

Book Reviews

RICHARD III'S BOOKS: Ideals and Reality in the Life and Library of a Medieval Prince. Anne F. Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs. 1997. Sutton Publishing Ltd, Stroud, Gloucestershire. £30. Special price to Members, £25, from the Society's Sales Office. ISBN 0-7509-1406-8

Despite its title, the focus of this wide-ranging and ambitious book is broader than the merely bibliographical. The authors set out to explore what can be said about Richard's interests and his reading, through listing and discussion of his books. More largely, however, they intend to examine the cultural and intellectual history of the late fifteenth century in England, using these royal books to do so. Thus their examination of Richard's book ownership is regularly placed within the context of other owners' books, other readers' practice, and other contemporaries' beliefs.

The book opens with a 'chronology of Richard's life and library'. In order to find whether Richard was ordinary or extraordinary in his reading, in his book ownership, and in his attitudes, extensive surveys are first offered on a number of topics. So, for instance, discussion of Richard's collection is prefaced by an essay on the standard books in late medieval noble libraries. To provide such overviews is difficult, yet the authors are consistently able to place Richard's books against just such a larger canvas. Richard's devotional volumes, for instance, are discussed after a chapter which summarises everything known on book ownership by other members of the house of York. The book thus alternates between large general syntheses and a great deal of detail and examination of the individual books, their inscriptions and notations.

One of the most successful of these sections deals with the mirror of princes genre. After describing its elements, the authors survey its fifteenth-century readers. They point out that every medieval English monarch is known to have possessed some books of this kind and Richard, who owned Giles of Rome's *De Regimine Principum* (London, Sion College MS Arc.I.40.2/I.26), was no exception. They then ask the sort of cultural question for which answers are so difficult to formulate: 'would Richard have read some, all, or any, of the text? Was

Giles a bore, too theoretical...or...out of date'? A subtle and acute discussion follows, analyzing Giles's place in fifteenth-century England; comparing English and French attitudes toward kingship; wondering whether changes made in the 1430s to Giles's language signalled the work's passage from fashion; noting that, disappointingly, Giles provides no direct comment on current affairs, and finally, that a quantity of new Burgundian mirrors had appeared. All of these factors might prepare us to doubt the relevance of Giles's work. Surprisingly, however, the chapter finishes with two pieces of evidence which indicate that Giles was still a powerful influence, at least for Richard. The authors note that the king's speech to his justices reflects precisely Giles's perception of the interaction between a king, the law, and his subjects. Tellingly too, in 1484 Richard compared his royal role to the sun's, in a passage which draws on the image of the heavenly court found in another mirror text, the *Mirror of the World* (printed by Caxton in 1480).

The authors' careful close reading here, together with their command of historical sources, satisfyingly and convincingly places Richard in the intellectual currents of his time. At least one other discussion is more speculative. In their section on entertainment (Richard owned a *Prose Tristram* and a one-volume collection which included *Ipomydon* and Chaucer's 'Clerk's Tale' and 'Knight's Tale') they offer the provocative thesis that romance's popularity declined in the years 1465-85, at least in courtly circles. Perhaps this complex subject should be seen over a longer continuum – one which would take into account, for instance, romance's popularity in de Worde's hands just after these two decades, or would explore diverse readerships decade by decade.

Not the least of the book's virtues is the quantity of illustration which it provides (82 black and white figures and eleven colour plates). The authors have been ingenious in finding unfamiliar vignettes which give a fresh sense of the *milieux* where reading took place. Remarkable here are the airy and elegant pen sketches from Brussels, (Bib. Royale Albert I MS 9631) which show a gentleman reading aloud to two friends or inspecting a book before buying it. The lounging figures are caught in offhand moments, their reading and shopping a casual part of life. The illustration which the authors have chosen for the dust jacket is both sumptuous in its colour and costume and amusing in the *déagé* postures assumed by a fashionable royal and his friends, as they visit a bookshop and make inquiries of a workaday-looking scribe (Oxford, MS Douce 208). These examples are particularly successful in conveying the physical realities of a life lived with books in the late middle ages – but the entire volume is adroitly and satisfyingly illustrated.

In a book whose scope is so large a few items must seem less entirely satisfying than others. The amount of secondary reading cited is always extremely full; nevertheless the discussion of Margaret of York's books would benefit by

more specific reference to the work of M. Hughes and G. Dogaer (though they are included in the recent book by T. Kren which is cited). There seems to be general agreement that Machlinia, not Caxton, printed the 1484 statutes. And Chaucer's work might best be cited in the now-standard Riverside edition, conceived as a replacement for Robinson's. One factual discrepancy: does the list of Richard's books include thirteen volumes (page 1) or fourteen (page 16)?

In its movement from the physical objects, Richard's books, to larger conclusions about the man himself and his times, *Richard III's Books* is part of recent attempts to use book history in the service of cultural exploration. Beautifully produced, exhaustively researched, convincingly argued, interesting to read, it makes a worthy contribution both to late medieval history and to *l'histoire du livre*.

MARY ERLER

THE WARS OF THE ROSES: Politics and the Constitution c.1437-1509.
Christine Carpenter. 1997. Cambridge Medieval Textbooks, Cambridge University Press, £35 (hb); £12.95 (pb).

ISBN 0-521-26800-1(hb);

0-521-31874-2 (pb)

This book represents an attempt to draw together recent research into the politics and government of fifteenth century England and present a new post-McFarlane synthesis. The reader is warned that they will not find a straightforward narrative of the Wars; rather the aim is to spell out how 'governance was supposed to work' in late-medieval England and what went wrong, particularly in the reign of Henry VI. Indeed, this is not a textbook but an argument for a particular view of the late-medieval polity which, as Dr Carpenter concedes, can only be 'an interim report' given the current state of research.

Many of the arguments are well-known to those familiar with the author's work on Warwickshire and John Watts's work on the nature of kingship in the fifteenth century. Chapters two and three describe the nature of the late-medieval polity. She stresses the inherent power and authority of the monarch and how consensual government between the magnates and the king was the norm. She rejects the notion that 'patronage was the essential lubricant' of the polity (p. 43), stressing that the nobility, as the natural allies of successful kings, did not need to be bought. She also argues against the power of independent gentry-led 'county-communities', assigning dominance in the localities to the nobility. The noble/royal relationship is seen as the key dynamic in the late-medieval polity: 'If

that relationship failed then everything else failed' (p. 62).

