

Book Reviews

THE FIELD OF REDEMORE: THE BATTLE OF BOSWORTH, 1485. Peter J. Foss. 1990. Rosalba Press, Leeds, £3.95. Available from A. M. Cockerill, 55 St. Michael's Lane, Headingley, Leeds LS6 3BR. UK. p.&p. 55p; abroad p.&p. £1. Payable in sterling to Rosalba Press.

Bosworth has three certainties. Richard III, last of a line of Plantagenet kings, died fighting with a bravery and courage that was acknowledged at the time, even by his avowed enemies. Henry Tudor, outsider and usurper, gained victory on 22 August 1485 and, with victory, legitimated title to the throne of England. His victory was in part due to luck and tactics. It was also directly attributable to treachery, particularly on the part of the Stanley family and, probably, the Earl of Northumberland; and most especially through the decisive intervention of Sir William Stanley, himself later executed in 1495 for alleged treason against Henry VII. To this trilogy of certainties Peter Foss has added a fourth. The battle of Bosworth was not fought on the site hallowed by Leicestershire's tourist industry, but primarily on the fields of Dadlington, a chapelry in the parish of Stoke Golding, three miles from Market Bosworth. This thesis has been gathering strength since Colin Richmond's seminal and iconoclastic article of 1985. Peter Foss, by the evidence of a thirteenth century charter, surviving now only in an eighteenth century copy of good authority, has added the final piece of the jigsaw by which Redemore, the name given to the battle by Henry VII himself, is firmly located in the fields of Dadlington rather than Sutton Cheney, further to the north; although of course, the area of waste land may not have respected parochial boundaries.

In his brief introduction Professor Ralph Griffiths summarises this short book as 'an object lesson in interdisciplinary study which makes a lasting contribution to our history'. Peter Foss uses a wide range of historical, topographic, linguistic and geological evidence to do four things. He begins with a fresh assessment of the sources, ranging from the *Crowland Chronicle* to Shakespeare and Speed. Second, he looks at the work of eighteenth century and nineteenth century antiquarians, performing a demolition of William Hutton so effective that it is unlikely that Hutton's influential study of the battle of 22 August 1485 will ever again hold primacy. Third, he looks in detail at the topography of the ground. This chapter is an essential prelude to his fourth, which re-interprets the course of the battle itself. In two useful appendices he reviews the archaeological evidence, and reprints the Hinckley-Lyre agreement of 1283, used as linch-pin evidence to place Redemore within Dadlington. The

survey of the archaeology is both useful summary of modern understanding of the artefacts, with a comprehensive catalogue, and an original contribution based on oral evidence. Sadly, many of the so-called artefacts are shown to date from the seventeenth century, perhaps relics of the Civil War skirmish inconveniently fought over the same ground. None are the produce of scientific excavation, and rumour, uncertainty and ambiguity abound.

This is a densely written and sometimes irritating book, in which the footnotes almost equal the text in length. The demands of production mean that the footnotes come at the end of the book although they are more than usually essential to an understanding of the argument. Nevertheless, the Yorkshire Branch of the Richard III Society is to be congratulated on its enterprise in making this important contribution more widely available in a pleasing, if economical, format. Foss's work is part of a continuing debate in which he has already played a significant part. But where others have hesitated, Foss writes with conviction and it is this very assertiveness that gives a sense of unease. Doubt is cast aside with dismissive phrases. Vergil's account is crucial. But will it stand the weight of linguistic dissection and tactical accuracy here given it? Professor Ross, whose account is rightly dismissed as outdated, was yet more justly cautious. It was Professor Ross, too, who made a more lasting contribution to the debate through his reinstatement of the authority of the Ballad of Bosworth Field, and Foss follows him in using the ballad in its several versions as a major source. By contrast, the reminiscences of 'one Bygott' concerning disarray in Richard's camp might have gained credence through a reference to Retha Warnicke's article (*Ricardian*, 1984) for if Bygott was indeed Ralph Bigod, then as a knight of the body he is likely to have been in Richard's immediate entourage, and his continuing loyalty to Richard's name perversely made him a respected figure at the heart of the Tudor royal house. References to early maps prove little: Tudor small scale cartography, especially when circumscribed by the engraver's burin, is simply too inaccurate to serve as more than general background, neither good evidence nor man of straw. Better use is made of large scale manuscript cartography of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in later chapters, providing solid support (as does the striking photograph of the flooded fields beyond Fenn Lanes) for Foss's interpretation of Redemore as indicating wetland rather than soil colouring. Foss's careful tracing of Tudor and later distortions of early chroniclers, and of authorial revision within each manuscript tradition, further bolsters his topographic argument.

