke of Suffolk, and George, future duke of Clarence, at Dublin, while Duke Richard was lieutenant of Ireland. In 1441 her husband made provision for her, granting her Marshwood, Dorset, Bisley, Gloucestershire, and Pirbright, Surrey, and nine properties in East Anglia; this was probably part of a more comprehensive settlement. On Richard's attainder in 1459 manors worth 1000 marks p.a. were assigned to her, and in June 1461 Edward IV granted her property worth 5000 marks p.a. in recompense for her jointure lands, and probably also gave her an annuity of £107 17s. 4d. In 1486 Henry VII ordered the payment of arrears, and also renewed her licence to export 250½ sacks of wool. Thus, throughout the political vicissitudes in which Cecily's husband and sons were the central figures, her financial security was guaranteed.

As the crisis developed in the 1450s, the fragility of the great marriage network became apparent. Even Cecily's brother, Richard Neville, earl of Salisbury, was prominent among the supporters of Henry VI against York at Dartford in late February 1452. During this decade Cecily had no need to take a high-profile role akin to that of Margaret of Anjou, but when the conflict became open she could not avoid involvement. After Richard's flight from the 'rout of Ludford' in October 1459 she was captured by Lancastrian troops, and when her husband was attainted at the Coventry parliament in November, she apparently threw herself on Henry VI's mercy and intervened successfully for many of her people. She was assigned to the custody of her sister Anne, duchess of Buckingham. In late September 1460 she left London, where she was temporarily resident in John Paston's house rather than the Yorks' home at Baynard's Castle, to meet her husband on his return from Ireland, and the ceremonial nature of their reunion perhaps foreshadowed his ambitions for the throne. These were thwarted by his defeat and death at the battle of Wakefield on 30 December 1460. Cecily sent her two youngest sons to safety in Utrecht, but herself remained in London, where she must have felt extremely vulnerable after Queen Margaret's victory at the second battle of St Albans on 16 February 1461; but in the event eleven days later London opened its gates to the earl of Warwick and Cecily's son Edward, who on 4 March was recognized as king.

For the next twenty-four years, save for brief periods in 1470–71 and 1483, Cecily was mother of the reigning sovereign. In 1461 the papal legate was advised to communicate quickly with her, because of her great influence over her son. This, however, can seldom be documented. Her disapproval of Edward's marriage to Elizabeth Woodville [*see* Elizabeth (c. 1437–1492)] was probably indicated by her absence from the new queen's coronation, on 26 May 1465. Later stories that in June 1469 she went to Sandwich to attempt to dissuade George of Clarence from rising with Warwick against Edward, and that as late as March 1470 she tried to reconcile the two brothers in a meeting at Baynard's Castle, may be apocryphal in their details, while still reflecting reality in showing Cecily as responsive to the extreme danger of division within the Yorkist family. It was now that the rumour of Edward IV's illegitimacy, due to his mother's adultery, was first circulated for political reasons. It re-emerged in 1483, when Richard of Gloucester began his attempt to wrest the crown from his young nephew. Mancini blames Richard for the calumny, and Vergil records that Cecily

complained loud and long of the injury he had done her, but his campaign for the throne was launched from his mother's London house. Even after Richard III's death honourable provision was made for her by Henry VII, for she was the grandmother of his queen consort.

Because of the survival of her detailed will, made at Berkhamsted on 31 May 1495, a few days before her death, and also of a household ordinance book dating from after 1485, Cecily has been taken as a prime exemplar of late medieval female aristocratic piety. These sources document the dedicated regime of literate and ascetic piety practised by an old lady, but against this must be set the ostentatious dynastic religiosity displayed in the reburial of her husband's body at Fotheringhay in 1476, in the planning of which she surely played a part. The scene of her devotions was a lavishly decorated chapel, but her domestic religion was formulated by monastic precept. Her reading included the visions of Mathilde von Hackeborn, a thirteenth-century German Cistercian, the life of St Catherine of Siena, and the *Revelations* of St Bridget of Sweden—a clear indication of a common European religious culture. Her personal contact with the scriptures was made through Nicholas Love's translation of St Bonaventure's *Mirror of the Life of Blessed Jesu Christ*. One of her granddaughters was prioress of the Bridgettines of Syon, another a Dominican nun of Dartford, and she passed on her practical piety to her daughter Margaret, duchess of Burgundy, and, as is increasingly recognized, to Richard III.

Cecily's religion was, however, essentially conservative compared to that of her cousin, Lady Margaret Beaufort, in that she felt no compulsion to educational endowment as a means of strengthening the faith. Perhaps most revealing is her reading of Walter Hilton's *Epistle on the Mixed Life*, an exhortation to contemplation by those necessarily involved in worldly concerns; and most evocative is her bequest to Henry VII of an arras depicting the wheel of fortune, whose revolutions she had experienced so dramatically during her long life. She was buried at Fotheringhay, beside her husband, with a papal indulgence hung round her neck.

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Anne [*née* Anne Neville]

(1456–1485) By: Michael Hicks

Anne [*née* Anne Neville] (1456–1485), queen of England, consort of Richard III, was the younger daughter of Richard Neville, sixteenth earl of Warwick and sixth earl of Salisbury, the Kingmaker (1428–1471), and of his countess, Anne Beauchamp (*d.* 1492), who was heir both to the earldom of Warwick and to the lords Despenser. She was born at Warwick Castle on 11 June 1456 and baptized at the college of St Mary, Warwick. She probably lived principally at Warwick in the 1450s, and divided her time between there and her father's northern castles in the 1460s. She attended the ceremonial reinterment of her grandfather, Richard Neville, earl of Salisbury (1400–1460), at Bisham Abbey in 1463, the enthronement feast of her uncle George Neville (*d.* 1476) as archbishop of York in 1466, and the marriage feast of Margaret of York in 1468. As Warwick had no son Anne and her elder sister, Isabel, were great heiresses, destined to share their parents' Beauchamp, Despenser, and Salisbury inheritances; their cousin George Neville, son of Warwick's brother John, then earl of Northumberland and later Marquess Montagu (*d.* 1471), was heir to the Neville possessions. Warwick apparently wished to marry his heirs as nobly as possible. It was for this reason that he was disappointed when the young Henry Stafford, duke of Buckingham (*d.* 1483), married instead a sister of the queen. The Burgundian chronicler Waurin alleges that as early as 1464 Warwick wished to marry both his daughters to the king's brothers, one of whom, Anne's future husband Richard, duke of Gloucester (afterwards Richard III), was his ward and apparently living in his household from 1465, but Edward IV objected. However, despite royal opposition, Anne's sister Isabel did marry Edward IV's brother George, duke of Clarence (*d.* 1478), at Calais on 11 July 1469.

There followed rebellions by Warwick and Clarence in 1469 (the Edgcote campaign) and early in 1470 (in Lincolnshire), as a result of which both magnates, their wives, and Anne herself took refuge in Normandy about 1 May 1470. Warwick, the French king Louis XI (*r.* 1461–83), and the exiled Margaret of Anjou, queen of the deposed Henry VI, then agreed at Angers on a joint invasion of England to restore Henry VI. This was completely successful. Edward IV fled to Burgundy, and from October 1470 to April 1471 Henry VI reigned once again. His regime was run by Warwick as lieutenant, and by his brother, Archbishop Neville, as chancellor. The treaty of Angers also provided for the marriage of Anne Neville to Henry VI's only son Edward, prince of Wales, whose queen Anne could expect to become. They were solemnly betrothed on 25 July at Angers Cathedral, dispensed from impediments by the patriarch of Jerusalem, and married at Bayeux about 13 December. After visiting Paris, they joined Margaret of Anjou and the countess of Warwick in Normandy and proceeded to England, arriving at Weymouth on Easter Sunday (14 April 1471), the day of Warwick's defeat and death at Barnet. Queen Margaret's army was pursued by Edward IV to Tewkesbury, where on 7 May it was decisively defeated and Anne's husband, Prince Edward, was killed. Edward IV had triumphantly recovered his throne.

Now the widow and daughter of deceased traitors, Anne's future would have been black indeed had not Isabel's husband, Clarence, reconciled himself with Edward IV, taken custody of Anne and her mother, and entered all Warwick's possessions except the Neville lands in the north, which were granted to the king's other brother, Richard of Gloucester. Clarence kept Anne and her mother out of their inheritances, and apparently intended to prevent Anne from remarrying—he may even have concealed her as a kitchen maid, as reported by the Crowland continuator. Clarence's brother Gloucester determined to marry her, however, removed her to the sanctuary of St Martin's-le-Grand, London, and sought her share of her inheritance. Clarence conceded that Gloucester 'may well have my lady his sister in law, but they shall part no livelode, as he saith' (*Paston Letters and Papers*, 1.447). Following a preliminary

agreement in March 1472, and further delays, two acts of parliament in 1474–5 divided the whole estate by setting aside the rights of Anne's mother and her cousin George Neville, so that Anne and Isabel could inherit.