The remainder of the book attempts to explain the political events of the period within this framework. The notion that there were any long-term structural weaknesses in the polity is rejected and Henry V is highlighted as the epitome of successful kingship. But then came Henry VI. 'The arrival', we are told, 'at nominal adulthood of a king for whom the word 'incompetent' is a pale reflection of the grisly reality turned out to be more than the polity could bear' (p. 253). Thus the immediate cause of the Wars was the disintegration of the noble consensus that maintained some semblance of royal authority in the face of the king's inadequacies. Dr Carpenter acknowledges her debt to John Watts, upon whose work this account of the mid-fifteenth century is largely based. The validity of Watts's thesis has been discussed elsewhere but Dr Carpenter's re-interpretation of well-known events within this framework is convincing.

Whereas this new interpretation succeeds for the first sixty or so years of the fifteenth century, there is a danger in it being pushed too far for the period 1471 until 1509. Although the conclusion admits that 'in the later fifteenth century we can see the emergence of what is recognisably the Tudor polity' (p. 264), the criteria for successful kingship remains essentially unchanged. Edward IV is praised for his policy of co-operation with the nobles but it is clear that the 'old nobility' — Arundel, Norfolk, Northumberland — were consistently ignored and responsibility for government in the localities handed to the new 'Yorkist peerage', Hastings, Herbert, Dinham and Gloucester. Paradoxically, Henry VII (of whom Dr Carpenter is an 'unrepentant critic') (p. 248) is criticised for relying on the counsel of his 'officials . . . of gentry origin' — for example, Giles Daubeney — rather than the natural counsel of the nobility. But Daubeney's role under Henry VII almost exactly mirrors that of Lord Hastings under Edward IV. Daubeney was elevated to the peerage in 1486, became lieutenant of Calais and lord chamberlain and was used, albeit more equivocally, as a regional force by the king. The negative account of Henry VII and his alleged failure to meet the criteria established for successful medieval kingship suggests a tendency to argue against the accepted historiography for its own sake. Henry's reign may have witnessed a transformation of the polity into something distinct from the late-medieval period and the treatment of his reign highlights a more general weakness in the book: the reluctance to accept long-term structural changes in the nature of the polity and means of government.

Dr Carpenter argues strongly that 'long-term structures should not be labelled 'long-term weaknesses'' (p. 252) but there were recurrent, long-term problems in the late-medieval polity that needed addressing and the willingness of the crown to tackle these problems was one of the hallmarks of kings from 1471. Principal amongst these was the question of the crown's finances. The author sees no

structural weakness in the crown's financial position but it is undeniable that the unwillingness (or inability) of the political community, represented in parliament, to grant adequate taxation in the mid-fifteenth century weakened the position of the crown. An important case for this has been made recently by Mark Ormrod, in a work missed from the bibliography (*Political Life in Medieval England, 1300-1450*,) (1995). If we accept this then the tendency from 1471 to manage revenue through the chamber should be seen not as a bungling failure to use a perfectly sound medieval structure but as an attempt to adapt and strengthen royal government through new methods and institutions.

They are a few points which detract generally from the usefulness of the book. An annoying habit to use such terms as 'one historian' or 'a local study' (pp. 190, 206, 235 for example) makes comparisons of the historiography difficult, especially, one feels, for the intended under-graduate readership. Most of the local examples given are from East Anglia, the north and the midlands; we hear very little of the reaction of the south-east to national events. There are a few puzzling statements: for example, we learn that until Helen Castor's work the Paston Letters had not been studied in 'any systematic way' (p. 6), yet Colin Richmond's monographs on the Pastons are conspicuously ignored. Nevertheless, this is a very important book which challenges many of the orthodoxies prevalent in late-medieval studies. By building on recent research, it brings important new ideas to a wider audience and skillfully combines an understanding of both the national and local dimensions of politics. It will doubtless set the agenda for future research for some years to come.

DAVID GRUMMITT

THE CLOSING OF THE MIDDLE AGES? ENGLAND, 1471-1529. Richard Britnell. 1997. Blackwell Publishers Ltd, Oxford, £13.99. ISBN 0-631-20540-3

As opposed to most other introductory texts, which tend to focus on the 'Yorkist' or 'Early Tudor' periods, Britnell seeks to emphasise continuity rather than dramatic change during the years he is discussing. He focuses on the broad overall picture, although in many instances he finds room to go into specific detail. The author readily admits that certain individual aspects of the period could support the view of the end of an old era or the beginning of a new one. Nevertheless, he stresses that the majority of aspects of the history of England show continuity both during, and even before and after, the period under discussion. Yet, Britnell goes

beyond merely supporting his case for continuity. He makes a conscious effort to give a rounded picture of life and society in areas of evident discontinuity, such as the church on the eve of the reformation.

The author sets out by providing a framework for his discussion in a broad overview of political events. The changing fortunes of different dynasties are a subject impossible to avoid, but their discussion is complemented by an exploration of foreign policy and relations with England's neighbours, as well as a more general examination of the traditions, resources and manifestation of kingship and royal authority.

This framework is then used to expand on various aspects of politics. A discussion of the king's more immediate circle at the court and in strictly political terms in the council, leads into an examination of politics in the counties where many of the king's councillors had their power bases. Court and country politics are then contrasted against parliamentary politics and popular expressions of political opinion.

In Part III the book moves to a more theoretical level, but it is characteristic of Britnell's practical approach to his task that nationhood and the law, as well as the church, are discussed as institutions, rather than as theoretical concepts. Britnell rounds his discussion off with a brief assessment of the contemporary economy, with particular emphasis on its social context.

The book's particular strength lies in the author's ability to go beyond the mere theoretical discussion of his subject. The argument is brought to life at almost every step with a variety of examples and evidence, ranging from carefully tabulated economic data to the almost anecdotal account of the embarrassment caused to the royal officials charged with finding accommodation for Cardinal Wolsey at the overcrowded royal residence at Grafton in 1529.

While maintaining a high level of scholarship, the book does not lose sight of the needs of the reader unfamiliar with the period. Britnell's introduction to the composition and functions of the medieval parliament and to the currency units in use are but examples of this.

The volume is adequately rather than lavishly illustrated, but the illustrations provided serve the author well in adding flesh to the bones of his argument. As is true of the text, Britnell takes care to draw the reader's attention to aspects of the images which might be lost to someone unfamiliar with the period.