Neither Hutton nor the historian of Leicestershire, John Nichols, comes well out of Foss's examination of antiquarian research, and the common sense to which he appeals in the first paragraph of his text is here undoubtedly on his side.

The most original chapter of the book is that which examines the topography of the ground. William Burton, writing in 1622 but researching his history from the turn of the century, provides the starting point. Burton had family connections with Dadlington, and was the first historian to link it with the battle. He may indeed, as Foss suggests, have had access to good oral evidence: for example, as late as the 1540s an aged man could remember his father returning home crippled from the battle of Barnet, 1471, and said so under oath in a court of law. Literary evidence used to identify particular hills with particular combatants falls short of proof, although hills would have provided the vantage

points essential to commanders in a wide-ranging and confusing battle. Peter Foss derives Redemore from an Anglo-Saxon root meaning reed moor but the argument is surely plausible rather than proof of his interpretation. It is the circumstantial evidence, both geological and historical that perhaps overwhelmingly supports his argument — even if a reference to red soil is left conveniently vague, and unhelpfully footnoted only with an alternative geological name for the soil type. Yet behind the occasionally pompous explanation, and generalisations which include ice-age geology, there appear to lie professional advice and considerable enterprise on Foss's part, and his arguments carry conviction. With them, 'Bosworth' moves decisively to the south, away from Sutton Cheney and south of Ambion Hill, to the fields of Stoke Golding and Dadlington, although the battle may have raged more widely beyond them. Yet it is surely unlikely that all the actors in this drama knew they were fighting at a named place whose very obscurity has baffled generations of historians. The local guides who brought the armies to a 'place mete for twoo battayles to encountre' may have supplied the commanders with the local name: but equally, and perhaps more likely, Henry Tudor may have learned only after his victory the precise local names used for the field of battle, and for the place of Richard's death. Foss proposes a new location for Sandeford, but is here careful not to push the evidence beyond its limits, merely tabling his hypothesis for further discussion.

The chapter on the tactics of the battle is the one for which Foss himself claims originality. It has its own coherence, and is an intelligent and thoughtful interpretation of the evidence. However, it also rests on certain assumptions and on the elimination of ambiguities in the often confusing sources. Of its very nature it is incapable of proof, and remains open to challenge. It is unlikely that Foss has had the last word. However, it is clear that the rebel army of Foss, Richmond and others has taken on the forces of conservatism now represented by Leicestershire County Council, and won legitimate right to question the received orthodoxy. As in 1485, the nature of the victory has still to be worked out. Yet despite the wagging finger of Professor Griffiths's introduction, and without any intended disrespect to Peter Foss's scholarly and imaginative reinterpretation of the battle, my overwhelming reaction to attempts by Foss and numerous others to write a military history of this most crucial but most ill-sourced of battles is that it amounts to little more than boys playing games.

This book is now an essential part of any Bosworth bibliography, but cannot be recommended without qualification. It is a book to be walked on the ground, and given that same fresh and thoughtful reading that Foss has given to his sources. Much may yet stand. Details such as the identification of Oxford's manoeuvres with classic military strategy as recommended in Vegetius, and Oxford's and Henry's patronage of Caxton's printing of a version of the text, illuminate the argument and are a reminder of how far the historian must seek to enter the culture of the period which he is interpreting. It would be churlish to dwell on the book's minor blemishes; but, for example, squires of the body were not Henry VII's invention and both Edward IV and Henry required their military service. Peter Foss is generous in his acknowledgement of assistance given; the credit remains his own.