It is not clear when Anne and Richard were married. It has usually been assumed that it was soon after the agreement of March 1472, perhaps immediately after Easter, but they are known only to have married before July 1474, when no papal dispensation had yet been obtained to legitimize their union; there is no evidence that one was ever forthcoming or sought. Anne's share of the partition consisted of the lands in Wales and in the north, which underpinned Gloucester's northern hegemony. They resided mainly in the north, at Middleham and his other northern castles. Her son Edward was born at Middleham, possibly in 1473, but more probably in 1476; there may have been a second son born there on another occasion, perhaps called George. In 1476 Anne was admitted sister to Durham Cathedral priory, and in 1477 she and her husband joined the Guild of Corpus Christi at York. Prayers were to be offered for her soul at the colleges that Gloucester established at her lordships of Middleham and Barnard Castle in 1478.

When Gloucester usurped the throne, on 26 June 1483, Anne became his queen, and shared in his splendid coronation on 6 July. She joined him on progress at Warwick, where he posed as heir to the earls, and at York, where the splendid ceremonies were likened to a second coronation and where their son Edward, was created prince of Wales. She accompanied the king to Cambridge and again to York in 1484. Anne seems to have been a particularly insignificant queen, perhaps because she suffered from ill health. She had a separate household, but does not seem to have had the dowerlands assigned to other queens or even to have controlled her own inheritance, which was managed by officers of the king. She occurs rarely in the chancery records, only occasionally as the instance of grants, but was apparently behind the lavish endowment with portions of her inheritance of Queens' College, Cambridge, formerly patronized by her husband.

The death of her son, Edward, on 9 April 1484 was a shattering blow to both parents, who were described by the Crowland continuator as 'almost out of their minds for a long time when faced with the sudden grief' (*Crowland Chronicle*, 170–1). Thereafter Richard III needed an heir, but Anne was unable to provide one and Richard gave up trying to father one, possibly on medical grounds. At Christmas 1484, the Crowland continuator later reported, the queen and Edward IV's daughter, Elizabeth of York (*d.* 1503), were dressed so similarly as to occasion remark. It was rumoured that Richard wished to set Anne aside, which he could have done if no dispensation had been obtained, and marry his niece Elizabeth instead. This story is supported by a supposed letter of February 1485 of Elizabeth herself, paraphrased by Sir George Buck in 1619, and by the king's formal denial to the citizens of London of any intention to marry her, which the Crowland continuator claims had been prompted by objections from trusted councillors whose primary loyalty was to Anne as the Warwick heir. Richard's denial was made on 30 March, after Queen Anne's death in London on 16 March 1485. As she had evidently been ailing for some time, her death was probably natural, rather than attributable to the poisoning by her husband that was alleged by his enemies. She was buried in Westminster Abbey, on the south side of the high altar.

Little is known about Anne personally, though the chronicler Rous, who knew her, reports that she was beautiful, amiable, virtuous, and gracious. She owned one book, the *Visions of St Matilda*, which she signed 'Anne Warrewyk' and her husband signed 'R. Gloucestre'.

Henry Stafford, 2nd duke of Buckingham

(born c. 1454—died Nov. 2, 1483, Salisbury, Wiltshire, Eng.), a leading supporter, and later opponent, of King Richard III. He was a Lancastrian descendant of King Edward III, and a number of his forebears had been killed fighting the Yorkists in the Wars of the Roses (1455–85).

In 1460 he succeeded his grandfather as Duke of Buckingham, and six years later he was married to Catherine Woodville, sister-in-law of the Yorkist king Edward IV. Nevertheless, as a Lancastrian, Buckingham was excluded from almost all public activity during Edward IV's reign. Upon Edward's death on April 9, 1483, Buckingham moved to help Richard, duke of Gloucester, usurp the throne of the dead king's son and successor, the 12-year-old king Edward V. Buckingham arrested several members of Edward V's party and arranged for the seizure of Edward and his younger brother. He then publicly denied the legitimacy of Edward IV's heirs and exhorted the people to make Gloucester their ruler. After the coronation of Gloucester as King Richard III on July 6, the duke was showered with honours and titles.

Within two months, however, Buckingham had begun plotting with the Lancastrians to overthrow Richard. The plan called for the elevation of the exiled Lancastrian Henry Tudor, earl of Richmond, to the kingship, but Buckingham may have intended ultimately to seize the crown for himself. He was possibly responsible at this time for the mysterious disappearance—and presumed murder—of Edward V and his brother. If so, he probably intended to eliminate two claimants to the throne and blame Richard for the crime. At any rate, in mid-October Buckingham moved with his troops into Herefordshire, but floods barred his passage to London, and in a few days his demoralized army broke up. Buckingham fled but was captured and beheaded.

Cite

While every effort has been made to follow citation style rules, there may be some discrepancies. Please refer to the appropriate style manual or other sources if you have any questions.

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George Plantagenet, duke of Clarence

(born Oct. 21, 1449, Dublin—died Feb. 18, 1478, London), English nobleman who engaged in several major conspiracies against his brother King Edward IV (ruled 1461–70 and 1471–83). He was the younger son of Richard, duke of York (died 1460), whose struggle to gain power precipitated the Wars of the Roses (1455–85) between the houses of York and Lancaster.

Soon after Edward IV became king in March 1461, George was made duke of Clarence, and in 1462 he was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland. But about 1468 Clarence fell under the influence of Richard Neville, earl of Warwick, who was losing the control that he had formerly exercised over the King. In defiance of Edward, Clarence married the Earl's daughter Isabel (July 1469). Then, in March 1470, Clarence and Warwick secretly supported an armed uprising in northern England. When Edward discovered their treachery, they fled to France but returned in September. After Edward went into exile, they put the ineffectual Lancastrian monarch Henry VI, deposed in 1461, back on the throne. But Clarence soon became disenchanted with Warwick's management of the government. When Edward returned from exile in March 1471, the brothers became reconciled, and Clarence, who fought in the battles that led to Edward's restoration, was made earl of Warwick and Salisbury in 1472.

After his wife died in 1476, Clarence sought to wed Mary, duchess of Burgundy. But when Edward objected to that match also, the embittered Clarence once more began scheming against his brother. Edward became convinced that Clarence was aiming at his throne. The Duke was thrown into prison, and in January 1478 the King unfolded the charges against his brother to Parliament. He had slandered the King, had received oaths of allegiance to himself and his heirs, and had prepared for a new rebellion. Both houses of Parliament passed the bill of attainder, and the sentence of death that followed was carried out secretly in the Tower of London on Feb. 18, 1478. Soon after the event, the rumour gained ground that he had been drowned in a butt of malmsey wine.

Two of the Duke's children survived their father: Margaret, countess of Salisbury (1473–1541), and Edward, earl of Warwick (1475–99), who passed the greater part of his life in prison and was beheaded in November 1499.

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Edward IV

also called (until 1459) Earl of March

also called (until 1459) Earl of March (born April 28, 1442, Rouen, Fr.—died April 9, 1483, Westminster, Eng.), king of England from 1461 until October 1470 and again from April 1471 until his death in 1483. He was a leading participant in the Yorkist-Lancastrian conflict known as the Wars of the Roses.

Edward was the eldest surviving son of Richard, duke of York, by Cicely, daughter of Ralph Neville, earl of Westmorland. His father was descended from two sons of the 14th-century king Edward III and, in the 1450s, led a revolt against Henry VI; in 1460, Richard's supporters declared him Henry's successor. When his father was killed in December of that year, Edward gathered an army in Wales and defeated Henry's supporters (called Lancastrians because of Henry's descent from John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster). Edward was crowned as King Edward IV in London on June 28, 1461.

Edward's struggle with Warwick.

Edward at this time showed little promise. He owed his throne largely to his cousin Richard Neville, earl of Warwick, who was in the first years of Edward's reign the most powerful man in England. Warwick crushed Lancastrian resistance in the far north of England between 1462 and 1464 and conducted England's diplomacy. Edward, however, was winning many friends (especially in London) by his comeliness and charm and was determined to assert his independence. On May 1, 1464, he secretly married a young widow, Elizabeth Woodville, of no great rank, offending Warwick and other Yorkist nobles who were planning to marry him to a French princess. By showering favours on Elizabeth's two sons by her first husband and on her five brothers and her seven sisters, Edward began to build up a group of magnates who would be a counterpoise to the Nevilles. Gradually Warwick lost all influence at court, and when he was negotiating an alliance with France, Edward humiliated him by revealing that he had already concluded an alliance (1467) with France's enemy Burgundy. Edward's sister Margaret was married in July 1468 with great pomp to Duke Charles the Bold of Burgundy, and the brothers-in-law planned a joint invasion of France.

Warwick, in a countermove encouraged by Louis XI of France, seized Edward and made him a prisoner in July 1469. But Edward had by now too many supporters (especially in London) for him to be kept under tutelage for long. He regained his freedom in October; Warwick fled to France, allied himself with the Lancastrians and with Louis, and invaded England in September 1470.

Surprised, Edward fled with a few faithful supporters to the Netherlands in October. Aided by Charles of Burgundy, he and his brother, Richard, duke of Gloucester, returned to England in March 1471. Taking London, he defeated and killed Warwick at Barnet on April 14. On the same day, Queen Margaret (Henry VI's wife) belatedly landed in Dorset from France with her only son, Edward, prince of Wales. Her advisers hoped to gain Lancastrian support in Wales, and it became a race for time between Edward IV's forces and hers as to whether she could get there before he overtook her. At Tewkesbury, after some remarkable forced marches (one of more than 40 miles at a stretch), he caught up with her army on May 4. There he won another crushing victory. Nearly all the remaining Lancastrian leaders were killed on the field or executed afterward, and, after murdering Henry (May 21–22) and repelling an attack on London, Edward was secure for the remainder of his life.

