

in his position and of his legal background would have been very desirable as a supervisor of a will in the late 1470s and early 1480s and he would undoubtedly have been mentioned in some capacity by relatives. Dr. Horrox found no mention of him and only a single reference to a John Kendale, brother of the Thomas Kendale of York, draper, who died in November 1447. This man was probably the John Kendale of Conesthorpe in the parish of Barton who died in 1452 leaving a widow Marion.⁵ It follows that it is extremely unlikely that the Secretary was of York.

John Kendale of Ormsby, Norfolk. The son of Nicholas Kendale. He sold land at Filby, Norfolk, to John Paston the elder (d.1466) and was involved in a dispute over its title, probably with him, and certainly with his son, Sir John Paston, from about 1472. He is also to be found in 1466 being enfeoffed, with others, by Robert Clere of Ormsby with land in Ormsby for a rent payable to Clere's mother as lady of the manor. On 22 January 1483 he conveyed the manors of 'Vauxhalle' and 'Stalhamhalle' in Burgh, Norfolk, as well as the advowson of the church of St. Mary in Burgh to Sir Robert Clere and his wife.⁶ No Norfolk connection can be established for the Secretary.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Notes on portrait medal in the catalogue for *The Siege of Rhodes 1480*, a commemorative exhibition at the Museum of the Order of St. John Clerkenwell, E.C.1, 1980. P.M. Kendall, *Richard III* (London 1955), p.488 n.10. *The Dictionary of National Biography's* article on him needs to be used with care.
2. *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland* (HMSO 1961), XIV, p.305. J. Gairdner (ed.), *Letters and Papers, Henry VII and Richard III*, II (Rolls Series 1863), p.318.
3. T. Stapleton (ed.), *The Plumpton Correspondence* (Camden Society 1839), pp.117-120. A Thomas Plumpton was in the Order at the siege of Rhodes and Sir Robert Plumpton was godfather of Sir John Tong.
4. N. Davis (ed.), *The Paston Letters and Papers I* (Oxford 1971), pp.11, 615-616, 640, II (Oxford 1976), 480.
5. Borthwick Institute: Probate Register 2, ff.163b, 258. For a complete list of Kendale wills and administrations see *Wills in the York Registry 1389-1514*, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series vol. 6, 1889.
6. Paston Letters, *op. cit.*, pp.462, 508 and II, pp.408-9, *Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Deeds* (HMSO 1902), IV, A7539 and A7760. No will of his survives in either the Consistory or Archdeaconry Courts of Norwich.

Book Reviews

RICHARD III. Sein Leben und seine Zeit. 'Shakespeares Schurke, wie er wirklich war'. (His life and times. 'Shakespeare's villain as he really was'.) By Andreas Kalckhoff. Bergish Gladbach, Gustav Lübke Verlag, 1980. DM 39.80. I have enjoyed reading this book, and have, I am sure, profited by it. There is much to give a reader interest and pleasure, not least an agreeably light touch at appropriate moments—the author sees 'bedroom eyes' in a portrait of Elizabeth

Woodville, for instance. But it is the work of a well-grounded scholar none the less, and I can only regret that my qualifications do not match the author's, to produce a worthy review.

But, having thus disclaimed, I think these remarks worth making, to give some idea of the author's line.

The historical background is broader than usual, beginning traditionally with Richard II's minority, then the Lancastrian usurpation, but taking in more of the affairs of France, and particularly Burgundy, than, say Kendall does. There is a competent sketch of the bastard-feudal structure, creaking towards collapse, also the reminder that these disturbances need to be seen in proportion. Perhaps a dozen weeks of actual fighting between 1450 and 1485, short campaigns, battles well spread about, left most of England unaffected for most of the time. And Edward's maxim 'Slay the lords and spare the commons', was followed, if less explicitly and less consistently, by Lancaster too. It was Margaret's Northern plunderers who turned the scale against her. Kalckhoff is not deeply interested in battles, though he has his own version of Bosworth. He is too, among those who put the young Gloucester in command of the right wing at Barnet.

The kind of critical apparatus found in Kendall is lacking, footnotes being used to explain quantities, or to clear up an identity in a quoted passage. Kalckhoff prefers to quote his sources, to argue with, and from them, in his text. But there is a very full bibliography, to prove he has had access to a strong collection. In some German university it seems, since he includes only the printed extracts from Harley 433. There is also an 'Alphabet of sources' from André to William Worcester, with brief details of each writer and any needed warnings about possible bias. This includes Buck, and Kalckhoff must now regret that he could not use the Kincaid edition.

