

in Raines's footnotes, many of which are inaccurate, and so an error was made which has been repeated in the Victoria County History, which, being an important source, means that it will be perpetuated continuously, for example in the Chapel guide book.

Book Reviews

THE REIGN OF HENRY VII. Edited by Benjamin Thompson. 1995. Harlaxton Medieval Studies V. Paul Watkins, Stamford, £40. ISBN 1-871615-79-8

Early volumes in the Harlaxton series looked at a century apiece; future volumes are to take a more thematic approach. The present volume bridges the transition by having a single reign as its subject; appropriately, since Henry VII's reign has always suffered by being at the turn of a century: neither early modern nor medieval, and hence skimpily treated by medievalists and Tudorists alike. As Christine Carpenter points out in her paper, the *sources* for Henry's reign are essentially those with which medievalists are familiar, and which do not address the sorts of questions which Tudorists are used to asking of the later period.

Given the reign's uncomfortable position on the cusp of two very different historical traditions, it is hardly surprising that this volume does not create a new consensus overnight. The political contributors, in particular, give very different readings of the reign and of the perennial question of whether it represents any sort of new beginning. For Carpenter, who is primarily concerned with the practical relationship of centre and localities, Henry is the quintessential outsider making a very poor fist of a system which had functioned smoothly under Edward IV. Change, if it occurred, was accidental and not usually for the better. Watts, by contrast, is prepared to argue for radical and self-conscious change in perceptions of the king's role, deriving ultimately from the mid-century writings of John Fortescue; although he, like Carpenter, seems inclined to see this as happening independently of Henry and as suggesting, to a degree, at least, a king who was not fully in control of his own realm.

The other 'political' contributor, Dominic Lockett, takes a narrower topic, but one with important implications for the reign as a whole. His study of the royal escheators in the south west supports the traditional view that the reign saw increased intervention in local office from the centre, but this is presented as a ramshackle and inefficient affair: a reading which gives no support to the familiar

image of Henry VII as the great systematizer tidying up the essentially personal and ad hoc structures developed by Edward IV.

As the political contributions show, one of the traditional concerns of historians of this reign has been centralization: the rise of the court as a source of power. The related theme of the court as a expression of power is taken up, in a cultural context, by many of the other contributors. Christopher Wilson and Richard Marks shed important light on one of the great statements of Tudor identity: Henry VII's chapel in Westminster Abbey. Neil Beckett's valuable paper on Henry and Sheen Charterhouse brings out well the dynastic element in Henry's religious patronage; a theme rather more cursorily considered by David Thomson in his account of Henry's foundation of the Savoy Hospital, loosely based on the model of the Florentine Ospedale de Santa Maria Nuova. A more unexpected view of Henry's court is provided by Roger Bowers' evaluation of the songs in the Fayrfax Book, which he argues was compiled for court use and, in its seriousness and sobriety, offered suitable listening for courtiers oppressed by the trials of public life.

Two other papers are concerned with the music of the period. Magnus Williamson discusses the Eton Choirbook and Fiona Kisby looks at the careers outside the court of the musicians of the chapel royal. Here, as in many of the contributions, one meets former servants of Richard III as well as of his brother: a reminder that on an individual level 1485 was not necessarily a radical break with the past. Yorkist continuities are also a theme of Nigel Morgan's paper on the Scala Coeli Indulgence, which was first attached to an altar in England through the good offices of Anthony Earl Rivers during a visit to Rome in 1476, and which generated an enthusiastic response in England over the next decades. One focus of Yorkist/Tudor continuity, however, is glimpsed only rarely here. Elizabeth of York remains a curiously shadowy figure. She is mentioned briefly in Malcolm Underwood's account of the career of Adriano Castelli, in a context which hints at some influence over her husband, and there are references to her in Janet Backhouse's survey of the illuminated manuscripts associated with Henry VII and his family. Otherwise she is mentioned only in death: in Beckett's paper and in Pamela Tudor-Craig's avowedly speculative piece on Margaret Tudor's stay in Grantham en route for her Scottish marriage in 1503.

As this survey suggests, this is a very rich volume, revealing how many problems still remain to be resolved but also how many of the old orthodoxies have been modified since the appearance of S.B. Chrimes' biography of the king in 1972. One niggle: there should have been an index.

ROSEMARY HORROX

These are the proceedings of the Fifteenth Century colloquium held at Chester in 1994. Four of the papers feature Cheshire. Professor David Mills begins with a discussion of the Chester mystery plays, suggesting, admittedly speculatively, but with a wealth of circumstantial detail, that the organisation of the plays was, from about 1500, increasingly taken over by the city government, epitomising the greater strength of corporate civic values at the expense of the church and of individual companies. Tim Thornton argues powerfully for the vitality of the institutions of the Chester palatinate, of the marked preference of the gentry for local courts, which resulted, *inter alia*, in the growth of a local equity court, and suggests that this picture might be equally applicable to other 'dependent jurisdictions' of the crown. Thornton is appropriately backed by David Tilsey on arbitration, again emphasising the localism of the Cheshire gentry and the importance of the palatinate officials. In a fascinating article Deborah Marsh examines the cartulary and commonplace book compiled by a Cheshire gentleman, Humphrey Newton (1466-1536). His explorations in the archives of the palatinate and of other landholders seem to have begun with the need to compile a book of evidences to defend his own modest estate, but he got the researcher's bug and begun to collect information of general interest; including, incidentally, a good deal of genealogical information which contradicts that available in the later heraldic visitations, somewhat worrying for all of us who, perforce, have had to rely on the latter.

