

## Book Reviews

**EDWARD V: THE PRINCE IN THE TOWER.** Michael Hicks. 2003.  
Tempus Publishing Ltd., Stroud. £25. ISBN 0-7524-1996-X

There might seem something rather quixotic about a biography of Edward V, a king who reigned for two months and died at age twelve, but from the start Professor Hicks makes a compelling case for such a work. As Colin Richmond once wrote about Henry VI, so Edward V too makes a thin thread on to which to hang, yet Hicks sees the possibilities inherent in such a study and makes us see them as well. He understands that this cannot be a biography like those of most kings, but he knows that the very existence of Edward, as prince of Wales and as king, even if in name only, made him a figure of some importance in his own time. The challenge Professor Hicks faces is how to bring out this importance in someone who never reached his majority or acted on his own initiative.

Records of the life and death of Edward V do exist and Professor Hicks presents them with an admirable clarity. As much as we might yearn for more information on the prince, we have much more information about this royal child than on most others, covering a number of different fields. The ceremonial role of the heir to the throne is shown alongside the educational upbringing expected of the same. The prince might have been a child but he was also a major landholder, which Hicks neatly exhibits, and as such had a council, a somewhat confusing body, which Hicks also helps to clarify. There can be little doubt after reading all that Professor Hicks has compiled that Edward V was an important figure in the second reign of his father.

This same clarity is even more noticeable in Hicks' discussion of the death of Edward V and its larger significance. He examines this subject, long debated and highly contentious, in a straightforward manner, working through the various questions required in any investigation. This careful examination of who might have killed the king and when leads to a well-thought-out discussion of the legacy of usurpation and regicide and to an insightful look at the immediate legacy of Edward V: a further example of the influence which he exerted over the later fifteenth century, even if just by being the son and heir of Edward IV. The information, which Professor Hicks has marshalled and organized in these respects, makes a convincing case that Edward V is worthy of being the focus of study.

All of this, however, only begins to flesh out the importance of Edward V. It shows that he had the position, the prestige and the power to make him an important figure in the Yorkist polity, even if he was too young to exert any of

this himself. To gauge the full impact of this importance requires an examination of the rest of the Yorkist polity and how Edward V as Prince of Wales and then as king affected its other members. Naturally, this is less immediately obvious and certainly less accessible than is the information which Professor Hicks has presented the reader about the prince himself. Hicks does pursue some new investigation to this end, but its relevancy seems rather doubtful. Most of the second chapter is spent discussing the putative mistresses of Edward IV and the details of his wedding to Elizabeth Woodville. Hicks suggests that both of these factors helped shape the end for Edward V, yet that seems unlikely. For this to be true, one would have to say that had Edward IV not fooled around and had he not slipped off for a secret wedding then his son would not have lost his crown. In his discussion of the usurpation later in the book even Professor Hicks does not seem willing to say this. While he has some very interesting things to say about the dating of the wedding of Edward IV and Elizabeth Woodville, it is hard to feel that this section belongs in a biography of Edward V.

Unfortunately, there is little else in this book in the way of new research or analysis with regard to the Yorkist polity's relations with and reaction to Edward V as prince or king. There has been a lot of work done on the reign of Edward IV and on the political world of fifteenth-century England in general in recent years, but Professor Hicks does not seem to have incorporated it in his book. He presents the fundamental importance of Edward V in his role as font of patronage, first as prince of Wales, and then the even greater potential which he had in this regard as king. As such, the real import of Edward V in the politics of Yorkist England is his use as a pawn by his mother's family to increase their wealth and power. This is the sort of view which ignores most of the work of the past twenty years. The politics of late medieval England were more than matters of mere patronage, as any number of studies has shown. To disagree and present a counter-argument against this new research would be fine, but simply to ignore it undermines the work as a whole. As a result the book leaves the reader with little insight into Edward V's impact on the polity of Yorkist England.

At the end of the day, despite a few minor factual errors, Professor Hicks has provided us with a book which firmly convinces the reader that a proper study of the influence of Edward V on the politics of his lifetime would be a worthwhile endeavour. If this book is not that study, it does, nevertheless, provide a good introduction to a neglected figure in late medieval English politics.

THERON WESTERVELT

**MEDIEVAL MERCHANTS, YORK, BEVERLEY, AND HULL IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES.** Jenny Kermode. 1998. Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, Fourth Series. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, £45 ISBN 0-521-49737

Dr Kermode takes an inclusive look at all aspects of the mercantile group in the three major Yorkshire towns of York, Hull and Beverley. The three towns had, of course, substantial differences in location and status – by the end of the fifteenth century both York and Hull achieved county status, while Beverley remained in the jurisdiction of the archbishop – but in all three merchants were important in the town oligarchies. On the whole these showed stout independence, but they could also benefit from the patronage of local magnates, and Kermode draws attention to the relations between York and Richard III (pp. 34, 36-37). Her book is divided into two main sections, the first on the merchants' social and political setting, the second on the commercial world from which they drew their wealth. The book is provided with two maps, three genealogical tables and twenty-eight other tables.

In the first section (on the political, social, and religious milieu of the merchant) 1,400 individuals of varying wealth and social status are analysed. This section offers much personal information on individuals, which is clearly valuable both for local historians and for national historians tracing links between London and the provinces (or indeed between provinces). Dr Kermode first examines urban office holding and urban MPs, and then looks at the networks of family and friends within and between the towns. Here she traces family origins, marriage networks and widows' lives, sources of apprentices, servants' lives, and finally religious bequests. Much detail is drawn from wills and, while clearly recognising the problems in using wills, Kermode effectively uses them to allow us to see the merchants in their social setting and everyday lives. As elsewhere, families in these towns rarely lasted beyond two generations as active merchants, but it is also noticeable that few had enough wealth to move out to set up gentry families; Dr Kermode suggests that the Yorkshire towns and countryside were possibly not so closely integrated as elsewhere in England.

The second section (on the commercial world from which merchants drew their wealth) also has much of value. In particular, the examination of practices of trade, entrepreneurship and the accumulation of capital is interesting and closely tied to the individual merchants of Yorkshire. The discussion of transaction costs (taxes and tolls, agency fees, transport, piracy etc.) argues that the rise in these was a major motive for merchants to move from wool exports to cloth exports and from lower quality to higher quality commodities in general. This discussion is followed by a detailed examination of the financial practices of the merchants, including their command of a local credit network. Kermode

also looks at the commercial competition, which the Yorkshire men faced towards the end of the middle ages. Undoubtedly the Hansards proved tough competition in the Baltic cloth trade, but even more troublesome was the rising competition from Londoners. Nonetheless Yorkshire men kept eighty per cent of the wool trade and fifty per cent of the cloth trade in their own hands even at the end of the fifteenth century. Dr Kermode finishes this section with a look at the merchants' investment in land.

In this section Dr Kermode also makes admirably clear the geographical extent of the overseas trade which enriched the Yorkshire merchants. But certain passages need to be read with caution, as the author's comments incorporate some errors drawn from older scholarship. In particular readers should be aware that the suggestion that the majority of Hull's cloth exports were always unfinished seems to be based on a misunderstanding. The term *sine grano* (p. 75) was a tax distinction, indicating not that the cloth was undyed but simply that it was not dyed with the expensive kermes dye (*granum*); the export of undyed cloth rose at the end of this period, when exports to the Low Countries increased, but until then much was exported dyed, and exports to areas other than the Low Countries continued to be sent out dyed. Hull's imports of wine were not carried abroad 136 ships in 1444-5 (p. 179); the register on which Boutruche based his statement was not a register of Hull's imports, but a register of total exports from Bordeaux when Edward Hull was constable there (see E.M. Carus-Wilson and O. Coleman, *England's Export Trade*, Oxford 1967, appendix 6). Furthermore, it was the English merchants who increased their activity in the Bordeaux wine trade during the Hundred Years War, not the French (p. 177), although this was a much-reduced trade. There are also a few other slips. It is perhaps the loss of Gascony rather than Burgundy which is meant on page 188, and it was cod not herring which came from Iceland (p. 181). The exact relationship of the wool and cloth export trade to the import of luxuries is also debateable, although the emphasis on the importance of wool and cloth trade, the growing diversity of imports and the decline of native English investment at the end of the fifteenth century is undoubtedly right.

The book is most welcome, despite these comments. It puts into the public domain much of Dr Kermode's deep knowledge of the mercantile families of the north, and ranges widely in seeking reasons for their rise and fall both as groups and as individuals. In itself it provides an excellent overview of an important part of Yorkshire's urban history and, beyond that, it will provide a mine of detailed information for others.