The generously provided footnotes function as a useful guide to further reading, and are well complemented by a bibliography arranged in three parts. The first two give alphabetical lists of primary sources and general works, whereas the third gives individual chapter bibliographies. Also useful is the index, which incorporates some of the main subjects addressed, along with personal and place names, and in its subheadings occasionally goes into remarkable detail.

Overall, the author develops a convincing image of the years under discussion as a distinct historical age rather than a transitional period between the Middle Ages and Modernity. At the same time he succeeds in giving an introduction to a wide range of aspects of life and thought during the period. Both as a first introduction and as a 'refresher course' in late fifteenth and early sixteenth century history the volume is to be highly recommended, and it is to be hoped that it will find its deserved place as a widely used course text.

HANNES KLEINEKE

EAST ANGLIAN SOCIETY AND THE POLITICAL COMMUNITY OF LATE MEDIEVAL ENGLAND. *Selected Papers of Roger Virgoe.* Edited by C. Barron, C. Rawcliffe and J. T. Rosenthal. 1997. The Centre of East Anglian Studies, University of East Anglia, Norwich NR4 7TJ, £17.50 incl. p&p.

ISBN 0-906219-44-2

This collection of essays serves as a tribute to Roger Virgoe who died in October 1996 after a short illness. The nineteen essays which comprise this unusually weighty volume have been chosen by the editors to reflect the main concerns of Virgoe's forty years of scholarship and illustrate the particular skills of someone who was '*par excellence*' the historian of the scholarly article. The title also highlights the complementary themes which he pursued throughout his career: the nature of local political society, especially in his native East Anglia, and the relationship between the localities and royal government, the key dynamic in the late medieval polity.

The editors have divided the collection into three categories. First, 'the county community', which includes articles based around a single important archival source — the author's trademark — and more general surveys into the nature of local political society in the late middle ages. The second category, 'East Anglian families', contains pieces based around upon a particular document but there are also articles on the Howards and the Knyvetts which demonstrate Virgoe's interest in genealogy and family reconstruction and his belief that this methodology was an invaluable tool for the professional historian. The final category of articles, entitled 'Parliament and the King's Realm', are concerned with national politics, largely stemming from the work carried out for his doctoral thesis on the 1449-1450 parliament. These are broadly conceived, ranging from a discussion of newly-discovered indictments relating to the duke of Suffolk's murder in 1450 to a

discussion of the nature and membership of Henry VI's council. In this section, as with the others, the articles demonstrate the importance of the returning to the archive to discover 'what really happened'.

Two particular challenges in penning an article appealed to Virgoe. The first of these, represented by more than half of the articles in the book, was to take a particular document or set of documents 'and to demonstrate how it (or they) could be read as a touchstone by means of which a larger social and political problem could be illuminated' (p. 13). Furthermore, by supplying a transcript of the document, Virgoe allowed the reader to judge the evidence fully for him or her self. This aspect of Virgoe's work is especially apparent in his discussion of documents which shed light on fifteenth century election disputes. Three articles — on Cambridgeshire, Suffolk and Norfolk — all show how national and regional factions could be fused in the cockpit of a parliamentary election. The theme of the interplay between national and local politics is continued in 'William Tailboys and Lord Cromwell'. This important article anticipated much current research by stressing the ease with which aristocratic criminals escaped formal censure in the royal law courts. Virgoe also had an interest in taxation, another of the principal means by which royal government was felt in the localities. His work in this respect is represented by 'A Norwich taxation list of 1451' and 'The benevolence of 1481', although his important piece on the 1450 subsidy is strangely omitted. ('The parliamentary subsidy of 1450', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* lv (1982), 125-38). Both stress the complexities in using apparently straightforward taxation returns and the latter unravels a mass of related exchequer material to present a coherent account of one of the fiscal experiments that characterised the fifteenth century.

The second challenge which Virgoe met in his articles was 'chronicling and unravelling the ups-and-downs' of the East Anglian families around whom much of his research revolved. In lifting these articles from the relative obscurity of the regional journals the editors have given great service to all late-medieval historians. Hidden amongst the various family trees and accounts of land holding are real gems of historical scholarship. The articles on James Andrews, Thomas Tuddenham and 'the ravishment of Joan Boys' are good examples. As the editors observe, the incidents and documents which formed the bases of these papers 'once appearing as singular and eccentric issues, were now revealed to be but one or another of the critical fault lines of English social and political structure in the late-fourteenth, the fifteenth and early-sixteenth century' (p. 14). For example, in 'The recovery of the Howards' we are reminded of an important caveat for all historians of the gentry: 'The sorts of connection between magnates and gentry that can be readily be established, such as kinship or legal counsel, do not always imply a very close bond' (p. 220).

It is this subtle approach and unwillingness to engage in sweeping generalisations that characterise the three thematic papers included in the book. Virgoe's work on East Anglia under Richard II and the nature of the 'county community' are well known but here are grouped together with the archive based material which allowed Virgoe to develop his subtle understanding of the late medieval polity. Perhaps most important is his essay on 'Aspects of the county community in the fifteenth century'. Here Virgoe offers an alternative to the view that rejects the 'county community' model of the polity in favour of political society dominated by the nobility and 'vertical' ties. Virgoe uses evidence from the Paston letters to argue that there was 'some sort of (county) community, which can have both interests and reputation' (p. 99). By analysing attendance at county courts, he argues that even the lesser gentry were actively involved in the political community of the shire.

In conclusion, this volume serves as a fitting tribute to one of the pioneers of archive-based study into the politics and society of fifteenth century England. Virgoe always resisted the 'temptation to offer a general interpretation when a smaller, less ambitiously stated one' would suffice (p. 18). The awareness of the subtleties and regional variations which make such generalisations so dangerous is a constant theme of this collection. Virgoe's untimely death prevented him from entering the developing historiographical debate over the nature of the late medieval polity, but these essays and articles demonstrate the necessity of archival studies to gain a fuller understanding of late-medieval England.

DAVID GRUMMITT

FICTIONS OF ADVICE. The Literature and Politics of Counsel in Late Medieval England. Judith Ferster. 1996. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, £42.