Thereafter the collection becomes miscellaneous; not necessarily a bad thing, but giving little purchase to the reviewer. The localist theme is continued by Penny Tucker's demonstration that the City of London's courts in Edward IV's reign successfully held their own in competition for business with the king's courts at Westminster; though the burgeoning equity jurisdiction of Chancery posed some threat. Carrie Smith defends the use of evidence given at coroners' inquests as illumination of everyday life against the purist objections of R. F. Hunnisett and John Post. Caroline Barron writes fascinatingly about the education of girls in London, arguing for reasonably widespread functional literacy among the women of the business classes. Hugh Collins examines the use by the crown of the order of the Garter as an instrument of political patronage, especially at moments of monarchical weakness, though never compromising the Order's essentially military nature.

David Rundle in a stylish discussion of the reception of humanist texts in England dissents sharply from Roberto Weiss's picture of a few third-rate Italians

in the entourage of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, casting their seed on largely barren ground; arguing instead for a variety of responses by Englishmen, even if Humphrey himself is put in his place by a revelation of the in-jokes about him inserted by Italians in works produced under his auspices. Finally, Rachel Gibbons examines the 'piety' of Isabeau of Bavaria, the unfortunate queen of Charles VI of France. This is a useful study. Its conclusion, that Isabeau's devotional life was fairly representative of great ladies of the period, and that it was sincere, will come as no surprise. I must say I found this chapter frustrating, perhaps unfairly, in that I want much more; it seems to epitomise the blandness which so easily afflicts academic writing. Gibbons gives an outline of Isabeau's life, but without emphasising its full horrors. She was married at fifteen, without her knowledge beforehand, to a man who was to have long periods of acute mental instability. She had twelve children, many of whom died young. She was accused, rightly or wrongly, of adultery with her brother-in-law, Louis, Duke of Orléans, who was the victim of political assassination. She subsequently found herself thrust into a leading political rôle, in political alliance with Orléans's murderer, culminating in her part in declaring her youngest but only surviving son incapable of succeeding to the crown, and colluding in its transfer to Henry V. Two daughters became queens of England, in neither case in the happiest of circumstances. It may be revealing that she was happy to consign her favourite daughter, Marie, to a convent, and that Marie resisted later inducements to leave and undertake a political marriage. I feel that Gibbons is more interested in 'piety' than in Isabeau, although religious practice was so integral a part of Fifteenth-Century life that its abstraction in this way is rather artificial; rather as if one were to study Margaret Thatcher's reading habits to provide information about the cultural interests of Somervillians generally. Gibbons may be right in exercising scholarly caution, and perhaps we are all too prone to try and read too much into this sort of evidence. (Witness the controversy about the significance of 'Richard III's prayer'). I hope, though, that she will prove me wrong and go on to produce a full-scale study of a woman who, however conventional her attitudes, was placed in a totally extraordinary situation.

C. S. L. DAVIES

THE NORTH OF ENGLAND IN THE AGE OF RICHARD III. Edited by A. J. Pollard. The Fifteenth Century Series Number 3. 1996. Sutton Publishing, Stroud, St Martin's Press, New York, £40. ISBN 0-7509-0609-X

This book contains the papers given at the fifth triennial conference of the Richard

III Society, held at Durham 2-4 April 1993. In his introduction Professor Pollard rehearses some of the definitions and views of the north, particularly the concept of the north as a literary construct. 'The north, to state the obvious, is a concept of those that live in the south ...'. Professor R. B. Dobson, in his 'Politics and the church in the fifteenth-century north', first picks up this general theme, suggesting that the north, in the fifteenth century, was often merely the battle ground for the problems of the south, and that the northern lords and burgesses were either courted or exploited by the south. The north was *not* particularly violent or restless and this was partly due to the influence of the church. Professor Dobson focuses on the Heron-Maners controversy, which culminated in 1428 in the death of William Heron and left the Northumbrian gentry deeply divided. Final settlement in 1431 was reached through the mediation of several prelates, the 'guilty' party promising to pay a sum in cash and to have 500 masses sung for the soul of the deceased. The author here assumes an 'enthusiasm for the perpetual chantry ... which would have been hard to match anywhere in the kingdom'.

Dr Rosemary Hayes' ' "Ancient indictments" for the north of England, 1461-1509', an off-shoot of the project to compose a calendar of ancient indictments for the north, explains the nature of various writs and gives the number of indictments relating to the Yorkist period and after. The level of reported crime appears to have been much higher in Yorkshire than in the border counties, and higher in Henry VII's reign than under the Yorkists, but it cannot be said whether this was, for example, because the far north was less unruly, or less under government control. Further analysis of the cases leads to the conclusion that in the Yorkist *and* Tudor periods the gentry, who should have been conserving the peace, were in fact the greatest disturbers of it.

