

Book Reviews

PATRONAGE, THE CROWN AND THE PROVINCES IN LATER MEDIEVAL ENGLAND. Edited by Ralph A. Griffiths. Alan Sutton and The Humanities Press. 1981. £7.95.

In July 1979, a symposium on late-medieval England was held at the University College of Swansea at which former graduate students of Bristol and Swansea and some other colleagues presented the results of their historical research. This volume contains eight essays based on the papers given at the symposium. The work has been prepared for publication by Dr. Ralph Griffiths who is familiar to some members of the Society for his refreshing and entertaining contribution to the 1981 Seminar at Oxford.

In the first article Professor Charles Ross discusses political mass communications during the fifteenth century. His examples tend to underline successive governments' fear of the effects of seditious rumours on a gullible populace and their methods to combat these with proclamations, political songs, poems, official chronicles and ceremonial. Points emerging from this study are the assumption of widespread literacy and the frequency of appeal to nationalistic feelings by the propagandists. Ross implies that Edward IV's propaganda was good clean stuff whereas with Richard's reign new depths were plumbed but this view seems to rely more upon the author's preconceptions than the evidence itself. Richard's open letter to the bishops exhorting them to look after the moral welfare of the realm is held to contain 'a certain element of cynicism'... 'Coming from a king who publicly acknowledged two bastards unlike his brother'. Was it really more reprehensible for Richard to provide for his illegitimate offspring (most probably conceived before his marriage) with grants and offices than to conceal them as his brother did?

In the second article, Anne Crawford presents what is claimed to be the first comparative study of the fifteenth-century queens of England. Particular attention is given to the financing of their household and activities since it is the money matters that leave the most tangible traces in the records. The most extensive records remaining pertain to Margaret of Anjou and Elizabeth Woodville. From these the author is able to deduce that whereas the former was unable to live within her income or to limit the number of her household in accordance with the ordinances, Elizabeth Woodville was, like her husband, able to make ends meet.

I found this a refreshingly readable article, collecting material from a variety of both secondary sources and record publications, to present a study from a new angle which manages to deliver the facts without losing sight of the humanity of the subject.

By contrast, J. R. Alban's paper on English Coastal Defence I found rather hard going. The author is concerned with the changes in the administration of the coastal defence system in the fourteenth century. A considerable effort has clearly been expended in research into unpublished chancery and exchequer sources as well as the printed calendars but the commissioners of array remain words on the paper and not flesh and blood. The hoblers never ride the downs and the beacons remain unlit. A useful contribution to a neglected topic but only for the specialist.

The fourth chapter by Michael Jones of the University of Bristol deals with offensive rather than defensive measures. An attempt is made to shed more light on John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, in his role as commander of the French expedition of 1443—a military adventure apparently organised almost without reference to Richard, Duke of York, as the King's Lieutenant-General across the sea. The author makes use of the printed *Proceedings of the Privy Council* which are particularly useful for this period. How tragic that almost nothing similar survives for the Yorkist period for which conciliar activity must be deduced from indirect sources. There is also new material from Public Record Office manuscripts and from the *Archives Nationales* in Paris, pointing the way towards the long neglected European research into later fifteenth century topics of more immediate interest to readers of this Journal.

This paper adds considerably to the picture of England's faltering fortunes in France, even if Duke John remains, as Michael Jones describes him, 'the most enigmatic member of the Beaufort family'. Since he spent so much of his life a French prisoner it will be difficult to improve the picture.

In the fifth paper, Ailsa Herbert attempts to assess the state of law and order in Herefordshire in the reigns of Henry V and VI by study of the records of the courts of King's Bench and Chancery. It is a sorry story of legal impotence, corruption and political manipulation that agrees very well with the more familiar view provided of another part of England by the Paston Letters.

Martin Cherry's description of *The Struggle for Power in Mid-fifteenth-century Devonshire* provides ample evidence that things were no better in the south west, nor were crimes of violence restricted to the lower orders. The cause of gang warfare between the factions of Courtenay and Bonville is attributed to the former's frustrating exclusion from crown patronage resulting from his long minority. As in the previous article, the author gathers useful evidence from the records of the court of King's Bench for the criminal aspects of his subject whilst the records of the City of Exeter yield information about the city fathers' expenditure on gifts made to the local magnates in hopes of patronage.