ISBN 0-8122-3332-8

In recent years, scholars on both sides of the Channel have demonstrated that Mirrors for Princes, books of advice for princes and powerful politicians, can shed light upon the assumptions of late medieval society about the function of kings, counsellors, justice and the law within the body politic as a whole. In *Fictions of Advice*, Judith Ferster approaches these texts from a different point of view, examining the ways in which they criticised and attacked kings and governments. In separate chapters, she discusses such works as the *Secreta Secretorum*, Chaucer's *Tale of Melibee*, Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, Hoccleve's *Regement of Princes* and Machiavelli's *Prince*: each study outlines the key debates amongst

literary scholars and then proceeds to examine the way in which each text offered a 'mixture of submission and aggression, flattery and resistance' (p. 1), disguising their criticisms of the king and his advisers through repetitive morality and sheer dullness. Unfortunately, there is no clear explanation for such a random sampling of texts, beyond the fact that these are the works most familiar to the literary scholar, and the critique of these works often strays into the kind of strained and over-imaginative interpretation that defies common sense. More importantly, the book aims less to examine the specific criticisms posed by the *Mirrors for Princes* of royal policy and actions, than to demonstrate through a scatter-gun approach that these works were indeed critical of government. Thus there is no attempt to draw this material together to reach general conclusions about the nature or impact of these criticisms, though the reader is struck by the themes that re-appear throughout the different texts: a critical attitude towards the nature of advice and counsel; the notion that men of all ranks may provide good counsel; the consequences of excessive taxation, the importance of sound government finances; the potential threat of deposition as a warning to the poorly-behaved monarch.

The closest approximation to a synthesis appears in those chapters (2, 5 and 10) which discuss the historical and social context. Yet Ferster starts from the remarkable assumption that 'I have often found that one version of the past will illuminate a given work more than another. To historicize, one must pick one's historians' (p. 11). To empower the notion of the *Mirror for Princes* as a fundamentally critical text, one must postulate a society that is innately hostile to the present structures of power and so Ferster adopts the notion that there was radical, subversive opposition to the dominant ideology of the late middle ages, just like in the seventeenth century which is the normal playing field of the New Historicist school of literary interpretation which so influences her work. Hence Ferster argues that 'One of the defining drives of medieval political theory and practice was to limit the ruler' and that 'Much of the period I am concerned with here saw the attempt... to create and refine institutions that limited monarchs' (pp. 15-16). Thus the *Mirrors for Princes* are fundamentally connected to 'the medieval power struggles between rulers and the ruled' (p. 68). This outdated interpretation of late medieval politics fundamentally informs the subsequent analysis of the *Mirrors for Princes*, which are regarded as expressions of discontent with the monarch and hence commentaries upon this struggle over the boundaries of royal power. Yet as this study itself reveals, the *Mirrors for Princes* never discussed limitations upon the king, beyond the occasional invocation of deposition which is interpreted in the best Stubbsian tradition as an expression of parliamentary power: Gower and his colleagues offered 'no viable alternatives to monarchy during the English Middle Ages, no serious debates about other governmental options' and instead focused merely upon the 'morality of the ruler' (p. 120).

Fictions of Advice is a flawed work that will probably be dismissed too quickly by historians. This is perhaps unfortunate because the study does offer the important reminder that these works could offer a channel for criticism of government policy, or at least help to define and shape public discourse in more immediate forums like parliament. In addition, *Fictions of Advice* demonstrates important methodologies for the analysis of these texts, such as the way in which the selection and retelling of traditional stories by specific authors can reveal much about their purposes and attitudes. To cite one very obvious and unsophisticated example, John Gower recounted the tale of Apius, a corrupt *decemvir* from Roman history, as a lesson on personal morality for the ruler, but carefully left out the fact that his removal was followed by a change of government to democracy so that the tale would have no revolutionary overtones. Ferster does not consider the continental background for these texts, but historians might also profit from a detailed study of the similarities and differences between the English Mirrors for Princes of the reigns of Richard II, Henry IV and V, and the French texts from which they often derived. Ultimately *Fictions of Advice* will prove thought-provoking for the discerning historian and certainly offers an insight into the methodological debates of medieval literary studies, where the essentially historical approaches to the texts adopted by Ferster will unfortunately find little support.

CRAIG TAYLOR

THE DOMESTIC ACCOUNTS OF MERTON COLLEGE. OXFORD, 1 AUGUST 1482-1 AUGUST 1494. Edited by John M. Fletcher and Christopher A. Upton. Oxford: Oxford Historical Society, New Series. Volume 34, 1996. £28 plus £1 p&p, available from Hon Treasurer, Oxford Historical Society, 38 Randolph St, Oxford, England, OX4 1XZ. ISBN 0-904107-13-2

The period covered by these accounts, 1482-1494, was one of the most tumultuous in England's history; and in global terms without precedent until the nineteenth century. Merton College was one of the oldest colleges at Oxford, with a distinguished tradition in science and medicine. How much of this is reflected in these accounts? Of events outside England Nil. Of events within the realm; in Oxford, even? Edward IV died; Richard III became king; Bosworth was lost and won; Lambert Simnel was found in Oxford; East Stoke was won in carnage. Nothing of this is reflected here. Few of the principals of these events had connections with Merton; and not even the cause célèbre of Bishop Stillington's

fugitive disappearance in Oxford, and the threat to suspend the university charter, ruffled the domestic flow of beer, beer and more beer. This is not to say that we do not find interesting names in our accounts. There is Bishop John Russell, Richard III's Lord Chancellor after 1483. There is Robert Sherborne, physician, scientist, civil servant, Councillor Learned in the Law, humanist and alleged forger of papal bulls.

In 1483 Richard Fitzjames was appointed Warden and John Gygour departed. Colin Richmond has published what Gygour knew of William, Lord Hastings, and Francis, Lord Lovel, a man well connected to Oxford¹. Fitzjames, scion of a Somerset gentry family, was many things — a careerist who leapfrogged his way to bishop of London, and a heresy hunter whom Erasmus regarded as the worst type of superstitious reactionary. Like many of his ilk he was also an able administrator who put college finances on a sound basis; and he is remembered by Merton as its second founder. He it was who caused a document now known as the *Registrum Annalium Collegii Mertonensis* to be started, demanding fuller documentation to record keeping in Merton and in the localities; for Merton held lands in the north, in London and the south midlands, as well as Oxford. Everywhere the college courted the support of state officials, informal agents and judges whose favour could be used advantageously. Thus do we see Thomas Tremayle, justice of the king's bench, and a Somerset neighbour of the Fitzjames's found for when he visited Warden FitzJames, and the keeper of the royal lions entertained in 1491-92. The sort of hospitality they might receive has been the subject of a paper by the present editors on feasting in Merton². What was consumed daily was an enormity of bread and beer, and, on festal occasions, heron, quails and sparrows, stretched, at Epiphany and Candlemas, to boars' heads and pancakes. It is the material not the intellectual which impresses. The latter is unrepresented; save in one short poem in praise of college beer and an elegiac couplet about Horace's views on moral strength and virtue. The kind of virtue present in these accounts most resembles Ghandi's view on the necessity of work other than the purely intellectual. The editors remark: 'As academics of considerable reputation they (the account keepers) were required to devote themselves to the mundane tasks of satisfying the daily needs of a sizable society.' And to do this they employed a small army of tradespeople and general workers. Not much has changed. The battalions then included carpenters, plasterers, brewers, foresters, cooks, a general handyman and undercook, a laundress, painters and cleaners. Oxford itself was going through a remarkable rebuilding time and its artisans in general, can be explored in Heather Swanson's work.³ At Merton the material upkeep, extension and refurbishment of the college is declared in purchases of bricks, lime, sand, doors, timber, daub and even mud walls. Tiles were constantly in demand for the college and for the *Fleur de Lis*, the important