WENDY R. CHILDS

**WRITING WAR. MEDIEVAL LITERARY RESPONSES TO WARFARE.** Edited by Corinne Saunders, Françoise Le Saux and Neil Thomas. 2004. D.S. Brewer, Cambridge, £45. ISBN 0-85991-843-2

The editors open the book with a brief history of warfare from Roman times to Towton and describe how war created the structure of society and the concept of chivalry, how it was regarded by the church and dominated literature throughout the period.

Christopher Allmand, 'The *De re militari* of Vegetius in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance', gives a brief, new survey of this classical and classic manual, pointing out, among other things, that the book treated soldiers as men who deserved the respect of their commanders, and with its emphasis on training distanced itself somewhat from the fatalistic view that all battles were in God's hand only.

Marianne Ailes analyses, in 'Heroes of war: Amboise's heroes of the Third Crusade', how this Norman chronicler described, characterised and so created a number of heroes of the Third Crusade, including Richard I himself. Amboise focussed on virtues such as great 'commitment' to God and the crusading cause, courage and the kind of sacrifice that leads to major turnings in the course of a war, disregard for one's own wounds, and, in Richard's case, recklessness, which under the protection of God becomes a virtue in its own right.

The thirteenth-century German squire Rudolf von Ems, according to W.H. Jackson's 'Warfare in the works of Rudolf von Ems', in his romance, his life of Alexander the Great, and his world history, was concerned with real-life warfare and emphasised the more orderly aspects of war, such as tactics, discipline and good 'man-management'. Alexander's good fortune, for example, owed much to his personal qualities and generalship.

Georges Le Brusque, 'Chronicling the Hundred Years War in Burgundy and France in the fifteenth century', surveys a very large field. He divides his material – rather roughly -- into 'The Chivalric Chronicles of Burgundy', 'The Clerical Chronicle' and 'The French Chivalric Chronicle', ascribing to each group slightly different views of the war. This leads to disregard for the very different motives and individuality of the authors within each group, and to ignoring, among other things, the fact that all of these chroniclers at times used the same sources – and copied each other.

Christine de Pizan, according to Françoise Le Saux's 'War and knighthood in Christine de Pizan's *Livre des faits d'armes et de chevalerie*', intellectualised war in her treatise, picturing 'the ideal general' as 'more akin ... to an energetic saint than to the dashing ... knight of epic and romance' and emphasising throughout the importance of knowledge and experience. The result was a book that discouraged young hot-heads and pointed out the moral dangers of war and chivalry. The paper ends: 'One suspects Froissart would not have approved.'

John Barbour's *Bruce* of c. 1375, written for Robert II of Scotland, weaves the values and interests of his audience into his account of the life and battles of Robert I the Bruce (1306-29). For example, as Thea Summerfield explains in 'Barbour's *Bruce*: compilation in retrospect', the famous scene in which Bruce read aloud from a romance to his troops, while they were waiting to cross a river, is an invention by Barbour, in line with other samples of his wide literary knowledge. True or not it effectively 'illustrates' Bruce's personal leadership and care for his men. The king's Robin Hood-like existence had great emotional appeal and showed Barbour's audience that there was more to leadership than fighting battles.

Andrew Lynch, 'Peace is good after war': the narrative seasons of English Arthurian tradition', considers how Geoffrey of Monmouth, Wace and Layamon, Mannyng's *Chronicle*, the Alliterative *Morte Arture* and finally Malory thought about peace and war and the relation between the two; how much they went together and how peace was seen as a degenerative force or as leisure after work, but rarely as an independent, desirable, possibly permanent state.

Chaucer's work shows a marked lack of narrative motifs and images from war. Simon Meecham-Jones, 'The invisible siege – the depiction of warfare in the poetry of Chaucer', ascribes this to 'the complex configuration of national identity' at Richard II's court and to Chaucer's own awareness that what he wrote would influence the attitude of his future readers, for worse, apparently. Meecham-Jones claims that Chaucer consciously disassociated himself from the ideology of his betters and that this 'tells us much about his isolation as an artist'.

The way K.S. Whetter, 'Warfare and combat in *Le Morte Darthur*', describes the *Morte Darthur* and its many battles and tournaments reveals Malory's 'double view of war': wars can and should be just, war gives 'worship', but it also brings tragedy and destruction. The same values and similar events created the Round Table and led to its downfall.

Corinne Saunders, in her 'Women and warfare in medieval English writing', jumps back and forth from the eighth century to Christine de Pizan and from the Anglo-Saxons to Malory, to gather evidence of women's role in war. Apart from a few individual martial heroines, the women were mainly there to suffer and lament; the way they were treated proves the presence or absence of chivalric virtues in others; they provided contrast, but what they did or thought themselves was, in almost all cases, irrelevant – even Amazons fared no better, witness Hippolyta and Emily in the *Knight's Tale*.

Finally, Helen Cooper's 'Speaking for the victim', is about the literary use made of the inhabitants of the countryside, from Virgil's *Eclogues* on, but especially by French authors during the Hundred Years War, to criticise the hardship brought about by war. All the simple pleasures that make the life of shep-

herds and shepherdesses so enviable vanish when war strikes and their plight can be used to great effect, though real peasants, of course, were voiceless.

This collection is unusually coherent and its joint effort successfully presents a large vista of medieval views of war, which are not as remote from our own as we would like to think. Most of the sources used here are literary, but the over-all picture that remains with the reader is as valid as any that could be built from more mixed evidence. The sources are various enough to prevent either the intellectual views of Christine de Pizan or the simple, chivalric ones of Amboise from dominating and creating a one-sided perception.

LIVIA VISSER-FUCHS

**THE PORT OF MEDIEVAL LONDON** Gustav Milne. 2003 Tempus Publishing Ltd., Stroud, £17.99; US \$29.99. ISBN 0752425447

Gustav Milne lectures at the Institute of Archaeology and has written widely on the archaeology of the port and riverside. His *Port of Roman London* (Batsford 1993) is the classic introduction to the subject, and this book on the medieval port will be equally important for everyone working on the period. For the port was vital to London's economy, the hub of domestic and international trade, the biggest and most significant port in the kingdom at the heart of its largest city. Supplies of all kinds arrived in London by water, a safer and swifter method of transporting goods – especially heavy goods – than the bad roads of the time. Food, fuel, luxury items from the Continent, all arrived by ship to be unloaded at the wharves and docks along the tidal Thames, and to be taxed and tolled by the authorities from very early times. Some of this unceasing trade can be traced through documentary sources such as port books and customs accounts, but the archaeological evidence adds immeasurably to our knowledge of the port through analysis of the finds made during waterside excavations. As a result of the spate of redevelopment along the Thames in central London over the last thirty years there have been many of them.

Important sites such Trig Lane, Queenhithe and London Bridge have yielded a wealth of archaeological data that has considerably changed historical perceptions of the medieval port, and the findings are clearly synthesised here. Of particular significance is the discovery of the Saxon port of Lundenwic, formerly assumed to have centred on the abandoned Roman harbour at Londinium, but now identified further west, around the Covent Garden area. This breakthrough came with the excavations at the Jubilee Market site to the south of the piazza in the nineteen-eighties, and has led to a major reassessment of eighth and ninth century London.

A chronological account of the history of the port begins by comparing the written sources for the Anglo-Saxon period with these revelations from the

recent archaeological excavations, including waterfront buildings and pottery and coin evidence of regular trade links with ports all over northern Europe. The ninth century Viking raids led to a move back to the site of old, walled, Londinium – more easily defended than the ‘beach’ market at Lundenwic. The first London Bridge, a timber construction of the late ninth century, may have originated partly as a defensive measure designed to prevent warships from sailing upriver. The later masonry version assumed such importance in Londoners’ lives that bequests were made for its upkeep – ‘To God and the Bridge’.

A chapter on pestilence and war looks at the way in which London and its trade were affected by the Hundred Years War, and by the Black Death – the latter inevitably arriving in London via the port. There is much information on trade generally, the building of harbour structures, the rules and regulations controlling the port’s operation, taxes and customs, and the many weights and measures recovered during excavation work. Commerce could be hazardous enough because of the weather and the tides. Trade routes were made even more dangerous in the fourteenth century because of pirates in the Channel. Yet the volume of trade was enormous and Londoners would have been familiar with the many types of shipping coming and going into the port from domestic and international sources. Barges, dugouts, longships, fishing boats, coastal and seagoing traders, ferries and wherries came and went at the riverside, and their building and maintenance sustained a major London industry. Clear diagrams of these vessels show their comparative sizes and a chapter on shipwrightery describes the structure of the trade, shipbuilding techniques and the results of dendochronological tests on preserved timber from wrecks.