It is on such local records that Rosemary Horrox relies heavily for the material for the seventh article: *Urban Patronage and Patrons in the Fifteenth Century*. She has used the nineteenth-century reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission into several town archives in conjunction with her own personal research into the records of Hull and Beverley to build up a fascinating picture of the ways in which the governing bodies of provincial towns sought to protect and extend their privileges. Town accounts reveal expenditure on gifts and entertainments for influential visitors from the King down to a minor herald carrying a letter. Less directly but perhaps more effectively the boroughs might pay fees and retainers for the services of members of the royal household and clerks in the chancery and exchequer. Such services might involve legal counsel or representation, the drafting of petitions and bills, or lobbying and the gathering of news.

In the final article, Robert W. Dunning considers individual rather than corporate patronage and promotion in the church. His examples remind us that the hierarchical structure of the medieval society was far less rigid than is popularly believed, though perhaps the church was the only avenue by which an able man could climb out of obscurity in his own generation. The author raises

an intriguing question of who financed the bright boys such as Thomas Bekynton in their first steps at grammar school and university before they were eligible to be admitted to sufficient benefices to finance a career in church or state administration.

In his introduction to this book Dr. Griffiths reveals that the contributors were given free choice of subject matter within the late-medieval period and this should have benefited the work. Unfortunately the period covered, 1337 to about 1500, is arguably too long for this type of collection and I found the lack of coherence between the articles slightly annoying. Throughout the book there are signposts to original records and neglected printed sources for others to follow for their own purposes. For instance, Michael Jones has, no doubt quite unwittingly, provided an exciting new documentary reference for the history of my locality which might otherwise have languished unknown on the Public Record Office shelves. The contributors to this slim volume make up a large proportion of the small population of professional historians actively researching our period. For all sorts of reasons it is well worth reading what they have to say.

ROBERT C. HAIRSINE

HENRY VI by Bertram Wolffe. Eyre Methuen, 1981. £19.95.

The hapless Henry of Windsor has waited long for his modern biographer. A king who dominates in time the turbulent fifteenth century but fails utterly to make his mark in terms of stature or personality upon the period does not lend himself easily to a biographical study. Sandwiched between a glorious father, whose untimely death deprived him of the opportunity to learn by paternal example, and the dashing Edward IV who overthrew him, Henry never managed to fulfil the exigencies of the monarchical office which was thrust upon him at the tender age of nine months.

So removed was Henry, for all bar a disastrous period of sixteen years (1437–1453), from the reality of personal rule, that a history of the man leaves many gaps in our knowledge of his regnal years. Yet credit is due to Dr. Wolffe, who has threaded his way carefully through the convoluted details of military exploits, domestic rebellion and social disorder in search of a better view of this relatively obscure personality. The history of the reign, in so far as Dr. Wolffe presents it, is a solid and readable record of the events which bear upon an exposition of Henry's character. Rightly, Dr. Wolffe has concentrated his attention on an examination of those years of Henry's normal adult life between his coming of age in 1437 and the first onset of mental disorder in 1454, the better to understand the subject of his investigation.

The study of the minority shows the counsellors of Henry V in a good light, their efforts being directed towards preserving the status quo, so that when he was able the new king would have open to him the options which had existed at his father's demise. It was to prove, given Henry's apparent precocity, a period of bright promise never fulfilled.

From the start Dr. Wolffe has set himself to dispel the Tudor myth of a saintly well-meaning king, in a careful analysis of the sources, particularly the Blacman tract. He has found instead a wilful and sometimes vindictive monarch and has pointed to the destruction of his uncle, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester,

as a glaring example. Any suggestion that Henry was blameless where national disasters were concerned has been effectively quashed by Dr. Wolffe's study. The author examines clearly the role played by Henry in the disastrous lead-up to the final defeat of English forces in France. A hopeless combination of active interference with indecision and vacillation were the hallmarks of Henry's handling of peace negotiations. Dr. Wolffe has devoted much space to the war because of Henry's personal involvement and because of the dire consequences of the loss of the but lately acquired kingdom of France. He indicates firmly the importance which the commons attached to victory in France and the sense of shame and outrage which the surrender of Maine evoked in England. 'Apportioning blame for this disaster', he writes, 'was to become a major issue in domestic politics for the rest of the reign'.