Oxford pub which it owned. The spiritual is glimpsed, briefly, in the construction of a new rood loft, the repainting of altars, the rebinding of a book of the Holy Legend, the repair of books in the chapel; and in the twenty books in the library given new chains in 1488-1489.

The editors are to be congratulated for producing a clear text with ample but unfussy notes and a useful introduction. This sets out the accounting procedure of the college, and points to some unique accounts: Merton's Stewards of Hall, discovered during the preparation of this volume. It also gives us a comprehensive guide to the organisation of the college and even its architectural state about 1500. All this, and the provision of separate biographical and topographical indexes, is no mean feat. As such this volume is a labour of love. For, Dr John Fletcher, its principal editor was a Merton man. His work has brought these accounts into the light, and he edited the *Registrum Annalium* for most of the sixteenth century.⁴

It is with sadness we note his death in the year this volume was published. The work of his predecessors is celebrated here; as the college paid its officers to ride its numerous, and pampered, college horses to collect its dues. These dues fed the fellows of the college and maintained their material environment. The news which was brought back, oral and literary, found its way into the *Registrum* a wonderful source amplifying the life of the college and the politics of the realm. Neither the work of Warden Fitzjames, nor the editors of this volume, has been wasted.

1. C. Richmond, 'A letter of 19 April 1483 from John Gigur (sic) to William Wainfleet', *Historical Research* vol. 65, 1992.
2. J. M. Fletcher and C. A. Upton, 'Feasting in an Early Tudor College: the Example of Merton College, Oxford', in D. Williams ed., *Early Tudor Proceedings of the 1987 Harlaxton Symposium*, Woodbridge, 1989, pp.37-59.
3. Heather Swanson, *Medieval Artisans*, Oxford 1989.
4. Oxford Historical Society, New Series, *Registrum Annalium Collegii Mertonensis 1561-1567* (vol. 23) and *Registrum Annalium Collegii Mertonensis, 1567-1603* (vol. 24).

IAN ARTHURSON.

REALMS OF RITUAL. Burgundian Ceremony and Civic Life in Late Medieval Ghent. Peter Arnade. 1996. Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London, £35.50.

ISBN 0-8014-3098-4

Such is Johan Huizinga's status in the historiography of the court of the Valois dukes of Burgundy that here is yet another book that uses his name in its blurb in order to advertise itself. The present publisher even claims the book is 'the first serious reappraisal' of the Dutchman's work, apparently not only overlooking the

fact that Huizinga's 'study of life and thought in fourteenth and fifteenth century France and the Low Countries' — as his own subtitle ran — was rather more wide-ranging than just the relationship between the city of Ghent and the dukes of Burgundy as counts of Flanders, but also ignoring the many scholarly books and articles that have contradicted the *teneur* of the *Herfstij der Middelleeuwen* over the last decades.

The great merit of Professor Arnade's book is its informative and comprehensive description of very important aspects of the cultural life of Flemish cities in the fifteenth century, which have received little attention in English. Chapter Two outlines the social structure and geography of Ghent, its civic and religious traditions and festivals, from the time of the regime of the famous van Artevelde, father and son, and the accession (1385) of Philip the Bold, the first duke of Burgundy to be count of Flanders. Chapter Three, in fascinating detail, introduces the shooting fraternities: the St George crossbowmen and the — socially of slightly lower status — St Sebastian archers, with their privileges, code of behaviour, practices, and competitions with other towns. Chapter Four deals with Ghent's 1447-53 revolt against Philip the Good, through which it tried to protect its legal and political autonomy, and the visual manifestations both of the city's pride and its ceremonial submission to the duke. Chapter Five describes the 'joyous entries' of Philip the Good (1458), which confirmed his victory, and of Charles the Bold (1467), which ended in a new riot and renewed submission, and the part these ceremonies played in the relationship between the prince, the city's elite and the rest of the inhabitants: 'entries became powerful tools in transforming social and political identities, offering a rare opportunity to size up the status quo and even to seek change.' Chapter Six sketches the role and activities of the *rederijkers' kamers*, the fraternities of rhetoricians, the non-martial, cultural, creative and elitist counterparts of the shooting fraternities, typical of northern French and Flemish/Netherlandish medieval and early modern town-life; this section provides invaluable information on this important subject for English readers. The rhetoricians, authors and poets, held frequent verse competitions to a set theme, they wrote short plays, and had a strict code of behaviour similar to that of the military fraternities; they chose their officials and their *prince* from among their most able poets. The dukes themselves and some of their courtiers belonged to these associations, which were — in Ghent at least — on the whole committed to supporting ducal authority.

The last chapter relates the dramatic controversy, 1539-40, between Charles V and the city during Ghent's period of economic decline. The actual laceration, with knives and teeth, by the townspeople of the vellum document recording the decree that destroyed all their privileges and the final removal of *klokke Roelant*, the great bell that 'regulated the rhythm of labor' of the whole city — the subject of a

mournful song still taught in schools when I was a child — in themselves show clearly even now how much was at stake for the people of Ghent and how precious the symbols of independent civic life and authority were. Such stories hardly need the help of the general theories derived from anthropology and social history, which led the author to make some — in my view — debatable or merely superfluous statements in his first chapter. 'Burgundian miniatures . . . regularly portrayed the dignity and authority of the masculine self. The space around the male body suggests independence . . .' (p. 18). 'The motifs in visual illustrations of . . . rulers in the presence of dependents . . . were . . . masculine and undeniably sexual . . .' (p. 22, the example given is the position of the count's dagger in a particular book illustration, which is admittedly curious to modern eyes, but of which many more instances can be found, and not only of rulers). In this context the endlessly repeated story of Margaret of York showing her newly-born step-grand-son's testicles to the Bruges crowd is dragged in again, followed by a page of commonplaces about the position of women in the fifteenth century (p. 24). The 'frantic passion for dressing up' of the Burgundian court is stressed, though no doubt a dozen examples of other periods in which sartorial splendour was of the utmost importance could be found (p. 26).

