

because he was explicit in indicating the quarterings of the Neville coat that we can say that the same indications are implicit in the blazon for Beauchamp/Newburgh so soon afterwards.

Dr. Juby goes on to say that the use of a lower case 'q' in starting the blazon, makes it possible that it was a continuation of the France/England blazon rather than a separate one. This seems inadmissible when it can be seen that Dodsworth commenced the 'middle quyer window' notes with a similar lowercase 'q'. Added to which, there is a considerable gap on the last line of folio 210 *recto* after the royal arms; much more than would have been left blank had the final blazon been a continuation of it.

Dr. Juby is not the first to put forward the theory that one rather than two shields was involved here. In a letter to Philip Kerr, Rouge Croix Pursuivant, in 1934, T. B. L. Churchill mooted the possibility that it represented the arms of England impaling the quartered arms of Beauchamp/Newburgh (a copy is in the Society's Library). However, by the time he published his paper 'Some notes on the royal monument in the North Chapel of Sheriff Hutton church', he must have concluded that the theory was untenable, for he did not even mention it.

Obviously the traditional interpretation of Dodsworth, that the coats of arms were all on the tomb, is dying hard.

Book Reviews

HERALDRY AND THE HERALDS. R. O. Dennys, 1982. Jonathan Cape. £12.95.

The traditional output of books about heraldry by members of the College of Arms produces a steady trickle of volumes on what is undoubtedly a subject of considerable interest to historians in general and perhaps to Ricardians in particular. In 1984 the College of Arms will celebrate the quincentenary of its first charter of incorporation and in this new volume Rodney Dennys, Somerset Herald, anticipates some of the questions one might expect to have posed on the eve of such an anniversary, about the role and value of the heralds and the curious survival of a rather intriguing and ancient ceremonial body in the modern world.

The book is divided into three parts beginning with a section entitled 'Some Aspects of Armory'. Much of the early chapters deals with basic heraldry, adding

nothing new to our knowledge of the subject and repeating what can readily be found in a number of other works by Mr. Dennys' colleagues: John Brooke-Little and Sir Anthony Wagner. Mr. Dennys' style may not appeal overmuch to serious scholars of heraldry with his somewhat quaint turn of phrase and occasionally casual descriptions. Hence crests were not used in actual war, 'where they would only have got in the way'; armorial allusions can be 'so obvious that they jump out at you'; and paintings on the walls of churches were 'like a modern strip cartoon.' The opening phrase 'many people get a little muddled' sets the tenor of the text. By the time one has read about the locomotive mermaid, with the author's lament that 'no proper biological study has been made of the life-cycle of the mermaid,' and the remarkable story of King Henry I of Haiti, overthrown by the Duc de la Marmelade in the early nineteenth century and shot by a golden bullet, the reader may justifiably wonder whither he is being led.

However, the second section on Heraldry, Politics and Law puts the reader back on *terra firma*. Mr. Dennys presents an interesting survey of the development of the arms of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem and the leopards and lilies of the royal arms of England. The description of Richard II's granting of arms is taken as a crucial moment in the history of heraldry. The King's permission to Thomas Mowbray to bear the arms of Brotherton alone and to the Staffords to bear the arms of Thomas of Woodstock is described as 'a time-bomb' which was 'to explode with unhappy consequences over a century later'. While the overweening arrogance of the descendants of these two—Edward, Duke of Buckingham, and Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey—was certainly a factor in their downfall, serious scholars may find Mr. Dennys' discussion of their demise in terms of Richard II's grant of arms as something of an oversimplification. The author appears to be on rather uncertain ground with the history of the late middle ages. The descent of the Brotherton arms did indeed pass through Margaret of Brotherton and Elizabeth de Segrave, but the latter was mother, and not wife, to the first Earl of Nottingham who died in 1383—not 1382 (p.108).