In his discussion of Henry's propensity to create faction and division by the misuse of patronage Dr. Wolffe might perhaps have drawn further upon the significance of the court party which Henry built up for himself in the 1440s. Henry's character is to a large extent reflected in his choice of friends and the men he kept close by him. They became the object of loathing precisely because they had played their part in the French negotiations and had diverted the flow of royal patronage to themselves to the great impoverishment of the Crown. Dr. Wolffe has dealt very fully with the fall of Suffolk and his importance as a scapegoat for Henry's disastrous policy but Suffolk was merely the most prominent member of a party which continued its existence through the King. The failure of the bill in 1451 for the removal of Beaufort and others from the King's presence, indicates the King's determination to protect his chosen friends. Most of them had received exemptions from the 1450 act of resumption, and the household reforms swiftly carried out when Henry first collapsed in 1454 bear out the fact that the bill for their removal was singularly unsuccessful. Many of the persons named had long lived under Henry's protection and in the absence of dependent family in the early years of his personal rule Henry dispensed patronage to these and a number of otherwise obscure persons. It was in this sphere of domestic policy that Henry proved to be most active to the greatest detriment of his reputation.

Dr. Wolffe has discussed the endemic lawlessness which was prevalent in late-fifteenth-century England, laying the blame squarely upon faction and prejudice. He has omitted to make any reference to Henry's propensity to issue pardons, a fact which undoubtedly made the situation much worse, but he has made it clear that the King failed in the essential of making peace between his nobles.

An interesting chapter on the foundation of Eton and Kings breaks the study of personal rule. They were according to Wolffe, 'the only great achievements of his reign', but he spurns traditional views of them being symbols of Henry's piety and interest in education.

Following discussion of Henry's illness the author has trodden the well worn path of events leading to the usurpation of Edward IV in 1461. In describing the aftermath of the second battle of St Albans Dr. Wolffe referred to 'the open road' to London which Queen Margaret failed to take. He makes little reference to the fear among Londoners of pillage by that 'whirlwind from the north' which had been Margaret's devastatingly barbarous army moving south from Wakefield.

This hesitation by the city fathers to admit such a mob and the stiffening of the citizens' resolve to oppose her entry had been a significant factor in the Queen's failure to recover the capital and had left the way open to Edward.

Dr. Wolfe's book will be a welcome volume to scholars of the period. It is not all one might hope for artistically being illustrated with poor reproductions of well-known and well chosen documents—especially the genealogical chart of Henry's claim to both crowns—but it remains a commendable and scholarly effort.

ROWENA E. ARCHER

JOHN HOPTON, A FIFTEENTH CENTURY SUFFOLK GENTLEMAN.

Colin Richmond. Cambridge University Press 1981. £17.50

This is a rewarding book to read for it brings a small community of fifteenth-century England alive again. Dr. Richmond piously calls it a *bede-roll*; his readers should be grateful that they can become *bedesmen* to John Hopton and his associates.

John Hopton, the grandson of Sir Roger Swillington and Joan Hopton, his mistress, came into rich estates after a series of unexpected deaths, and married a daughter of Thomas Savile as his first wife. He became a gentleman by accident and while still young. He derived a large income from Swillington, Yorkshire, but chose to live in Suffolk where the greater part of his lands lay. John was not litigious, he was not particularly political, he avoided the burden of knighthood and he never figured at the centre of English political life, nor even briefly as a member of parliament, although he served twice as sheriff, probably unwillingly, and as a justice of the peace. He never needed to attach himself to some great lord, he was wealthy, independent even of the de la Poles and Mowbrays of East Anglia, and he looked to his lands. In all these matters he forms a complete contrast to the Pastons whose letters and papers have made them so well known to us that they have been taken as the archetypes of their age and class.

Dr. Richmond is trying to recreate the life of someone whom we can never know as we know the Pastons for John Hopton left no letters or will, only estate documents. He brings an infectious enthusiasm to his subject and places before us some of the 'other' inhabitants of fifteenth century England (the majority) who do not live through their letters but who have to be patiently assembled and resurrected from less promising material.

