

that Bergen op Zoom, a town lying safely far up the Scheldt estuary, but to which the trade with England was of vital importance, also was careful to keep in contact with Edward. In 1471 26s. and 8d. were paid to '... Henricke Janssone and Adriane Willemsone who in the month of February last were sent in the town's name to Walcheren to the King of England'. They were gone for four days and had one servant with them. Henricke Janssone (Henry Johnson) was a common name, but it is likely that the town messenger was meant. Adrian Williamson is not the only man bearing that name at the time and it is impossible to know his status. Probably these men were no ambassadors or spokesmen for their town, but merely the bearers of letters or gifts, though Williamson may have been a merchant able to voice his 'colleagues' anxieties and good wishes. Alternatively he could have been an innkeeper of that name, which suggests that here, too, a gift of wine was involved.

The town accounts of Bergen op Zoom for 1470-71 (*Gemeentearchief, Stadsrekeningen* 1470-1471, Inv. Nr. 243) are in a perfect condition and full of details and there is no evidence of any undue excitement during the year, no mustering of extra soldiers, no strengthening of fortifications as in Flanders and Zealand. It is also certain that neither Edward nor any of his fellow-exiles passed through the town: there is no mention of any wine served in their honour, as it was served to other Englishmen in the same period.

The scribe of the small entry quoted above clearly was less well-informed about the international situation than his employers for in his otherwise impeccable text he first wrote '... *den coninck van middel* ...' (meaning Middelburg, which to him of course was closely connected with Walcheren, and probably thinking that a man with the fairly common name *de Coninc* (King) lived there), then crossed out *middel* and corrected to *inghelant* — not the dirt under his fingernails perhaps, but something very similar.

Book Reviews

THE KNIGHTS OF THE CROWN. THE MONARCHICAL ORDERS OF KNIGHTHOOD IN LATER MEDIEVAL EUROPE 1325-1520. D'A. J. D. Boulton. 1987. The Boydell Press, Boydell and Brewer Ltd., Woodbridge, Suffolk. £39.50.

The continuing importance of chivalry in the later middle ages has been emphasised in the recent surveys undertaken by Maurice Keen and Malcolm Vale. Dr. Boulton undertakes a more specific task: an examination of some of the chivalric orders that existed in fourteenth and fifteenth century Europe. This is an important area of research, for as D'Arcy Boulton sensibly suggests, the orders reflected broader trends associated with monarchy and court culture. The author has assembled some valuable new material on the heraldic devices

used by these bodies, and on the detail of their statutes and regulations. Yet this bulky book (over 500 pages) is not easy for the general reader to use, and in terms of the broader issues raised by war and chivalry represents something of a missed opportunity.

One problem lies in the limitations of Dr. Boulton's sample. His concentration on certain of the monarchical orders (i.e. bodies personal to the king or prince responsible for their foundation) gives the book too narrow a focus, and the neglect of chivalric orders founded by many of the great aristocratic families within France deprives his survey of much valuable material. The Order of the *Camail*, refounded by Charles Duke of Orléans early in the fifteenth century, is of exceptional interest because of the precedence it accorded to women. A list of members drawn up by the Duke in 1438 is headed by two women, and we have records of the magnificent 'colier en facon de camail', a gold collar studded with diamonds, rubies and pearls, made for Margaret of Rohan*. The Poitevin *Tiercelet* and Bourbonnais Golden Apple were established with the practicalities of war very much in mind — the sharing of booty and the need to contribute to fellow members' ransoms — vital matters, that need to be examined more thoroughly.

Most puzzling is the fact that King René of Anjou's Order of the Crescent is only given a tiny, passing reference. The order was surely one of the most significant in mid-fifteenth century Europe, and the Lancastrians' overestimation of Anjou's influence over Charles VII may well have stemmed from the dazzling chivalric pageantry and tournaments that René mounted at the French court during Suffolk's visit. Instead the author devotes too much time and emphasis to the minutiae of the chivalric orders he considers. Changes in insignia and the recodification of statutes are discussed at great length, and sadly the wider perspective is often lost under the weight of the detail.

* The list compiled by Charles Duke of Orléans is Archives Nationales, K1721, no. 46. Details of the collar are found in British Library, Add. Ch. 7074.

