

He married the novelist Elizabeth Campbell in 1860 and had five children. They lived at Fort Hill, New Brighton, Staten Island, and he frequently spent his summers in California or England.

Winter's many connections with the theatre of the second half of the nineteenth century in the United States and England make his views on Richard III particularly interesting. Many of the forerunners and early members of the Richard III Society were to come from the same background.

(Sources: *Gray Days and Gold*, Edinburgh 1891; Author's edition of *Poems*, New York 1909, with portrait; *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. 20, 1926.)

Book Reviews

POWER, CULTURE, AND RELIGION IN FRANCE c.1350-c.1550. Edited C. T. Allmand. 1989. The Boydell Press, Woodbridge, £29.50.

This is a collection of eight papers read by younger scholars to a colloquium at Liverpool University in 1987. Every one of the eight is food for thought. Brian Ditcham discusses 'Foreign Soldiers and Native Reactions in Fifteenth-Century France'. He is particularly informative on the Scots. And rightly so: at Baugé they saved France for the French. Most of the Scotch members of the royal Scottish Guard stayed on to become Frenchmen too; they did not make fortunes and return with them to the homeland. That they did not return is more significant than that they did not make fortunes: their adopted country meant more to them than the one in which they were born and bred. Most Frenchmen (and women) accepted them. The outburst of the shoemaker of Dax — 'damned Scots villain, I'm as well-born a man as you are' — came in the heat of a fatal moment; it was not the considered opinion of his compatriots. The many varieties of French culture were easily able to absorb, as no doubt they ultimately captivated, these hard men out of the North. Guy Thompson describes the abbey and town of St. Denis under English occupation. The town epitomises France: it was for Charles VII — just. The abbey was more royalist: the Holy Nail and Crown of Thorns were sent to Bourges. Being within walking distance of Anglo-Burgundian Paris was no good at all; a householder summed up war as well as the fate of his home when he declared that the English, the Armagnacs, and the Picards had each 'knocked down their bit as they went by'.

Painting in Paris and Normandy c.1420-50 is examined by Catherine Reynolds. There seems to have been ample work in repairing and touching-up imagery as well as in the arts of political denigration. This was despite what the French saw as philistinism on the part of the English. The Duke of Bedford was the notable exception; as the 'Bourgeois de Paris' commented: 'his nature was quite un-English'. It seems fitting, therefore, that a master painter should be called after the Duke. Dancing was an art which also had its political aspect: spending on it at the court of Savoy had to be lavish when the Duke of Burgundy was present. Alison Rosie illuminates 'Entertainment at the Court of Savoy in the

Fifteenth Century'. That sort of 'theatrical dance' called after the Moors ['morisque' is I take it the same as 'morris'] was most popular at the increasingly Italianate court of Yolande in the 1460s and 1470s. It was called 'moorish' because it was outlandish. The banquets which accompanied the dancing displays were even more grotesque: eagles flew out of pies, castles of meat paste were guarded by cloth archers (while musicians huddling inside sang as melodiously as they could), and the master cook appeared in 'drag'. So much for aristocratic taste.

Royal charters as evidence of artistic war propaganda are carefully explored by Elizabeth Danbury. What she aptly calls 'the war fought in pictures' testifies 'to the power of symbols and emblems to create or foster friction and antagonism'. Few tricks were missed. Edward III appears in the royal robes of France; *Rex Francie* was always made to precede *Rex Anglie* on English seals, save by Henry V (there must be significance in that); and when the English appropriated the *fleurs-de-lis* and spread them everywhere Charles V retaliated by reducing their number to three in honour of the Trinity. As Miss Danbury says: these artists in a small space illuminated a cause.