'Order and community in the north: the liberty of Allertonshire in the later fifteenth century', by Dr Christine Newman, also considers the problem of the 'lawless' north. Her research on the records of the Northallerton courts reveals 'a closely regulated, predictably ordered and almost sleepy rural society which existed almost on another level from ... the high political tumults of the age'. Particularly regulated were trade and everything connected with it and there was an ever greater emphasis on social control; the sources show that the assertiveness and independence of local courts were increasing.

Professor Pollard himself studies the relationship between 'The crown and the county palatinate of Durham, 1437-94', which in effect reflects the character and policies of successive kings. During most of the fifteenth century powerful laymen — the earls of Salisbury and Warwick and Richard of Gloucester — overshadowed the bishops and the crown lost its control over Durham. It is claimed that Richard understood the situation and that the main advantage of his nominee, John Shirwood, was the latter's prolonged absence at the papal court. Under Richard

'the palatinate in effect ceased to exist' and Henry VII did not change his predecessor's policy.

Dr Henry Summerson's informative 'Carlisle and the English West March in the later middle ages', also deals with the effectiveness of royal power in the north, which fluctuated with the personality of the king. Carlisle was part of the large grant to Gloucester in 1483 and it could have become a regional capital: it is known that the duke had ambitious building schemes in mind and after his accession his grants, particularly to Carlisle Priory, continued. Under Henry VII most local office-holders kept their positions, and Henry, like Richard, kept the wardenship of the West March in his own hands. On the whole the area was peaceful under the Yorkists and the Tudors, and here as elsewhere in the north loyalty was to the reigning monarch, not the individual king.

Dr Alexander Grant's 'Richard III and Scotland' usefully draws together the little that is known about this relationship. He briefly discusses Richard's personal attitude, bound up with his acquisition of land on either side of the border; the general policy of the Scots towards the claims of the English kings; the Scottish alliance with France; the role of border society, its preference for war and its clashes with the crown; the complexities of Anglo-Scottish diplomacy. There is the usual discussion about the success of Richard's 1482 campaign and considerable (informed) speculation about Richard's ultimate aim, which is here taken to have been the creation of a principality in south-west Scotland. Once he was king, Richard for a while confronted France, Brittany and Scotland simultaneously. In July 1484 he won the mysterious naval battle against the Scots, in September the famous peace conference at Nottingham took place. Dr Grant's paper fully expounds the fascinating address to Richard by Archibald Whitelaw, secretary to James III. According to Grant, Whitelaw's main point was the need for kings to restrain themselves, be content with their existing dominions and not overreach themselves, lest they be destroyed. It is suggested that the peace treaty was a 'mechanism for governing the north . . . rather than . . . a settlement with Scotland' and that Richard regarded the treaty as an end in itself. A complete translation of Whitelaw's speech is added as an appendix; unfortunately the Latin text is not given, and it must also be said that a look at the surviving manuscript of the text would have solved the translator's main problems.

With Dr Jonathan Hughes', ' "True ornaments to know a holy man": northern religious life and the piety of Richard III', we leave fact and sober speculation behind and enter another world. I do not apologise for spending much time and paper on this essay. It touches closely on my own interests, and it contains many of the kind of suggestive, semi-fictional, impressionistic, and ultimately unfounded statements that have a dangerous attraction and which take many more words to unmask than to put forward. Dr Hughes is determined to prove that the piety of the

men and women of the north was 'different' and that Richard was spiritually akin to them. His method consists partly in listing the men in Richard's circle who came from the north and had been to Cambridge — the 'bastion of orthodoxy, pastoral reform and correct religious enthusiasm'. The author omits to mention, however, a man like Richard Mayew, later bishop of Hereford, who was Richard's chaplain and an Oxford man, or the fact that many of these learned men went to both Cambridge and Oxford. This section contains some curious statements; having said, for instance, on the authority of the Crowland Continuator, that Robert Stillington — an Oxford man — 'did nothing without consulting [John] Alcock' — a Cambridge man — the author adds the perfect *non-sequitur*: 'Likewise John Shirwood did nothing [*sic*] and [*sic*] he knew the princes' physician, John Argentine, who gave a grave report of their fate in the Tower'.

On the basis of such evidence the reader is asked to believe that Richard 'was austere religious and a practitioner of the mixed life'. Further 'proof' is found in the fact that Richard had in his service descendants of the patrons of Richard Rolle! The influence of his devout mother, Cecily, is also taken to have been considerable, witness Richard's only surviving letter to her — Dr Hughes refers to the meaningless phrases of conventional politeness usually quoted (for lack of evidence) to analyse Richard's relationship with his mother. Next we are reminded of the piety of Margaret of York, so far 'ignored' by authors in connection with Richard. Hughes seems to imply that Richard and Margaret had time for exchange of views on religion or that Richard was keeping himself informed on his sister's acquisition of devotional books, religious foundations and charities in an effort to imitate her. In fact they saw each other twice in twenty-seven years; Richard did not visit his sister 'on a number of occasions' and the references to almost random pages of Christine Weichtman's *Margaret of York* do not alter that fact.