The most convincing section of this book is undoubtedly the last. Mr. Dennys, drawing upon much personal experience, presents a picture of the activities of the heralds today, which is interesting and colourful. He indicates the mystery surrounding the office and the difficulties it presents to foreigners who occasionally expect to be able to buy arms and guns from the college or wonder if it is some kind of educational establishment! The author describes in detail the process of selecting heralds and the complications surrounding the modern granting of arms. The chapter on the orders of chivalry provides a general survey of the great orders of Garter, Bath, St. Michael and St. George and Malta, but is rather sketchy, and worthy of fuller examination. The final description of great ceremonial occasions—coronations, state opening of parliament, investitures—in particular the state funeral of Sir Winston Churchill, provides considerable insight into the vast amount of planning which accompanies these events.

The book is illustrated throughout with very clear figures and a small selection of colour plates, including four photographs of modern ceremonies. It also includes a useful glossary of heraldic terms. The merit of Mr. Dennys' book clearly lies in its final section—he is more herald than historian—and as such is both interesting and entertaining.

ROWENA E. ARCHER

THE CROWN AND LOCAL COMMUNITIES IN ENGLAND AND FRANCE IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY. Edited by J. R. L. Highfield and R. Jeffs. Alan Sutton, Gloucester, 1981. £8.95.

This collection of nine papers has been long in preparation—they were first read at an Anglo-French historical colloquium at Sheffield in 1976—and contains the essays of a number of eminent English and French historians on what the editors claim is a subject which has been generally neglected. The importance of local communities has, however, long been recognised and since 1976, and before, considerable discussion about the relationships between the Crown and the localities has arisen in various printed works.

The first essay, by Jean-Paul Genet examines the work of late medieval theorists to assess what significance they attached to the evolution of local communities, or rather the lack of any such work. It is all rather Aristotelian and negative since, as one might expect, the facts ran ahead of any recognisable theories.

Dr. Lewis' discussion of power distribution in later medieval France is an essay of minutiae, in which his argument becomes increasingly difficult to follow. He deals cogently with the sense of isolation experienced by the towns of Beauvais, Bordeaux and Lyons in their relations with the centre, but his discussion of decision-making and a pluralistic distribution of power makes somewhat heavy going.

On the subject of the Breton nobility Michael Jones concludes that their loyalties were divided throughout the fifteenth century and that these divisions were in the end fatal to the survival of the independent duchy.

Roger Virgoe's essay on fifteenth century East Anglia treads the well worn paths of the roles of the sheriffs and escheators and the work of the commissioners of the peace in keeping the King's authority and power alive in the shires. Though it is a perfectly readable paper it has nothing new to offer from an examination of these officials and ends, as it begins, with an apology.

Caroline Barron's paper on London and the Crown 1451-61 gives a welcome 'verisimilitude to an otherwise bald and unconvincing narrative' provided so far. It is a careful and lucid paper, containing a logical argument which is ably presented and interesting to read. Her work contains a valuable re-assessment of London's support for the government in the years 1448-60; and a discussion of the city's policy of neutrality and deep concern for its privileges.

Professor Chevalier's paper on the *bonnes villes* of France describes the financial and military power of the French towns and the necessity for the Crown to treat them with respect. His use of a large sample to support his case lends credence to his argument and produces some interesting results, though the paper, like many of the others is rather dry. He concludes that the towns enjoyed a high degree of independence from royal controls.

André Leguai examines the relations between Burgundian towns and the Crown, in particular attitudes before and after 1477. The division which some of the earlier essays have noted, on loyalties divided by the existence of two recognisable sources of authority—in this case the Duke of Burgundy and the French king—is again examined, and underlines an already familiar theme. The Burgundian towns were conscious of their dependence on France and cordial but at the same time expressed a dislike and a mistrust of things French.

Christopher Allmand's paper on the reaction of Rouen to the re-establishment of French rule under Charles VII is an interesting piece of work on a question which has often, and incorrectly, been assumed to have a positive response. Dr. Allmand shows that this is not the case and again underlines the recurring theme of the search for independence from both the powers that attempted to dominate the Duchy of Normandy, and the ultimate failure of that search.