French royal notaries and secretaries wrote in another but closely allied cause. 'Mixing Business with Leisure', as Kathleen Daly's title runs, they concocted 'Histories of France, c. 1459-1509', which (in her words) both reflected and shaped royal ideology. These bureaucrats were extending their professional activities to enhance their master's power; none could do so better than they. French kingship required a good deal of this sort of underpinning. It is relevant that no one in England wrote in this fashion before Polydore Vergil: the English crown was in no need of ideological *apologia*. Obsequiousness towards sixteenth-century continental rulers reached a height (or is it the depths?) with the sycophantic shows put on for their entries into cities. That for Francis I mounted by the Rouennais on 2 August 1517 is the brief of Penny Richards. It must have been a tedious spectacle, or rather spectacles as there were seven of them, and who understood all the classical-mythological pomposity it would be hard to imagine. I suppose this is what might be termed the ugly face of Absolutism.

Finally, David Nicholls looks for the origins of the French Reformation and chiefly at Tours. He is good on many topics, not least the Observant preachers; he calls them 'virtuosi revivalists' and while recognizing their talents ponders the 'emotional overkill' of their anti-Rabelaisian message. He seems to be suggesting that the erosion of localisms of both culture and power by morally regenerated and politically intrusive bureaucrats is one aspect (an important one, I think) of the Reformation. He contrasts (and rightly so) the permanently active morality of such busy-bodies with the more fluid and flexible morals of the non-magisterial majority. Two 'religions' were in collision here. But: is it silly to see the Reformation 'as basically a big mistake'? I suppose it is. Yet: all that suffering, all that barbarity, all that inhumanity was not inevitable.

This is an economical and delightful collection; French history is in good hands. Christopher Allmand supplies an unfussy introduction of just the right length. Apart from a mystifyingly incomplete sentence at the foot of p.34 the volume is well produced. All in all: highly recommended *nouvelle cuisine*.

COLIN RICHMOND

MEDIEVAL ENGLAND 1066-1485. Edmund King. 1988. Phaidon Press, Oxford. £25.

This beautifully produced book is a visual delight. The striking image of the cadaver tomb of Alice, Duchess of Suffolk, for example, leaves an abiding impression which remains even after the covers of the book itself have been closed: the *memento mori* of final equality before God; the wealth that enabled the creation of so rich a memorial; the forceful personality of an individual medieval woman; and, indeed, the falseness of the modern image of medieval monuments, for the camera retrieves fragmentary residues of the original polychrome, often invisible to the naked eye. Those understated masterpieces of medieval artistry in stone and alabaster were once obscured beneath the painter's unchecked palette. Throughout the book architecture, sculpture, manuscript illumination, domestic artefacts and fine *objets d'art* are captured by the camera to beguile the modern reader. Two hundred and sixty illustrations in a scarcely greater number of pages do ample justice to the publisher and to the designer's art. Thereafter, doubts creep in.

From the battle of Senlac to Bosworth Field in two hundred and sixty-four pages of prose and pictures is a challenging brief. The book spans four hundred years of history — in which the momentous events of the fifteenth century occupy only the last thirty-four pages. The book would have been the better for their omission. Throughout, the author sets himself the task of relating text to image but, despite much intelligent captioning, the marriage remains little more than a pious intention. Two examples must suffice. A mention of the genealogical rolls setting out the descent of the kings of England is accompanied by a genealogy — of the earls of Warwick. The Earl himself is shown supporting the young Henry VI: and yet there is no cross reference to this image in the textual mention of the Earl's tutelage of the young King, even though the discussion of the arrangements for the minority appear some nine pages before. The text makes a specific reference to the Memlinc portrait of the banker Tommaso Portinari: but we look in vain for an illustration. We are, it is true, referred back from a mention of Edward IV's period as a bibliophile to an illustration taken from one of the great books which graced his library: but we find ourselves back in the reign of Edward III, with an undistinguished miniature seen in isolation, whereas a whole page from the same manuscript, with its striking heraldic assertion of Yorkist hegemony included, by way of decoration, in the borders, would have better served the author's purpose and eased the reader's progress. Throughout the book there is little direct cross reference between text and image, and there seems little point in numbering illustrations if the references are not to be integrated with the narrative. A picture of Boston, and a map showing routes of the wool trade, fall happily within two pages discussing the subject; but other pictures are divorced from the text without cross reference, or seemingly included on the postage stamp principle. The picture, taken from Matthew Paris, of a servant of William Marshall oppressing the peasantry, offers an example (of which there are many) of the informative caption: but here, how many people will follow back the caption's reference to the illustration of the Marshal himself, and then back refer further to the description of him as a perfect example of chivalrous knighthood?