The notes and bibliography of the present study contain a vast amount of interesting information inviting further reading; the fact that most of these sources are in French and Dutch further emphasises the value of the book itself, with or without Huizinga's name in the blurb, and with or without the fashionable excuse of being part of a wider sociological, cultural-historical, political-historical, anthropological, or even 'symbolological' context.

LIVIA VISSER-FUCHS

DRESS IN THE MIDDLE AGES. Françoise Piponnier and Perrine Mane. Translated from the French by Caroline Beamish. 1997. Yale University Press, New Haven and London, £19.95. ISBN 0-300-06906-5

From at least the twelfth century, when the phenomenon was remarked upon by William of Malmesbury, the French have dominated in the world of dress and fashion. In the middle ages they had more words for the parts of dress and its accessories than the English had, or at least words that survive in documents. They have written and still write the best books on the dress of the past. The English produced the pioneering work of Joseph Strutt at the end of the eighteenth century and many English works since have shamelessly repeated him. Most English books

on 'costume' have been concerned to trace the changes of fashion and style, and many give the impression of being aimed at children or the stage designer. They were also heavily reliant on artists' copying, which, however skilled, rarely avoided rendering the fashions of the past in the style of their own day, Strutt being a notable exception. Greater respect for and interest in the dress of the past has only recently emerged, as archeological finds and careful documentary research have begun to provide solid information about the textiles, the techniques of manufacture, the artisans themselves, the dyes, sumptuary legislation, etc.

Since I have used with great profit this new work in its French original *Se Vêtir au Moyen Âge* — and the other splendid works of Françoise Piponnier, such as her *Costume et vie sociale. La cour d'Anjou, XIVe-XVe siècle* (Paris / The Hague / Mouton 1970, now sadly out of print), it is very satisfying to see it translated. It covers the period from approximately the Carolingians to 1500, and it is brief (167 pages). It is about what clothes people wore and why, how they made and acquired them — it therefore contains much about the conditions of life and social preoccupations. The titles of some of the chapters indicate the range of the book: 'Archaeology, the Material Evidence', 'Wool and Colours', 'The History of Working Class Clothing', 'Court Fashion and Figures', 'Social Order, Moral Order and the Regulation of Appearances', 'The Ages of Life', 'Exclusion and Discrimination', and 'Processions and Parades'. One of the most important chapters deals with the few sources available and how to use and understand them and their limitations. That on the acquisition of clothes is a product of the modern research on one of the few areas for which substantial documentation does survive: many households relied on home-made garments, the rich wore made-to-measure clothes, there were gifts and valuable bequests, and a lively secondhand market. Certain well-known myths are dealt with, for example the misuse of the word *hennin* (pp. 13, 80), and the notion that body-linen only became common from the fourteenth century (pp. 40-41).

The glossary is useful, but inevitably throws into relief the difficulties of translation and finding the appropriate medieval English word — and italicisation of the French words is not always meticulous. The translation of *beige* (undyed woollen cloth of homespun quality) seems to be inadequately translated by the English 'beige' and would have been better left as the French, *beige*; 'camelín' is glossed as a 'woollen fabric' made from camel's hair [*sic*], but in the French text as a 'woollen fabric'; 'demi-belt' would have been better left as *demi-ceint*, and glossed, as this is the usual word found in English documents; similarly *kermes* 'seed' would have better glossed and then rendered by 'grain', the word used in medieval England. There are no notes and if you need an index you must go back to the French original. There is, however, a useful short bibliography, and the sixty black and white pictures are packed with information. Two of the most entertaining

are the Wavrin Master's cartoons of which the first shows a tailor arriving at his client's door with his journeyman or apprentice weighed down by enormous shears, a yard-stick, and a bale of cloth balanced on his head, and the second a fitting with clothes displayed on a dummy, before the seated client. These are dated 1418, a type-setting error for 1458 presumably (nos 10, 11). These criticisms are minor. This book is essential reading for anyone interested in medieval dress and social conditions.

ANNE F. SUTTON

BARLEY HALL – A Day in a Medieval Town House. Charles Kightly. 1997. Wayland Publishers Ltd., 61 Western Road, Hove, East Sussex, BN3 1JD. £4.50.

ISBN 0-7502-2141-0

This is the second of a series of booklets entitled *What Life was Like* which are 'fly on the wall accounts' of daily life in reconstructed buildings. They are designed to introduce children to history by means of allowing them to identify with the chosen period through characterisations and pictures. *Barley Hall*, however, may well prove as interesting to adults, particularly those who have already visited this remarkable heritage project, as to the younger generation.

The reader is introduced to Barley Hall's owner, William Snawsell, goldsmith, and his family who lived in York in the latter half of the fifteenth century. The booklet's one-day story takes place on 25 May 1468, the year in which Snawsell became lord mayor. The scene is set for a busy day. The mistress of the Hall, Lady Joan, is preparing for important guests. She endeavours to organise her twelve servants and ensure her three children Alice, Seth and Isobel behave themselves. Before the beginning of the day's events the reader learns a little of the life of a wealthy merchant, and of the geography of Barley Hall by means of a cut-away illustration.

The day begins in the kitchen at 3.30 a.m. for Walter the scullion who hears the Minster bell proclaiming Matins and rises to begin stoking the fires. Dawn, half an hour later, heralds the chamberlain waking his master and assisting him to dress whilst Lady Joan looks to her children's lessons. By mid-morning the laundress is hard at work and the kitchen staff are busy preparing the main meal of the day. Dinner is to be served at noon in the great hall, and includes piglet, goose and a pie of larks. In the afternoon Snawsell retires with an important guest to the parlour to discuss the problem of some counterfeit coins. The family's hospitality for the day is not over yet as they are joined by a canon of York Minster for supper, also taken

in the great hall. This is a simpler meal than dinner and consists of cold roast swan, wafer biscuits and fruit. The evening ends with baths for the entire household as the following day is Ascension Day. Whilst the servants use facilities in the storeroom the family bathe in a large wooden tub lined with linen cloths (to avoid splinters) in the great chamber.