The final essay appears as something of an afterthought. Though of interest for comparative purposes it does not, as the editors admit, fall within the scope of the title of the book. It deals with rebellion and dissension in sixteenth century France under Henry III.

Those who think of tackling the essays in this volume may find the reading exceedingly heavy going in some places and rather unexciting in others. The papers seem to fluctuate between the over-particular and the over-general and with one or two admirable exceptions are rather disappointing.

ROWENA E. ARCHER

PAINTINGS AND SCULPTURE OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY. Compiled by Catherine Reynolds. An Observer's Guide: Where is it? Series. 1982. Frederick Warne, paperback. £2.95.

This book, one of a series intended to provide a guide to the location of major works of art throughout the world, lists, as the author—a lecturer in the History of Art at the University of Reading—explains, 'major fifteenth century artists whose works are reasonably accessible to the public in Europe and North America.' In her explanatory notes, she thoughtfully includes a warning that this is a guide to the ownership and location of listed works, and that it must not be assumed that any specific item will be on regular exhibition. The prudent visitor should therefore check in advance with the institution concerned.

A brief survey of fifteenth century European art, and a short but useful glossary, precede the lists, which comprise the works of sixty-nine major artists, for each of whom a brief biographical and critical note is provided. The book concludes with a most useful topographical index, intended to enable the traveller to discover, quickly and easily, which artists are represented in any particular locality.

The lists, in alphabetical order, are set out with admirable clarity, and appear to be very accurate. They are not, and the author insists that they are not intended to be, comprehensive. No index is provided, nor is one greatly needed. The names of the artists listed may be found on the back cover.

The biographical notes are, although necessarily brief, quite informative. Most provide some indication of formative influences, evolution of style, patronage, collaboration with other artists, and of relative standing and importance, then and now. Inevitably, Italian artists predominate, yet a third of the artists listed are drawn from other European countries. There are one or two surprising omissions. One might have expected to find Hieronymus Bosch among this select band, and possibly Tilman Riemenschneider, Tullio Lombardi and others. But clearly a line had to be drawn. Miss Reynolds writes with a nice

objectivity, and only rarely can the reader detect what must be her personal preferences. Occasionally this objectivity verges upon coolness, as when she writes of such an artist as Piero della Francesca. Although, perhaps because, his reputation among painters of the *Quattrocento* stands so high, he is accorded a mere six sentences. Two great *condottieri*, poles apart and bitter enemies, and highly cultivated patrons of the arts, Sigismondo Malatesta, the predatory Lord of Rimini, and Federigo da Montefeltro, the humane and admirable Duke of Urbino (honoured by Edward IV with the Garter) sought his services. To Federigo, Piero dedicated one of his two great mathematical treatises concerning art, *De Prospectiva Pingendi (On the Perspective of Painting)*; the other *De Quinque Corporibus Regularibus (On the Five Regular Bodies)*, he dedicated to Federigo's son, Guidobaldo. Limitations of space would have prevented Miss Reynolds from including such information as this, but a few well chosen words might have provided the general reader with a better understanding of his greatness.

As the author is, presumably addressing herself not only to students of art, and other knowledgeable persons (and for these the short biographical notices are to some extent superfluous), but to interested members of the general public, one may ask whether sufficient guidance has been offered to the non-specialist.

The beginner, before setting out on an extended tour of Europe or North America (not something many can afford annually!), would be well advised to put in some homework. When that has been done, he or she will find this book as greatly useful as it will certainly be to the more academic reader.

This book fulfils a real need. Well produced, of a handy size yet crammed with accurate and easily located information, it deserves the warmest welcome and recommendation.

W. E. HAMPTON

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF FRANCIS LOVEL. J. Robottom, P. Workman and R. Carty. Richard III Society West Midlands Branch, 124 Lewisham Road, Smethwick, Warley, West Midlands. 1982. £1.50 (add 16p postage).