MARGARET M. CONDON

CHURCH AND SOCIETY IN LATE MEDIEVAL ENGLAND. R. N. Swanson. 1989. Basil Blackwell Ltd., Oxford, £45.

This is a book which, although it covers the whole period c.1350-1540, is constantly looking to the end of the period. The fact of the English Reformation colours the author's perception of his subject throughout. The result is that he concentrates, perhaps rather more than is advisable for a complete picture, on the tensions in the relations between church and society, although he is aware of the problems of definition that these terms contain.

Dr. Swanson's three stated themes are the church, English society, and spiritual activity. In his first section he discusses the English church's structure from province to parish, the way this was complicated by peculiar jurisdictions, and the manner in which the church in England related to Western Christianity and the papacy. Next he considers the numbers, motives and careers of the English clergy. His second theme of the church in English society is divided into three parts: first he discusses the church's role in politics and government, both at the national and local level; then he considers the exercise of royal and ecclesiastical law in their respective courts, and the tensions between them, before going on to describe the economic activity of the church. Finally, he moves on to consider the church's *raison d'être*, its 'spiritual activity', looking first at 'orthodox spirituality' and finally (the most satisfying and readable part of the book) at nonconformity, heresy and reforming initiatives and how they related to the 'Reformation'. Dr. Swanson's decision to relate his study of these two centuries to the Reformation explains the somewhat negative tone of much of the book. This is in marked contrast to a great deal of recent work on the late medieval church which has been of a revisionist nature. However, even within his own remit, I think that he damns with far too faint praise when stating that 'some [bishops] took their diocesan duties reasonably seriously' (p.82).

The book is dedicated to Dorothy Owen, that *doyenne* of ecclesiastical archivists. Fittingly, Dr. Swanson's own deep knowledge of archival sources is everywhere displayed, as is his familiarity with a vast array of secondary material; his bibliography of works cited runs to 944 works! However, this depth of research may, in fact, explain some of the book's infelicities. The complexity and difficulty of his subject is rather reflected in the author's style. There is so much detail that it is not always easy to see the wood for the trees. Except for the last section, the period seems to be treated in a rather monolithic manner as if it saw little development. There is perhaps rather too much discussion, and not enough narrative and explanation, for a work of synthesis. For example, in the section on the two legal systems, Dr. Swanson's admirably succinct description of the church's spiritual jurisdiction is contained in parentheses in the middle of a paragraph of argument (p.142). Because of this, one might be rather chary of recommending this book to undergraduates as the basic up-to-date text-book on this subject that is so desperately needed.

Despite this, much of the argument is stimulating and most of the detail interesting. Although the book is not 'an easy read' at one sitting, many of its sections are worth examining for their own sake. The excellent footnotes and bibliography are a great incentive to further study on any subject of particular interest to the reader (although it would be nice to have more information about

the original documents than their reference numbers). Given that the book's greatest value may be as a work of particular reference, a good index is an absolute necessity. It is, therefore, rather worrying to discover, for example, that Durham Priory, listed in the index as appearing on pages 47, 213-4, 226-7, 229-30, 233 and 234, only appears on one page (226) in that list which, in fact, refers to Ely Priory; and that the Hunne case, mentioned on pages 216, 318 and 326, has no entry in the index. Apart from this, the book seems to have been well produced. The major misprints are the repetition of a line on page 245 and the misspelling of Tavistock as Tavistrock on both pages 203 and 204. There are some very well chosen illustrations, although the quality of their reproduction could be better, as could that of the two maps whose undoubted usefulness would be enhanced if they were easier to read.