Hughes' discussion of Richard's books assumes the influence of his mother behind his ownership of Mechthild of Hackeborn's *Booke of Gostlye Grace*, but he fails to mention the fact that this is the only one among Richard's books that suggests a real link with northern, Carthusian, piety. Like others before him Dr Hughes claims that Richard's taste in reading matter shows a preference for serious and religious books, when, in fact, it has to be concluded from his surviving books that his main interest was in history and he owned a larger proportion of romances than any of his relatives and acquaintances about whose library anything is known. The 'specialness' of northern piety is further emphasised by the author by means of a list of northern funeral monuments, northern owners of licensed oratories and northern owners of books of hours.

The author's main campaign is an almost emotional exposition on the contents of books of hours and Richard's in particular. Dr Hughes asserts that in the past historians have denied the highly personal, profoundly emotional impact psalms

and prayers could have on individual users who applied the words to themselves, their own situations and their 'own self images'. What follows is entirely speculative, supported by selected, moving quotations from such prayers and unsubstantiated, suggestive statements. What can one say about phrases such as (my italics): '*In Richard's* Old Testament there is a similar sanctioning of the usurpation of a younger brother [Joseph] . . .'? Any reader will find that same story in his own copy of the bible, but that does not make him or her into a person obsessed with being the youngest of the family, or a sufferer from any other trauma.

Much is made of Richard's supposed 'identification' with King David, 'who figures prominently' in the prayer that Richard had added to his hours (he is mentioned twice, as he is in all copies of this prayer). It is true one cannot deny categorically that Richard, or any king or any individual, may from time to time have thought that his situation was similar to David's and that reciting the psalms gave great comfort, but we do not know that he did and such speculations should be confined to the pages of an historical novel. We may discover echoes in people of the books they have read, but only when they quote from them or compose their own prose or verse; we cannot find traces of the people themselves in the books they own, and no amount of quotation from his manuscripts can present us with Richard's actual thoughts. Dr Hughes does attempt to find evidence of Richard expressing himself, but his examples are not convincing. Neither can I agree, for example, that Richard's prayer was 'in accordance with the militaristic spirit of many of the psalms'. As I have said elsewhere the prayer is an entreaty for comfort and help, rehearsing the examples of God's goodness in a spirit of hope; it is an incantation which derives its particular power from its conventional, thoroughly familiar phrases and its comforting repetitiveness.

Dr Hughes' final *tour de force* is finding visual evidence of Richard's devotion, claiming that such evidence is to be found in his portraits. The red roses in the background, the collar and other jewellery in the sixteenth-century royal collection portrait are linked to the rose of the Virgin Mary and to 'rosaries'. At the end of a long exposition on the role of roses in Christian iconography we are told that Cecily of York owned a rosary; the obvious fact that everyone owned one is passed over. Nor do quotations from the *Booke of Gostlye Grace* by Mechtild of Hackeborn — who loved all flowers and mentions them frequently — support this part of the argument with any degree of credibility.

All this might be thought more worthy of consideration if the paper's presentation inspired confidence. Why is the shelf-number of Richard's hours wrong in every footnote but one? Why is an article from *The Ricardian* which does not exist referred to (note 53)? Richard's hours is said to have only three 'illuminations' (p. 175, the author means historiated initials; the book has much

secondary illumination). The transcript from the statutes of the Middleham foundation is so casual that Richard is left asking God 'to preserve, kepe and deliver me of manyfold benyfets' (p. 178, instead of 'many grete jeoperdes, parells and hurts'). The prayer *Obsecro te* is twice referred to as *Obsecro te homina* (p. 168, properly *domina*). Half the passage quoted from Richard's prayer is totally spurious and does not occur anywhere in the text (p. 178).

This collection of essays left me with an impression of the north being much the same as the south, its people not more or less inclined to violence except in their inevitable confrontations with the Scots, not more or less loyal to individual kings, not more or less within reach of royal power and administration, only in their religious life, we are asked to believe, they were very different, and this difference was most evident in the 'tortured spirituality' of Richard III. The book has a useful appendix of selected documents, a short index and is attractively executed, though my ageing eyes would be grateful to the publisher for a more generous use of ink: larger and darker print and less white space between the lines. It is the text after all that matters.

LIVIA VISSER-FUCHS

LOCAL MARKETS AND REGIONAL TRADE IN MEDIEVAL EXETER.

Maryanne Kowaleski, 1995. Cambridge University Press.

ISBN 0-521-33371-7

This is an incredibly thorough and painstaking study of late-medieval Exeter: its commerce, its position in the economy of its region, its hierarchy of merchants and craftsmen on whom all depended. It invites immediate comparison with Dr R. H. Britnell's work on Colchester and Dr D. J. Keene's on Winchester: although the medieval records of each town differ significantly and although the three studies do not address precisely the same questions, the way is now open for much valuable and interesting work on the similarities and contrasts between them — Dr Kowaleski occasionally touches on them, but they can clearly be taken much further. Exeter's fourteenth- and fifteenth-century records are remarkably detailed and remarkably well preserved and Dr Kowaleski uses the information they contain for series of analyses of the people named in the documents and the transactions they were involved in. This must have involved a prodigious amount of work, but not all the book's readers may appreciate this for, with the art that conceals art, Dr Kowaleski presents her results without reference to the labours needed to produce them; an instance is her throwaway comment that seven specimen royal plea rolls between 1377 and 1388 were searched throughout for

Exeter cases of debt of account (p.215n) — only those who have actually used these massive documents will realise what this entailed.