Even to write a short article for the *Ricardian* requires much research and time and the three collators of the twenty-four page booklet *The Life and Times of Francis Lovel* are to be admired and congratulated on tackling their subject with enthusiasm and seeing it through to the production stage. Moreover, in their acknowledgements, it is apparent that at least six other Society members played an active role in the project. This is an end in itself which should be commended—the involvement of a group of people in research. It is to be hoped that other branches will take up the pen and ensure further joint efforts.

Much thought obviously went into the lay-out of the booklet and, by and large, the group have succeeded in presenting an attractive addition to our shelves. They have also done us a service simply in collating most of the known 'facts' about Francis Lovel and placing them in chronological order. Inevitably the story is liberally sprinkled with 'probably', 'quite likely', 'must have been' and 'seems', as conjecture plays a great part in medieval history with facts about even as important a figure as Lovel being few and far between. It is interesting that, until now, the Barton Library Catalogue 'Biographical Material', has nothing under

'Lovel' yet boasts articles and books on Hastings, Morton, Rivers, Tyrell and even William Colyngbourne—the author of the infamous distich, 'The Cat, the Rat and Lovell our Dog.' Shakespeare barely allows Lovel to open his mouth, giving far more prominence to the other two henchmen Catesby and Ratcliffe, whilst C. D. Ross, in his recent biography of Richard III, although writing of Lovel as one of Richard's 'closest friends and most loyal supporters in later life' has to admit that 'of his ability we know nothing'.

The fact is that Lovel is shadowy enough either to appear as an entirely colourless name on a page—a cardboard cut-out—as in Gairdner's *History of Richard III*; or to be cast as the villainous 'Dog'—a member of a fifteenth century 'gang of four', operating with the Cat and the Rat, ruling England under the Hog; or to be a hero in a 'ripping yarn' as Richard's 'boyhood friend' (Philip Lindsay), the 'king's dearest friend' (Clements Markham), even linked with a fictional cousin Philip in Marion Palmer's *The White Boar* and as *King Richard's Friend* in Jayne Viney's novel. The West Midlands Branch have clearly eschewed fiction and would equally not ascribe to the Shakespearian thug, ('because of stories with little or no basis in fact and the cunning of various chroniclers and historians, Francis Lovel has become almost as much-maligned as the king to whom he was a loyal servant'); however, in trying to put some hue into a colourless figure, they have to rely on suspect secondary sources such as Hutton.

Moreover, they do face a graver charge. Regular contributors to the *Ricardian* know how important it is to get references and notes to articles correctly tabulated. Notes 13, 14, 15 and 16 to Part I are all inaccurate and insufficient. Who is 'PMR'? What is 'Exernta (sic) Hist'? Miss Halsted would surely object to the mis-spelling of her name. And since when did single page references have 'pp.' as their denotations? This may sound like pedantic nit-picking, but the danger is that the reader, confronted with this slap-dash approach, may begin to suspect a lack of care in other areas. Source references (bar the occasional typing or proof reading error) must be impeccable and understandable. What does Harlian (sic) MS 2188f. 7b mean?—the very first note. In fact, it looks as if three separate hands were responsible for the notes to Part I (totally inadequate), Part II (better but inadequate) and Part III (*Ricardian* standard). This inadequacy irritates and it can mean that the reader looks for other failings such as the poor reproduction of the two pictures on page nine, in contrast to excellently reproduced and executed line drawings, or the use of 'quote' instead of 'quotation'. Another paramount rule about producing history books or pamphlets is that you must keep abreast of the latest research. Did the authors have access to Charles Ross' biography of Richard III? On this very topic of Richard and Lovel's early friendship at Middleham, Ross spends several paragraphs refuting Kendall's ideas on the length of Richard's sojourn at the castle, stating that he 'probably remained at least until 1468 ... or even into the following year.' A far cry from this pamphlet's 'Richard had, then, already left Middleham, his early training finished, by the time Francis arrived in 1467.' They place the 'friendship between Francis and Richard' as occurring as late as 1478 (p.4), fully eleven years on! The authors certainly had access to the *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1461-67 and 1467-77*, as their own footnotes show, so they could have come to the same conclusion as Ross.