The second half of Edward's reign.

He was now able to revive the project of an invasion of France in concert with the Duke of Burgundy. He made great preparations in 1474 and obtained a large grant from Parliament. In 1475 he invaded France with the largest army, it was said, that had ever left England, but he found the Duke of Burgundy very ill-prepared and the French formidable and willing to buy him out. Hence the Treaty of Picquigny was made by which Edward agreed to withdraw from France in return for 75,000 gold crowns down and a pension of 50,000 gold crowns a year. These sums helped to free Edward from dependence on parliamentary grants. As he grew older, he showed considerable ingenuity in raising money by reviving obsolescent rights and using doubtfully legal devices. Commercial treaties with France (1475),

Burgundy (1468), and the Hanseatic League (1474) combined with external peace and growing internal order to revive trade strikingly after 1475, and this benefitted the customs duties and other revenues. Edward became a trader himself, transporting goods in his own ships and those of foreign merchants. He began a reorganization of the revenues from the crown estates, experimenting with methods of improving yields and promoting more efficient auditing under officials of the flexible royal household treasury instead of the unadaptable Exchequer. These and other measures enabled him to leave behind a fortune; some of his improved financial administration was continued and developed by his successors Richard III and Henry VII.

The last decade of Edward's reign also saw an improvement in law enforcement. One especially disturbed area was Wales and the Welsh marches; Edward used the royal estates there as a foundation on which to base a council that acted in the name of his infant heir, the Prince of Wales, and employed the royal prerogative to make a start in repressing disorder. It was the forerunner of the council of Wales and the marches that subjugated the area to English rule.

Modern research has emphasized these administrative achievements of Edward IV, and contemporary and Tudor historians viewed his later years as a time of prosperity and success. He rebuilt St. George's Chapel, Windsor, and collected illuminated Flemish manuscripts. He was also a friend and patron of the printer William Caxton, and his book collection became the foundation of the Old Royal Library, later one of the glories of the British Museum.

Edward's promiscuity enabled Richard of Gloucester, after his death, to question the validity of his marriage and so to ruin his sons. As a young man Edward had been trustful and openhanded, but his experiences made him increasingly suspicious, leading him in 1478 to execute his brother George, duke of Clarence, who in former years had sided with Warwick against him. In 1482, Louis XI, in order to come to terms with the rulers of Burgundy, tacitly repudiated the Treaty of Picquigny and the annual tribute that it provided. Edward contemplated a fresh invasion of France, but before it could be carried out he fell ill and died at the age of only 40. By Elizabeth Woodville he had seven children who survived him: two sons, Edward (afterward Edward V) and Richard, duke of York, who were probably murdered in the Tower of London in August 1483, and five daughters, of whom the eldest, Elizabeth, married Henry VII.

Alexander Reginald Myers

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Henry VII

also called (1457–85) Henry Tudor, earl of Richmond

also called (1457–85) Henry Tudor, earl of Richmond (born January 28, 1457, Pembroke Castle, Pembrokeshire, Wales—died April 21, 1509, Richmond, Surrey, England), king of England (1485–1509), who succeeded in ending the Wars of the Roses between the houses of Lancaster and York and founded the Tudor dynasty.

Early life

Henry, son of Edmund Tudor, earl of Richmond, and Margaret Beaufort, was born nearly three months after his father's death. His father was the son of Owen Tudor, a Welsh squire, and Catherine of France, the widow of King Henry V. His mother was the great-granddaughter of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, whose children by Catherine Swynford were born before he married her. Henry IV had confirmed Richard II's legitimation (1397) of the children of this union but had specifically excluded the Beauforts from any claim to the throne (1407). Henry Tudor's claim to the throne was, therefore, weak and of no importance until the deaths in 1471 of Henry VI's only son, Edward, of his own two remaining kinsmen of the Beaufort line, and of Henry VI himself, which suddenly made Henry Tudor the sole surviving male with any ancestral claim to the house of Lancaster.

As his mother was only 14 when he was born and soon married again, Henry was brought up by his uncle Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke. When the Lancastrian cause crashed to disaster at the Battle of Tewkesbury (May 1471), Jasper took the boy out of the country and sought refuge in the duchy of Brittany. The house of York then appeared so firmly established that Henry seemed likely to remain in exile for the rest of his life. The usurpation of Richard III (1483), however, split the Yorkist party and gave Henry his opportunity. His first chance came in 1483 when his aid was sought to rally Lancastrians in support of the rebellion of Henry Stafford, duke of Buckingham, but that revolt was defeated before Henry could land in England. To unite the opponents of Richard III, Henry had promised to marry Elizabeth of York, eldest daughter of Edward IV; and the coalition of Yorkists and Lancastrians continued, helped by French support, since Richard III talked of invading France. In 1485 Henry landed at Milford Haven in Wales and advanced toward London. Thanks largely to the desertion of his stepfather, Lord Stanley, to him, he defeated and slew Richard III at the Battle of Bosworth on August 22, 1485. Claiming the throne by just title of inheritance and by the judgment of God in battle, he was crowned on October 30 and secured parliamentary recognition of his title early in November. Having established his claim to be king in his own right, he married Elizabeth of York on January 18, 1486.

Yorkist plots

Henry's throne, however, was far from secure. Many influential Yorkists had been dispossessed and disappointed by the change of regime, and there had been so many reversals of fortune within living memory that the decision of Bosworth did not appear necessarily final. Yorkist malcontents had strength in the north of England and in Ireland and had a powerful ally in Richard III's sister Margaret, dowager duchess of Burgundy. All the powers of Europe doubted Henry's ability to survive, and most were willing to shelter claimants against him. Hence, the king was plagued with conspiracies until nearly the end of his reign.

The first rising, that of Lord Lovell, Richard III's chamberlain, in 1486 was ill-prepared and unimportant, but in 1487 came the much more serious revolt of Lambert Simnel. Claiming to be Edward, earl of Warwick, the son of Richard III's elder brother, George, duke of Clarence, he had the formidable support of John de la Pole, earl of Lincoln, Richard III's heir designate, of many Irish chieftains, and of 2,000 German mercenaries paid for by Margaret of Burgundy. The rebels were defeated (June 1487) in a hard-fought battle at Stoke (East Stoke, near Newark in Nottinghamshire), where the doubtful loyalty of some of the royal troops was reminiscent of Richard III's difficulties at Bosworth. Henry, recognizing that Simnel had been a mere dupe, employed him in the royal kitchens.

Then in 1491 appeared a still more serious menace: Perkin Warbeck, coached by Margaret to impersonate Richard, the younger son of Edward IV. Supported at one time or another by France, by Maximilian I of Austria, regent of the Netherlands (Holy Roman emperor from 1493), by James IV of Scotland, and by powerful men in both Ireland and

England, Perkin three times invaded England before he was captured at Beaulieu in Hampshire in 1497. Henry was also worried by the treason of Edmund de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, the eldest surviving son of Edward IV's sister Elizabeth, who fled to the Netherlands (1499) and was supported by Maximilian. Doubtless the plotters were encouraged by the deaths of Henry's sons in 1500 and 1502 and of his wife in 1503. It was not until 1506, when he imprisoned Suffolk in the Tower of London, that Henry could at last feel safe. When he died, his only surviving son, Henry VIII, succeeded him without a breath of opposition.

For eign policy

In the early years of his reign, in a vain attempt to prevent the incorporation of the duchy of Brittany into France, Henry found himself drawn along with Spain and the Holy Roman emperor into a war against France. But he realized that war was a hazardous activity for one whose crown was both impoverished and insecure, and in 1492 he made peace with France on terms that brought him recognition of his dynasty and a handsome pension. Thereafter, French preoccupation with adventures in Italy made peaceful relations possible, but the support that Maximilian and James IV gave to Warbeck led to sharp quarrels with the Netherlands and Scotland. The economic importance of England for the Netherlands enabled Henry to induce Maximilian and the Netherlands to abandon the pretender in 1496 and to conclude a treaty of peace and freer trade (the *Intercursus Magnus*).

With Scotland the long tradition of hostility was harder to overcome, but Henry eventually succeeded in concluding in 1499 a treaty of peace, followed in 1502 by a treaty for the marriage of James IV to Henry's daughter Margaret. James's consent to the match may have been fostered by the arrival in England of Catherine of Aragon for her marriage with Prince Arthur in 1501. Spain had recently sprung into the first rank of European powers, so a marriage alliance with Spain enhanced the prestige of the Tudor dynasty, and the fact that in 1501 the Spanish monarchs allowed the marriage to take place is a tribute to the growing strength of the Tudor regime in the eyes of the European powers.

After Arthur's death in 1502, Henry was in a strong position to insist on the marriage of Catherine to his surviving son, Henry (later King Henry VIII), since he had possession both of Catherine's person and of half her dowry, and Spain needed English support against France. Indeed, in these last years of his reign, Henry had gained such confidence in his position that he indulged in some wild schemes of matrimonial diplomacy. But the caution of a lifetime kept him from involvement in war, and his foreign policy as a whole must not be judged by such late aberrations. He had used his diplomacy not only to safeguard the dynasty but to enrich his country, using every opportunity to promote English trade by making commercial treaties. He made his country so prosperous and powerful that he was able to betroth his daughter Mary to the archduke Charles (afterward Emperor Charles V), the greatest match of the age.