However, the extent of one part of Dr Kowaleski's work defies concealment. The basis of many of her conclusions is a thorough prosopographical analysis of ten groups of persons whose names occur in the records, among them municipal office-holders, all Exeter householders of 1377 (525 names), debtors and creditors in the borough courts in 1377-88 (over 9000), importers through the port in 1302-20 and 1381-91 (some 1500), those presented in the mayor's tourn from 1370 to 1390 who were buying or selling fish, or hides and skins — two trades that she investigates in detail to establish the pattern of internal trade based on the city. This analysis enables her to identify with confidence the various hierarchies of the town and their operation of both its civic structure and its economic foundation.

The book is densely written and provides an immense amount of detailed information — but not indigestibly. Dr Kowaleski keeps the broad pattern, the overall trends, clearly in mind and her style is thoroughly readable: the book is interesting throughout. Some of her discoveries confirm what was already known or suspected: the growing prosperity of the south-west in the later middle ages, the immigration of rural villeins to the towns in the late fourteenth century, the domination of London in the supply of luxury goods, the structure of the cloth trade in which a leading role was taken by the merchants who imported the dyes and exported the finished product. Others are entirely new, and may well apply to other places besides Exeter: the relationship between the city, some miles up the River Exe, and the much smaller ports further downstream, Topsham and Exmouth, the importance of coastal trade and the economic basis for Exeter market's differing catchment areas for different products, or for buyers as against sellers — those who bought hides and skins came from a wider area than those who sold them. But the book will contribute new discoveries and new insights for many years to come, as further work on other places is set against the yardstick of what happened at Exeter. Dr Kowaleski is to be warmly congratulated on her achievement: she has given us a work of great importance to our understanding of medieval society.

P. D. A. HARVEY

CROWN, GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY. Edited by Rowena E. Archer. 1995. Alan Sutton Publishing, Stroud, £40. ISBN 0-7509-0588-3

The latest volume of fifteenth-century conference proceedings comes mainly from

the 'junior' conference held at Oxford in 1992. The volume also includes the papers of two senior figures, which, strikingly, are much the weakest of the collection. Margaret Wade Labarge paraphrases a fifteenth-century Italian work on the care of the aged which has been available in translation since 1988. Joel Rosenthal laboriously demonstrates that some late-medieval landowners lived long enough to have known their grandchildren, although he explicitly resists drawing conclusions from this state of affairs.

The other papers in the collection, however, provide an attractive sample of matters of current concern to late-medievalists. Dominic Luckett continues his reappraisal of Henry VII's reign with a study of opposition to the king in which he argues that rebellion developed in the regions where Henry had begun the reign with recognised supporters, and suggests that this was because Henry had not needed to work at creating a broad power base within those areas. The implication that Henry proved distinctly cack-handed when it came to dealing with local power structures chimes in with the recent work of Christine Carpenter, but supporters of the 'new constitutionalist' view that men were motivated by ideology rather than selfishness will no doubt want to take issue with Luckett's claim that 'men were prompted to serve by nothing more lofty than material self interest' (p. 159).

Two other 'political' contributions address central figures of the mid century. Helen Castor looks at East Anglia in 1399-1440, drawing on the records of the duchy of Lancaster. Much the most controversial aspect of this important paper is her suggestion that the invariably maligned affinity of William Duke of Suffolk in fact represented an established network of gentry loyalties in the region, and that it was the Pastons (Suffolk's vociferous critics) who were the disruptive element. She is surely right in suggesting that Suffolk's influence derived from his take-over of an existing royal affinity (and is thus analogous to Hastings' position in the north midlands after 1474), but it is much less clear that Suffolk himself could call on existing loyalties: there is no evidence of significant de la Pole involvement in the region before William's own arrival on the scene.

Diana Dunn studies Margaret of Anjou: the only one of a trio of late-medieval Margarets (the others being Margaret Beaufort and Margaret of Burgundy) not to have received her own recent study. The explicit aim of the essay, which covers the period 1445-53, is to try and gain a sense of Margaret undistorted by the animosities aroused by her later political involvement — a laudable aim, but one which leaves the reader impatient for the long-overdue evaluation of Margaret's political activity after her husband's collapse. The essay, with its conclusion that the pre-1453 Margaret was quite different from the woman who came to prominence after 1454 (p.143), seems to be implying that the familiar cliché of Margaret as a 'she-wolf' is valid for her later career, but is this really the case?

Other 'political' chapters look at the earlier part of the century. Philip Morgan surveys the way in which stories of Richard II's survival created a focus of opposition to Henry IV, and reveals how potent a force prophecy could become among the disaffected at all social levels — a theme which (at the other end of the century) has previously been explored by Ian Arthurs in his study of the Warbeck conspiracy. Morgan lets us see the margins of political dissent. In recreating the career of Thomas Tykhill, Lollard and forger, Maureen Jurkowski reveals an unexpected dimension to a man who, at first sight, might seem a thoroughly 'establishment' figure: administrator of the prince of Wales and king's attorney. Her paper reminds us that merely collecting details of public office does not bring us very close to the late-medieval gentry.