Ricardians will be interested to know that among other subjects discussed in their relevant context are Edward IV's pre-contract (p.170); Elizabeth Woodville's taking sanctuary at Westminster Abbey (p.155); Richard's coronation (p.97); Bishop Russell's parliament sermon (p.94); Richard's support of Bishop Shirwood's aspirations for the cardinalate (p.10); his pressure on ecclesiastical patrons (pp.69, 74); his exploitation of the cult of Henry VI (p.100); and his grant of a charter of privileges to the clergy (p.184). These few examples may serve to indicate the sheer range of information and analysis that anyone interested in late Medieval England and ecclesiastical history may find in this flawed but fascinating book.

ROSEMARY C. E. HAYES

A DIRECTORY OF LONDON STATIONERS AND BOOK ARTISANS 1300-1500. C. Paul Christianson. The Bibliographical Society of America, New York 1990. (P.O. Box 397, Grand Central Station, New York, NY 10163.) \$65.

C. Paul Christianson's *Directory of London Stationers and Book Artisans 1300-1500* is a thoroughly documented and informative addition to the increasingly popular literature in the field of English manuscript studies. The book begins with a concise and valuable account of London's early book trade during a particularly important period of its history. The Directory, in which Christianson outlines the biographies and careers of some 250 London stationers, bookbinders, and other book artisans, is based on a wide number of archival and printed sources and will serve as a valuable reference work to scholars working in this area. The book includes Indexes of First Names, Persons Named in the Directory, Manuscripts Associated with Book Trade Members and Other Manuscripts Cited, and an Index of Books Named in Documentary Sources. This book has been well over ten years in the making and contains a great deal of new information, all of it presented in tidy and accessible form. It is a welcome addition to the source material for all literary and social historians.

SUSAN H. CAVANAUGH

THE ENGLISH MEDIEVAL MINSTREL. John Southworth. 1989. The Boydell Press, Woodbridge, £16.95.

Amazingly John Southworth has managed to turn the interesting and potentially 'entertaining' information at his disposal into a rather dull and confusing book. In his preface he says he regards minstrels 'quite simply — not as objects of antiquarian interest — but as former colleagues,' and thus raises hopes of a stimulating, illuminating, almost 'inside' treatment of the subject. Instead of a lively story, however, worthy of the 'independent spirit and anarchic gaiety' of all entertainers, one is left with an, in theory chronological, jumble of names, facts, dates and figures, arbitrarily interspersed with anecdotes, quotations and the author's own unnecessary remarks ('I shall say what I know of each').

It is good and useful to be told some basic facts about the early minstrels, such as the reciprocity of their relation with their employers in an illiterate society (the abler the minstrel the more substantial his reward *and* the greater the fame and prestige of his master), the intimacy of some minstrels and their masters, and the many and varied services they performed, as heralds, watchmen, messengers and confidants as well as musicians and entertainers. All kinds of performers from Roman times on are mentioned and their Latin and English names explained, many of them are illustrated, in black and white. The book includes appendices; for example a list of Royal Harpers and Fools, and an Index of Named Minstrels.

What is lacking, however, is faithfulness to the book's own structure and coherence *within* each chapter. It is quite justifiable, in theory, that a large section (pp.62-82) should be taken up by the festivities of one event of which good sources survive; namely the wedding of Elisabeth, daughter of Edward I, and John, Count of Holland, in 1296, but even here no unity is achieved. The feast is not actually described, but rather each performer is named and discussed in a confusion of political data — for example half a page on the Scottish succession to illustrate the career of a northern herald — and, as in the rest of the book, long additional passages and sentences in brackets or dashes, relating stories that are interesting in themselves but often entirely out of place. They are very distracting to the reader, who loses every idea of time, place and context. Much of this material should have been consigned to the notes.

There are a few glimpses of a lack of background knowledge; for instance, Xenophon's name is spelt correctly when it is taken from one source; but he is 'Zenophon' when taken from another, and in explanation of the famous Rivers/ rivers jibe by one of Edward IV's men we are merely told that Elisabeth Woodville's 'family name was Rivers'.

In spite of its promising subject and its undoubted attempt at completeness this book does not score very high for 'entertainment value'. It would not have earned a *disour* his reward.