Government and administration

In home affairs, Henry achieved striking results largely by traditional methods. Like Edward IV, Henry saw that the crown must be able to display both splendour and power when occasion required. This necessitated wealth, which would also free the king from embarrassing dependence on Parliament and creditors. Solvency could be sought by economy in expenditure, such as avoidance of war and promotion of efficiency in administration, and by increasing the revenue. To increase his income from customs dues, Henry tried to encourage exports, protect home industries, help English shipping by the time-honoured method of a navigation act to ensure that English goods were carried in English ships, and find new markets by assisting John Cabot and his sons in their voyages of discovery. More fruitful was the vigorous assertion of royal fiscal rights, such as legal fees, fines and amercements, and feudal dues. This was largely achieved by continuing Yorkist methods in ordering most of the royal revenue to be paid into the chamber of the household, administered by able and energetic servants and supervised by the king himself, instead of into the Exchequer, hidebound by tradition. So efficient and ruthless were Henry's financial methods that he left a fortune to his successor and a legacy of hatred for some of his financial ministers.

In restoring order after the civil wars, Henry used more traditional methods than was once thought. Like the Yorkist kings, he made use of a large council, presided over by himself, in which lawyers, clerics, and lesser gentry were active members. Sitting as the Court of Star Chamber, the council dealt with judicial matters, but less than was formerly thought. Nearly all the heavy fines levied for the illegal retaining of armed men toward the end of his reign were imposed in the Court of King's Bench and by the justices of assize. Special arrangements were made for hearing poor men's causes in the council and for trying to promote better order in Wales and the North by setting up special

councils there, and more powers were entrusted to the justices of the peace. The king, moreover, could not destroy the institution of retainers, since he depended on them for much of his army, and society regarded them as natural adjuncts of rank. So Henry's government was conservative, as it was in its relations with Parliament and with the church.

Character

The whole of Henry's youth had been spent in conditions of adversity, often in danger of betrayal and death, and usually in a state of poverty. These experiences, together with the uncertainties of his reign, taught him to be secretive and wary, to subordinate his passions and affections to calculation and policy, to be always patient and vigilant. There is evidence that he was interested in scholarship, that he could be affable and gracious, and that he disliked bloodshed and severity, but all these emotions had to give way to the needs of survival. The extant portraits and descriptions suggest a tired and anxious-looking man, with small blue eyes, bad teeth, and thin white hair. His experiences and needs had also made him acquisitive, a trait that increased with age and success, and one that was opportune for both the crown and the realm.

Alexander Reginald Myers EB Editors

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Edward V

(1470–1483)

By: Rosemary Horrox



Edward V (1470-1483)

stained glass, c. 1482

by kind permission of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury Cathedral

Edward V (1470-1483), king of England and lord of Ireland, the eldest son of Edward IV (1442-1483) and his queen, Elizabeth (c. 1437-1492), was born in Westminster sanctuary on 2 November 1470, during his father's exile and the readoption of Henry VI. He was baptized in the abbey, the abbot and prior of Westminster and Lady Scrope standing sponsor. After Edward IV had regained the kingdom, his son was created prince of Wales and earl of Chester on 26 June 1471, and on 3 July in the parliament chamber the lords spiritual and temporal took an oath of allegiance to him as heir to the throne. On 8 July the rule of his household and lands until he reached the age of fourteen was entrusted to a council headed by his mother, his paternal uncles the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, and his maternal uncle Anthony Woodville, Earl Rivers. He received grants of the principality of Wales, the counties of Chester and Flint, and the duchy of Cornwall on 17 July, but enjoyed none of the revenues until November 1472, when the issues of the principality and of Chester and Flint were assigned to him. On 20 February 1473 his council was enlarged and given full powers to act in the prince's name, and on 23 September ordinances were drawn up for the good rule of the prince and his household. On 10 November John Alcock, bishop of Rochester, was given responsibility for the prince's education and made president of his council, and Rivers was appointed his governor. The prince was named keeper of the realm on 20 June 1475, during the king's absence in France, and as a preliminary he was knighted on 18 April and made a knight of the Garter on 15 May, though a stall had been reserved for him since 1472.

From 1476 Edward's council, based at Ludlow, developed into the main agent of royal authority in Wales and the marches. At the same time the prince's territorial interests were gradually expanded to embrace the lands of the earldoms of March and Pembroke. The prince was not permanently based at Ludlow. In May 1481 he went with the king to Sandwich to review the fleet which John, Lord Howard, was leading against Scotland, and early in 1483 he was due to visit Canterbury with the queen, but an outbreak of measles in the city led to the cancellation of this visit. Various marriages were suggested for him. In 1476-7 a match with the Spanish infanta, Isabella, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, was under discussion, and other suggestions included the daughter of Galeazzo Sforza, duke of Milan, and the sister of Maximilian, archduke of Austria and duke of Burgundy. In 1480 negotiations began for his marriage to Anne, the heir of Brittany, and the marriage treaty was ratified by Edward IV and François, duke of Brittany, in 1481.

Edward was at Ludlow when his father died at Windsor on 9 April 1483. Edward IV had apparently intended his son to be crowned immediately, and the coronation was fixed for 4 May. There were, however, anxieties about the degree of influence likely to be wielded by the Woodville family, who were already influential within the territories of the prince and his brother. As it made its way towards London the prince's party was intercepted at Stony Stratford by Richard, duke of Gloucester, who took possession of the prince and arrested his leading companions, including the prince's uncle Rivers and half-brother Richard Grey, claiming that the queen's family were planning to seize power by force. When news of these events reached London, the queen took sanctuary with her younger son, Richard, duke of York, and her daughters.

Gloucester entered London with the prince on 4 May and was shortly afterwards named protector during the prince's minority—a move which seems to have met with general acceptance. For the next six weeks business continued smoothly, with preparations in train for the coronation (now postponed to 22 June) and for the meeting of parliament on 25 June. On 10 June, however, Gloucester wrote north for reinforcements, and on 13 June arrested a number of Edward IV's leading allies at a council meeting at the Tower of London, and executed one of them: the dead king's close friend William, Lord Hastings. With hindsight, this marked the beginning of Richard's moves to take the throne for himself, but at the time the possibility of such an unprecedented step seems not to have been generally believed. On 16 June Cardinal Bourchier was apparently acting in good faith when he persuaded Queen Elizabeth to surrender her second son, who joined his brother in the Tower. Later that day Gloucester sent letters postponing the coronation again to 9 November and cancelling the intended parliament. From this point government in Edward V's name began to wind down, as men awaited the beginning of a new regime. On 22 June Dr Ralph Shaw publicized Gloucester's claim to the throne in a sermon preached at Paul's Cross, and on 26 June the duke seated himself on king's bench in Westminster Hall and began his reign as Richard III.

The speed with which Gloucester acted precluded any expression of dissent until after his coronation on 6 July, but later that month a conspiracy to rescue the princes was uncovered. The men put on trial for their part in the plot were insignificant figures, although there were undoubtedly more important figures in the background who wished to see Edward V restored. By September, however, the rebels were promoting another candidate for the throne—Henry Tudor—which strongly suggests that the princes were by this stage believed to be dead. Dominic Mancini notes that fears for their safety were being expressed even before Richard's coronation, with men bursting into tears when they spoke of the young king. He also preserves the evidence of the princes' physician, John Argentine, that Edward V anticipated his death and prepared for it with daily confession and penance. The princes' fate continues to arouse controversy. Chronicle accounts of their murder at the hands of Sir James Tyrell are inevitably speculative, and little light has been shed on their death by analysis of the bones found in the Tower in 1674 and assumed to be those of the princes. The most plausible explanation for their undoubted disappearance is that they were murdered on the orders of Richard III, late in the summer of 1483, to try to pre-empt a rising in their favour.

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RotP

Richard, duke of York and duke of Norfolk

(1473–1483)

Rosemary Horrox

Richard, duke of York and duke of Norfolk (1473–1483), prince, the second son of Edward IV and his queen, Elizabeth Woodville, was born at Shrewsbury on 17 August 1473. He was created duke of York on 28 May 1474, and knighted on 18 April 1475. He and his elder brother were made knights of the Garter a month later, on 15 May. His landed endowment was under consideration in the same year, and in March 1475 land formerly belonging to the Welles and Willoughby families was settled on him. Edward IV's will, drawn up before the French expedition of 1475, suggests that the king was then planning an apanage for York based on the duchy of York lordships of Fotheringhay, Stamford, and Grantham, with the duchy of Lancaster estates in the same region. But these plans were superseded by the decision to marry Richard to Anne Mowbray (1472–1481), the sole heir of John (VII) Mowbray, duke of Norfolk. Negotiations began almost immediately after the duke's death in January 1476, although the necessity for a papal dispensation (on the grounds of consanguinity in the third and fourth degrees) meant that the marriage itself did not take place until 15 January 1478, in St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster.