James Doig's paper on the 1436 siege of Calais as a case study in royal propaganda falls rather sharply into two halves: a general survey of late-medieval propaganda and a detailed exposition of written accounts of the siege. Matthew Davies, by contrast, achieves a synthesis of the general and particular in his discussion of corporate urban charity as demonstrated by the merchant tailors of London. There has been considerable discussion in recent years of whether charity was undergoing a shift of emphasis in the late middle ages, and it is valuable to have a sensitive discussion of a particular set of records which is securely placed within current debates. A similar balance is achieved by Jane Laughton's study of the alewives of Chester. Although she modestly defers to the forthcoming volume on alewives by J. M. Bennett, this is an exemplary local study: soundly grounded in a very wide range of sources and drawing out some important general conclusions. Unlike Jane Laughton's hapless brewster, found in her brewing pan 'with her heels upwards', the fifteenth century, on the evidence of this volume, is alive and well.

ROSEMARY HORROX

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.

BOOKS

Jean-Marie Cauchies, *Louis XI et Charles le Hardi. De Péronne à Nancy (1468-1477): le conflit*. Bibliothèque du Moyen Age 8. 1996. 186 pages. 9 black and white illustrations. De Boeck Université, Brussels. 1150 BEF. ISBN 2-8041-2128-3

New overview of the conflict between Louis XI of France and Charles the Bold of Burgundy, showing that Louis was not always as much in control and Charles not always as 'rash' as they have been painted.

Karl Michael Eising, *Aspekte des englischen 'de facto'-Gesetzes vom 14. Oktober 1495 (11 Henry VII c. 1), Ius Vivens. Abteilung B: Rechtsgeschichtliche Abhandlungen*, gen. ed. H. Holzhauser, PhD thesis, the Institute of Legal History of the University of Munster, Germany, 1996. ISBN 3-8258-2521-3

Investigates the undeservedly forgotten so-called *de-facto* act of 1495 which principally protected those who loyally served the 'king for the time being' against a pretender from charges of treason. The author argues that the act tried to introduce an element of humaneness into the struggle for the throne, but its shortcomings prevented it from gaining constitutional value; it remained a merely political measure.

Scot McKendrick, *The History of Alexander the Great. An Illuminated Manuscript of Vasco da Lucena's Translation of the Ancient Text by Quintus Curtius Rufus*, Getty Museum Monographs on Illuminated Manuscripts Series. 1996. xi, 106 pages. 25 colour and 12 black and white illustrations, maps. Getty Trust Publications, Santa Monica, £93.50. ISBN 0-89236-371-1

Study of MS Ludwig XV 8 and its Flemish illumination, with appendices on the text, its history and the other surviving manuscripts and their miniatures. Many large colour plates.

Maurits Smeyers and Jan van der Stok, editors, *Flemish Illuminated Manuscripts 1475-1550*. 223 pages; 44 colour plates, 109 colour and 20 black and white illustrations. 1996. Ludion Press, Ghent, distributed by Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, New York, £45. ISBN 0-8109-6318-3

Sumptuously illustrated catalogue to accompany an exhibition at St Petersburg and Florence, 1996. Chapters are entitled: 'Late-gothic miniature art in Flanders'; 'The Mayer van den Bergh breviary', a book traditionally ascribed to the artists, the Master of the Older Prayerbook of Maximilian, Gerard Horenbout, Jan Provost, and Simon Bening, and here dated to the years 1495-1520 and suggested as a commission by Manuel I of Portugal; 'Sublime music'; 'Sublime worship'; and 'Art in the town'. Bibliography; glossary and index.

ARTICLES

Marie-Thérèse Caron, '17 février 1454: le Banquet du Voeu du Faisan, fête de cour et stratégies de pouvoir', *Revue du Nord*, volume 78, April-June 1996, pages 269-88.

Describes the Feast of the Pheasant at Lille as festivities held by Philip the Good at the height of his success and power and suggests that the duke's crusading plans and the vows of his nobles to follow him served a political purpose.

Cecil H. Clough, 'Daughters and wives of the Montefeltro: outstanding bluestockings of the quattrocento', *Renaissance Studies*, volume 10, number 1, 1996, pages 31-55.

They were taught the humanities intensively, including Greek, as potential wives and mothers of rulers and rulers themselves. Examines contemporary theories about female education and suggests that there were more alternatives to marriage and the abandonment of studies, and study in a religious cell for these women. Detailed examination of their education, careers, writings and orations, political involvement, artistic and religious interests.

Paul D. Cockerham, 'The early Treffry monuments at Fowey: a re-appraisal', *Journal of the Church Monuments Society*, volume 10, 1995, pages 20-36.

The Treffrys of Place, Fowey, were a family whose prosperity steadily increased through the fifteenth century; their Lancastrian affiliations being rewarded after 1485. The article reconsiders and redates the modest brasses of c. 1455-70, produced in a London workshop, and the locally made sixteenth-century monuments. Illustrated.

P. H. Cullum, 'Vowesses and female lay piety in the province of York, 1300-1530', *Northern History*, volume 32, 1996, pages 21-41.