Repeatedly, More is quoted at length, normally with suspicion. Kalckhoff indeed wonders, early in the book, how much of that 'Life' was aimed directly at the two Tudor Henries. But he seems, too, to be hypnotised by More's known integrity, and, like Dr. Hanham, will only go so far in discounting the 'Life'. Obvious lies are accounted for as satire, those less obvious to us now may capture his belief.

On the mystery of the boys, Kalckhoff says plainly that nothing written about them is evidence, only rumour, and interested rumour at that. If they had been killed, Henry Tudor would have known, in time to disprove the assertions of his plague of pretenders. But Kalckhoff seems hypnotised, too, by those bones, despite saying plainly that there is no evidence of date, only of an age that could fit. So, explicitly as a guess, he inclines to a natural death for young Edward, which his brother took as poisoning, being killed when trying to escape as a result. Upon which, it might have seemed impossible to do anything but bury them in secret.

Kalckhoff prefers Dr. Hanham's side in the argument over Hastings' execution. He plumps for 20 June, probably after some sort of trial, with which Russell could have been involved—who could not bear later to recall the details, and fogged the dates for the Croyland entry, to everyone's subsequent confusion.

One observation in particular struck me, that the Protectorship was a lethal office. Anyone appointed to it was doomed, a certain victim of power-struggles in

the Council. Warned by Hastings of the Woodville coup, advised by Buckingham too, Richard countered first by trying to insulate the boy from his maternal relations. Only when their group was joined by Hastings did he go further, then assumed the crown himself when he felt he must choose between that and submission to a crowned child, Woodville-manipulated.

I would like to argue on one point of interpretation. Kalckhoff suggests that Rivers may have taken the northern route rather than that through Hereford with a view to joining Richard at Northampton. But the natural choice for a traveller from Ludlow was by way of Shrewsbury. The Severn crossing would be easier higher up, most of the way would be Watling Street, despite centuries of neglect preferable to a struggle through Welsh hills and valleys. And Rivers was the most erratic, probably the most chivalrous of the Woodvilles—the wait to conduct the Garter ceremony in proper form is characteristic—and may well not have been trusted with his London-based relatives' plot, so would not have seen any special need for haste.

A few niggles about the presentation, less important than the book's virtues. The two maps, though quite helpful, are on much too small a scale, and—maddeningly to a librarian—form the front endpaper. There is no genealogical tree, not even a condensed one, though the relationships are well spelled out, usually at first mention. The proof reading is distinctly poor. I would have been happier, too, to have been given chapter and verse of each quotation. Sometimes these are merely attributed to 'a chronicler', though this is rare in matters of substance.

It is not surprising that Richard should be well enough known to rate a German biography. Even before the admirable translations of Schlegel and Tieck, Shakespeare was part of a German writer's background—his influence is clear in Schiller, for instance. And, as has so often been observed, we get what we think to be our history from Shakespeare rather than from historians. Perhaps, too, as Kalckhoff suggests, one 'wicked king' is an emotional necessity, a scapegoat for all the rest. Richard, with his short reign and violent end followed by yet another usurpation needing excuse, but which this time endured, was a natural candidate. So arises the circular argument we find so maddening. No one becomes a villain overnight. But Richard is held to have killed the boys. Therefore he must already have been evil, and the stock accusations were an attempt to give him a suitable career. Kalckhoff explodes the tale of Edward of Lancaster's death, dismisses that of Clarence's. He half accepts an alibi for Henry VI's killing, adding that only the King could make such a decision in any case. He discusses Stillington's story, seems ready to accept it as probably true—and the Woodville marriage had been truly shocking, not only to the snubbed Warwick, the greedy relations a further provocation. Which leaves him free to pass a verdict on the case of the boys of, as it were: 'possible, but improbable, and too unprofitable anyway, even for a villain'.

Much more could be said, much more deserves to be said, and others better qualified must take up those points. But Kalckhoff has my gratitude, my hearty congratulation, on a major work which, unhappily, we are not very likely to see in an English version. It would be so helpful to us, to have such a clear view of our king's life and times from across a frontier of distance as well as of time.

GEORGE AWDRY

THE FIRST OF THE TUDORS: A STUDY OF HENRY VII AND HIS REIGN by Michael Van Cleave Alexander. Rowman and Littlefield, 1980. \$22.50.

Following the contributions of Sir Francis Bacon, James Gairdner, Eric Simons, R. L. Storey, and S. B. Chrimes, yet another biography of Henry VII may seem unnecessary. Professor Alexander, however, deserves a close and appreciative reading, for his is a balanced and humane presentation of Henry and his reign. Alexander's style is leisurely, and at times even lyrical. He has sympathy for his subject, and his greatest contribution to the book is his ability to interpret political and diplomatic events in human terms. Intended 'for students and general readers and not for specialists', the book provides an excellent bibliography which attests to Alexander's command of some of the more recent research on early Tudor polity.