Richard received all the former Mowbray titles. He was made earl of Nottingham on 12 June 1476, and duke of Norfolk and Earl Warenne on 7 February 1477. He also became earl marshal, and lord of Seagrave, Mowbray, and Gower. By an agreement embodied in an act of parliament of 1478, he was given a life interest in the Mowbray lands even if his wife died childless (as in the event she did, at Greenwich on 19 November 1481). This deferred the claims of the two heirs general: William, Lord Berkeley, and John, Lord Howard. In addition Berkeley had been persuaded in May 1476 to surrender his claim altogether in return for the cancellation of debts of £34,000—a surrender confirmed in 1482 by a further act of parliament. In May 1479 Richard was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland, an appointment renewed for a further twelve years in the following year. By 1480 he had his own officers, although they were probably seconded from his father's household, as his chamberlain (the East Anglian knight of the body Thomas Grey) certainly was.

After the death of Edward IV on 9 April 1483 York was probably with his mother. He went with her into sanctuary at Westminster at the very end of the month, when word reached London that the dead king's brother, Richard, duke of Gloucester, had taken control of Edward V and was accusing the Woodvilles of a conspiracy to seize power.

On 16 June the queen was persuaded by Cardinal Bouchier to hand over her son, and York joined his brother in the Tower of London. Gloucester immediately postponed Edward V's coronation, which had been scheduled for 22 June, and on 26 June took the throne for himself on the grounds that the two sons of Edward IV were illegitimate because their father's precontract to Eleanor Butler, *née* Talbot, rendered his marriage to Elizabeth Woodville bigamous.

Opposition to Richard III's seizure of power surfaced quickly, and in July 1483 there was an unsuccessful conspiracy to rescue the two princes from the Tower. But by September Richard's opponents had adopted Henry Tudor as their claimant for the throne, which strongly implies that they believed Edward V and his brother to be dead. The fate of the princes has been the subject of considerable controversy, but their murder on Richard's orders late in the summer of 1483 remains the most probable explanation for their disappearance. The lack of any public statement about their death meant that uncertainties persisted. No pretender emerged in Richard III's own brief reign, but in the 1490s Perkin Warbeck's claims to be Richard, duke of York, gained considerable backing, not all of it factitious.

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Likenesses

stained-glass window, 1482, Canterbury Cathedral

Shore [*née* Lambert], Elizabeth [Jane]

(*d.* 1526/7?)

Rosemary Horrox



Elizabeth Shore (*d.* 1526/7?)

by unknown artist

The Provost and Fellows of Eton College

Shore [*née* Lambert], Elizabeth [Jane] (*d.* 1526/7?), royal mistress, was the daughter of John Lambert (*d.* 1487), citizen and mercer of London, and Amy (*d.* 1488), daughter of Robert Marshall, citizen and grocer of London. She married William Shore (*d.* 1494), a London mercer, but the marriage was annulled in 1476, at her petition, on the grounds of his impotence. The main source for her relationship with Edward IV is

Thomas More, who is responsible (in his *History of Richard III*) for the story that Edward claimed to have three concubines: the merriest, the wiliest, and the holiest harlot in his realm. 'Shore's wife' (the name Jane was attached to her by the dramatist Thomas Heywood in 1599) was the merriest; in More's words: 'a proper wit had she, & could both rede wel & write, mery in company, redy & quick of aunswer, neither mute nor ful of bable, sometime taunting without displesure & not without disport'. More continued with a famous tribute:

For many he had, but her he loved, whose favour to saithe trouth ... she never abused to any mans hurt, but to many a mans comfort. ... And finally in many weighty sutes, she stode many men in gret stede, either for none, or very smal rewardes, & those rather gay then rich: either for that she was content with the dede selfe well done, or for that she delited to be suid unto, & to show what she was able to do wyth the king ...

More, 56

Perhaps predictably, no source from Edward's reign names Elizabeth Shore as a royal mistress, but she does enter the historical record in the next reign. The king's death on 9 April 1483 apparently left her in need of a new protector, and a contemporary reference casts Thomas Grey, marquess of Dorset in that role. In October 1483, when he was in rebellion against Richard III, he was accused of holding 'the unshameful and mischievous woman called Shore's wife in adultery' (*CPR, 1476-85*, 371). The great chronicle of London and Thomas More, by contrast, link her instead with Edward's friend and chamberlain William, Lord Hastings. According to the *Great Chronicle*, she was called to answer for some of Hastings's goods after his death in June 1483 and her own goods were attached by the sheriffs of London. She was also put to public penance 'for the lyfe that she ledd with the said lord hastyngys and othir grete astatys' (Thomas and Thornley, 233). More's account of that penance is another famous set piece: 'In which she went in countenance & pace demure so womanly, & albeit she were out of al array save her kyrtle only: yet went she so fair & lovely ... that her great shame wan her much praise' (More, 54-5).

The claimed association of Elizabeth Shore with Hastings led some later historians to argue that she was an intermediary in a Woodville-Hastings plot against Richard, duke of Gloucester, in June 1483. There is no contemporary support for the claim, and More himself, the source for the story, explicitly dismisses it as an implausible fiction put about by Gloucester. Elizabeth was, however, in political trouble of some sort after Edward's death, and was imprisoned in Ludgate at the commandment of Richard III, as Gloucester became. This is made clear by an undated letter from Richard to the bishop of Lincoln, announcing that the king's solicitor, Thomas Lynom, had contracted matrimony with her, being 'merveillously blynded and abused' (Horrox and Hammond, 3.259). The king hoped that the bishop might be able to talk him out of his infatuation but, failing that, Elizabeth was to be released from gaol if she could find sureties for her good behaviour and given into her father's keeping until the king's return to London. Lynom evidently remained unmoved by episcopal argument, for the will of Elizabeth's father, made in September 1487, makes it clear that the two had married. Elizabeth was bequeathed a bed of arras and (rather pointedly, perhaps) a painted cloth of Mary Magdalen and Martha. Lynom managed to transfer his services to the Tudors and was active on the Welsh border under Henry VII and in the early years of Henry VIII. He was a councillor of Prince Arthur and controller of the rolls of his household.

Lynom was dead by 29 July 1518, and this perhaps provides the context for More's description of Elizabeth fallen into penury in her old age. But More's claim that she had to resort to begging seems overdrawn, particularly if the Thomas Lynom who was active in Wales after 1518 was her son. No definite identification of her children can, however, be made. Her father's will mentions a Julian Lynom, bequeathed 40s., who was perhaps the first child of the marriage, but he cannot be traced. It is not known exactly when Elizabeth died. More writes of her as still alive, though very old, when he was composing his *History of Richard III* in the second decade of the sixteenth century; a variant text of the *History* states that she died in the eighteenth year of Henry VIII (1526/1527). Though not implausible, the date cannot be proved. As Jane Shore she enjoyed a considerable literary afterlife, as the subject of poems, ballads, and plays; the most notable of the latter was Nicholas Rowe's *Tragedy of Jane Shore*, first produced in 1714. She also appears in a number of historical novels.

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Likenesses

oils, Eton [see illus.]

on brass (of her father, John Lambert), Hinxworth, Hertfordshire

Elizabeth [Elizabeth of York]

(1466–1503)

Rosemary Horrox



Elizabeth (1466–1503)

by unknown artist, c. 1502

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Elizabeth [Elizabeth of York] (1466–1503), queen of England, consort of Henry VII, was the eldest child of Edward IV and his wife, Elizabeth Woodville. She was born at Westminster on 11 February 1466 and baptized in the abbey, with the duchesses of York and Bedford and the earl of Warwick as her godparents.

Princess and dynastic pawn

No son was born to Edward and Elizabeth until November 1470 and until then Elizabeth was her father's heir. In the winter of 1469–70 she was betrothed to George, the son of John Neville, Marquess Montagu, as part of Edward IV's attempts to build bridges with the Nevilles after Richard Neville's rising against him earlier in 1469. The arrangement rapidly became a dead letter, however, and was abandoned after the deaths of Montagu and Warwick in opposition to Edward at the battle of Barnet in 1471. In the will drawn up by Edward IV before his invasion of France in 1475, 10,000 marks were set aside for Elizabeth's marriage, but no candidates appear to have been under consideration. That situation was transformed by the French invasion itself. As part of the treaty of Picquigny which concluded the campaign, it was agreed that Elizabeth should marry the dauphin Charles, with a jointure of £60,000 to be provided by Louis XI. Were Elizabeth to die before reaching marriageable age, the sister next to her in age, Mary, was to take her place. In 1481 Mary was betrothed to the king of Denmark, in tacit recognition that her service as reserve was no longer needed. Elizabeth was then fifteen, old enough to marry, although the marriage had still not taken place. That it would never take place became apparent with the Franco-Burgundian treaty of Arras agreed on 23 December 1482. Under the terms of the agreement Charles was to marry the infant daughter of Maximilian of Austria and Mary of Burgundy, and although in the event this marriage, too, failed to take effect, the treaty marked the final collapse of the Picquigny settlement.

Edward IV died on 9 April 1483, his death hastened, according to some accounts, by the diplomatic *débâcle*. None of his daughters was then married, and their situation was transformed by the events which followed. At the end of April, Edward's brother Richard, duke of Gloucester, took possession of the young Edward V. When news of this development reached London, Elizabeth Woodville, with her daughters and younger son Richard, duke of York, took sanctuary at Westminster. On 16 June York was handed over to Gloucester, who immediately cancelled plans for the coronation of Edward V and on 26 June took the throne himself as Richard III. The grounds on which he justified this move were that his brother's marriage to Elizabeth Woodville had been bigamous, due to Edward's earlier betrothal to another woman, and that the children of the marriage were therefore illegitimate and barred from the succession.