MICHAEL K. JONES

MEDIEVAL LIBRARIES OF GREAT BRITAIN: A LIST OF SURVIVING BOOKS. Edited by N. R. Ker. **SUPPLEMENT TO THE SECOND EDITION.** Edited by Andrew G. Watson. The Royal Historical Society, London, Guides and Handbooks 15. 1987. Distributed by Boydell and Brewer Ltd., Woodbridge, Suffolk. £15.

Andrew G. Watson's *Supplement to the Second Edition* of N. R. Ker's *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books* is an indispensable adjunct to the latter volume, which has long been recognized as an essential aid in the subject of manuscript studies. Indeed, all serious work in manuscript studies at some point must revert to Ker, who provides the best bibliography and most complete information to date not only on the provenance of surviving medieval books, but on the history of medieval institutional libraries.

A one-time pupil of Ker's and his literary executor, Watson has based his *Supplement* on notes Ker left for a supplementary edition of *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain* at his death in 1982. The new volume contains not only Ker's notes, however, but additional research produced since that date, assigning 451 manuscripts and 82 printed books to institutions and further adding to and correcting the 1964 edition. The project is one to which Ker had devoted much attention up to the time of his death.

The largest single group of manuscripts added or reassigned are the 34 books owned by the Cambridge Friars, the results of Ker's researches in the Vatican Library in the 1970s. The section on Durham and its cell, Durham College, Oxford, has been entirely revised by Mr. A. J. Piper, and it completely supersedes the 1964 lists.

Watson emphasizes that the *Supplement* is not an aid to be used alone, but only bears weight when used in conjunction with the 1964 edition. He further urges the reader to consult the original note cards, now deposited in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, on which the original edition of *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain* is based.

Watson is a meticulous editor, and he has gone out of his way to obtain information from a number of scholars who have recently worked on the collections of various individual monastic houses and scriptoria, as well as information coming from the sale-houses. The result is a volume which should stand future readers in good stead until it is inevitably brought up to date again, some twenty-five or thirty years hence. Until then, it will remain the authoritative guide to the surviving books of medieval institutional libraries.

SUSAN H. CAVANAUGH

KINGS AND NOBLES IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES : A TRIBUTE TO CHARLES ROSS. Edited by R. A. Griffiths and James Sherborne. 1986. Alan Sutton Publishing, Gloucester. £18.

That the fifteenth century has long been dominated by the name of K. B. McFarlane is a commonplace. His overwhelming influence, richly deserved, has scarcely been matched among the generation of research students which he nurtured, though they now themselves, if one may be pardoned for remarking, number among the 'grand old men' of the historical fraternity. Of these, the late Professor Charles Ross must surely merit a place of distinction, not only for his own work but also for the new generation of scholars who drew their inspiration from his very particular style. The Ross influence and the affection with which he is regarded shout from the pages of this volume put together by his friends, colleagues and former students.

Undeniably Charles Ross made his greatest impact in work on the upper ranks of society where high politics was played for high stakes and with equally high risks. These aristocrats appropriately form the subject of several contributions. R. A. Griffiths isolates the immediate royal family as a kind of

'Upper' upper rank forming a valuable link between crown and nobility. J. R. Lander pursues the well worn trail of family relationships with the unsurprising conclusion that family feuds strew the fifteenth century and that 'friends' were more valuable and dependable political allies. In the absence of any new evidence, however, some of the comments — notably the description of Katherine Neville as a 'ghastly predatory old hag' — would appear to be merely the product of personal speculation. T. B. Pugh's re-examination of the Southampton Plot of 1415 presents a new background to the Yorkist claim to the crown and its resentment of the treatment meted out by Lancaster. In his view Richard of York had long before 1460 'regarded himself as the rightful king of England'.

Of the fifteen contributions covering the mid-fourteenth to the early sixteenth centuries, eight are concerned with the politics of Richard III and Henry VII. On the subject of the former, three papers focus on Richard's northern connection, a major theme of Ross's own study of the reign and already an established concern of these authors. The question of Richard's influence over the church in the north has tended to take second place to that of his secular power but two excellent studies here demonstrate how the ecclesiastical scene mirrors the now widely accepted view of Richard's political mastery of the north. Dr. A. J. Pollard examines original Durham material to show how first a co-operative and later an absentee bishop gave Richard ample scope to tighten his grip. For Professor R. B. Dobson the York evidence creates a similar impression but here chiefly as a consequence of the powerful residentiary canons who saw their best interests lying in co-operation with the duke and king, though perhaps not without an awareness of the benefits to Richard. Keith Dockray, however, will not allow the phenomenon of Richard's influence in the north any substantial life after Bosworth. Henry VII took over the political mantle of the Yorkist king just as surely as Gloucester had assumed it from Neville. Though the area proved troublesome, pragmatism and self-interest worked in his favour.