The first chapter, 'Yorkist Prelude', lingers too long over the events of 1483-5, perhaps because little is known about Henry Tudor's early years (the reader is referred to the appropriate pages in Chrime's *Henry VII*). Alexander argues that Richard III's usurpation was initially unresisted because of the King's unrivalled leadership qualities, the likelihood that he would lead England in a new and profitable campaign against France, and because of a lack of support for Edward V and the Woodvilles. Alexander's second reason is the most interesting, but he does not develop it or explain why Englishmen eager for war accepted the French-supported Tudor. More fruitful is the author's development of the theme of England's weariness of conflict, and the ways in which Henry benefited from 'the conservative backlash that had set in by the time of Bosworth'. Equally helpful were his fourteen years in exile, which probably contributed to Henry's shrewd judgments of character and provided him with the knowledge of whom to punish and whom to reward and retain as servants of the Crown.

Henry's early years witnessed struggles for survival and for the respect of both English magnates and European rulers. Descriptions of Henry's lavish court precede detailed accounts of the less joyous events of conspiracy leading to the battle of Stoke. By contrast, Alexander's treatment of the government machinery is more cursory. He argues for Henry's interest in better law enforcement, but spends too little time on the judicial activities of the Council and the Court of Requests (pp.61-8). There is too little evidence to support his argument that England avoided the Wars of Religion and the dangers of royal absolutism because the first Tudor and his Council paid attention to the execution of justice. The treatment of local government and the increased powers of the justices of the peace should have followed this argument, instead of being postponed for sixty pages.

The chapter on finances is handled more skilfully (Alexander, of the history department of Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, is also the author of a study of Charles I's Lord Treasurer). Henry is praised for doubling the royal annual income by 1509, and keeping England out of expensive military campaigns, but Alexander's attempt at first to deny and then to excuse the King's avarice is unconvincing. The increase in the size of the royal demesne, the pressure exerted to force the eligible to take up knighthoods, and the frequent translation of bishops in order to claim part of their income at each investiture, are all indications of a grasping nature which appeared earlier than Alexander

admits. Nor is the author consistent in his assessments of Henry's diplomatic motives, although his treatment of European relations is very clear. He probably exaggerates the deleterious effects for Ireland of Poyning's Law; on the whole, Ireland in this period is treated in more detail by Chrimes, who points out that Henry did not desire the subordination of Ireland as much as the certainty that its leaders would not support rivals to his throne.

The chapter on Henry's improvements of the Navy, and his contributions to explorers like John Cabot, is delightful, as is the more familiar ground covered in the treatment of Henry's and Margaret Beaufort's patronage of the arts. Alexander does not excuse Henry's disgraceful treatment of Catherine of Aragon, or (using Polydore Vergil's phrase) the royal policy of financial terror which was characteristic of the King's later years. Instead, the author clarifies the personal context of Henry's draconian measures. The deaths of Elizabeth of York, two of their children including the Prince of Wales, and advisers like Reginald Bray deprived Henry of the companions of his early years, and increased his fears of a disputed succession. Alexander concludes that the first Tudor's reign was not one of primary importance, but one of consolidation which made possible a calm and well-ordered transition to a more modern world. A copy of this book is in the Society Library.

LORRAINE C. ATTREED

FALSE, FLEETING, PERJUR'D CLARENCE: GEORGE, DUKE OF CLARENCE 1449-78 By M. A. Hicks. Gloucester: Alan Sutton. 1980. 270pp. £7.95.

George, Duke of Clarence must surely rank as one of the most unsympathetic subjects for a biographer. Unloved by his contemporaries, reviled by Shakespeare in the words of Dr. Hicks's title, he remains to this day the ungrateful younger brother who spurned Edward's generosity and came to an untimely but justified end in the Tower of London, condemned as a traitor. In this first full life of Clarence the author attempts 'to make sense of his career' by detailing its main events, distinguishing the Duke's own role in them and identifying his motives.

As a biography, however, the book cannot be rated a success. It is not an easy read and, in the earlier chapters at least, there are times when Clarence almost disappears from view. It must be said in Dr. Hicks's favour that the absence of sources does present a major problem for the biographer of the early years of younger brothers of medieval kings, but a fault of the book throughout is the lack of personal detail and even the best-known event of the Duke's career, his alleged death in a butt of malmsey, is relegated to an appendix.