Between Richard III and Henry Tudor

Throughout this crisis period, and during the early months of the new reign, Elizabeth and her sisters remained in sanctuary. They were an obvious focus for political disaffection, and the Crowland chronicler believed that there were attempts to remove them from sanctuary and send them overseas. Richard took the precaution of placing a guard on the sanctuary, under the command of John Nesfield, one of his esquires of the body. This, however, could only be a short-term expedient. The presence of his sister-in-law and nieces in sanctuary was a political embarrassment as well as a potential danger for the king, and the need to find some resolution of the problem was emphasized at Christmas 1483. On that day Henry Tudor (1457–1509), who had emerged as the figurehead of opposition to Richard in the rebellion of the previous October, took an oath in Rennes Cathedral to marry Elizabeth of York were he to be successful in making himself king of England. This possibility had been raised earlier in the rebellion's development, and Tudor writers on the rising saw it as the fruit of negotiations between Margaret Beaufort, Tudor's mother, and Elizabeth Woodville.

From Tudor's perspective this was an extremely shrewd move. His own claims to the throne were virtually non-existent and a marriage to Elizabeth would give him credibility. More immediately, he was reliant on Yorkist support in England and associating himself with the descent of the crown through the line of Edward IV was an effective counter to the man who had disrupted that descent. Richard responded by opening negotiations with Elizabeth Woodville, aided by the completeness of the rebellion's collapse in the previous autumn. On 1 March 1484 they reached agreement. Elizabeth and her sisters were to come out of sanctuary and be placed in 'honest places of good name and fame' (Horrox and Hammond, 3.190). Richard guaranteed their safety and promised to maintain them as befitted his kinswomen. He also undertook to find suitable husbands for them, defined as 'gentlemen born', and to settle 200 marks yearly on each of them at marriage. The need to have the sisters safely married off may well have been Richard's main concern. Certainly the possibility that he would lose his chance to marry Elizabeth is said by Polydore Vergil to have 'pinched [Tudor] to the very stomach' (*Anglica historia*, 559). It is revealing, however, that the first, and, in the event, the only one of the sisters to be found a husband in Richard's reign was Cecily—the second eldest sister after the death of Mary in 1482. Elizabeth herself remained unmarried, presumably because the risk of her transmitting a claim to the throne made the choice of husband highly sensitive. The story of Edward IV's 'bigamy' does not seem to have commanded much belief, and Tudor's promise to marry Elizabeth demonstrates the political irrelevance of Elizabeth's bastardization—as, indeed, did the murder of her brothers.

Elizabeth was at court for the Christmas festivities of 1484, where the Crowland chronicler was scandalized by the fact that she and Richard's queen wore similar clothes—although in fact this was not an uncommon assertion of closeness of rank or relationship. As queen herself Elizabeth was often to wear the same clothes as her mother-in-law on formal occasions. At Christmas 1484 the message was indeed striking, being no less than the acceptance of the bastardized daughters of Edward IV back into the royal family, and contemporaries must have been sharply aware of the shift in official thinking which that represented. Less than a year earlier Elizabeth's mother had been routinely referred to simply as 'Elizabeth, late wife of Sir John Grey'. But the chronicler's belief that it was evidence that Elizabeth was being cast as Richard's second wife is coloured by hindsight. Richard's wife, Anne Neville, died on 16 March 1485 and a search immediately began for a new wife for the childless king. Among the names suggested was that of his niece Elizabeth, and it is likely that it was

given serious consideration—serious enough for some of Richard's inner circle to become anxious about the likely political consequences. Their hostility to the proposal led Richard to make a public denial that he had ever contemplated such a marriage.

Queen of England

On 22 August 1485 Richard III was defeated and killed at Bosworth by Henry Tudor, who was crowned king as Henry VII on 30 October. Elizabeth's whereabouts at the time of the battle are uncertain, but afterwards Henry had her placed in the London household of his mother, Margaret Beaufort, along with several of her young kinsmen, including Edward Stafford and the earl of Warwick. The parliament which met on 7 November asserted the legitimacy of Henry's title and annulled the instrument embodying Richard III's title to the throne, which had included the bastardy of Edward IV's children. On 10 December the Commons, through their speaker Thomas Lovell, urged the king to act on his promise to marry 'that illustrious lady Elizabeth, daughter of King Edward IV' and so render possible 'the propagation of offspring from the stock of kings' (*RotP*, 6.278)—a formulation which suggests that, for all Henry's efforts to establish himself on the throne before his marriage, popular feeling still regarded marriage to Elizabeth as a crucial element in his title. Four days earlier Giovanni de Giglis had reported to the pope that 'it is positively asserted that the king is about to marry her, which everybody considers advantageous for the kingdom' (*CSP Venice, 1202-1509*, 1.58). The Lords endorsed the Commons' request and Henry agreed to proceed as they wished. The marriage took place on 18 January 1486. This was in advance of the papal dispensation, which was not issued until March, but had been authorized two days earlier (on 16 January) by a papal legate then present in England, an action retrospectively validated by Pope Innocent VIII in July. Plans were not set in train for Elizabeth's coronation until September 1487, and it took place on 25 November, over a year after she had given birth to Prince Arthur.

It was not until the day after her coronation that Henry made formal landed provision for his wife, although the claim by de Giglis in December 1485 that she had been declared duchess of York may imply that some provision was initially made for her from her father's duchy. The endowment then granted to her was that assigned to her mother as dower in March 1486, and it is unclear whether the transfer was in some way intended as a 'punishment' of the queen dowager (as a number of historians have claimed) or simply a negotiated reassignment of resources within the royal family. It consisted of six duchy of Lancaster manors in Essex, augmented with other land and revenues—apparently less than the provision made for her immediate predecessors. In February 1492 Elizabeth was granted the reversion of some of the duchy of York land still held by her grandmother Cecily, including Wareham, Weymouth, and Portland. Cecily died on 31 May 1495 and the parliament of the following October confirmed Elizabeth's possession of the estates, although errors in their identification meant that a corrected act had to be passed in 1497.

Public affairs

Elizabeth's political role as queen has traditionally been played down, Nicolas going so far as to assert that 'from the moment in which Elizabeth of York became Queen of England her life loses its political interest' (Nicolas, lxxv). Discussion of her role is usually confined to the domestic sphere—including court ceremonial, which is well documented for the early years of Henry's reign. A number of later writers have argued that she was overshadowed by her mother-in-law, the redoubtable Margaret Beaufort, citing the claim of a contemporary Spanish observer that 'she is kept in subjection by the mother of the king' (*CSP Spain, 1485-1509*, 164). An aggrieved minor royal servant, the yeoman of the crown John Hewyk, gave a similar picture when he grumbled that he would have spoken more to the queen 'had [it] not been for that strong whore the king's mother' (Stevenson and others, 3.301). Certainly Margaret seems to have been much more about the court than had been usual for kings' mothers, and although Elizabeth is always given precedence in formal accounts it is clear that contemporaries recognized the presence of *two* powerful royal ladies rather than just one. The impact of this on the personal relationship of the two women is impossible to gauge. The rather pathetic image evoked by the Spanish commentator, who advised his correspondent that 'it would be a good thing to write to her often and show her [the queen] a little love', *might* be a perceptive glimpse behind the public persona, but foreign residents at court are far from infallible guides. The most that can be said is that in the political arena the queen's traditional role as intercessor must in practice have been shared.

'Shared', but not eclipsed. It was Elizabeth to whom a Welsh tenant appealed over an injustice involving the king's uncle Jasper Tudor, and Elizabeth responded with a firm letter to Jasper. It is likely that the relative silence about Elizabeth's political involvement means that her interventions were uncontroversial rather than non-existent. It is usually only when queens were thought to have overstepped the mark, by intervening unilaterally in 'high' politics, that contemporaries commented on their activity. The more subtle forms of influence generally passed unremarked, but it is worth noting that Elizabeth's private expenses, with their famous payments to the humble givers of cherries and puddings, also show that she was the recipient of gifts from the eminent, who presumably thought her goodwill worth having.

Family matters and role at court

Elizabeth naturally retained her links with the surviving members of the Yorkist royal family. She stayed in touch with her aunt Elizabeth, the dowager duchess of Suffolk, and was apparently responsible for arranging for the wife of her disgraced cousin Edmund de la Pole to stay with the duchess of Norfolk. It was Elizabeth who arranged the marriage between her sister Anne and the heir of the earl of Surrey in 1495, and probably that of her sister Katherine to William Courtenay, heir to the earl of Devon, in the same year. Certainly some of the costs of Katherine Courtenay's growing family were later met by the queen, including the wages of the infants' 'rockers'. Given this concern for her sisters to marry well, it may be significant that it was Margaret Beaufort and not Elizabeth who came to the rescue when another sister, Cecily, contracted a *mésalliance* with Thomas Kyme. Beyond her immediate family, too, it is likely that Elizabeth was seen as a route to favour in the new political world. Richard III's treasurer of the chamber, Edmund Chaderton, was taken into Elizabeth's service and ended his life as her chancellor. But it is important not to see this in terms of 'rival' courts. Henry's own household and administration also had a strong Yorkist

component, as did that of Margaret Beaufort. The king proved himself consistently aware of the need to win over Yorkist supporters, including former Ricardians, and his wife had an obvious role to play in that process. Indeed for contemporaries she embodied the process.