It would have been helpful and interesting to have added the fact that one of 'the two barons, both of whom were close relatives' who escorted Lovel to his investiture as a Viscount, was Richard Fitzhugh, Lovel's brother-in-law and second cousin of both King Edward and Richard of Gloucester. It is not made clear on page thirteen that Colyngbourne's treason was not the penning of the derogatory rhyme—certainly enough to get him into trouble—but the fact that he had encouraged Tudor to land at Poole in Dorset in October 1483.

The above are meant as constructive criticisms in the hope that there will be a second edition one day. Once pages twenty-two to twenty-four are revised and the reproduction of the photographs improved the booklet will deserve all-round praise. Overall, the members of the West Midlands Branch 'are to be commended upon an arduous task well done' and they *have* helped towards securing 'a reassessment of the material relating to this period'.

KENNETH HILLIER

BURY ST. EDMUNDS AND THE URBAN CRISIS: 1290-1539. Robert S. Gottfried. Princeton University Press, 1982. \$30.00.

British borough history continues to fascinate both English and American scholars in search of England's urban roots. Professor Gottfried of Rutgers University in New Jersey joins the quest, contributing a solid, albeit occasionally stolid, volume on a town that overcame its identity crisis. Gottfried uses some of the same computer techniques and data of his ambitious study *Epidemic Disease in Fifteenth-Century England* (reviewed in this journal December 1980), but he sets his cliometric findings in a clear social and administrative context. The history of Bury St. Edmunds is urban history with a twist. In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, when many other towns were declining and decaying, Bury was vibrant and prosperous. The burgeoning east coast textile industry provides only part of the explanation. Gottfried also looks to the town's relations with the Benedictine abbey of St. Edmunds, a powerful house which firmly controlled most legal, economic and administrative dealings in its surrounding borough. By the thirteenth century, the burgesses began agitating for increased control over tolls, guilds, and local appointments. Fierce riots and attacks on the abbey itself in 1327 and 1381 gained no long-term benefits, however. The abbey eventually lost influence because of a lack of innovation in its investments: post-plague decreases in population made the abbey's long-term low-rent leases unprofitable despite the large amount of land it held, while the burghers' investments in textiles and capitalist agriculture brought in money. With money came power and confidence, manifest in such diverse areas as large urban families, active participation in town government, and generous bequests to urban charities—all on a larger scale than is apparent in other medieval towns.

Gottfried largely ignores the local community's dealings with the Crown, a relationship which forms the subject of the Highfield and Jeffs collection of papers (reviewed elsewhere in this journal) whose purpose was to compare the reciprocal influences on central and local administrations in fifteenth-century England and

France. Caroline Barron's paper on London between 1451 and 1461 is an excellent study of the ways the capital sought the most favourable route out of political factionalism. Professor Chevalier's study of the *bonnes villes* underlines the comparative freedom of French towns from central control. The absence of that control, however, in addition to the slow development of a centralized French bureaucracy, resulted in a lack of records bemoaned by historians of the period. Local communities are not invariably equated with towns in this book, so that every occasion may be pursued to uncover the effect of the provinces on the centre, and the centre's policies towards the periphery.

LORRAINE C. ATTREED

MEDIEVAL GARDENS. John Harvey. B. T. Batsford Ltd., London, 1981. £17.50.

In this splendidly illustrated book Mr. Harvey rescues the medieval garden from the misconceptions of later ages which had become accustomed to rolling landscaped vistas, to accurate perspective drawings and which dismissed the medieval garden, so curiously depicted by contemporary artists, as small, enclosed and lacking in variety. Mr. Harvey argues persuasively that medieval men did go in for landscaping, for careful cultivation of trees and parks, for variety of design and layout in both large and small plots, and did pay attention to beauty and pleasure as well as utility in their gardens. There was an extensive trade in seeds and plants and therefore, of necessity, professional nurseries. Mr. Harvey also rescues medieval English gardening from the frequently cast slur of backwardness and quotes sufficient examples to show that the gardens of Henry III or Edward I were as magnificent as those of their contemporaries in France or Flanders.