John Hopton is of special interest to members of the Richard III Society through his sons—the true area of their father's ambitions? William, the eldest, had a brief sojourn in Henry VI's household and married into the Lancastrian Wentworth family (another Yorkshire family who preferred to live in Suffolk). In the 1460s he appears to have become a committed Yorkist and was much involved in West Riding matters probably looking after his father's Swillington estates. He returned to make his main residence in Suffolk on his father's death in 1478 but he had already established contacts with Richard of Gloucester and was one of his esquires by 1475 and one of his councillors. Knighted at Richard's coronation he became the treasurer of his household. He died February 7, 1484, at Westminster and his family was saved the unpleasantness of having its head fight on the losing side at Bosworth. His brother, Thomas, also profited by these northern connections even more than Dr. Richmond knows, for

he was a gentleman of Queen Anne Neville's chair and must have been in her household while she was Duchess.

A large section of the book is inevitably devoted to the Suffolk estates and their management since so many of the records relate to them. Those for Swillington do not survive. The estates were probably John's main interest: cattle, sheep, a profitable rabbit warren, dairy and arable farming. A country gentleman of quiet tastes, his main residence was at Westwood. He was lord of Blythborough, but how far he was responsible for the glorious rebuilding of its church cannot unfortunately be established. The lady of the book is Thomasin Barrington, his second wife whom he married in 1457 when he already had seven children. She brought him a further seven from two previous marriages and gave him two more of his own. She survived her husband by twenty years, and is portrayed by Dr. Richmond, as a well-loved matriarch of considerable administrative abilities, busy in her dairy, seeing that her children received good educations at the hands of local vicars, and that her daughters were well married into prosperous local families such as the Townesends, Knevets and Brandons.

Hopton's relationships with his neighbours, tenants, business associates and friends are not neglected: his first guardians, William Scargill and John Rushworth of Yorkshire, his father-in-law Thomas Savile, the Wentworths, the Brews, the Sotells of Dewsbury. Vignettes are provided of his lawyers, William Jenney, Roger Townesend, John Sulyard and James Hobart, who acted as his advisers, agents and feoffes, of the clerics whom he encountered such as the archdeacon of Suffolk, William Pickenham, and of the very few whom Dr. Richmond is prepared to call John's friends such as Sir John Heveningham, Sir Thomas Brews and Henry Wentworth. His and his widow's less eminent tenants and neighbours also receive detailed examination, whether fisherman, tanner or brothel keeper; they are to be found educating their children, rebuilding their local church and raising the money required by church ales or by collections from the wives and the 'maydynns', as at Walberswick, and disposing of their goods in their wills.

Dr. Richmond's style is refreshingly direct and lively. He takes the reader lightly through even the complexities of the family descent whereby Hopton became a man of consequence. The quotations at the head of each chapter, that neglected but often delightful nineteenth-century fashion, help to bring the fifteenth century into relationship with its successors. In all, an illuminating book.

ANNE F. SUTTON

THE SHERIFF HUTTON ALABASTER: A RE-ASSESSMENT, by Pauline Routh and Richard Knowles. Rosalba Press, 1981. £1.50.

This thirty-page booklet, a publication of the Yorkshire Branch of the Society, contains not only the most detailed study, so far, of the monument concerned but also a powerful attack on its ascription to Edward of Middleham, Prince of Wales (the 'traditional' view, as formulated by T. B. L. Churchill in his *Notes* of 1935). More than a reprint, it is a revised version of 'Sheriff Hutton: historic doubts' (see *The Ricardian* no. 70), augmented by copious photographic illustration of the evidence presented. The 'great debate' (satirical term of the

authors), which pervaded the pages of this journal for more than a year, has rendered most of the present work familiar; therefore indication is given below, chiefly as to how the 'historic doubts' have become modified or, indeed, entrenched.

Stylistic objections apart, many scholars (Churchill included), have felt uncomfortable with the principal diagnostic criterion—the arms of Richard, as Duke of Gloucester, on the tomb chest—since such differencing would have been wholly inappropriate upon the death of his son in 1484. Here, the authors repeat their neat resolution of the problem: the monument *never bore the controversial arms!* Their thesis stems from a fresh analysis of the ambiguous manuscript of Roger Dodsworth (stated to be the only account of the intact tomb). Thus, in the dispute concerning whether the crucial arms, as blazoned by Dodsworth, were on one of the (now blank) shields on the monument, in the vanished glass of the 'middle quyer window' or *both*, the second of these provenances is selected. This boldly requires that all other opinions, that of the great William Dugdale included, be dismissed as systematic misinterpretation (p.4).