Elizabeth played a full role in courtly pursuits. In her more bookish pursuits she is again closely associated with her mother-in-law. Both women sponsored Caxton's printing of *The Fifteen Oes* in 1491, and a few years later they jointly gave a copy of Wynkyn de Worde's printing of Walter Hilton's *Scala perfectionis* to Elizabeth's lady-in-waiting Margery Roos. But if, in the sphere of literary devotion, Elizabeth can be seen as Margaret's protégé, in other areas she took a more independent line. She rewarded the court composers William Cornish and Robert Fayrfax for a Christmas carol and an anthem of Our Lady and St Elizabeth respectively. Secular court revels were a large part of her life as well, with frequent references in her accounts to minstrels and disguisings. Hunting features less often, but she kept a pack of greyhounds (presumably for coursing small game rather than as elegant pets) and a goshawk. Less predictably, she had a hand in the design of Henry's new building at Greenwich, where in 1502 Robert Vertue was working from a plan devised by the queen.

Motherhood and death

For a new and shaky dynasty, ensuring the succession was crucial, and here too Elizabeth lived up to contemporary expectations. Five children survived infancy: Arthur (1486–1502), Margaret (*b.* 29 November 1489), Henry (*b.* 28 June 1491), Mary (1496–1533) and Edmund (*b.* 21–2 February 1499). Several other children died in infancy, including Elizabeth (*b.* 2 July 1492) and Katherine (her last child). But by the time of the queen's own death only Margaret, Mary, and Henry were still alive. Arthur had died on 2 April 1502, and the news reached the court at Greenwich in the early hours of Tuesday 4 April. The royal council sent the king's confessor to break the news to Henry, who asked for Elizabeth to be fetched. She comforted her husband, reminding him of their three surviving children and that 'God is where he was, and we are both young enough.' But on her return to her own chamber 'natural and motherly remembrance of that great loss smote her so sorrowful to the heart that those about her were fain to send for the king to comfort her' (Leland, 5.373–4). As numerous writers have commented, the scene gives the lie to Bacon's claim that there was little love lost between Henry and his wife, and that 'his aversion toward the house of York was so predominant in him as it found place not only in his wars and councils, but in his chamber and bed' (Bacon, 20). A similarly affectionate picture is given by the report that, upon Elizabeth's own death, Henry 'privily departed to a solitary place and would no man should resort unto him' (Chrimes, 304).

The queen's last pregnancy proved fatal. Her surgeon Master Robert was hastily summoned on 22 January, the baby Katherine was born prematurely at the Tower on 2 February 1503, and Elizabeth died nine days later on 11 February, her thirty-seventh birthday. Less than a year previously Henry's court astrologer had forecast that she would live to be at least eighty, and in humanist circles her death became a paradigm of the fallibility of astrology. She was buried at Westminster Abbey, her funeral expenses amounting to £2800. The effigy carried in her funeral procession survives, but it is carved in wood rather than based on a death mask and gives little sense of the queen's appearance. Her portrait survives only in later copies, which suggest that she may have been rather chubby-faced. The Portuguese ambassador described her in 1501 as stout and large breasted—not the image conveyed by the elegant tomb effigy

by Pietro Torrigiano. Two years later the Venetian ambassador Alvise Mocenigo, sending word of her death, summed her up as a 'very handsome woman and in conduct very able' (*CSP Venice, 1202-1509*, 298). There are no dissident voices. Contemporaries were apparently united in their admiration of her, and the narrative of her funeral describes her as 'one of the most gracious and best beloved Princesses in the world' (Nicolas, xcvi).

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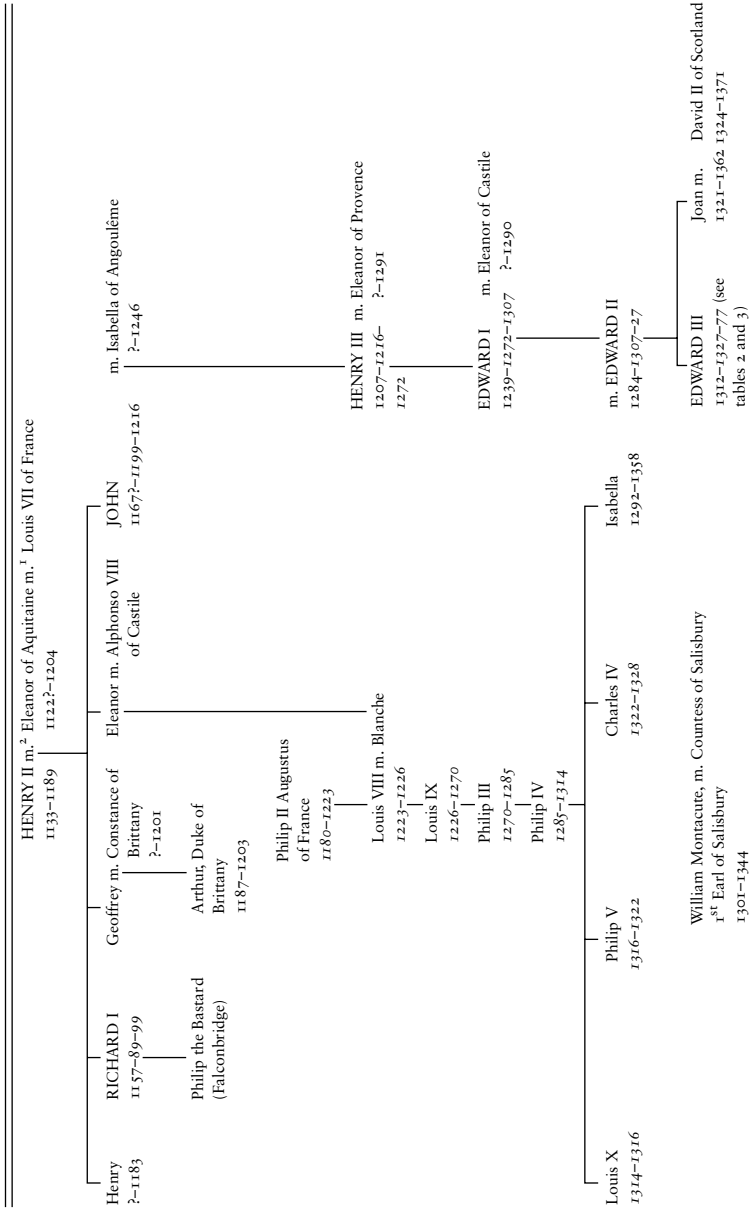
CSP Spain, 1485-1509

CSP Venice, 1202-1509

Family Tree of the Houses of Plantagenet, Lancaster, and York

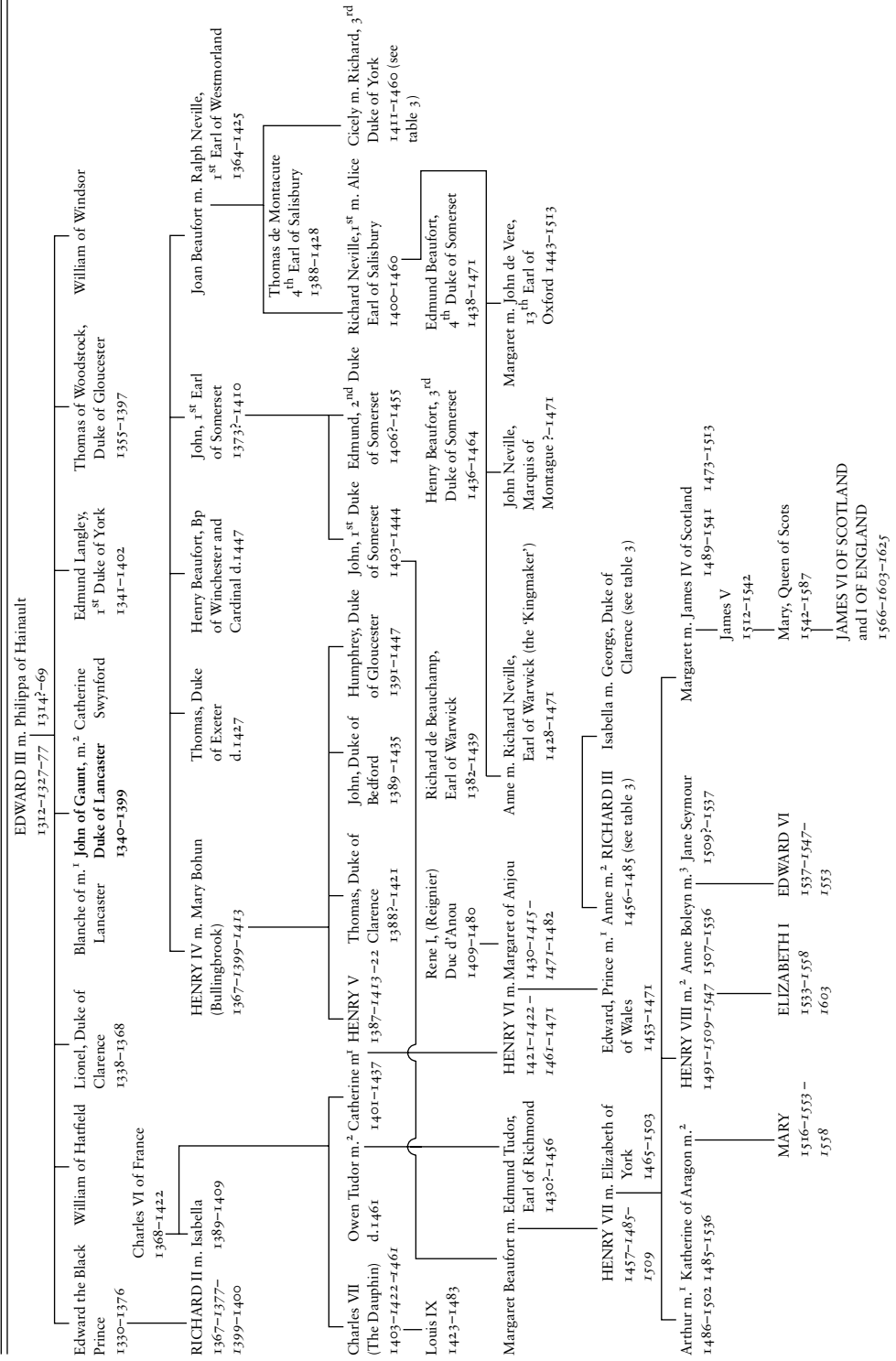
Both the houses of Lancaster and York were part of the larger, older family called the Plantagenets.