Different, but no less important, is the relationship between the crown and the capital. De Lloyd Guth reconstructs the chronology of Richard's dealings with London, partly from the journals of the city's common council. Though unquestionably valuable, the entries can be difficult to read, explanation perhaps for the choice of 21 May for a meeting of the council which noted the oaths taken to Edward V, rather than the date of 23 May, more accurately given by A. F. Sutton and P. W. Hammond, *The Coronation of Richard III: Extant Documents* (Gloucester, 1983), p.19, who could also have furnished the author with his missing date for Richard's entry into London after Buckingham's rebellion (*Ibid.*, p.68, note 85). Relations with London were clearly influenced by financial considerations, either rewarding or borrowing and often not repaying, but the jewelled cup which Richard gave the city in January 1484 was *not* the coronation cup to which the mayor was entitled as a perk of that ceremony (of which he had received two in 1483 — Richard's as well as Queen Anne's), as Guth's own source (A. F. Sutton, 'Richard III, the City of London and Southwark', *The Ricardian*, iii (1975), pp.3-8), has already meticulously shown! The whole narrative sits uneasily with the theory, albeit an amusing one, of the origin of Henry VII's use of the Dun Cow as one of his standards upon

entering London after Bosworth. Whether it can be ascribed to a complex notion of symbolising support from the Nevilles or a simpler notion of being a personal badge associated with the earldom of Richmond, readers must decide for themselves.

The urge to produce character sketches of Richard III is demonstrably irresistible. Returning to that old chestnut — Friday 13 June 1483 — Charles T. Wood presents his image of Richard III as an unintentional monster whose imperfect view of life, coupled with the limitations of his own personality led him inexorably to a tragic end. Are we not all our own worst enemies?

Central to medieval politics is the working of the king's council, the executive arm of those key components of government — kings and nobles. John Guy examines its workings in France, while Margaret Condon illuminates the councils of Henry VII through a careful analysis of a council ordinance of 1491-2. The study portrays a thoroughly medieval institution at work and given the conclusion that 'the history of the early Tudor council remains unwritten', the author's evident mastery of surviving material suggests who might fill such a gap for us!

In a splendid reconstruction of the determined efforts of Lady Margaret Beaufort to recover final payment of the Orleans ransom which had been agreed in 1412, Dr. Michael K. Jones sheds light not only upon the character of Henry VII's mother but also upon the extraordinary strength of the bond between the two and therefore the impact that such a team effort could and did have on issues which concerned them. It invites two more general questions of the as yet uncharted and highly problematical waters of the extent of the political influence of wives and mothers in the period.

This is but a selection from what is, for the most part a significant contribution to themes and theories of late medieval history. Many draw upon original material from both English and French archives and it is a volume of which Charles Ross would assuredly have been proud.

ROWENA E. ARCHER

MEMORIALS OF THE BOOK TRADE IN MEDIEVAL LONDON. THE ARCHIVES OF OLD LONDON BRIDGE. C. Paul Christianson. Manuscript Studies 3. D. S. Brewer, an imprint of Boydell and Brewer, Woodbridge, Suffolk. 1987. £29.50.

I have to confess immediately to having had a passion for the Bridge House records since the first day I worked on them. Not only do they stretch from the late twelfth century to the present day without a break that so often includes 1461-85, but they relate to old London Bridge, an edifice that best symbolises the lost medieval City of London both in its building and its trust. The physical format of the fifteenth and early sixteenth century records, that are the subject of Professor Christianson's study, is also most attractive: well made and well preserved, several of the books in their original bindings, good quality, thick

paper still as fine as it was 500 years ago, large volumes made to last in heavy hide covers or oak boards studded with brass, all made as much for utility as civic self consequence. The accounts provide a myriad of day to day details about the administration and upkeep of the Bridge and the estates that pious citizens of London had given to support it, 'To God and the Bridge'. (These estates still pay for the bridges of the City of London.) Professor Christianson concentrates on the details relating to the making of the records themselves, their materials and their clerks and binders, in order to give a picture of the book trade in London from the 1390s to 1550s. He has the accounts recording the purchases of materials and the work as well as the actual artefacts, and he has in the rentals of the Bridge's many properties the comings and goings of a substantial proportion (66) of the book trade who congregated in the tenements of the Bridge in Paternoster Row, Old Change and elsewhere. Famous names are William Abell, Piers Bauduyn who bound Edward IV's books, Thomas Symondes and possibly Herman Scheerre.