Routh and Knowles have performed a valuable service by drawing attention to an hitherto overlooked source: James Torre's account of Sheriff Hutton in August 1690. Here they use it to supplement the notes of the better-known antiquaries so as to explore the vicissitudes of the tomb prior to its reconstruction in 1950. Imponderables such as the original site of the monument are pursued painstakingly, the conflicting descriptions given by Dodsworth and Torre being reconciled by invoking the dismantling and displacement during the sixty-seven years which separated the two visits. Grave deficiencies in both observers are admitted, however: Dodsworth's failure to record the important shield bearing the (?Garter) cross of St. George (p.16), whereas Torre, in noting it, saw double, as it were (p.27).

The photographs reveal the sadly dilapidated condition of the monument and, in particular, the flaws in the alabaster block from which the figure was sculpted. That the unsuitability of the material for a regally commissioned memorial would have been obvious to the craftsman responsible for carving it is re-emphasised. One quibble, though: what our eyes are now privileged to see need not necessarily have been evident in the undamaged, painted and gilded original.

The current investigation confirmed the hypothesis (originally the suggestion of Dr. Saxon Barton), that the beasts supporting the cushioned head of the effigy were *griffins*, (for Montacute/Neville) but the authors maintain their intransigence with regard to the possibility of continuity in style of costume or tonsure and they continue to assign the work to the second quarter of the fifteenth century. Wisely, perhaps, the debate concerning head covering is not rehearsed here, it being repeated simply that Dodsworth saw a 'capp of maynetenance'.

Finally, tacit support for the 'traditional' ascription of the Sheriff Hutton tomb has come from the dearth of suitable alternative candidates as the person commemorated, therefore proposal of a convincing alternative incumbent strengthens the hand of the would-be challenger. The candidate put forward by Routh and Knowles, Ralph Neville (son of the Earl of Salisbury), constitutes arguably the weakest part of their case. Those who have followed closely the

'great debate' may have formed an opinion, already, as to whether the authors' conclusion that the monument is not that of Edward of Middleham is justified.

Over all, it is a novel approach and valiant attempt to clear up some nagging problems, its timeliness attested by the paucity of recent works in the bibliography, other than those of the four protagonists, of course! The production is lavish, the layout exceptionally clear and the photographs (by Pauline Routh and Geoffrey Wheeler) superb.

W. J. WHITE

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

R. G. Davies and J. H. Denton (editors), *The English Parliament in the Middle Ages*. 214 pages, 1981. Manchester University Press, £13.95.

Seven essays covering the early procedures and development of the assembly. Christopher Dyer, *Lords and Peasants in a Changing Society. The Estates of the Bishopric of Worcester, 680-1540*. 427 pages. 1980. Cambridge University Press, £22.50.

Mainly concerned with period after 1350; includes sections on the peasant land-market and deserted villages.

Ralph A. Griffiths, *The Reign of Henry VI*. 976 pages, illustrated. 1981. Ernest Benn, £25.

Particularly concerned with the King's authority and the reign rather than the personal biography of the monarchy.*

Colin Platt, *The Parish Churches of Medieval England*. 208 pages, illustrated. 1981. Secker and Warburg, £15 and paperback £5.95.

How the shape of parish churches was created by their clergy and laity.

L. L. Tucker and A. R. Benham (editors), *Bibliography of Fifteenth Century Literature: with special reference to the history of English Culture*. 274 pages. 1980 re-issue of 1938 publication. Lemma Pub. U.S.A.; Colin Smythe, U.K., £6.50.

Divided into sections including culture, politics and the economy with brief introduction to each.

Malcolm Vale, *War and Chivalry, a study of the Fifteenth Century*. c.300 pages, illustrated. 1981. Duckworth, £24.

Assesses concepts of honour, renown and prowess and how these were expressed in jousts and tournaments. Examines the relationship between the ideals and practice of chivalry at a time when these have been supposed to be in decay. Revises Huizinga.

Glynn Wickham, *Early English Stages 1300–1600*. Volume 3: *Plays and their Makers to 1576*. 350 pages, illustrated. 1981. Routledge Kegan Paul, £14.50.