The book commences with an exceedingly complicated account of Clarence's lineage, only just rendered intelligible by the genealogical tables thoughtfully provided opposite. This is followed by a detailed account of the dynastic struggles of the period and there is a good analysis of the Lincolnshire Rebellion and the part played by Clarence and Warwick. Indeed the best feature of the biography is the author's discussion of the importance of the leading magnates' retainers and the way in which landholdings and their geographical location influenced the course of events. In this connection Dr. Hicks provides some most useful lists of Clarence's retainers in parliaments of the period and his

landholdings at various dates. He also attempts an estimate of the Duke's revenue, showing how the loss of Tutbury made him more dependent on the Warwick inheritance. These everyday details serve to illuminate some of Clarence's political actions and explain his discontent over the settlement of the feud with his brother of Gloucester.

The book's presentation is adequate, if hardly elegant, although both author and publisher are to be congratulated on the excellent index. The present reviewer found some features of Dr. Hicks's presentation extremely irritating, notably 'Wydeville' in place of the almost standard 'Woodville' and the excessive use of parentheses. At times one felt that scarcely a name could be mentioned without a date and scarcely a place without a county. 'Warwick (Warw.)' unbelievably appears on page 156. Lastly do we really need to be given the sterling equivalent in brackets almost every time a mark is mentioned?

J. R. SEWELL

Notices of Books and Articles

The following list consists of recent books and articles, mainly published in the last twelve months, although earlier publications may be included. The appearance of an item does not preclude its subsequent review. Items marked by an asterisk are in the Society's Library.

BOOKS

The Poems of Robert Henryson, edited by Denton Fox, Oxford English Text. 1981. £40.

The first major critical text of all the poems of this fifteenth-century Scots poet.

Walter C. Leedy, Jr., *Fan Vaulting: a study of form, technology and meaning*. 240 pages, illustrated. 1980. Scholar Press, £16.

Magnificently illustrated; includes a useful catalogue of all known fan vaults.

ARTICLES

A. R. Bridbury, English Provincial Towns in the later Middle Ages, *Economic History Review*, vol. 34 part 1, 1981, pages 1-24.

Argues that urban decline at this time was not as bad as is sometimes argued today.*

Teresa McLean, *Medieval English Gardens*. 284 pages, illustrated. 1981. Collins, £12.50.

Scholarly approach to this subject. Covers the period between the Norman Conquest and the Renaissance.

Wendy R. Childs, England's Iron Trade in the fifteenth century, *Economic History Review*, vol. 34 part 1, 1981, pages 25-47.

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Wendy R. Childs, England's Iron Trade in the fifteenth century, *Economic History Review*, vol. 34 part 1, 1981, pages 25-47.

Establishes the scale and pattern of the English import trade for the fifteenth century.

Antonia Gransden, *Antiquarian Studies in fifteenth century England*, *The Antiquaries Journal*, vol. 60, 1980, pages 75-97.

Antiquaries covered include William Worcester and John Rous.

J. E. Titterton, Portugal and Lancaster (letter), *Coat of Arms*, N.S. vol. 4, no. 114, 1980, page 280.

Comment on article of this subject by Roger Pye in previous *Coat of Arms* disputing Pye's conclusions.

Notes on Contributors

Lorraine C. Attreed. Research Officer of the American branch of the Society. Now working for a Ph.D. at Harvard and studying sixteenth-century wills to determine attitudes towards religion and death in Reformation England.

George Awdry. A long-standing member and author of the *History of the Richard III Society*.

Anne Crawford. Completed an M.Phil. thesis on John Howard, first Duke of Norfolk, in 1975, and now works as an archivist in the Bristol Record Office.

Robert C. Hairsine. A member of the Society. Engaged in research into both local and national fifteenth-century topics.

Peter W. Hammond. Research Officer of the Society. Author of *Edward of Middleham*.

William E. Hampton. An artist in several fields including stained glass. Author of *Memorials of the Wars of the Roses*.

Oliver Harris. Graduated from Trinity College Oxford in 1980 and now hopes to train as an archivist. A member since 1974.

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Eric J. Thompson. A member of the Society since 1979. He is a statistician by profession.

Isolde Wigam. Honorary Secretary of the Richard III Society from 1956 to 1968.

Barrie Williams. Chaplain of St. Edward's Church, Cambridge, and Assistant Chaplain of Trinity Hall. Author of *The Subscription Book of Bishops Tounson and Davenant*.

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J. H. Ramsay, *Lancaster and York*, Vol. 2 (Cambridge 1892), pp.485–6.

B. P. Wolffe, When and why did Hastings lose his head? *English Historical Review*, Vol. 89 (1974), pp.835–844.

Details need not be given in full for second and subsequent references to the same source.

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