Table 1. *The Early Plantagenets*



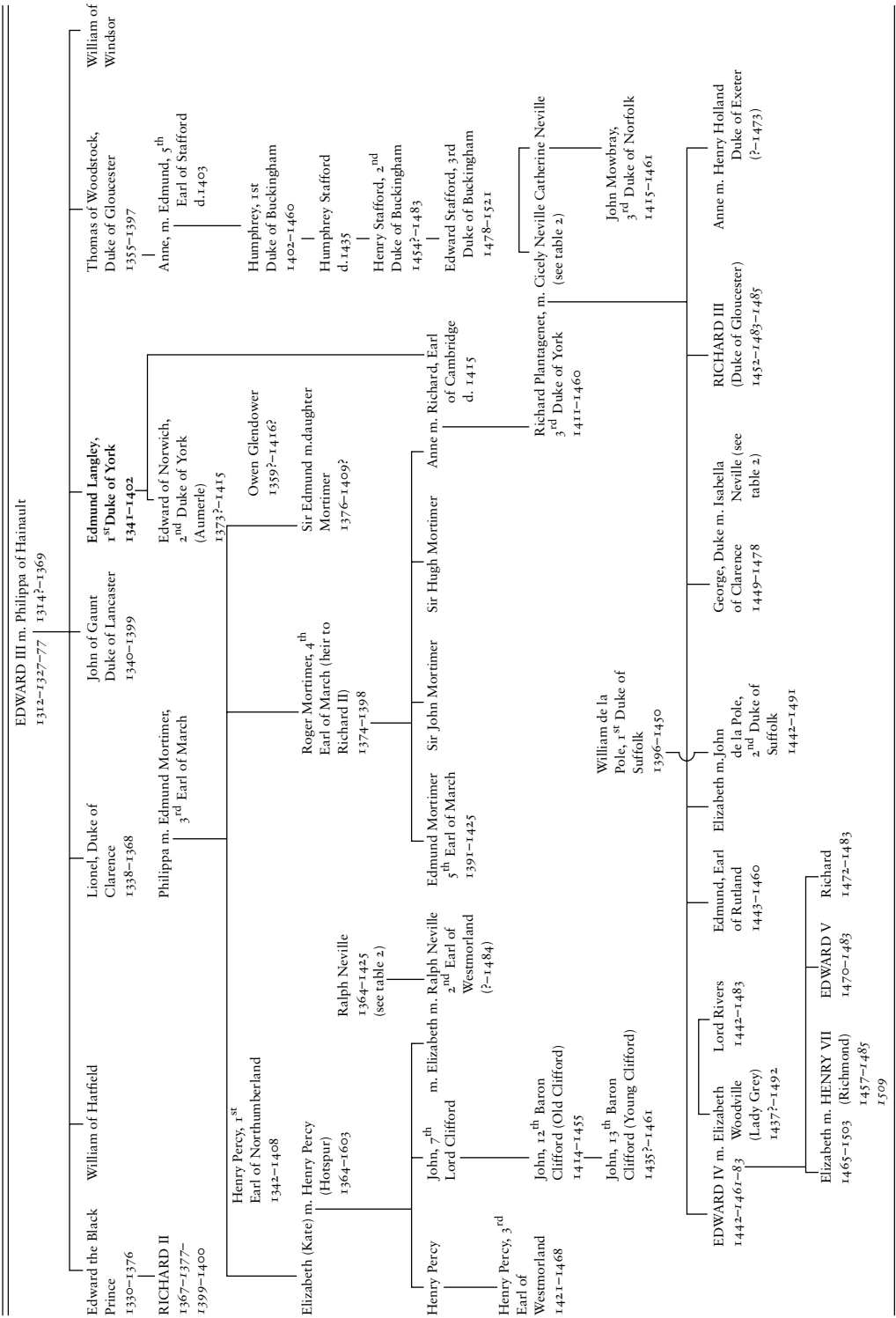
Italicised dates are those of reigns.

Table 2. *The House of Lancaster*



Italicised dates are those of reigns.

Table 3. *The House of York*



Italicised dates are those of reigns.

Framing Information

Concept

At the center of *Richard III* is the clever, villainous, self-involved Duke of Gloucester. As demonstrated in the critical and production history for this play, Richard has long been the emphasis for this play and our production will continue in that tradition. Contemporary audiences will come to see Richard, but we will not overdo his deformity. In light of the recent discovery of King Richard's remains and the effort to rediscover the real Richard, the actor will only have a slight physical handicap. Richard's villainy will remain central, but it will manifest through his words and actions and less through his physical features. This is not to say that this production will adhere strictly to the facts or try to erase Shakespeare's caricature of Richard, but rather we would like to draw attention to the tension between factual history and story and the difficulties in reconciling the two. Emphasizing the blurry line between myth and recorded history.

The concept for this production centers around suggesting Medievalism with contemporary connections. Therefore, the play will be mostly set at the Tower of London and place greater focus on the agency of the women.

The Tower of London



In an analysis of Shakespeare's use of the Tower in *Henry VIII*, Crawford, Dustagheer, and Young say the palimpsestous fortress "comes to signify the highest reaches and lowest depths to which the play's characters can rise or fall" (224). For example, Elizabeth I was imprisoned at the Tower and later lodged here for her coronation (226). Among other famous visitors include Sir Thomas More and Anne Boleyn. King Richard III provided one of the most haunting tales of the Tower of London with the murder of the Princes.

The Tower functions as a palimpsest because it has been used for many functions throughout the years. Originally a Royal residence, it also has been used for an armory, storage for the Crown Jewels (still today), a zoo for exotic animals, a tourist attraction, housing for the royals on their coronation, a prison, and execution site. For aspiring monarchs in England, the Tower “embodies [the] principle of succession” (224). The Tower would have been the most imposing structure in Medieval and Elizabethan London and even today remains central to the city of London. Unsurprisingly, due to its importance and multiplicity of function, the location was popular amongst Elizabethan and Jacobean playwrights as well: The Tower served as the location for 20 plays between 1590 and 1624 (225). A contemporary American audience will likely recognize the medieval look of the Tower and many will have a general understanding of the foreboding nature of the Tower. A small part of the program materials will address this central design concept.



Time Setting

For our production, the time setting will be medieval-esque, with contemporary design elements integrated in the set, costume, and sound. The Tower of London will be the primary setting with the Tower looming in in the background upstage. The Tower will be visible upstage and lit differently to fit the tone/mood of each scene. In those scenes that must take place far away from the Tower to make narrative sense, we will stage the action as far downstage in our thrust stage as possible, with the Tower barely visible.

Contemporary Issues

Our production will not be completely removed from English history, but, as discussed in the section on my edits for the text, elements that speak to contemporary issues of governance will be highlighted while specific references to English history that may be lost on our audience will be cut or deemphasized. The design of the production will suggest contemporary relevance, relying on anachronistic costume elements which Shakespeare also used in his time. No connections or comparison to contemporary political figures will be explicitly made. Instead, the audience will be left to make those connections on their own.

Reinvigorating Female Agency

The deception and control by women was a thematic idea that would have been recognized by the original audience who felt anxious about Elizabeth I, in addition to the uncertainty of the succession. I believe it is important to maintain the play's suspicious tone toward women but balance out the lines by cutting more from the men than the women. The play can be read as subversive or patriotic, and while Shakespeare might not have written the play with feminist ideals, the play can hold powerful women characters.

Critics argue that women's power in the play is marginalized to merely verbal and rhetorical. However, Richard's rhetorical power is at the center of this power and the women, especially Margaret, share this skill.

Actor Packet

The actor packet will consist of a pared down version of this Protocol. An electronic copy of this Protocol will be made available to the actors and a hard copy will remain in the rehearsal room.

Audience Materials

The program will include a dramturg's note explaining the concept, a brief essay on the "real" Richard, and historical information about the setting of the Tower of London.

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