Goods of all kinds arrived daily, but one staple across the centuries was fish, an essential part of Londoners’ diet because of the church’s insistence on meatless Fridays and other fast days and seasons of abstinence such as Lent. Archaeological finds show that herrings were the most common fish consumed, whether fresh or salted, followed by plaice and other flat fish, and then by mackerel. Oysters were so popular and commonplace that their discarded shells were routinely used in the building trade. The chapter ‘Fish on Fridays’ is full of detail about the fisheries and their locations, the fishmongers and their warehouses and patterns of consumption in London.

Nor is the book devoid of ‘human interest’ stories. Life by or on the water was beset by industrial accidents as well as domestic ones, especially for children and drunks. The river was used for many purposes – fetching water, washing, swimming, watering horses – as well as transport. It was very easy to lose one’s footing and fall in while engaged in any of these activities, or while boarding or manoeuvring a boat, and the current was extremely strong. Medieval coroners’ rolls reveal the considerable death toll accompanying daily life by the Thames, including some resulting from criminal activities. William Croll

was accused of drowning a baby by tying him to a quay in 1255; John le Brewer drowned while trying to escape the scene of his crime by wading along the foreshore. When his body was found it was still carrying 160 stolen Florentine coins and a neighbour's seal.

The final 'epilogue' chapter takes the history of the port forward into Tudor times, with its dockside reforms to support an ever-increasing trade. *The Port of Medieval London* makes fascinating reading and is well supplied with informative illustrations – photographs of archaeological excavations and of finds from the sites, maps, diagrams and reconstructions, and a useful bibliography. It will be an essential reference work for all those interested in the medieval period generally and London in particular.

HEATHER CREATON

**GUNS AND MEN IN MEDIEVAL EUROPE, 1200-1500. Studies in Military History and Technology.** Kelly DeVries. 2002. Variorum Collected Studies Series, Ashgate Publishing Ltd, Aldershot. £57. ISBN 0-86078-886-5

This is a collection of eighteen articles by Kelly DeVries, first published between 1987 and 1999 in a variety of collections, mainly in England and the U.S.A., with two from Austria and the Netherlands. As with all the Variorum Series, it is extremely helpful to have the convenience of the assembled essays of prominent scholars. Low print runs and high quality production account for their high price: it is a price worth paying.

The volume is divided into two halves, reflecting the principal title of the book. The first half, consisting of seven articles, draws largely on DeVries' 1987 Toronto PhD thesis. Three of these involve exhaustive analyses of the disparate narrative source materials for the battle of Sluys (1340); the siege of Tournai (1342); and the siege of Calais (1346-47). They are all object lessons in the need to allow for the partiality of chroniclers. Certainly DeVries has comprehensively assembled an impressive array of material, and in each article, he shows very capably how far the sources differ in recording events and accounting for victories and defeats. Another article on the Hundred Years War – on Joan of Arc – deals primarily with the way in which she was regarded by her own troops and contemporary French notables.

The more substantial part of the book consists of articles eight to seventeen, all on the same theme: the introduction and development of gunpowder weaponry, and its effect, both militarily and politically. In the Introduction, DeVries remarks that it remains his objective to publish a full length volume on these themes. On the basis of the articles presented here, I would find such a book both rewarding and irritating.

Taking the positive aspect first, it is very clear that DeVries has read extensively, and as a result, he is able to present a dazzling array of instances where gunpowder weaponry may be identified and how it was used – ineffectively at first, but gradually with greater and better effect. In this, as in the first section of the collection, his area of particular expertise is the Low Countries, Burgundy and France. Five articles are based on his researches into events in these areas – all in the period of the Hundred Years War. A sixth article, 'Gunpowder weaponry and the rise of the early modern state', also draws heavily on his expertise in this area. He is at pains to refute the myth of the 'military revolution' that gunpowder weaponry brought about, beginning about 1560. As he emphasises rightly, those features that characterise renaissance weapons and fortifications have their antecedents in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and that, consequently, all that really occurs in the sixteenth century is ongoing evolution. What we have here then is DeVries, as a late medievalist, appreciating that there was nothing especially novel about what happened in the ensuing period – an appreciation lost on sixteenth century historians.

Unfortunately however, just as some sixteenth century military historians are blinkered to what preceded their period, so too DeVries appears blinkered in respect of what preceded his. Although he does not claim that the emergence of gunpowder weaponry was a dramatic revolution, but rather a gradual process from at least the 1320s, he does hold that it changed warfare completely, and that it achieved supremacy for attack over defence with regard to siege warfare, and he is ambiguous in his view of the role of gunpowder weaponry in the rise of the modern state, a matter of some interest because it is central to what may be deemed the most important article in the collection.

With regard to the first matter, he pays no heed at all to the artillery used in pre-gunpowder times. That the designers of twelfth and thirteenth century fortifications allowed for such weaponry by creating exactly those features that DeVries ascribes to the fortifications of the 'gunpowder era', reflects an appreciation of the potential damage that could be created by weapons no less potent than gunpowder weaponry in its initial stages. An example of this that DeVries discusses at length is the apparent invention of providing for 'flanking fire' to protect the 'dead zones' in front of town and castle walls. DeVries would have it that the facilities for this are a reaction to gunpowder weaponry, subsequently made famous by the angular bastion system that originated in Italy in the mid-fifteenth century and which dominated military architecture for the ensuing three centuries. Yet many pre-gunpowder period fortifications can demonstrate very sophisticated systems of fields of fire that allow for the protection of 'dead zones' – in other words, there was nothing new in the fourteenth century about creating fortifications where their defenders had the ability to sweep the external faces of their outer walls with protective fire. That their 'fire' came to be propelled by gunpowder was not an issue.

This seeming lack of concern to appreciate properly what went before the advent of gunpowder weaponry and architectural responses to new methods of assault make DeVries' observation (p. 228) that various historians, including Sir John Hale, N.J.G. Pounds and John Kenyon, 'have almost completely ignored changes in fortification construction made to check gunpowder artillery before the sixteenth century' rather suspect. In fact, taking Kenyon as an example, his MA dissertation and several subsequent articles, are all on the matter of early architectural responses to the new weaponry – initially principally gunports. Kenyon and Pounds were of course concerned with English fortifications. DeVries' weakness in quite grasping what these authors were about, rather reflects his general lack of a full understanding of his subject in this geographical context.

This weakness in understanding the English context is most marked in the article of 1998 that deals with the rise of the early modern state. In this, DeVries holds that in England, gunpowder weaponry was exclusively a royal prerogative from the outset, and that central government lost this monopoly in the reign of Henry VI; that gunpowder weapons played only a relatively negligible role in Henry IV's reign, and similarly was inconspicuous in the civil wars that began in 1450. All this was unlike contemporaneous continental wars, which DeVries observes is a mystery yet to be explained. Virtually everything is wrong with this! DeVries' examples of the use of English gunpowder weaponry in the fourteenth century, do not, in fact, demonstrate exclusive royal ownership – on the contrary. Similarly his list of fourteenth century fortifications modified to allow for their defence by cannon includes a majority that are not royal. His analysis of Henry IV's use of cannon tells only a part of the story and mysteriously points to unidentified campaigns in which Henry deliberately omitted cannon. His misconception of what happened in later fifteenth-century England is due to a lack of appreciation of royal investment at that time, especially with regard to Calais, as recently re-emphasised by David Grummitt. DeVries cites various authors who commented on an apparent relative absence of cannon in the wars, but he does not allow for the fact that it is likely that this relative absence of references may simply be because gunpowder weaponry was by then a commonplace and in that sense, largely unremarkable. DeVries hardly ventures further into the British Isles; indeed when it comes to Scotland, that poor monarch killed at the siege of Roxburgh in 1460 by the explosion of a cannon (an episode not mentioned by DeVries), is incorrectly called King John.

Plainly DeVries has acquired a wealth of detail on this subject of gunpowder weaponry and its uses. This shows that cannon really only began to have the potential to be effective on a regular basis from about the 1420s, when bombards gave way to smaller, more rapidly firing pieces of ordnance, and indeed the siege of Orleans in 1428 is held to be something of a punctuation

mark in this story of development. But this cannot be taken to mean that after this time all sieges were undertaken with numerous guns and that most besieged targets fell rapidly owing to 'frequent and heavy' bombardment (p. 121). If this were the case, one would have expected to see a veritable explosion in the construction of new types of fortification designed exclusively to counter this new wonder weapon, but the fact is that before 1450 at least, no fortification was created that was inspired purely in this way. This must surely reflect something of contemporaries' views on gunpowder weaponry.