The main narrative is interrupted (in mid chapter) by picture essays. The subjects tend to the marginal, but the essays are worth consulting. Individually, these are mostly of high quality — although a study of peasant seals which includes, for example, the seal of a London goldsmith, rather begs the question and, whoever else Robin Hood may have been, he was not the diminutive bearer of a heavy sword rising in opposition to a *landsknecht*. The contributions are written by specialists in each field, and include an excellent piece on Stephen's coinage by Edmund King himself, using the evidence to make a political point over and above the numismatic history. The essays hang in the text, however, like jewels without a setting: impossible to read in context, and yet irrelevant to the chronological sequence once the reader has reached the chapter's end. They must be approached in a separate exercise via the list of contents or the appeal of the visual display.

It is in relation to the main text that more serious doubts arise. There are some good things: for example, the economic life of the fourteenth century; the succinct yet controversial assessment of Isabella, Queen of Edward II; the discussion of the genesis of Magna Carta; or, despite irritating stylistic habits, the account of Stephen's reign. Minutiae from individual documents are brought unobtrusively to life — the wine casks lined with waxed canvas used in 1322 for the transport of Exchequer records; the enquiries at a time of labour shortages into the whereabouts of 'villeins of the lord by blood'; the epicurean preparations of King John for Christmas festivities of 1210. Elsewhere, this approach is less happy. The author's unexpected prescience in matters medical contrasts with, for example, his sensitive use and awareness of archaeological evidence. Forty marks, for the payment of which eight colleagues of the royal clerk John of Stamford stood bound, cannot be both a small sum and, nearly two hundred years later, a moderate income for the great poet Geoffrey Chaucer: £2 16s 8d (the price of a New Testament) is elsewhere a 'huge' sum. There were surely sound strategic reasons behind Richard I's request for 300 knights for continual service; Bishop Grosseteste might not recognise the rather trivial pen portrait of himself; the description of Star Chamber rather inverts the usual hierarchy and balance of power. We are given a famous letter of the future chief justice William of York twice, each time in slightly different translation, and with two conflicting dates and addressees; the index conflates the identity of William with that of the episcopal office of the chancellor to whom the letter was actually sent, and omits the second citation altogether. Indeed, the patchwork approach, while providing some delightful stories, makes for a rather unsatisfactory book, neither survey nor series of essays; too high in price for the Christmas stocking, too insubstantial, and at times too misleading, for text book use. The dichotomy in structure, and of audience, is reflected in the bibliography.

The narrative of the fifteenth century is easily the worst in the book. Even Henry VI might have been surprised to learn that he was the founder of the first public grammar school in England; the Princes disappear with unusual despatch; Clarence's peccadilloes extended beyond the mere flouting of social niceties catalogued here. The income tax of 1472 was anything but a 'normal render'. The council of Henry VI was certainly faction ridden: but to cite (without naming their offices) the names of the chancellor and the treasurer does not prove the point: all the conciliar ordinances, including those of Henry's minority, name the

principal officers of state to the quorum of the council. There were other ways for Edward IV to beget an heir than by marriage to Elizabeth Woodville; Richard of York surely suffered because he so misjudged his propaganda and his peers rather than being a master of the 'press office'. The genealogies of York and Burgundy are accurate, but so tortuously described as to be misleading in the absence of tables. The book ends with a fine flourish that gives Henry VII the dubious honour of being the first to treat a crowned predecessor as a 'war criminal': but what, we might ask, of Harold? Or, in respect of the 'novelty' of French support for Henry Tudor, of the relations between Warwick and Louis XI in 1470?