LIVIA VISSER-FUCHS

THE WARS OF THE ROSES. Ian Dawson. 1990. Macmillan Education Ltd., Basingstoke, £3.25.

This is an attractively presented school textbook in a new series which the publishers have called 'History in Depth'. Readers may well wonder how the subject can be treated 'in depth' within a mere sixty-four pages most having one or more illustrations. It may be deduced that the term relates to the frequent use of quotations from original sources and good readable photographs of some of these.

The book is indeed a departure from the boring third hand narratives traditional in school texts and very welcome for that. The author has made a determined effort to use several different techniques to generate variety and interest and to stimulate reader participation in the evaluation of evidence and the analysis of motives and events. Sketch maps, line drawings, time charts, economic graphs, relationship and logic diagrams are all used to good effect. He even uses P. M. Kendall's famous or notorious description of Richard III's last minutes at Bosworth Field as an extreme example of styles of historical writing for class discussion.

Ian Dawson has wisely not attempted to cover uniformly all the major events and aspects of the period. He has instead selected certain episodes and themes for the purpose of teaching historical skills as much as for imparting information.

He may well be criticised for giving undue prominence and significance to Michael Hicks' trivial hypothesis to explain Richard of Gloucester's motive in assuming the crown, but that aside there is much to be commended in this book. It is certainly not boring and students will not be misled by it into thinking that history is all settled with nothing left to discover.

R. C. HAIRSIANE

KING RICHARD III, SHAKESPEARE IN PERFORMANCE. Hugh M. Richmond. 1989. Manchester University Press, £25.00.

As a study of the play in performance, this book invites comparison, to its disadvantage, with Julie Hankey's *Richard III: Plays in Performance* (2nd edition, Bristol Classical Press, 1988). The latter is a systematic study of attitudes towards the production of the play from its writing to the present, whereas Richmond's book is much more idiosyncratic. The intention of the series of which it forms part is not to 'provide theatre histories', rather to select for study a small number of significant interpretations. This inevitably presents the reader with the author's more personally biased view, and left me with a feeling of dissatisfaction that the range of options had been deliberately confined to those performances which Richmond finds particularly dissatisfactory, or satisfactory — which latter are in fact few.

In the first of his seven chapters, Richmond studies the play itself, its predecessors, its moral/religious context, and its historical context. He sees it

very much as a history play, but since his version of fifteenth century history is one that is extrapolated back from the play (Richard *did* marry Anne Neville, therefore he must at some point have persuaded her into marriage, c.f. Act I, Scene ii) it will not carry a great deal of conviction with Ricardians.

His second chapter studies the earliest performances of the play, based on the supposition that it was written for Burbage, and therefore was tailor-made to his particular talents, which Richmond feels, have not been achieved since.

Richmond then studies a number of different performances in varying depths, in chapters 3-6. According to him the Cibber tradition — the play alone, as melodrama, reached its ultimate expression in Olivier's 1955 film version, which is condemned for its sweeping cuts, including its excision of the role of Margaret. Sher's version (1984) is also found too melodramatic, whereas two very much less well known interpretations, those of Marius Goring (1953) and Christopher Plummer (1961) are praised for rescuing the play from this interpretation, but not enough detail is given of the productions to convince the reader. The RSC *Wars of the Roses* (1963) restored the play to its rightful setting as the culmination of the history cycle of the wars of the roses, despite much tampering with the texts. The BBC television production with Ron Cook (1982) played a fuller text and succeeded in certain areas, notably the women's roles, but at the expense of minimising Richard. Sher's Richard almost deliberately stood aside from history and tradition, and gave too much prominence to the visual (the elaborate set and Sher's own appearance) at the expense of the verbal.

Richmond's concluding chapter studies the future for the play: it must take into account its historical genesis, and all the possible options open, not confining itself to a contemporary interpretation which chooses to stress only certain aspects of the play. Above all it must respect the text and speak it well.