Each page of the booklet is lavishly illustrated with full colour reproductions of medieval paintings, photographs of artefacts, including a Richard III silver penny, and of Barley Hall as well as occasional drawings. Each section is accompanied by a 'Fact Box' covering such topics as the use of candles as the sole means of lighting a house, the total lack of labour-saving devices in the home and the type of food consumed in medieval times. A very short glossary and index are also included. Not surprisingly, references are not supplied for the medieval illustrations though most of them will be familiar to Ricardians. A slight concern is the reference on the back cover to the day's events taking place on Easter Sunday!

Dr Kightly's enthusiasm for Barley hall shines through the pages of this delightful booklet and the adult readers can perhaps hope that he may eventually write a 'grown up book' to describe and celebrate fully the reconstruction of this beautiful medieval building and its re-furbishment, if and when, it is completed.

WENDY MOORHEN

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

Alan E. Knight, editor, *The Stage as Mirror. Civic Theatre in Late Medieval Europe*. 1997. D. S. Brewer, Cambridge, an imprint of Boydell and Brewer, Woodbridge, £35.

ISBN 0-85991-4224.

Includes Lynnette R. Muir's 'Playing God in medieval Europe', and R. B. Dobson, 'Craft guilds and city: the historical origins of the York mystery plays reassessed', and also articles on the plays at Coventry and drama festivals at Bruges.

Evelyn Mullally and John Thompson, editors. *The Court and Cultural Diversity. Selected Papers from the Eighth Triennial Congress of the International Courtly Literature Society, The Queen's University of Belfast, 26 July-1 August 1995*. 1997. D. S. Brewer, Cambridge, an imprint of Boydell and Brewer, Woodbridge. £50. ISBN 0-85991-5174.

Includes the following articles that may be of interest to Ricardians: Helen Cooper, 'Romance after Bosworth'. Another attempt to suggest that Caxton played a political role: it is maintained that in 1489 his *Blanchardyn and Eglantine* was commissioned by Lady Margaret Beaufort because the story could be linked to Henry Tudor's accession. Much speculation and circumstantial evidence are needed to make a case and some of the arguments are tenuous: e.g. that Caxton invented the heroine's name (Eglantine = rose / England) for the occasion, whereas in fact the name already occurs in an early French version of the text.

A. S. G. Edwards, 'John Shirley and the emulation of courtly culture'. Suggests that the prolific scribe 'was a snob. A life of service [to Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick] had left him with a sense of court culture that he sought to refract on to his non-courtly audience by producing for them the sort of works he felt were appropriate for a courtly audience'.

Heather Collier, 'Richard Hill — a London compiler'. On Balliol College MS 354, a commonplace book compiled 1503-36 and its focus on London life, ceremony and commercial activity; sets out the various sources copied; does not mention and discuss all items in the ms., e.g. the so-called 'prayer of Richard III' and other religious texts.

ARTICLES

Andrew Brown, 'Civic ritual: Bruges and the counts of Flanders in the later middle ages', *English Historical Review*, volume 112, number 446, 1997, pages 277-99.

In the course of answering the question whether the counts used the town's rituals for their own ends an interesting overview is given of Bruges' many festivals and processions. Unlike Ghent, Bruges on the whole maintained good relations with its rulers — including the Valois dukes of Burgundy; the counts were often involved in the civic ceremonies, fostering loyalty to themselves but unable actually to manipulate them.

Jean-Philippe Genet, 'Un corpus de textes politiques: les textes parlementaires anglais, 1376-1410', in *Cahiers de la Méditerranée. Histoire et Informatique. Actes de IIème colloque national de l'Association française pour l'histoire et l'informatique*, number 53, December 1996, pp. 123-48.

Explains, and pleads for, the use of quantitative lexicology on medieval texts, i.e. a computer assisted surveys of the frequency, variety and incidence of selected important words in a number of comparable texts. The examples chosen are the opening sermons of the chancellor and speeches of the speaker.

Jean-Philippe Genet, 'Les princes anglais et l'histoire à la fin du Moyen Age', in *Les princes et l'histoire, XIV^e-XVIII^e siècle*, ed. Chantal Grell, Werner Paravicini and Jürgen Voss, Sigmaringen, Thorbecke Verlag, forthcoming (1998).

Looks at the libraries and, particularly the historical texts of English kings and royal magnates from Edward III to Henry VII. Distinguishes between mere ownership and active patronage. Includes useful appendix listing surviving manuscripts.

Louise Gill, 'William Caxton and the rebellion of 1483', *English Historical Review*, Notes and Documents, volume 112, number 445. 1997, pages 105-18.

Makes much of the standard general pardon obtained by Caxton in May 1484 by rehearsing the facts (and some fictions) of his life and repeating some of the old myths and theories concerning his 'political' involvements and his relations with the Woodvilles.

Michael K. Jones, 'Edward IV, the earl of Warwick and the Yorkist claim to the throne', *Historical Research*, volume 70, number 173, October 1997, pages 342-52.

Discusses – and prints – a large grant made by Edward IV to Warwick in March 1463 in reward for his support during 1459-60. Argues that the 'grettest joye and consolacion erthely' that Edward says he experienced when Warwick brought him news about his father, Richard of York, in early June 1460 possibly refers to York declaring his decision to claim the crown.

Nicholas Mander, 'Painted cloths: history, craftsmen and techniques', *Textile History*, volume 28, number 2, 1997, pp. 119-48.

Little of the work of the fifteenth century survives so this work concentrated inevitably on the later period but there is much of relevance. Uses literature and inventories as sources. Illustrations include the series of the Life of Christ at Reims, 1460-1520.

Chris Nighman, 'Intricate subtleties: entertainment at Bishop Morton's installation feast', *REED*, volume 22, number 2, 1997, pages 2-11.

Prints and discusses the meaning of the verses that accompanied the elaborate spectacles staged during the meal with which John Morton celebrated his installation as bishop of Ely in 1479; important, as few of such texts survive.

D. M. Ogier, 'The royal court and Simnel: a curiosity', *Guernsey Law Journal*, volume 9, 1990, pages 33-34.

This concerns a case about the flour simnel in 1532, and has nothing to do with Lambert Simnel.

Paddy Payne and Caroline M. Barron, 'The letters and life of Elizabeth Despenser, Lady Zouche (d. 1408)', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, volume 42, 1998, pages 126-56.