In this review, I have tended to focus on certain fundamental misconceptions. However, these should not discourage the medieval military historian from digesting these articles. Indeed, it is to be hoped that a full, book length study of gunpowder weaponry, its value in war and the architectural reaction during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries will indeed appear shortly as DeVries desires. Given the ground to cover, such a book might better be a collaboration of various specialists rather than the work of just one scholar whose specialisations appear to have certain time and geographical frames.

JAMES PETRE

**THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY III. Authority and Subversion.** Edited by Linda Clark. 2003. The Boydell Press, Woodbridge. £40.

ISBN 1-84383025-6 ISSN 1479-9871

The volume is the product of the Fifteenth Century England conference held at the University of the West of England at Bristol in September 2001. The collection of essays represents a selection predominantly drawn from papers given at that conference. Although, inevitably some of the papers fit rather better under the title of 'Authority and Subversion' than others, the volume does offer a great deal of interest over a wide range of subjects.

The papers in the volume seem to be grouped into twos, either by their approximate chronology, or by their themes, and they will be treated as such here. Alastair Dunn's offering on 'Henry IV and the Politics of Resistance', though perhaps revealing nothing new from the point of view that following the usurpation, Henry IV inevitably was forced to be at times both brutal and overly forgiving to his enemies in equal measures, does provide a very valuable study of the use made by Henry IV of forfeiture, itineration and the issuing of pardons. This paper is grouped with a detailed and convincing study by James Ross of the conspiracy of Maud de Vere, Countess of Oxford, 1403-4, rehabilitating a 'commotion in Essex' to a serious if unrealistic attempt to restore Richard II by a motley group of Ricardian loyalists.

Religion is relegated to two papers on heresy, which prove rather hard work at times. Clive Burgess effectively demolishes J.A.F. Thomson's view of

Bristol as a hotbed of heresy, questioning the real prevalence of the heresy (*The Later Lollards, 1414-1520*, Oxford 1965). Rather frustratingly this paper is to be complemented by a paper to appear in a later volume of this series. Ian Forrest examines the link between lechery and heresy in anti-ollard polemic, and how this affected the identification and prosecution of ollardy principally through a study of Bishop Repingdon's visitation book.

No volume on the fifteenth century is complete without some notice of magnate rivalry and power struggles, and the breakdown of law and order. This is provided in papers by Hannes Kleineke and Peter Booth. Booth goes some way to restoring the reputation of Thomas Percy, Baron Egremont, in his analysis of the Percy-Neville struggle for hegemony in northwest England in the mid-1450s. Kleineke through a study principally of Richard Tregoy's criminal career shows just how complex the factors were that fed the lawlessness in Devon and Cornwall in the 1440s and 50s, and that local factors peculiar to the far southwest were at least as important as the progressive collapse of central Lancastrian government.

Two further studies by David Grummitt and James Lee provide interesting insights. Grummitt examines the changing character of exchequer clerks throughout the fifteenth century detailing the change in the type of personnel appointed and the shift towards greater royal control of the patronage available in the exchequer. Lee provides a study of the office of the recorder in towns. He shows that this was much more than an office concerned with the law, and was rather a means of securing communication with the crown via the connections of these officials. This explains the great lengths and expense that urban rulers went to to secure the services of the right individual, and why kings, particularly usurpers, showed great interest in the appointment.

Perhaps the two most striking papers in the volume are those of J.L. Laynesmith and Frank Millard in two very closely argued pieces. Laynesmith examines the reception of Queen Margaret of Anjou in Coventry on 14 September 1456. Whilst the arrival of a queen in one of England's larger provincial cities would usually be an occasion for ceremony, that put on for Margaret was only surpassed by her own coronation, and Laynesmith is right to see the importance of this ceremony. She is by no means the first to comment on the importance of this occasion, but her paper re-evaluates not only the actual meaning of the various stages of the ceremony, but the intention of Queen Margaret in attempting such a choreographed entrance. Laynesmith presents very persuasive arguments that Margaret, faced with an unstable and incapacitated husband, an infant son, and a formidable opponent in the guise of the duke of York, sought to bolster a 'new vision of kingship' based on the promise of her son with an adult figure 'the powerful image of queenly motherhood' (p. 147).

Frank Millard's paper steps back almost ten years and re-examines the epitaph of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester. The death of the duke following his arrest at the parliament at Bury St Edmunds in February 1447 remains rather shady, but this paper does not become embroiled in the question of the nature of the duke's death. Accepting that the epitaph was not by Lydgate, Millard proposes Gilbert Kymer as a candidate, Kymer being a former chancellor of Oxford University, and the duke's personal physician, and although this cannot be proved conclusively, his candidature has much merit. But putting this aside, the study shows that the epitaph, was probably meant to be displayed by the duke's tomb at St Albans, and perhaps for wider distribution, and was skilfully crafted to celebrate the virtues of 'a renaissance prince' who had been poorly rewarded for his labours and loyalty. Whilst one cannot perhaps forget the fraternal rivalry with the duke of Bedford in the 1420s, Millard leaves us with a view of the duke unlike his peers in his outlook and interests, loved by his household and poorly served by those who had conspired against him.

In all this is a good collection of papers. By its very nature its contents are diverse, and the studies generally quite narrowly defined and detailed, so that there is only a limited amount of coherency and continuity between the papers. Readers will inevitably only dip into this volume and cherry-pick the relevant papers for their interests, and this may affect sales of this volume, but this would be a pity, as this collection has much to offer, and gives the opportunity to explore beyond narrow personal interests.

SIMON HARRIS

**THE MEDIEVAL HORSE AND ITS EQUIPMENT c.1150 – c.1450.** Edited. John Clark. 2004. Museum of London: Medieval Finds from Excavations in London, 5. The Boydell Press, Woodbridge, £29.95 (hardback)

ISBN 1-84383-097-3

This book was first published in 1995 by Her Majesty's Stationery Office. This edition has a new introduction and supplementary bibliography which incorporate recent work. In addition to the chapters by John Clark, contributions have been made by Blanche M.A. Ellis, Geoff Egan, Nick Griffiths, D. James Rackham, Brian Spencer, and Angela Wardle, and the principal illustrators are Nigel Harriss and Susan Mitford.

Archaeological excavations in the city of London in advance of re-development over the past thirty years have produced a wealth of finds. The majority of objects analysed in this book come from the riverside dump deposits south of Thames Street between Blackfriars (Baynard's Castle) and the Custom House, an area reclaimed between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries with the building of new wharves and waterfronts. Metalwork and organic ma-

terial have survived. There is, however, a lack of large pieces of horse-harness such as saddles; horseshoes and curry combs were more likely to be lost or thrown out.

The horse was essential to medieval life, and the Introduction provides an overall guide to the role of horses and horsemen in London. Documentary records are used as well as excavation finds, and attention is drawn to the particular importance of the Bridgewardens' accounts for information on horses and transport. Horses could be purchased at Smithfield Fair, but, because of the high cost of horse ownership, Londoners were primarily concerned with carthorses to move food and goods, and hired a riding horse when needed. Marshals (farriers) provided for the shoeing and doctoring of horses, and some of their personal seals have survived. A particularly interesting section and appendix discuss the size of the horse, about which there has been controversy in recent years. Using skeletal and artistic evidence, it is argued that the medieval carthorse was sturdy, but small by modern standards. Even the 'great horse', found from the thirteenth century onwards, is reckoned to have been no taller than fourteen or fifteen hands, but probably stronger and more manoeuvrable than other horses of the same height. Excavation has found no horse of more than sixteen hands.

The Introduction is followed by chapters on Harness Fittings, Horseshoes, Spurs and Spur Fittings, and Curry Combs. Each chapter has an introduction discussing function, typology and chronology, followed by a catalogue of the finds arranged in chronological order. For readers unfamiliar with the horse, the introductions are especially useful. The differences between the snaffle and curb bit are explained, and the decorative elements of the harness dated. The introduction to Horseshoes is extensive; it suggests four types of shoe between the ninth and mid-fifteenth centuries, and uses documentary evidence to discuss shoeing practice and terminology. The introduction to Spurs stresses their importance as a male status symbol, and also gives the 1355 Articles of the London spurriers. An especially interesting find comprised sixteen detached fourteenth-century spur-straps with decorative mounts. In a number of places, as in the chapter on Curry Combs, nineteenth and early twentieth century practice throws light on medieval finds.