Throughout the book the use of 'relevant' language ranges from mere irritant to the downright silly, and is certainly a distraction. The printing is in general to a high standard, although the proof reading falls off towards the end: for example, that aesthete and arch bibliophile Louis Gruuthuse would no doubt not appreciate the porcine corruption of his name; Humphrey Duke of Gloucester was the brother, not the son, of Henry V. The index is erratic in quality and coverage.

What purpose does this book serve? Publishers clearly believe that there is an inexhaustible market for the genre. History has an uncertain future without some broad public appeal, and this book should be given credit as a valiant attempt to make history accessible, and to bring it to life. Buy it for its illustrations, and you will be well rewarded. Use it for its verbal vignettes of contemporary life, whether taken from record or chronicle: but beware the facile interpretation and the linguistic irritation. Use it, by all means, as a general survey: in which case, *caveat emptor*. The picture essays are models of their kind, and suggest a methodology which might usefully be developed in the teaching of history. It is a book which will certainly give pleasure, although the style and construction periodically grated; but as a good idea so imperfectly realised, and as a general survey of such uncertain value, I must, in conclusion, own myself disappointed.

MARGARET CONDON

EDUCATION AND SOCIETY IN MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE ENGLAND. Nicholas Orme. 1989. Hambledon Press, London and Ronceverte, £28. Members can obtain copies at 30% discount direct from the publisher, Hambledon Press, 102 Gloucester Avenue, London NW1 8HX.

This volume collects all Professor Orme's papers on aspects of education, together with two specially written pieces, including the valuable overview of the subject which opens the book. A number of the previously-published papers have been revised for the occasion, although there is still, perhaps inevitably, some duplication of argument, particularly in the four chapters on surviving school notebooks. Overall, however, this volume has an internal cohesion lacking in some earlier collections in the series and, thanks largely to the context provided by the first chapter, can usefully be read by the non-specialist.

The sixteen chapters fall into four equal groups. The first is concerned with general discussion of education and educators, including a rewritten version of Orme's seminal article on schoolmasters. The second group is of four editions of grammar notes. The schoolmasters of this period recognised that one way to hold their pupils' attention was to give them sentences for translation which drew on their own experience, and the result is an intriguingly oblique perspective on contemporary life and attitudes. The collections also include proverbs and other pieces of schoolboy lore. It is a fascinating reflection of the continuity of juvenile culture that a tongue twister used as a translation exercise in the second quarter of the fifteenth century is recognisably the same as a rhyme collected by the Opies in 1952 (p.81). Similarly the 'bloodless and boneless stands behind the door' from the Bristol grammatical miscellany (p.100) is clearly the 'Boneless' which frightened maids in the next century and still crops up occasionally today.¹

The next four chapters are concerned with what could loosely be called vocational education. Two deal with the education of the upper classes, including the young Edward V, and two with the books and training available to the clergy. The book ends with four chapters linked by their literary slant. One discusses the career of Alexander Barclay. The others are concerned with the references to education in the works of Chaucer, Langland and Shakespeare. Orme sees this as a way of tackling the intractable question of society's attitude towards education,

what it entailed and what it could achieve. But it is an approach which at best raises as many questions as it answers, and at worst slips into mere quotation gathering. The most satisfying of the studies is that of Langland, which explores the tension between the poet's acceptance of the value of education and his sense that, in moral terms, it is irrelevant if not positively damaging.

Various broad themes underpin these detailed studies. Orme is good on the fact, often overlooked by earlier historians, that education does not necessarily mean attendance at school and that the schools themselves were not always formally established. The long perspective of the book also brings out beyond question that education did not undergo some dramatic and irrevocable transformation in the hands of the humanists of the early sixteenth century, but had been steadily evolving over centuries. In this context, Orme has important things to say about the impact of the Reformation, which was by no means as clear cut as is often assumed.