To Ricardians familiar with the play and its performance history the study is both too didactic and too basic. An irritating feature of the discussion of the various productions is that it is not clearly stated whether Richmond has in fact seen the productions, on stage, or in the form of video tapes of performances, or is relying on secondary evidence in the form of reviews. Much use has clearly been made of RSC performances, on which the study relies heavily, of cuttings books of reviews.

For a study of a play in performance, the text shades too much to the study, rather than the theatre — what is melodrama on tape at 9 a.m., alone, in the study, may be properly dramatic in a full theatre, or cinema, at 9 p.m. at night. One has the suspicion one would find Richmond's 'ideal performance' worthy but dull, and, as a reviewer of a recent historical novel said, it would be quite a feat to make Richard III (the historical or the dramatic version) dull!

The book is wide in scope, but more modest in execution, though far from modest in price: at £25 for 143 pages of text, plus cast lists and bibliography, it is overpriced. This is a book to be read with interest by students of the play, but to be borrowed by members from the Society or other libraries, rather than bought.

E. M. NOKES

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

H. L. M. Defoer *et al.*, *The Golden Age of Dutch Manuscript Painting*. Introduction by James H. Marrow. Illustrated. 318 pages. 1989. Belser Verlag, Stuttgart/Zürich, approx. £25.

Catalogue of the exhibitions held at the Rijksmuseum Het Catharijneconvent, Utrecht, and the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, in 1989-90. Describes every item and illustrates some pages of each. Organised chronologically as well as by region and school. Almost all the manuscripts are liturgical, mainly books of hours, among them the famous Hours of Catherine of Cleves. A full guide to illuminators and their work in the northern Low Countries, 1395-1520.

Walter H. Kemp, *Burgundian Court Song in the Time of Binchois: The anonymous 'Chansons' of El Escorial, MS VIII 24*, 1990. 157 pages. Clarendon Press, Oxford, £25.

Emphasises the importance of the composer Binchois in the culture of the Burgundian court. Its first section studies the style of the contents of this particular manuscript, the second discusses the chivalric and *courtly* aspects of Burgundian music.

John Kinross, *Walking and Exploring the Battlefields of Britain*. 1988. Illustrated. 192 pages. David and Charles, London, £14.95.

A useful book for exploring battlefields, describing with the help of maps and pictures the topography as it is now, and facilities such as battlefield centres and trails. The history is very unreliable, and while it has good illustrations rather too many of them are of modern wargamers.

Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, *Machaut's Mass: An Introduction*. 212 pages. 1990. Clarendon Press, Oxford, £27.50.

Discussion and analysis of all aspects, particularly the compositional and aesthetic, of the *Messe de Notre Dame* of Guillaume de Machaut, musician at the court of the Dukes of Burgundy. Includes an edition for actual performance which is also available separately.

Christopher Wilson, *The Gothic Cathedral: The Architecture of the Great Church, 1130-1530*. 1990. Illustrated. 304 pages. Thames and Hudson, London, £20.

An assessment of the artistic achievement of this art form throughout Europe. Emphasises the importance of the architect and his drawings, and of English Gothic.

ARTICLES

N. W. Alcock, The Catesbys in Coventry: A Medieval Estate and its Archives, *Midland History*, volume 15, 1990, pages 1-36.

Covers the period c. 1330 to c. 1484, and studies the acquisition and management of the property, as well as the role played by the gentry family within the town from their fine house, Catesby Place, in Ironmonger Row. (Maps).*

Sydney Anglo, How to Win at Tournaments: the Technique of Chivalric Combat, *The Antiquaries Journal*, volume 68, part 2, 1988, pages 248-264.

Displays the evidence that chivalric combat required great skills. Reconstructs the techniques used in England and much of Europe, using narratives and technical treatises of the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries.

Rowena E. Archer and B. E. Ferme, Testamentary Procedure with special reference to the Executrix, in *Medieval Women in Southern England*, *Reading Medieval Studies*, volume 15, 1989, pages 3-34.