Most of the material dates from before 1450, but there are a few references to the Yorkists. In an order for expensive clothing, three pairs of short gilt spurs and two pairs of long, partly gilt spurs are listed in 1483, and 2d was paid for a horse comb during the preparations for Richard III's coronation. For those living in the age of the car, the book not only brings home to us the importance of the horse in the Middle Ages, but provides a thorough insight into the horse itself, its work and the people who depended on it in the city of London.

JENNIFER WARD

**ROYAL TOMBS OF MEDIEVAL ENGLAND.** Mark Duffy. 2003. Tempus Publishing Ltd, Stroud and Charleston, paper bk £ 17.99. ISBN 0-7524-2579-X

**THE DEATH OF KINGS.** *Royal Deaths in Medieval England.* Michael Evans. 2003. Hambledon and London, London and New York, cloth £ 16.88.

ISBN 1-85285-268-2

*Royal Tombs* by Mark Duffy is a useful and interesting book. It is divided into three historical parts, from Edward the Confessor to Henry VII, and the author aims to locate and describe all the tombs of the kings and queens and their families. He relates them both to the individual person and to the general fashions of contemporary England and Europe, using the French kings' tombs as one means of comparison. He provides details of funeral practices, such as embalment, and whether regalia were buried with the monarch. In many ways he achieves his aims admirably, hence the usefulness of the book – the reader can find a discussion of any tomb with ease. The book is essentially a gazetteer, but because of its layout it is neither perfect nor definitive.

Each period has a short general preface, on the funeral and ritual, on tomb design, on tomb production and craftsmen -- all these sections are so short that it must be asked why each tomb should not have received comprehensive treatment in the gazetteer. To make certain that one collects all references to a person and his or her tomb, one has to turn to the index, which is adequate but not detailed. The notes are also very brief and have to be found at the end of the book. The full details of the illustrations are not included in the captions, but relegated to another list at the end, so the reader needs to be active, patient and have some markers to hand. Was this layout the result of careful thought by the author or pushed on to him by the publisher eager to save money – even though these days footnotes are not more expensive than end-notes? Or was it to give a book that is essentially a gazetteer the appearance of a 'popular' book for the mythical 'average' reader? Another oddity of production, presumably meant to save paper, is the fact that no translations have been provided of the many epitaphs, which are useful to have, but are all left in their original Latin or French and not accessible to that 'average' reader. As it is, the book is a gazetteer with flaws, whereas it could have been a definitive one for church and tomb enthusiasts.

In the brief preface there is an acknowledgement to the work of past antiquaries (their texts are rather disparaged, p. 9) and especially the engravings they commissioned, which are the mainstay of this book – especially for the vanished tombs – and one of the main reasons for buying it. They reproduce well even when reduced in size to little more than a square inch; they are supplemented by eighteen colour plates, some from the same source, and some photographs.

The details provided are always fascinating: the reader can learn of the vandalism of later monarchs towards their predecessors, as well as the ravages of time, political change, new religious fashions and, often most dangerous, the wishes of the surviving relatives. What would Edward II and Isabella have said to the news that Edward's heart was to join Isabella in her coffin long after his death (pp. 23, 119). We learn of Horace Walpole's support of the proper care of William of Hatfield's ill-treated tomb in York Minster (pp. 128-30), and are given a useful list of burials in London's Greyfriars (p. 104), the location of the royal children in Westminster Abbey, and details of very various mausoleums of the aristocracy.

For the Ricardian reader the tombs of the third historical period, 1422-1509, are necessarily disappointing: they do not survive for (mostly) political reasons. It may also be the period with which the author is least at home. Known details are all rehearsed, so the gazetteer can still be recommended, but it is an odd consequence of the lack of survival that Henry VII is accorded the honour of reviving English tomb production (pp. 12, 177). True, his plans -- sensibly carried out in his lifetime as Henry VIII was not enthusiastic to spend so much money on his father -- were grandiose, exceeding the chantry chapels of Henry V and Edward IV, but 'revival' is an odd choice of word. Edward IV's known plans -- much completed before his death although sadly altered since -- and the surviving ornamental gates of his tomb contradict it immediately. Indeed, the whole of the St George's Chapel could stand as Edward's monument. Henry's achievement was similar: to use the best workmen of his time and aim at quality. Similarly the discussion of Fotheringhay as the mausoleum of Richard, Duke of York, fails to relate his reburial to the major rebuilding of the church and its reglazing by Edward IV (studied by Richard Marks, *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. 131 (1978)); and undue heavy weather is made over the date of York's reburial in 1476. Henry VI's burial at Windsor not far from Edward IV is seen as 'ironical' (p. 243) and so it may seem to modern eyes; but contemporaries would have thought it 'just', 'appropriate', and the canons of Windsor 'lucrative'.

Details are occasionally misinterpreted. The device described by the author as a 'goblet' with flowers on Humphrey of Gloucester's tomb is undoubtedly an English version of a 'garden of Adonis', a pot of flowers doomed to early death as surely as human life. The author knows the article by T.D. Kendrick (*Antiquaries' Journal*, vol. 26 (1946)) pointing this out, but rejects it on the grounds that the flowers should have been laurel leaves (pp. 235-36). Humphrey and England should be allowed to change details to their own milieu -- according to one theory the original 'gardens of Adonis' had ears of corn. Similarly a 'cloth of majesty' was not an image of the Trinity (p. 184), but depicted Christ in Majesty, that is Christ on the Rainbow or in Judgement, an appropriate image for the recently dead about to face their Maker. The author has consulted the source which explains this (the present authors' *Reburial of Richard Duke of York*), but failed to take it on board. Overall the author must be congratulated on drawing together so many

facts, but we suggest a longer, corrected, and more detailed reissue in a strict gazetteer format.

While *Royal Tombs* (almost) achieves its aim of being a useful survey, *The Death of Kings* is mainly successful as 'entertainment'. It claims to be not so much about death, or individual deaths, but rather about storytelling as practised by medieval chroniclers. With this aim in mind the author has managed to make the book more or less chronological and at the same time thematic: chapter headings include 'Death as Divine Punishment', 'The Corruption of the Body' and 'Father and Son'. There is little here to fascinate medievalists, but the interested average reader – if he or she exists – will no doubt find the rehearsal of the preludes to, circumstances of, and rumours concerning the various deaths of the kings of England, from Edward the Confessor to Richard III, informative, and the imposed themes interesting, even eye-opening. Because every death also marked the transition from one reign to another, the book as a whole is virtually a potted history of medieval England. Some chapters have a startling variety of topics: the chapter 'Once and Future King' takes one in detail through the prophecy of the 'Emperor of the Last Days', the rumours of the survival (as hermits) of Harold II, Edward II, Richard II, the son of Ivan the Terrible *et al.*, the legend of the Sleeping King – particularly Arthur – and ends with the pretenders Perkin Warbeck and Lambert Simnel. 'Royal Saints and Martyrs' starts with Princess Diana and ends with Henry VI. Queens are relegated to a rather short chapter of their own at the end.

The book as a whole is competently researched from secondary sources, well written and makes an easy, gentle read. There are lists of kings' and queens' dates and places of burial; a select bibliography and an index; the eight black and white illustrations do not contribute a lot to the text. To be totally honest: we have seen it all before and the net result is, in the end, just a little boring.

ANNE F. SUTTON and LIVIA VISSER FUCHS

**THE HOUSEHOLD BOOK (1510-1551) OF SIR EDWARD DON: An Anglo-Welsh Knight and his Circle.** Edited by Ralph A. Griffiths. 2004. Buckinghamshire Record Society Number 33. Available to ISBN 00901198-37-4

The review focuses on the first part of the book as being most likely to interest readers of *The Ricardian*: an 'Introduction' (pp. xi-xxv) and 'Sir Edward Don and his Household Book' (pp. xxvii-li) by Professor Ralph A. Griffiths, the editor. The second part is the text of Sir Edward's Household Book (pp. 1-455), supplemented with a 'Select Glossary' (pp. 457-60). There is a defective analytical index (pp. 461-97) covering both parts. The historical importance of the first part lies in furnishing a case-study for a neglected subject: how, and by what means, over a few generations a Welsh gentry family came to migrate to

England in the fifteenth century, become English denizens and integrate through marriage with the English gentry. The key enabling factors were the French wars and the Wars of the Roses. While Don was how Sir Edward spelt it, unsure Westminster clerks gave alternatives: Donne, Doune, Dune, and Done (p. xxxiv). It was K.B. McFarlane with his *Hans Memling* (London 1971) who first introduced this family to scholars, incorporating also a genealogical table (pp. 56-57) and maps of the family interests more detailed than the two in the volume under review (pp. xvii, xxxiii), though Professor Griffiths provides illustrations of the Don homes in Kidwelly and Horsenden. Recently McFarlane's information was supplemented by Lorne Campbell, *National Gallery Catalogues: The Fifteenth Century Netherlandish Paintings* (London 1998), pages 386-91. Family fortunes are traced back to the early fourteenth century with Gruffydd ap Cadwgan, a tenant of lands from the Kidwelly lordship in southern Carmarthenshire. His swarthy colouring earned him the appellation 'dwnn', which by the end of the century, when applied to his son Henry in the service of the English Lancaster lords of Kidwelly, resulted in the surname Don.