On the whole, as this implies, the volume is more concerned with the content of education than attitudes towards it — admittedly much the harder question. Orme does argue persuasively for a growing consciousness of education as a process separate from the day to day acquisition of experience; a shift which manifested itself in a growing body of writing about education and its theory. Associated with this was surely another shift: away from the assumption that education fitted the individual for a predetermined role in society (that it was vocational, in short) and towards a view of education as a good in itself. In general there is relatively little here on education as a means of lay advancement, although there are sidelights on the impact of education on clerical careers. The enthusiasm for education which comes over so clearly from Colin Richmond's study of John Hopton and his circle² is the necessary corollary of the more formal developments charted here.

1. Katharine Briggs, *A Dictionary of Fairies* (London 1977 paperback edn), pp.33-4.

2. Colin Richmond, *John Hopton, a Fifteenth Century Suffolk Gentleman* (Cambridge 1981).

ROSEMARY HORROX

X THE WARS OF THE ROSES. A. J. Pollard. 1988. Macmillan Education Ltd., London, £20 (hardback), £5.95 (paperback).

A. J. Pollard is justifiably regarded as a foremost expert on the North of England in the later fifteenth century. He has now turned his talents to a reconsideration of the Wars of the Roses. Intentionally employing only a rudimentary narrative on which to base a number of key arguments he presents his reader with an analysis of two distinct, but obviously overlapping, wars; the one 1459-71 between Lancaster and York, the other 1483-87 of York versus Tudor. This is a short book, and in the space allotted something of a tall order. In only 138 pages (twenty-five of which are glossary, bibliography and index) the author examines

the course, causes and impact of these wars, attempting on the way to reverse some of the revisionist tide of recent years. We are told that both the duration and extent of the conflicts have been undervalued, that they should be seen as part of a wider European phenomenon, and that it was the crown of England which remained throughout the prime objective of the contending warring factions. Easily the most contentious part of the book, and consequently the most interesting, is when he looks at causes, in particular those behind the 1459-71 war. Here we are led through the thickets by way of a trusty standby, a division between the long-term, medium-term and immediate. Pollard is not soft on Henry VI 'the most unfitted to rule of all the Kings of England since the Norman Conquest', he was 'weak, vacillating, feckless and profligate'. In the immediate term we are reminded that it was Henry's breakdown (1453), translating incompetence to incapacity at a stroke, which acted as the catalyst for war. But is he harsh enough? Henry may have had a hard act to follow in 1422, but in a martial age a man who so patently lacked the war-like attributes was at once operating at a grave disadvantage. He also happened to be petty, vindictive and devious on top of everything else. At any period in English history such a man would have struggled on the throne; in the later middle ages he was a total disaster. Whatever weight, however, we place on Henry's personality as the contributory reason for political unrest and dissatisfaction, leading to the first war, the author paints a conventional picture after 1453 of burgeoning factional jealousies and intrigue between on the one side the court, the 'ins', of Margaret of Anjou and her allies, and on the other the 'outs', the party of York and the Nevills. We see the reluctant drift to civil war. Yet here we come upon matter for debate. Henry VI may have been weak, so the argument runs, but the effects of this weakness were more pronounced than might have been because in the long-term the crown's authority and prestige had been severely diminished. The culprit, it is suggested, is Edward III who had made a number of important concessions to his baronage of a personal and judicial kind in order to prosecute the war against France. Where once we thought in terms of overmighty *subject*, or undermighty *king* (i.e. Henry VI) now it seems we should be talking of undermighty *kingship*. Is this fair comment on the background to the turbulent 1450s? Surely in a period of highly personal government, as was the fifteenth century, the individual personality and capacity of a ruler was the most significant reason for political success or failure, often outweighing institutional strength or weakness? If we look forward from Henry VI to Edward IV we see a stark contrast between an individual who was able to exploit royal authority, using mainly conventional institutional tools, but using them more effectively in order to consolidate royal power, and another individual who was almost congenitally incapable of a personal lead. By the early 1450s (if not before) corruption both within the financial administration and at court was rampant, Henry had allowed himself to become the tool of first the Suffolk and later the Somerset factions, whilst bankruptcy in every sense threatened. As for controlling faction we know from later periods that faction did not inevitably lead to political breakdown. Skilful manipulation, to take but two examples, by Henry VIII and Elizabeth, saw the playing off of one group against another in the 1540s and 1590s respectively. Such political finesse remained foreign to the last Lancastrian King.