Traces the popularity and reasons behind women taking a vow of chastity, an action usually triggered by the death of the husband, sometimes connected with the descent of property or a desire to avoid family pressures to remarry — a peak of popularity seems discernable in the 1480s. Examines the social composition (mostly gentry widows) of the vowesses, and the family traditions and religious connections of some individuals.

S. Cunningham, 'Henry VII and rebellion in north-eastern England, 1485-1492: bonds of allegiance and the establishment of Tudor authority', *Northern History*, volume 32, 1996, pages 42-74.

A newly identified 'recognizance roll' from the reign of Henry VII suggests that Henry began to apply his infamous policy of bonds and recognizances from the beginning of his reign, in direct response to the conspiracies which arose before 1492 in the name of Richard III and his relatives. A series of bonds, often related to grants of pardon and similar to measures applied by Richard III after the autumn rebellion of 1483, suggest Henry's determination to secure the allegiance of former Ricardian servants in the north. Many leading figures became involved in bonds of up to £2,000, with their relatives and associates as sureties under similar potential penalties. This policy left open the route to reward through loyal service, but threatened financial ruin for any who associated, or failed to deter others from associating, with the king's rebels. The success of these measures seems to have

influenced directly the extensive application of bonds as restrictive political tools after 1500.

Sheila Delaney, 'Bokenham's Claudian as Yorkist Propaganda', *Journal of Medieval History*, volume 22, number 1, 1996, pages 83-96.

Argues again that the translation of part of Claudian's *De consulatu Stilichonis* was the work of Friar Osbern Bokenham of the Augustinian priory of Clare and that the date given in the manuscript (1445) is correct. Gives its political context (equating Rufinus with Bishop Moleyns), emphasises the author's support of Richard of York, and through a closer look at some of the details of the translation suggests it *may* have been encouraging York to claim the crown. 'Bokenham was an extremely canny propagandist — partly because that is not all he was'.

Stephen Derry, 'A Horse for Richard III', *Notes & Queries*, volume 241, number 2, June 1996, pages 150-152.

Discusses *Richard III* V. iv. 1-13, and an article by Maurice Pope, 'My Kingdom for a Horse', in *N&Q* 239 (1994), pp. 472-7. Pope considered Richard's repetition of 'My kingdom for a horse' to be a fault in transmission: either the first or second occurrence should be omitted, to eliminate self-contradiction and absurdity. Derry argues that the lines as they stand are perfectly consistent and intelligible. The scene begins with Catesby calling on Norfolk to help Richard, who is unhorsed: Norfolk fails to answer, being presumably already killed. Richard enters and shouts, to anyone within hearing, for a horse. Catesby suggests that Richard should withdraw: 'T'll help you to a horse', a swift and light horse for a getaway, as mentioned by Shakespeare's sources, Hall and Holinshed. Richard refuses it: in order to fight Richmond, if he can find him, what he needs is a warhorse, the medieval great horse, similar to the modern shire horse, and capable of carrying an armoured man weighing up to thirty stone; and he goes off to another part of the field again shouting, to all hearers, for a spare warhorse. The lines 'only cause a problem for commentators who do not understand medieval warfare, or that horses come in different types, and are bred for different purposes'.

Jean Devaux, 'Molinet dramaturge: une moralité inédite jouée lors du chapitre valenciennois de la Toison d'Or (1473)', *Revue du Nord*, volume 78, Jan.-March 1996, pages 35-47.

Introduction to and edition of rediscovered fragments of a theatrical interlude in the form of debates between the three estates performed for the knights of the Golden Fleece during their chapter at Valenciennes. Includes brief eulogies on the dukes of Burgundy and their wives.

T. Driver, 'A fifteenth-century Leicestershire lawyer and parliamentary knight of the shire: Thomas Palmer of Holt (c. 1400-1475)', *Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society Transactions*, volume 69, 1995, pages 3-58.

A detailed examination of the career of a thriving lawyer, JP and MP, who married into the Catesby family. Palmer was a client of William, Lord Hastings, and also came into contact with Richard, Duke of York, and Edward IV.

James A. Galloway, Derek Keene, and Margaret Murphy, 'Fuelling the city: production and distribution of firewood and fuel in London's region, 1290-1400', *Economic History Review*, volume 49, 1996, pages 447-72.

The needs of 80,000 people for heating, cooking, brewing and industry, were supplied by a hinterland of carefully managed woods; by c. 1300 'sea coal' was supplementing wood to such an extent that it had become a noxious problem. Examines how this supply system worked, the local processing of the many types of specialised fuels, the transport, the effects of a growing population, the amounts used and the distribution of woodland near London. Finds the area adequate for the demands of London and even able to supply demands from abroad. Identifies the wood-dealing areas of the city. Figures and tables.

Ralph Hanna III and A. S. G. Edwards, 'Rotheley, the De Vere Circle and the Ellesmere Chaucer', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, volume 58, number 1, 1996, pages 11-35.

Using some of the items on the flyleaves, particularly the panegyric on the De Veres by 'Rotheley' and Chaucer's *Truth*, the authors link the fifteenth-century ownership of the Ellesmere Chaucer to the Drury family, Bury St Edmunds and the De Veres themselves. Includes a new edition, with comments, of Rotheley's poem.