Detailed examination of the establishment of the church's laws governing wills (real estate) and testaments (movables), as well as the actual processes the executors, so frequently women, had to go through in England.*

Ian Arthurson and Nicholas Kingwell, The Proclamation of Henry Tudor as King of England, 3 November 1483, *Historical Research*, volume 63, number 150, February 1990, pages 100-106.

Edition and discussion of a document that throws more light on the structure of the Buckingham rebellion: the use of military 'feints', the 'proclamation' of Henry 'as king' and the political diversity of those involved. Latin text.*

Mark Bailey, Blowing up Bubbles: some new Demographic Evidence for the Fifteenth Century?, *Journal of Medieval History*, volume 15, 1989, pages 347-358.

A discussion of the Myntling Register in which doubt is cast on the conclusions drawn from it by Jones (see below). Bailey compares it with other similar material, including the use of court rolls for demographic purposes, and concludes that while valuable it in fact only gives genealogical information on a very restricted group of the villeinage, the *nativi de sanguine*, hereditary serfs.

Caroline Barron, The 'Golden Age' of Women in Medieval London, in *Medieval Women in Southern England*, *Reading Medieval Studies*, volume 15, 1989, pages 35-58.

States legal position of women in London and the comparative benefits of London custom, and relates this to the evidence of actual practice. Concludes that in fifteenth century London a woman was better able to find work and prosper than in the succeeding centuries.*

R. H. Britnell, The Pastons and Their Norfolk, *The Agricultural History Review*, volume 36, part 2, 1988, pages 132-44.

The *Pastons Letters* as a source of agricultural history. Details of the cultivation and management of the Paston lands and what part the family itself and its servants played. Discusses the problems of the period and the area — especially prices and rents — and the specific problems of the Pastons. 'The knightly ethic' did not preclude 'the energetic management of worldly goods', but large estates, e.g. of the nobility, demanded a more structured administration and delegation.

Anne Crawford, Victims of Attainder: The Howard and de Vere Women in the Late Fifteenth Century, in *Medieval Women in Southern England*, *Reading Medieval Studies*, volume 15, 1989, pages 59-74.

Examples of the difficult situation in which women found themselves when male members of their family were charged with treason, centring on Richard of Gloucester's treatment of Elizabeth Howard, Countess of Oxford in 1473-4.*

Elizabeth Danbury, The Decoration and Illumination of Royal Charters in England, 1250-1509: An Introduction, in *England and her Neighbours, 1066-1453: Essays in Honour of Pierre Chaplais*, ed. M. Jones and M. G. A. Vale, London 1989, pages 155-79.

The development of the decoration of such documents, and their importance to art history because they can often be dated and many were made locally. Many examples described. The space to be decorated grew larger in the course of the period, there was a change from painted illumination to penwork and after 1399 the decoration grew more uniform, London-made and 'royal', with mottoes, arms and badges of the king. Some illustrations.

Norman Doe, Legal Reasoning and Sir Roger Townsend JCP (d.1493), *The Journal of Legal History*, volume 11, number 2, September 1990, pages 191-199.

Examination of the kind of arguments used by Sir Roger Townsend as a lawyer in the courts: his application of legal rules (parliamentary legislation, common law, customary law, etc.), as well as ideas of logic, good sense, reason or divine law.

David Dunlop, The 'Redresses and Reparacions of Attemptates': Alexander Legh's Instructions from Edward IV, March-April 1475, *Historical Research*, volume 63, number 152, October 1990, pages 340-53.

Edition and discussion of some instructions of Edward IV to his envoy to Scotland, mainly illustrating Edward's anxiety to be on peaceful terms with James III during the French expedition and also — according to the author — shedding some light on the Duke of Gloucester's career in the North.*

Mirjam M. Foot, A Binding by the Scales Binder, circa 1456-65, *The British Library Journal*, volume 16, number 1, Spring 1990, pages 103-6.

Detailed description of a recently discovered, unrestored example of this fifteenth-century binder's work (now BL. Add.Ms.65194). Illustrated.