On other subjects we do have something to cheer. Some hoary old chestnuts are hopefully finally crushed. Bastard feudalism is relegated to the sidelines and the depletion rate of peerage families is shown to hardly waver throughout this period from previous or subsequent years. In a fine opening chapter 'The Wars in History' Pollard will have no nonsense about using the Roses analogy, showing it to be a contemporarily acceptable and comprehensible term. On other subjects the case remains to be proven. For instance, can we really compare the material damage caused by short sharp shock campaigns (apart from Towton) in England, with the scorched earth tactics in northern France, tactics which saw vast tracts of Normandy totally devastated? Can we really describe St. Albans (1455) as a 'mere civil disturbance'? Subjects who had once sworn loyalty and obedience to their sovereign were here, for the first time, in arms against the Lord's anointed; They even spilled some of his blood. Surely St. Albans (if not before?) must be seen as the onset of the wars? At the opposite end, is it right to judge Stoke (1487) as the *terminus ad quem*? Richard III's pre-emptive deposition of Edward V undoubtedly led to a grave fracture in the Yorkist polity and started the final war in 1483, but when did the Tudors finally see off the Yorkist dynastic challenge? Henry Tudor had seen how easily a small and determined force backed by foreign arms could invade England, and, in his case, seize the throne. He remained understandably paranoid about such threats throughout his reign. In purely dynastic terms so long as Warwick remained alive to act as a focus for Yorkist intrigue so long was Henry in grave danger. He was duly removed from the scene, together with Warbeck, in 1499, so perhaps we should take 1499 as the concluding date? Others have gone farther and argued that only with Pavia (1525) and the death of the last of the de la Pole brothers, Richard, could the Tudor régime say it was home and dry; 1525 is perhaps excessive. Probably the most persuasive case can be made for 1497, when with the Western Rising, culminating at Blackheath, the government was rather badly shaken. After that the Yorkist challenge was never so strong again.

The text calls for some comment. There is one error. Blore Heath is in Staffordshire, not Cheshire. Whilst the two genealogical tables are good there is a want of a chronological one, some additional maps and certainly the odd illustration. The glossary is adequate as far as it goes, but where is 'escheat' and 'entail'? This is a serious deficiency as the book is unashamedly aimed at the sixth form/first year undergraduate market. The index is similar to the glossary in as far as it goes. But, why in a book on fifteenth century England are numerous references to Agincourt overlooked whereas Bernard Levin is included? There are also entries for 'retaining' but not 'livery' or 'affinity' (All three appear in the glossary). Then there is the price. A paperback at £5.95 is not going to cause too many qualms; not so the £20.00 for a hardback. Such rapacity would make even Henry VII blush. For already hard-pressed libraries, who would not sensibly normally buy paperbacks this price for 138 pages is grossly excessive.