Maureen Jurkowski, 'New Light on John Purvey', *English Historical Review*, Notes and Documents, volume 110, November 1995, pages 1180-90.

Prints the inventory of the goods of the well-known Lollard made in January 1414, and identifies and discusses the significance of the nineteen books included in it, showing the level of Purvey's learning and proving the involvement of men of his intellectual calibre in the Oldcastle revolt.

Anne-Marie Legaré, 'Reassessing women's libraries in late medieval France: the case of Jeanne de Laval', *Renaissance Studies*, volume 10, number 2, 1996, pages 209-29.

The library of Jeanne de Laval (1433-98), second wife of René d'Anjou: her surviving manuscripts and their contents, and the evidence concerning books in her accounts, including quotations of relevant entries and from prologues. Many useful references.

D. A. Lockett, 'Crown patronage and political morality in early Tudor England: The Case of Giles, Lord Daubeney', *English Historical Review*, volume 110, June 1995, pages 578-95.

Describes the benefits and drawbacks to Henry VII of giving one man overwhelming power in an area; how Daubeney was reluctant to act against the rebels of Somerset in 1497 and how his career made Henry realise the dangers of relying merely on the 'carrot of largesse'.

D. A. Lockett, 'The rise and fall of a noble dynasty: Henry VII and the Lords

Willoughby de Broke', *Historical Research*, volume 69, number 170, 1996, pages 254-65.

The successful career of Robert I (died 1502), trusted servant of Edward IV, rebel to Richard III, fellow-in-exile and favourite of Henry VII, and the shabby treatment by Henry VII of Robert II as part of his attempts to keep control of the nobility while using their local influence at the same time.

Colin Richmond, 'Halesworth Church, Suffolk, and its fifteenth-century benefactors', in *Recognitions: Essays Presented to Edmund Fryde*, edited by Colin Richmond and Isobel Harvey, National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, 1996, pages 243-66.

Halesworth Church was transformed in the late fourteenth century to the early fifteenth century by a slow rebuilding programme, including a new chapel of St Anne (a statue was first mentioned 1469) established by several local worthies and the priest, John Walter, who left if 'all the library bookes' in 1503. An examination of the fifty-three surviving wills for this parish 1444-1513, comparing the bequests and questioning the motives behind them, in order to establish the testators' relationship with their parish church.

Jens Röhrkasten, 'Londoners and London mendicants in the late middle ages', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, volume 47, number 3, July 1996, pages 446-77.

Uses wills in particular — while carefully setting out the problems of wills as sources — to establish the fluctuating levels of interest of Londoners in the six friaries of the city. After a moral decline and crisis in the late 1300s, the friars are found to have maintained support from a sizeable minority of citizens. Covers property litigation and nuisance; the poverty dispute of the 1460s; differences between the friars and the secular clergy; their influence outside London and strong relations with alien groups in the city; their importance to women; the value of the friaries as burial places and as sources of prayers after death, and the fraternities established within them in the fifteenth century.

Paul Rutledge, 'Steracles in Norfolk', *Records of Early English Drama (REED) Newsletter*, volume 2, number 2, 1995, pages 15-16.

A dispute over common land called the Lyngs between the town of Litcham and its neighbours in north-west Norfolk, in the early fifteenth century, reveals that the land was used for holding 'steraclis' (a rare word for pageant, spectacle or illusion), as well as wrestling, 'fotebal for kakes' and other 'pleyes'.

John Schofield, with contributions from Ian Betts, Charlotte Harding, Richard Lea and Peter Marsden, 'Saxon and medieval parish churches in the city of London', *London and Middlesex Archaeological Society Transactions*, volume 45, 1994 (published 1996), pages 23-145.

Reviews the evidence for the physical development, architecture and furnishing of London churches up to 1550, especially the archaeological evidence. Gazetteer.

Patrick Sims-Williams, 'Edward IV's confirmation charter for Clynnog Fawr', in *Recognitions: Essays Presented to Edmund Fryde*, edited by Colin Richmond and Isobel Harvey, National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, 1996, pages 229-41.

An undated charter to an ancient Welsh church which was collegiate by the 1380s. It was issued on behalf of Geoffrey Trefnant to re-establish the rights of his church. This essay is devoted to establishing his identity. Born in Montgomeryshire, he was a scholar at Oxford, and was appointed provost and rector of Clynnog in 1461, probably with the support of his kinsman, Piers Beupie. Piers was a servant of Richard, Duke of York, and continued to be a leading administrator of Edward IV, as well as MP for Ludlow where he maintained family connections.

Malcolm Vale, 'A Burgundian Funeral Ceremony: Olivier de la Marche and the Obsequies of Adolf of Cleves, Lord of Ravenstein', *English Historical Review*, Notes and Documents, volume 111, number 443, 1996, pages 920-938.

Description of the ceremony in 1492 as it was planned and set out in an anonymous letter of advice to the herald who was to be in charge; the letter is here credibly ascribed to the authorship of de La Marche. Includes discussion of such funerals generally, and of the ceremonies observed during the transportation of the body, the preparations and preliminaries in the deceased's house, the heraldic display and its meaning, the funeral itself and other details, but no edition of the text.

Notes on Contributors

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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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