Christianson provides a brief history of the Bridge (completed 1209). The trust had more than 800 properties, mostly given in the middle ages, and needed wardens (trustees), staff, clerks and employees (masons, labourers, carpenters, smiths) as well as special premises, the Bridge House at the south end of the Bridge. The accounts were kept assiduously and audited every year: every nail, plank and wage was recorded in weekly and yearly accounts many of which survive. The Bridge was a valuable patron of the arts and it was a matter of civic pride that it should be adorned with carvings and paintings and that its chapel to St. Thomas Becket should have tapestries, fine service books and vestments.

Purchases of paper by price and size are tabulated. Paper was imported to England by the 1350's but extensive use of it for records only began in the fifteenth century. Large quantities of high quality paper was clearly readily available to the Bridge House clerks in the early 1400s. Valuable additions are made to the lists of known dealers in paper in London: stationers as well as grocers and haberdashers.

An examination of the original bindings has revealed what is now thought to be the earliest dated binding by a known London binder: the Accounts of 1412-21 bound by Peter Bylton, originally from Chyry Burton near Beverley and a stationer of London for fifty years. Thomas Symondes (in Paternoster Row 1501-33) bound the Large Register 1514-15: 384 folios of vellum, 505 x 730mm, in oak boards 10mm thick — not a book to be lifted off a shelf in a hurry.

Brief biographies have been put together for these binders and all the clerks of the Bridge whose writing is examined as an 'anthology' of secretary script 1319-1520. Some of them or their junior clerks added fine pen work decoration such as the wild men, columbines and cadels (geometric interlaced patterns) of John Halmer 1513-14. Many of the designs were used more than once, drawn by template or stencil, and attention is given to their sources. Common iconographic motifs are found in other London produced manuscripts (e.g. BL. Harleian ms. 2887 and *Cartae Antiquae* which are manuscripts related to Richard III's copy of Vegetius, see *Ricardian* no. 99). One is made very aware of the small world of the London illuminators, scribes and stationers, with the same models and pattern books circulating and available to most of them.

The focus of this study appears to be a small one but the historian who might dismiss it for its particularity would be unwise. It contributes largely to our understanding how a trade community functioned in a medieval city.

The book is in a large format, with references in the text and notes at the bottom of the page. It is well illustrated with thirty-four black and white plates. Its contents are a delight to anyone interested in books and their making as well as late medieval London.

ANNE F. SUTTON

Notes on Contributors

Rowena E. Archer has recently completed a D.Phil. thesis at Oxford on the Mowbray Dukes of Norfolk up to 1432. Currently researching the later Mowbray Dukes.

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Alison Hanham is Reader in History at Massey University, New Zealand. Her most recent publication is *The Celys and their World: an English Merchant Family of the Fifteenth Century*, Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Rosemary E. Horrox. Co-editor of the Society's edition of *BL. Harleian Manuscript 433*.

Michael K. Jones is a Lecturer in the Department of Medieval History, University of Glasgow. He finished his Ph.D. in 1982 and is at present writing a book on the Beaufort family in the fifteenth century.

Arthur Kincaid, D.Phil.(Oxon.). Editor of Buck's *History* and Cornwallis' *Encomium of Richard III* and author of several articles on sixteenth and seventeenth century treatments of Richard III. He is a Shakespeare scholar and actor.

Livia Visser-Fuchs has been a Member since 1980. She is working on the literary background and propaganda of Anglo-Burgundian relations of the Yorkist period.

Contributions to the Ricardian

These are welcomed 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 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. Details need not be given in full for second and subsequent references to the same source. They must take the form of the following examples:

R. Horrox and P. W. Hammond (eds.), *British Library Manuscript 433* (4 vols. Upminster and London 1979-83), vol. 1, pp.45-6.

Daniel Williams, The hastily drawn up will of William Catesby Esquire, 25 August 1485, *Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society Transactions*, vol. 51 (1975-6), p.48.

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