Overall, what can we make of yet another book on the wars? Ross, Gillingham and Goodman have all published recently on the same topic, and each has had something to offer.¹ Ross is good for illustrations, Gillingham's forte is the political narrative, and Goodman is authoritative on the military side. Pollard complements this trilogy in so far as he provides an up-to-date synthesis, interlarded with his own considered judgements. Any book on a subject which in

parts is so poorly documented is bound to be controversial. This one is no exception. In general the author displays wide-ranging reading in and knowledge of the period, as we would expect. There is the odd rare lapse. What of this extraordinary concluding sentence, for example? The end of the wars, we are told, 'marked the beginning of that modern attitude which deplores the pursuit of political ends by force'. This seems to be a little myopic given the almost two millennia of Christian tradition, to name but one school, which has both deplored and rejected violence to such purpose, it also not only begs the question as to what is 'modern', but certainly could be construed as being grotesquely *blasé* about the present century, one which has had such an appalling record not only of violence against the innocent but more to the point in its positive advocacy of violence in order to achieve those very (political) objectives.

However, it would not do to end on such a carping note. Like any good book, Pollard's leaves us not only asking new questions, but wanting more on some of the questions he has attempted to answer: When did Richard of York first harbour designs on the crown? What effect did the psychologically damaging loss of Normandy and Gascony play in exacerbating disenchantment with Lancastrian rule? How far did 'foreign entanglements' channel aggressive elements usefully away from the domestic arena? How far in a society where war and its accoutrements remained a way of life for such a large majority of the political elite, could a ruler reconcile the need to promote war (and possibly personally participate), with the realisation that in so doing he was probably going to bankrupt the government and increase internal dissension? Perhaps the best policy was to prepare for war, launch it, make a lot of show, and then contrive payment by the erstwhile opponent to go away? Clearly there is much still to discuss and disagree upon.

1. John Gillingham, *The Wars of the Roses: peace and conflict in fifteenth century England*, London 1981; Anthony Goodman, *The Wars of the Roses, military activity and English society, 1452-97*, London 1981; Charles Ross, *The Wars of the Roses*, London 1976.

MARTIN PHILLIPS

LUDFORD BRIDGE AND MORTIMER'S CROSS. The Wars of the Roses in Herefordshire and the Welsh Marches, and the Accession of Edward IV. Geoffrey Hodges. 1989. Logaston Press, Wootton, Almeley, Herefordshire HR3 6QH. £3.95 plus 45p post and packing.

The first thing that strikes you about this eighty page booklet is its smart appearance. Within the glossy cover, sporting an illustration from a Jean de Waurin manuscript, the reader is presented with fifty pages of text, twelve pages of black and white photographs, three maps, four pedigrees and a bibliography, all on good quality paper. Regular subscribers to *The Ricardian* will recall quickly that Geoffrey Hodges wrote on Ludford Bridge and Mortimer's Cross in two contributions to this journal in 1984, and pleasingly, an appropriate reference is made to this.

The text of the booklet expands upon that of the 1984 articles in that it commences with a section named 'Causes of the Wars of the Roses'. Once Hodges begins to discuss the subject matter proper, the texts are closer of course. One particular aspect that appears to have been developed is the emphasis on the local politics and rivalries surrounding the events of 1459-61. Hodges is more detailed and hence explicit on the Herbert—Vaughan—Devereux clique that led Marcher support for York, and similarly goes into a little more detail (and does so earlier) on the Gruffydd ap Nicholas—Scudamore grouping that backed the Tudors. The illustrations and family trees underwrite this concern to focus even more than before on the local scene — the inspiration for which was perhaps Professor Ralph Griffiths' and Roger Thomas' work entitled *The Making of the Tudor Dynasty* to which Hodges refers (p.52) and which of course was published after *The Ricardian* articles.

Mr. Hodges lives in the neighbourhood of the events he describes, and consequently is able to use his familiarity with local topography to discuss such things as routes taken by opposing armies and the precise locations of the 'contests' (one avoids the word 'battle' of course on account of Ludford Bridge). In this respect his reconstruction of the Mortimer's Cross campaign is especially interesting, given the scantiness of the source material. This was young Edward of March's first independent command, and while his victory may not have made him King, he would not have become King had he lost. Edward certainly acquitted himself creditably in this first challenge and Mr. Hodges is loud in his praise of 'this magnificent young man' (p.56). On the other hand, Edward's father, Richard of York, is described rather less favourably, for example on page 35: 'one wonders whether Richard of York was in his right mind'. Several historians have recently given Richard a poor press, but this is perhaps a little too strong. It is interesting though to read Hodges' speculation that Edward may himself have seriously questioned his father's abilities and capacity for leadership, and consequently distanced himself, as possibly evidenced by their different routes after the Ludford débâcle.