Gruffydd Don, Henry's son, fought in France as a master-at-arms in the forces of Henry V and Henry VI, and there in 1436 he transferred to the retinue of Richard, Duke of York, a shrewd long-term political move, apart from providing a land-grant in Normandy. It was his younger son, John, father of Sir Edward, compiler of the Household Book, who established the family's English gentry credentials. At his birth in Picardy in 1427 his father was on active service, accompanied by his wife (a circumstance to be compared to Duchess Cecily, while in Rouen in 1442 with her husband Richard, Duke of York, giving birth to their eldest son, Edward). Early in 1461 John was in the forces of this latter Edward, Earl of March, which defeated Henry VI at Mortimer's Cross; this resulted in the earl being crowned Edward IV. John passed into the royal household, bringing intimacy with Lord Hastings. About March 1465 John married Elizabeth, Lord Hastings' younger sister, who entered Queen Elizabeth Woodville's household as lady-in-waiting. John was among the gentry chosen to accompany Princess Margaret, the king's sister, on her marriage in 1468 to Charles, Duke of Burgundy. It is almost certain that he and his wife accompanied Edward into exile in the Low Countries in 1470; certainly John was with the king at Tewkesbury in 1471, being knighted on that victorious field of battle and appointed master of the Tower armoury, and he was to serve as lieutenant of Lord Hastings in Calais. Already in 1468, having lands in England, as well as in Wales, and also in English-held France, he had obtained letters of English denization for his family and heirs, to provide against the possible expropriation at a future date under Henry IV's statutes.

An unexpected blow for Sir John was Richard III's usurpation and the summary execution on 13 June 1483 of Lord Hastings, his brother-in-law. Apparently favouring Buckingham's rebellion, Sir John retained his estates and in

1485 Richard III even confirmed his armoury post. After Bosworth Sir John obtained Henry VII's general pardon; his wife had known well Elizabeth, Edward IV's daughter who was to be the Tudor's queen. Sir John was appointed sheriff of Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire; in 1480 he had been sufficiently wealthy to purchase for some £2,000 the manor of Horsenden in the latter county, with nearby properties. The manor became his family seat, where his son, Sir Edward, kept his Household Book.

For some forty years Sir John possessed a house in Calais, where he and his wife often resided. One can assume him fluent in French and having some Flemish. Immediately following the death of Charles the Bold in battle in January 1477 Sir John was an envoy to Louis XI sent by Edward IV to obtain terms regarding Duchess Margaret's Burgundian inheritance. Sir John and his wife acquired at least four Flemish finely illuminated manuscripts, one having Duchess Margaret's friendly inscription. In 1477, or perhaps 1478, he commissioned a triptych from Hans Memling of Bruges (the frontispiece provides a coloured plate). Now in the National Gallery, it depicts Sir John, his wife and presumably their eldest daughter, kneeling before the Virgin and Child; the two adults, each accompanied by their patron saint, are wearing the York livery collar. After Sir John's death in 1503 his son Edward succeeded to his estates and to his office as keeper of Risborough Park.

Edward was born about 1482, and his father had sought for him a prosperous future. When he inherited, Edward was gentleman-usher of the chamber in Henry VII's household, with a marriage arranged to Anne, daughter of a local dignitary, Sir John Verney. Edward joined Henry VIII in France in 1512 as a captain, providing men recruited from his estates. On the victorious march of the following year, designated a 'king's spear of honour', he was knighted by the king at Tournai. Thereafter in 1520 he accompanied the king at the Field of the Cloth of Gold. Subsequently he confined his activities to Buckinghamshire, serving on royal commissions, as a justice of the peace, and once as county sheriff. When he died in 1551 his line ceased, as he only had two daughters. Essentially it was during the years in the county that Sir Edward kept his Household Book, of much interest for the light thrown on his expenses and local events that touched him.

Sir Robert Dormer, a former Saunderton Manor tenant, bought the manor from a descendant of Sir Edward in 1589; presumably in the purchase were some Don papers including the Household Book, since these were deposited with the Dormer Papers in 1964 in the Warwickshire County Record Office, the bound volume being collocated CR895/106. This comprised what in origin were individual folded folios of somewhat divers size, each covering a month. These folios were arranged chronologically probably in 1832 (with a few errors) and with gaps for lost years and months (indicated p. xxviii n. 26), then bound together. Three missed folios in the Dormer Papers relating to 1518

and 1533 (CR895/45) have here been published in correct sequence, as have misarranged bound folios. The text, virtually all in Sir Edward's hand, is published with his spelling (see 'Editorial Principles', p. liii). The core information is monthly accounts, interspersed with what captured his interest, making a kind of commonplace book. For instance, there is much on the weather; when he was shaved is faithfully recorded at two different costs (perhaps the most expensive included an unspecified hair-cut?), as is hospitality, gifts to relatives and friends, the purchase of cloth from Naples and Genoa and, at intervals, of oranges. His wife kept her own accounts, which explains 'for a saltte lamperey viiid [to] my wyffe' (p. 270).

An error noted: it was not March 1487 that Sir John was envoy to Louis XI (p. xxiv), as the latter died on 30 August 1483, but 1477 (as on p. xxiv, and for the relevant documentation see C.L. Scofield, *The Life and Reign of Edward IV*, London 1923, vol. 2, pp. 179-86). Explanatory notes to the Household Book (there are none) would have enhanced this text; for example, who was 'my cosyne Gryvyll?' (Greville in the index). Minor flaws aside, the volume is an important, fascinating, and original contribution to information regarding late medieval and early Tudor gentry.

CECIL H. CLOUGH

**TEWKESBURY 1471: The Last Yorkist Victory.** Christopher Gravett.

Illustrated by Graham Turner. 2003. Osprey Publishing, Oxford, £12.99.

ISBN 1-84176-514-7

**BOSWORTH 1485: Last Charge of the Plantagenets.** Christopher Gravett.

Illustrated by Graham Turner. 1999. Osprey Publishing, Oxford, £12.99.

ISBN 1-85532-863-1

These two books are both in the Osprey 'Campaign' series and so are similar in organization. The Introduction to the first, *Tewkesbury 1471* says that the series consists of 'Accounts of history's greatest conflicts, detailing the command strategies, tactics and battle experiences of the opposing forces, throughout the crucial stages of each campaign', both books fulfill this promise. Both contain many excellent illustrations from contemporary documents, also photographs of the battlefields today together with excellent and (usually) very clear maps of the routes to the battlefields and plans of the battles themselves. The books also contain paintings by Graham Turner of incidents during the battles and the events leading up to them, which help readers to visualize the occasions. Unfortunately neither book has an index, presumably never called for in this series, and there are also no references, although the source of crucial statements are usually given.

As part of the promised content both books contain two chapters on the commanders and the armies. The former are fairly brief potted biographies of the major commanders, the latter contain a brief discussion of how each commander raised his troops and short but excellent descriptions of the arms and armour equipping the troops. These are as good as would be expected from this author, a Senior Curator at the Royal Armouries. These descriptions are backed up by excellent illustrations. The size of the armies is rather confusingly covered, partly in these chapters and partly on the maps and elsewhere, for example in a chapter called 'Wargaming Bosworth' in *Bosworth 1485*.

*Tewkesbury 1471* is actually an account of the battles of both Barnet and Tewkesbury, which of course makes a great deal of sense since in a way they are one battle in two episodes separated by nearly three weeks. The book covers Edward IV's campaign against the earl of Warwick and Margaret of Anjou in the momentous year 1471. The book begins with an Introduction discussing first of all the many contemporary sources for both battles. These sources are rather less cryptic than those for medieval battles usually are and include the very detailed *Arrivall and Warkworth's Chronicle*. The largest part of the book is occupied by accounts of the battles although there are clear and brief descriptions of the events leading to Edward IV's triumphant return from exile in Burgundy in March 1471, his march through England to London and on to Barnet on the evening of 13 April 1471.