Covers the relationship between drama and festival and the gradual takeover of the drama by the professional in this period.

ARTICLES

David Austin, Barnard Castle, County Durham, Second Interim Report: Excavation in the Inner Ward 1976–8: The Later Medieval Period. With an appendix by A. M. Donaldson, A. K. G. Jones and D. J. Rackham, A Dinner in the Great Hall: Report on the contents of a fifteenth century Drain. *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, volume 133, 1980, pages 74–96.

This report covers the period of Richard of Gloucester's occupation of the castle and the dinner is one that he could have eaten.*

M. E. Bratchel, Regulation and Group-Consciousness in the Later History of London's Italian Merchant Colonies, *Journal of European Economic History*, volume 9 no. 3, winter 1980, pages 585–610.

Uses London and Italian sources to advantage. Asserts that Italians were a close-knit community rarely permanently assimilated into the native community, even though by the sixteenth century the head of a firm such as the Buonvisi of Lucca might be conducting his affairs from London and the Low Countries.

Alan B. Cobban, The King's Hall, Cambridge and English medieval collegiate history, in *Authority and Power, Studies on Medieval Law and Government, Presented to Walter Ullmann on his seventieth birthday*. Edited by Brian Tierney and Peter Linehan. Cambridge University Press, 1980, pages 183–195.

Closely patronised by English medieval kings, King's Hall operated as an educational supplement to the royal household. The first college to include a sizeable undergraduate element. Supplement to A. B. Cobban's book of 1969.

Richard Firth Green, the short version of *The Arrival of Edward IV*, *Speculum*, volume 56 no. 2, April 1981, pages 324–336.

Includes a transcript of a newly discovered English version of the 'Short Arrival'. The latter is held to have predated the longer version.*

Ralph A. Griffiths, Public and Private Bureaucracies in England and Wales in the Fifteenth Century, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, volume 30, 1980, pages 109–130.

Deals especially with the individual 'bureaucrat': how he got his training, how he might be recruited and how his career could develop.*

Kate Mertes, the *Liber Niger* of Edward IV: a new version, *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, volume 54 no. 29, May 1981, pages 29–39.

Includes transcripts of the newly discovered portions of Edward IV's important household book not in any of the texts used by A. R. Myers for his edition.*

Correction

In Mr. Thompson's article on the Croyland Chronicle in the June 1981 *Ricardian*, the last line of note 14 should refer to note 21 (not 30), the first line of note 15 should refer to note 10 (not 18), and note 23 should refer to note 9 (not 12).

Notes on Contributors

Rowena E. Archer is at present researching in fifteenth-century history for a D.Phil. at Oxford.

Lorraine C. Attreed. Research Officer of the American branch of the Society. Presently enrolled as a Ph.D. student, Harvard University, working with wills to determine attitudes towards religion and death in Reformation England.

Robert C. Hairsine. A partner in a civil and structural engineering consultancy in Poole and director of an associated computer company. He is engaged in research into both local and national fifteenth-century topics.

P. W. Hammond is Research Officer of the Society. Co-editor of the Society's publication of BL. Harleian MS.433.

Michael A. Hicks. Lecturer in History at King Alfred's College, Winchester. Author of *False, Fleeting, Perjur'd Clarence*.

A. J. Pollard. Principal Lecturer in History at Teeside Polytechnic. His publications include *The Tyranny of Richard III*, *Journal of Medieval History* 3 (1977), and several recent papers on the North Yorkshire gentry during the second half of the fifteenth century.

Muriel Smith. A member since 1970. She has worked for many years on *Harrap's New Standard French and English Dictionary*, as a sub-editor, and on other Harrap dictionaries.

William White is a member of several learned bodies, including the International Society for the Study of Church Monuments.

Audrey Williamson is author of historical biographies of Thomas Paine etc., and contributed entries, including one on Gordon Daviot, in a forthcoming Chicago University Symposium of Twentieth Century Dramatists.

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PLANTAGENET — OR NEVILLE?

THE SHERIFF HUTTON ALABASTER — A RE-ASSESSMENT

by

Pauline Routh and
Richard Knowles

A revision of the article published in *The Ricardian* of September 1980, with additional material, facsimiles of documents and many photographs taken by Geoffrey Wheeler.

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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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