This is a well written, attractively produced work that is lacking only in the absence of a referencing system, but Ricardians will of course be able to overcome this by looking back to the endnotes of the 1984 articles.

J. O. PETRE

CASTLE, KINGS AND HORSES. An illustrated history of Middleham. Stephen W. Brown. 1988. Old School Arts Workshop, Middleham, Leyburn, N. Yorks DL8 4QG. £3.

Middleham is one of the writer's favourite places, a view no doubt shared by many others. The book is a concise history of that town from before 1066 to the present day (40 pages). There are twenty-four illustrations including photographs, new and old, old prints and posters, genuine and spoof!

The first two pages of the book deal with Middleham before 1066. It is referred to in the Domesday Book as 'Medelai'. It then goes on to deal with the development of the castle and establishment (or redevelopment) of the Church of St. Alkelda by Mary of Middleham, widow of Robert de Neville. The period of most interest is from the accession to his estates of Ralph Neville in 1388 (who later became first Earl of Westmorland in 1398) to the death of Richard III. There is also reference to the proposed foundation of a collegiate church.

The next section provides the history of the castle and church under the Tudors and Stuarts. In 1629 the manor (excluding the castle) was granted by Charles I to the lord mayor and citizens of London as recompense for debts by the king and his father, which offered some measure of protection during the Civil War. The manor was sold back to the owner of the castle in 1670.

Some aspects of rural life are described, including the fact that Dean Coates took advantage of Middleham's status as a royal peculiar to perform marriages without banns, like Gretna Green! Throughout the book, reference is made to conflicts between various factions over the moors and tolls. An explanation of 'gaitowners' would have been useful (it means 'pasture owners'). I had to look it up elsewhere.

In the eighteenth century Middleham became a racing and racehorse training centre. The former was discontinued in 1873. The latter continues today. The final section tells of the Middleham Jewel and culminates with pictures of the 1983 celebrations. There is a bibliography at the end of the book. One item lacking is a map. Perhaps it could be included in future editions. This is a very interesting history and I recommend it to members of the Society.

ROSEMARY WAXMAN

Notes on Contributors

J. J. G. Alexander. Professor of History of Art, Institute of Fine Arts, New York. Special interest in medieval manuscript illumination. Author of *The Master of Mary of Burgundy. A Book of Hours*, 1970.

Catherine Batt, PhD. (1987) on Malory and English response to French Arthurian Cyclic Romance. Lecturer in Middle English Literature at Queen Mary and Westfield College, London. Undertaking further research in fifteenth century literature.

Margaret Condon is a graduate of Bristol. Currently working on an edition of the letters of Reynold Bray, receiver general of Margaret Beaufort and one of the chief councillors of Henry VII.

Rosemary Horrox. Author of *Richard III: a study of service*, Cambridge 1989.

C. E. Moreton, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin. His D.Phil. at Christ Church, Oxford, was on 'The Townshend Family, c.1450-1551'.

James Petre. A member since 1967. BA(Wales) and MA(London) he did two years full time research into the later history of English castles. He now works for the Institute of Legal Executives.

Martin Phillips. Assistant Librarian, Keele University, Special Collections and Archives.

Colin Richmond. Senior Lecturer at Keele University.

Livia Visser-Fuchs is working on the literary background and propaganda of Anglo-Burgundian relations of the Yorkist period.

Rosemary Waxman is a member of the Society and has been Technical Editor of *The Ricardian* since 1982.

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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