The battle and its aftermath are described clearly. In the case of the battle of Barnet itself this clarity is important because of the overlap of the battle lines caused by Edward IV setting out his troops in the dark and being unable to see exactly where Warwick had placed his men, which complicates the story. This overlap caused the battle lines to swing counterclockwise during the battle and in the final analysis lost the battle for Warwick. This movement of the battle lines is shown on a map, not entirely clearly and perhaps shows too great a swinging movement of the troops. The original battle lines are placed in the conventional area north of Barnet; some writers are now trying to place the battle lines further to the north of the town of Barnet. These writers also place the duke of Gloucester, on the dubious authority of the *Great Chronicle*, in command of the Yorkist left wing. This book places him on the right wing as usual.

The battle of Tewkesbury, following Barnet so swiftly, is similarly well described. The exciting chase of the Lancastrian army by the Yorkists is followed by the description of the battle, well and conventionally (in the sense of following recent consensus) described. Two possible positions are given for the armies, the usual one and a more northerly one nearer to Tewkesbury. I myself believe the southerly one is more likely but as with other similar points in the book the reasons for the positions adopted are argued clearly. The aftermath, which includes a description of the Bastard of Fauconberg's assault on Lon-

don, is described and is accompanied by a very useful map showing the rather complicated assaults and counter assaults on the London defences.

The second book, *Basworth 1485*, follows the pattern of the Tewkesbury book. A brief description of the routes, by which both the armies of Richard III and of Henry Tudor reached the vicinity of the battlefield, is followed by a discussion of the battle. A note in the Introduction says that the battle 'poses numerous problems, not least of topography, troop formations and positions', a very true comment indeed. The present author follows the traditional accounts by placing Richard's army on Ambion Hill, on the very reasonable grounds that this was strategically the better place, but takes into account the arguments of Peter Foss's book *The Field of Redemore* in his placing of the troops of Henry Tudor and also discusses the whereabouts of the marsh, known to play an important part in the battle. Exactly where this was is disputed although we may hope that the ongoing archaeological work on the battlefield by the Leicester County Council will help to settle the matter. Gravett does not take into account the arguments for the Merevale site since these were published after his book. The book ends with a chapter entitled 'The Aftermath' which not only covers the events immediately following the battle, but deals briefly with Lambert Simnel's and Perkin Warbeck's attempts on behalf of the Yorkists to overthrow the new Tudor dynasty.

In summary these books can be recommended as good concise and well illustrated discussions of the battles and events leading up to and following them.

PETER HAMMOND

**FAMILY AND DYNASTY IN LATE MEDIEVAL ENGLAND: Proceedings of the 1997 Harlaxton Symposium.** Edited by Richard Eales and Shaun Tyas. 2003. Shaun Tyas, Donington, £35. ISBN 1-900289-54-7

This long-awaited collection of papers given at the 1997 Harlaxton Symposium is a slimmer volume than its immediate predecessors, which doubled as *Festschriften* for Pamela Tudor-Craig and Barrie Dobson. However, the quality of the eleven papers makes it no less desirable an addition to the bookshelves. Although most of the contributors focus on a particular family or period, the questions they raise have a wider application.

Rhoda Bucknill's study of the origins of the Wayte family of Hampshire deals with a common type of family which is rarely well documented, freeholders who acquired gentry status through local administrative service. Although the link is not yet clear, the Waytes of Wherwell must be related to the Waytes of West Stratton, one of whom was a mistress of Edward IV, as documented by John Ashdown-Hill, 'The Elusive Mistress: Elizabeth Lucy and Her Family',

*The Ricardian*, volume 11 (1999), pages 490-505. Thorlac Turville-Petre's analysis of evidence of trilingualism in a late-thirteenth-century Worcestershire gentry family, as provided by a commonplace book now in the Bodleian, prompts consideration of later use of the three languages of medieval England. Both Chris Given-Wilson and Gudrun Tscherpel examine the manipulation of chronicles by noble families. Given-Wilson looks at the treatment of the Mortimers in local chronicles, emanating mostly from Wigmore Abbey, and Tscherpel at the way in which historical texts produced for the Percys reflect political crises affecting them. Tscherpel suggests that Bodleian MS Bodley Roll 5 may have been intended for presentation by Henry, Earl of Northumberland, to Richard III.

Overt political imagery is rare in devotional books. One example is Pierpont Morgan MS M.815, made for Henry VII in Paris in the late 1480s, in which greyhounds chase wounded and bloodied boars. Another is BL Egerton MS 3277, one of a group of fourteenth-century liturgical books associated with the Bohun family. This includes scenes of the death and burial of a member of the FitzAlan family and a curious image evidently referring to the English title to the French throne. Lynda Dennison's essay deals with the political context of the Egerton Bohun Psalter. By a curious coincidence Lucy Sandler published her own analysis of the Egerton Bohun Psalter in *English Manuscript Studies 1140-1700*, volume 10 (2002). It is instructive to compare the two. Sandler takes as her starting point a tract by the Austin friar John Erghome, and attempts to use its verbal imagery to 'decode' the Psalter's iconography. Although she has accepted a later dating for the Psalter than in her Harvey Miller Survey volume of 1986, she still favours, for no clear reason, the identification of the FitzAlan as Edmund, the Earl of Arundel who was executed in 1326. In contrast Dennison begins by teasing out the stylistic and codicological evidence to arrive at a detailed chronology, before considering the political background to the book's decoration. She speculates about the person for whom the decoration of the Psalter was completed, but in view of the conflicting evidence wisely refrains from favouring any one person, beyond noting a clear link to the Appellants. She identifies the FitzAlan commemorated as Richard 'Copped Hat', the Earl of Arundel who died in 1376, the father of Joan, Countess of Hereford.

Joan, who is Sandler's clear favourite as the owner of the Egerton Psalter, was one of those *mulieres fortes* in which the late Middle Ages appears to be particularly rich. The supreme example of this is Lady Margaret Beaufort, who is the subject of a paper by Vivienne Rock. She demonstrates how her mother's second and third marriages and her own sequence of marriages created a large network of connections and family duties. In particular, loyalty to her St John siblings prompted her to support several prominent Yorkists after Bosworth. She paid for the care of William Parker, Richard III's standard bearer at Bos-

worth, when he lapsed into insanity, because he was the father-in-law of her great-niece Alice St John. It was her relationship via Edith St John to Richard Pole that led her to promote his marriage to the duke of Clarence's daughter, Margaret.

John A. Goodall, the author of the recent monograph on Ewelme, is rapidly establishing himself as one of the foremost experts on late medieval architecture. His contribution here is a careful survey of the De la Pole foundation at Wingfield. Like Dennison he uses stylistic analysis, together with a re-examination of documentary evidence, to arrive at a better understanding of the chronology of the alteration of the east end of the church, carried out in the 1460s by Simon Hawes for Alice de la Pole in imitation of the early fifteenth-century work. A similar deliberate copying of older patterns is also documented at Fotheringhay.

Sophie Oosterwijk's analysis of the appearance of children on medieval tombs is a valuable questioning of preconceptions regarding this category of monuments and an excellent analysis of their iconographic motifs. She challenges the view of attitudes to death in childhood in the Middle Ages put forward by Ariès. A lack of monuments should not be equated with a lack of emotional involvement. She points to status as the principal determinant for the manner of depiction of a dead child, and cautions against the interpretation of miniature effigies as those of children. Her comments should be borne in mind in any future examination of the tomb at Sheriff Hutton commonly assigned to Edward of Middleham.

The plates are generally reproduced to a higher standard than in previous volumes. Where the original photographs are of superb quality, such as Lynda Dennison's details of the Exeter Psalter, that quality is preserved in the reproductions. But a few photographs, such as that of the stalls at Wingfield, suffer from lack of clarity. The image from *Pearl* (pl. 42) has been barbarously cropped. The mislabelling of the tombs at Royaumont (pls. 40, 41) as those of children of Louis XI rather than Louis IX is unfortunate. Despite these cavils, Shaun Tyas is to be congratulated on bringing to press a most useful volume, and commended for providing an index, a *sine qua non* for any publication dealing with family history.

NICHOLAS ROGERS

**THE HISTORY OF THE MERCHANT TAYLORS' COMPANY** Matthew Davies and Ann Saunders. 2004. Maney Publishing, Leeds. £49.50/US\$80. ISBN 1-902653-99-8

The handsome production and lavish illustrations of this new history of the Merchant Taylors, which was commissioned by the company to commemorate

the five hundredeth<sup>h</sup> anniversary of the charter granted to them in 1503, must be a source of pride to its members, while it also gives pleasure to the general reader. The company has wisely employed two professional historians to provide the specialist knowledge needed to cover both the medieval and modern periods and the result is a readable and informative book which aims to set the history of the company within the wider setting of the history of the London and the kingdom.