Peter Heath, Between Reform and Reformation: The English Church in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, volume 41, number 4, October 1990, pages 647-678.

Bibliographical Surveys IV. Between 1950 and 1990 the accepted views of church history before the Reformation have been overturned and there has been a major 'discovery' of the fifteenth-century English church and lay piety. Survey of the research now in print and also an account of who and what made these advances possible. Classified under the headings 'Clergy', 'Jurisdiction', 'Royal Taxation', 'Papacy', 'Heresy', and 'Orthodox Religion'.

P. Holland, The Lincolnshire Rebellion of March 1470, *The English Historical Review*, volume 13, number 409, October 1988, pages 849-69.

Detailed reassessment of the events of 1469, especially the role of Clarence and Warwick and Edward IV's position and efficiency. The main source, the 'Chronicle of the Rebellion', gives the royalist version of events and is both authoritative and propagandist.*

E. D. Jones, Going round in circles: some new evidence for population in the later middle ages, *Journal of Medieval History*, volume 15, 1989, pages 329-345.

Discusses the 'Myntling' Register from Spalding Priory, Lincolnshire. According to the author this contains important new demographic evidence for the middle ages concerning sex ratios, the percentage of females marrying, and the number of surviving children per family, in the form of family trees of villeins from the mid-fourteenth century to the 1470s.

Charles Moreton, A 'best betrusted frende': A Late Medieval Lawyer and His Clients, *The Journal of Legal History*, volume 11, number 2, September 1990, pages 183-190.

Of yeoman parentage, Townsend was a justice of the Common Pleas by 1485, knighted 1486 and the founder of a long-lived landed family. Money-lender and legal advisor to the Pastons as well as the Duke of Norfolk in the 1460s and 1470s. He was both sought after for his talents and feared for his predatory ability to take advantage of clients' financial embarrassments.

Antoinette Naber, Les manuscrits d'un bibliophile bourguignon du XVe siècle, Jean de Wavrin, *Revue du Nord*, volume 72, Jan./March 1990, pages 23-48.

Critical list of the books owned by de Wavrin, author of the Chronicles of England and several chivalric romans. Explains which books were wrongly attributed to him in the past, describes each item in some detail, and puts Wavrin's 'truly Burgundian taste' in context.

T. B. Pugh, Richard, Duke of York, and the Rebellion of Henry Holland, Duke of Exeter, in May 1454, *Historical Research*, volume 63, number 152, October 1990, pages 248-62.

His firm handling of his irresponsible son-in-law's attempt at insurrection enabled York, protector at the time, to rehabilitate himself politically and establish his reputation for 'good government'. The author corrects earlier publications by other scholars, who had mistakenly ascribed precocious political activity to York's young sons or assumed that the 'son' addressed in York's letter to Exeter was the future Edward IV seemingly at odds with his father. York's letter is given, in modern English.*

Mark Samuel, The Fifteenth-Century Garner at Leadenhall, London, *The Antiquaries Journal*, volume 69, part 1, 1989, pages 119-153.

Detailed examination of the archaeological findings on the site (1984-6) of the medieval garner built by the City of London in the 1440s, with a history of the building. Illustrated with plates and reproductions of existing material, as well as elevations, axonometric projection and plans of the reconstructed building.

J. A. F. Thomson, The Death of Edward V: Dr. Richmond's Dating Reconsidered, *Northern History*, volume 26, 1990, pages 207-211.

More than a correction of Dr. Richmond, this paper takes the opportunity to review what evidence actually exists to suggest an early date for the death of the Princes.*

Kevin Wooldridge, 49-52 St. John's Square, Clerkenwell, London EC1. The Excavation and Recording of the Standing Building, *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, volume 38, 1987, pages 131-150. (Issued 1990).

A number of medieval features of the Priory of St. John Clerkenwell were discovered during excavation and these are linked to surviving documentary evidence. Transcript of the 1545 survey. (It was in the great hall that Richard III made his 1485 speech denying that he had any intention of marrying his niece.)

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