The book is arranged chronologically, beginning with the debt owed to the lore of ancient Greece rediscovered and translated by Muslim writers. The Iberian peninsula under the Muslims made great advances in gardening and the new ideas came to England through her close relationships with Spain and Navarre in particular. The marriage of Henry III to Eleanor of Provence in 1236 is seen by Mr. Harvey as crucial in the history of English gardening, followed by the equally important marriage of Edward I, who was himself familiar with the pleasure gardens of the Middle East, to Eleanor of Castile. Both these Queens were keen gardeners, imported 'Saracen' plants and brought gardeners from their native lands, Eleanor of Castile even importing gardeners from Aragon, a country still integrated with the Muslim world. By the mid fourteenth century the master gardener was a recognised figure, ornamental gardens were valued for their own sake, the wheelbarrow had been invented, glass houses were not unknown in England and nurseries and seedsmen supplied a sophisticated market. Complicated principles of growing were understood, pruning, grafting and the use of seed from outside sources.

The high middle ages, 1236-1399, is the crucial and most rewarding period for Mr. Harvey. He accepts, with only a little modification, the idea of a decline in gardening thereafter for about 100 years comparable with the decline of the 'economy and polity' of England. A plateau certainly occurred, perhaps over-

emphasized by the lack of records of husbandry. No new book appeared on the subject although Crescenzi's *Book of Rural Profits* was popular and Edward IV commissioned a fine illuminated copy in the Low Countries. Otherwise Mr. Harvey cites the gardening activities of Henry V and his brother, John of Bedford, and how Edward IV maintained and extended the gardens of his predecessors including John of Gaunt's Kenilworth. One of the most desirable features of pleasure gardens such as those at Kenilworth, Hesdin of the Burgundian Dukes or those of René of Anjou was the 'gloriette' or garden house which Mr. Harvey illustrates extensively. English contacts with France and Burgundy were frequent in the fifteenth century and exchange of gardening ideas undoubtedly took place.

Mr. Harvey makes full use of quotations from both gardening books of the time and the poets. A favourite of his is Henry Daniel, a fourteenth century Dominican to whom he devotes an appendix. Daniel observed the native plants of England on his travels, grew as many as 252, by his own count, and appreciated their beauty. It is particularly through the illustrations, however, that the subject is brought alive. These are from the backgrounds and borders of medieval paintings and illuminations, usually only half noticed behind the religious subjects in the foreground. There is a useful section on the 'Planter's Palette' and a dated list of plants available in northern Europe, an appendix on the royal gardeners of England, a bibliography and adequate referencing to complete this informative guide to what the men and women of the middle ages saw and liked in their gardens.

ANNE F. SUTTON

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Rowena E. Archer is currently working on late medieval English history for a D.Phil. at Oxford.

Lorraine C. Attreed. Research Officer of the Society's American Branch, a Ph.D. candidate at Harvard University, writing a thesis on English crown-urban relations in the fifteenth century.

Peter B. Farrer. Civil servant. Doing research on various aspects of costume and textiles, including children's clothes and disguise.

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Elizabeth Watson, B.Sc.(London). A member of the Society. Teaches mathematics at West Heath School, Sevenoaks.

W. J. White. A member for ten years he is the author of the forthcoming report on the human remains from the cemetery of St. Nicholas-in-the-Shambles, City of London.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE RICARDIAN

These are welcomed from all members on any subject relevant to the aims of the Society. These may be illustrated by photographs (glossy prints showing good contrast) or by line drawings. All contributions, including advertisements and letters, must be typewritten, with double spacing and adequate margins, on one side of the paper only. Permission must be obtained for the use of copyright material, but this is not usually necessary for short quotes. References and footnotes must be given in one sequence at the end of the article. They must take the form similar to the following examples:

J. H. Ramsey, *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.

Contributions for the December 1982 *Ricardian* must reach Anne Sutton, 17 Enfield Cloisters, Fanshaw Street, London N1 6LD, by September 30. This does not apply to articles which should be sent well in advance and can be sent at any time.