Elizabeth was 'not simply a token representative of the noble women of the age, but an individual who was actively involved in living her own life with a forceful charm which is evident even after nearly six hundred years'. Includes a calendar of documents, the text of

her will and surviving letters, and family trees of the Despenser, Arundel and Zouche families in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Françoise Piponnier, 'Purchases, gifts and legacies of liturgical vestments from written sources, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries', *Costume*, number 31, 1997, pages 1-7.

Piety has conserved many liturgical vestments which now form an important source of information about the textiles of the past. An examination of written records to show the variety of ways by which a church might obtain vestments: inventories, accounts and wills – particularly those of Dijon.

Colin Richmond, 'A drawing of a fifteenth-century rector of Halesworth', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History*, volume 38, part 4, 1996, pages 455-56.

A sketch-portrait of Walter Annable, perhaps by himself, in Nicholas Greenhagh's account book, 1444-56. Illustrated.

Anne F. Sutton, 'Mercery through four centuries, 1130s to c. 1500', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, volume 41, 1997, pages 100-25.

A definition of 'mercery' as understood in the great emporium of London where mercers began to specialise early; based on a variety of sources including customals, charters, poetic works, inventories and accounts.

R. B. Tate, 'The official chronicler in the fifteenth century: a brief survey of Western Europe', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, volume 42, 1998, pages 157-85.

Survey of 'official' (and not-so-official) writers of history in fifteenth-century England, France, Burgundy and Spain; very limited on the first three, detailed on Spain.

Livia Visser-Fuchs, 'Jean de Wavrin and the foundation of Britain', *Current Research in Dutch and Belgian Universities and Polytechnics on Old English, Middle English and Historical Linguistics. Papers read at the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Research Symposiums held in Utrecht in December 1995 and 1996*, ed. Erik Kooper, [Utrecht 1997], pages 91-105.

This article searches for the source of Wavrin's 'romantic' version of the story of Albina and her sisters, legendary foundresses of Britain, and considers how the legend was regarded (and illustrated) in fifteenth-century England and Burgundy.

Notes on Contributors

Ian Arthurson teaches history at Nottingham High School for Girls (GDST). His *The Perkin Warbeck Conspiracy 1491-1499* has just been published in paperback by Sutton Publishing Ltd.

John Ashdown-Hill. Member of the London and Norfolk Branches and South Essex Group. Currently researching the identity of the bones from the Whitefriars' site, Norwich.

Mary Erler is Professor of English at Fordham University, New York. She is working on a study of women's reading and book ownership in the early modern period.

David Grummitt is a research associate with the E 179 Records of Lay Taxation Project based at the Public Record Office. He completed his doctoral thesis, on Calais under the early Tudors, at the LSE in 1997.

Hannes Kleineke is a Research Assistant in the 1422-1504 section of the History of Parliament. He has in the past worked on various aspects of the history of later medieval Devon and Cornwall.

Wendy Moorhen is secretary and research officer of the Thames Valley Group and indexing co-ordinator for the Wills Project. She is currently researching the life of Lady Katherine Gordon.

Craig Taylor is Sub-Dean at Worcester College, Oxford and currently holds a Richard III Society Bursary. He will submit his D.Phil. dissertation on the polemical and legal debates of the Hundred Years War this year.

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

Instructions to Contributors to the Ricardian

Contributions 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. 45-46.

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.

Anyone interested in taking display advertisement space – full, half or quarter page – or in placing an insert should contact the Editor. (Classified advertisements should be sent to the Editor of the Bulletin).

Contributions for the September 1998 issue of the *Ricardian* must reach Miss Anne Sutton, 44 Guildhall Street, Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk IP33 1QF, by 30 June 1998. Articles should be sent well in advance. Further advice on presentation may be obtained from the editor.

Ricardian Indexes

Comprehensive author and subject indexes to articles, notes and reviews in all issues of *The Ricardian*.

1979-1984, volume V and VI	£1	1985-1987, volume VII	£1.25
1988-1990, volume VIII	£1.75	1991-1993, volume IX	£2
1994-1996, volume X	£3.50		

Prices include postage and packing. Cheques payable to the Richard III Society. From: Sales Office, PO Box 247, Haywards Heath, West Sussex RH17 5FF.

Back Copies Of The Ricardian

Limited numbers of some back copies of the *Ricardian* are available for purchase from Mrs P. Ruffle, 11 De Lucy Avenue, Alresford, Winchester, Hants., SO24 9EU. Telephone: 01962 732692. A list of the copies available can be requested.

Charges (including postage in the UK) are £1 per copy for numbers 83-84 and £1.50 for no. 98 onwards. Would overseas members please add an extra 10 per cent for surface mail or 75 per cent per copy for air mail. Remittance to be made payable to the Richard III Society.

RICHARD III SOCIETY

The following books and off-prints are available from the Sales Office, PO Box 247, Haywards Heath, West Sussex RH17 5FF. Prices include p&p; overseas members to add 10% for surface and 25% for airmail; cheques to be in sterling.

The Crowland Chronicle Continuations 1459-1486. Edited N. Pronay and J. Cox. £18.50.

York House Books 1461-1490. Edited L. Attreed. 2 vols. £29 (vol.), £55 (set).

'Edward IV's memoir on paper to Charles Duke of Burgundy'. [The Arrival]. L. Visser-Fuchs. Off-print £4.50.

The Battle of Wakefield. K. Dockray and R. Knowles. Off-print £2.50.

The Household Books of John Howard, Duke of Norfolk, 1462-1471 and 1481-1483. Reduced fac. reprint, new introd. A. Crawford. £29.50.

Richard III and the Princes in the Tower. A. J. Pollard. £14.75 (pb).

The Hours of Richard III. A. F. Sutton and L. Visser-Fuchs. £12.95 (pb).

The Politics of Fifteenth Century England. John Vale's Book. Edited M. L. Kekewich and others. £29.

'The cult of angels in fifteenth-century. An hours of the Guardian Angel presented to Queen Elizabeth Woodville'. A. F. Sutton and L. Visser-Fuchs. Off-print £2.50.

Margaret of York Duchess of Burgundy 1446-1503. C. Weightman. £14.95.

Richard III's Books. A. F. Sutton and L. Visser-Fuchs. £25.

The Ricardian. Index to Vol. X, 1994-96. £3.50. Earlier indexes available.

Harleian Ms 433. Edited R. Horrox and P. Hammond. 4 vols. £18.50 (vol.), £60 (set).

Good King Richard?. J. Potter. £10.95 (pb).

Richard III, Crown and People. Edited J. Petre. £16.50.