Matthew Davies, who has recently published the court minutes of the company for the years 1486-93, draws on his introduction to that publication (by the Richard III and Yorkist History Trust), and on his doctoral thesis, to write the first six chapters which take the history of the company to the Reformation. It is a lucid account, limited only by the loss of so many records, which appear to have been created for its fraternity from the exceptionally early date of c. 1300. The comparatively humble, artisan status of most tailors until the mid-fifteenth century meant that they were slow to acquire the wealth which came from overseas trade, and accordingly their craft, although numerous, had little influence on the city's government until they produced their first sheriff in 1429, and first alderman in 1435, who was the only one before 1474. Since, also, their court minutes survive only from 1486, their medieval history cannot be expected to throw much new light on the politics and economy of the city, or on the events which led them to court the patronage of Henry VII. They were, though, involved in the factional conflicts of Richard II's reign. Controversially this book describes their contribution to those tumultuous events as leading a 'reform movement' in opposition to the grocer-mayor, Nicholas Brembre, who is portrayed as the villain of city politics in this period. This, though, is a one-sided view of these events and personalities which is not justified by a full survey of the evidence.

Despite the artisan status of the craft, the Taylors' connexion with the royal court and other rich customers encouraged it to recruit into its fraternity of St John the Baptist a large number of distinguished honorary members, from the royal family downwards (including Richard III when duke of Gloucester). For this reason it was one of the earliest to acquire a hall and to develop the social and spiritual attractions which distinguished it from most other craft and mercantile associations. In describing and analysing the contemporary appeal of the company's spiritual endowment, the book contributes to our understanding of medieval culture, and indicates why the pre-Reformation church was slow to lose its hold over London. The fraternity's 'ghostly treasure' included indulgences and privileges granted by popes and prelates, confraternal links with religious houses, its own two chapels, and, on the eve of the Reformation, nine priests who offered daily masses and prayers for the souls of deceased members. Their spiritual attraction was such that Henry VII, with whom the company quickly established strong links, con-

ferred on it the title of Merchant Taylors in his charter of 1503 in return for an annual service to be attended by all the liverymen who were to pray for his happiness and prosperity in his lifetime and for his soul in perpetuity after his death. The company acquired by such means not only powerful patronage but gifts and bequests of land and city property from all ranks of people which made possible its extensive charities, including the first almshouses in the city, and its schools, both in London and the provinces.

Although the internal government of the craft remained simple, under a master and two wardens, until a court of assistants appeared by 1436, later than in many companies, the surviving court minutes show how important the company was in the fifteenth century in maintaining trading standards, discipline, the fair treatment of apprentices, the resolution of quarrels and disputes, and in providing a sense of community much needed by the time that its membership was approaching 3,000 men in the mid-sixteenth century. It was then among the largest crafts in a city population of c. 80,000, and its growth reflected its diversification into other kinds of manufacturing, and into the sale of cloth. Not for another century did the developing division between the company and its craft become permanent, accelerated by the fire of London and the growth of employment in the suburbs outside the city's and the company's control.

Inevitably this division between craft and company means that after the Civil War (in which both sides were represented in the company) much of its later history loses its general appeal as its records concentrate on buildings, feasts, pageants, and the minutiae of corporate life. From the middle of the eighteenth century the company disassociated itself from city politics, and no merchant taylor was chosen as mayor from 1743 to 1807. However the company continued its extensive charitable work and Ann Saunders adds much of interest to educational history in her account of the company's schools both in the city and in the provinces. Despite the many failings she catalogues it is a history of educational work of which the company can be justly proud. Overall both the authors and publishers of this history have served the company, and the general reader well.

PAMELA NIGHTINGALE

**THE LANCASTRIAN COURT. Proceedings of the 2001 Harlaxton Symposium.** Edited by Jenny Stratford. 2003. Shaun Tyas, Donnington, £45.  
ISBN: 1-900289-63-6.

This volume, the sixteenth to be published in the series of Harlaxton symposium proceedings, brings together the now familiar multi-disciplinary collection of essays on a specific theme. The theme chosen for the 2001 symposium was

the Lancastrian court and the eclectic nature of the essays here reflect the difficulty which both contemporaries and scholars have experienced in defining and measuring the impact and importance of the late medieval court. Indeed, the 'Lancastrian court' is certainly a more problematic term than the 'court of Richard II' or that of Edward IV for it encompasses the 'courts' of three kings with very different styles of kingship. Nowhere is this conundrum more apparent than in the first and last essays of the volume. Gerald Harriss's essay is a masterly introduction to the historiography of the Lancastrian court, its political role and the logistical effort necessary to sustain the king and his household. Its concluding question – why did the Lancastrian kings, particularly Henry VI, indulge in a 'constant peregrination' (p. 17) around the Home Counties – leads nicely onto the concluding essay in the collection by John Watts. Watts deconstructs the whole idea of a Lancastrian court, questioning its impact on the 'thought and behaviour in Lancastrian England' (p. 260) and argues that there were other more important and more tangible *loci* of political power and cultural production.

The other historians in the volume address different aspects of the court and the more strictly contemporary term, 'the king's household'. Anne Curry deals with Henry VI's coronation expedition to France between 1430 and 1432 and examines the way in which the household provided the military and logistical means to accomplish this. The Lancastrian court in France is also the subject of Margaret Kekewich's essay on Margaret of Anjou, Henry, Prince of Wales and their followers in exile. While lacking the magnificence of a princely court, the Lancastrian 'court' in exile, mainly through the labours of John Fortescue and John Morton, played a pivotal role in the Readeption of Henry VI. Barrie Dobson's article on Henry VI and the University of Cambridge and Carole Rawcliffe's on Master Surgeons at the Lancastrian court both remind us that influence of the court and household was felt outside of the contexts of war and politics.

The essays by literary and cultural scholars address more explicitly the question of the Lancastrian court and its political and cultural significance. Tony Edward's essay on middle English texts produced at the request of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester and Richard, Duke of York returns us to John Watts's point that the Lancastrian court did not enjoy a monopoly over the cultural aspects of power in this period. The theme of the production of texts and their political importance is also addressed by Derek Pearsall in his essay on the 1415 poem *Crowned King*. Produced outside of the court, it nevertheless offered a view of the Lancastrian polity which more court-centred authors, such as Hoccleve, would have recognised and approved of. Nicholas Perkins and Nicholas Rogers remind us of how the court produced advice literature for its prince, in this case Henry VI. This literature was not merely apologist, but sought to 'teach them (princes) how to act' (p. 175). John Cherry's essay on the

Great Seal of Henry IV, his great seal for Wales and some noble seals demonstrates the relative insularity of English taste in this period, while Lisa Monnas and Nigel Morgan also deal with the material culture of the Lancastrian court in its widest sense. The spread of Lancastrian heraldic devices to other noble households, perhaps an example of cultural transmission facilitated by the court, is the subject of Lucy Freeman Sandler's essay on the Bohun manuscript. Linda Ehram Voigts's essay on the king's stillatories discusses a little-known aspect of the work of the king's household below stairs.

The connection of the remaining essays in this collection to its ostensible theme is more tenuous. Alfred Hiatt's insightful essay into the maps of Scotland produced by John Hardyng in his *Chronicle* illustrates how the royal government sought information on its northern neighbour in the fifteenth century, but also how the competition for royal favour, often centred on the court, led to deliberate misrepresentation and forgery. Richard Marks discusses the posthumous image of Henry VI and how these, for obvious reasons perhaps, developed into far from realistic, stylised images of kingship adapted to suit local circumstances and needs.

Overall this is a stimulating volume, reflecting current trends in scholarship on the fifteenth-century court. On this occasion the multi-disciplinary approach of the Harlaxton Symposium organizers has produced a coherent volume of essays, which complement each other well (although the reluctance, on the whole, of historians to engage in *inter-disciplinary* work is also apparent). The volume ends with sixty-five black-and-white images of seals, manuscripts and pictures to illustrate the essays, but, as always with the Harlaxton volumes, there is no index. This is my only reservation about this collection and it is to be hoped that future editors might be persuaded to improve their volume's accessibility by the inclusion of an index.

DAVID GRUMMITT

**A RHYMING HISTORY OF BRITAIN 55 BC-AD1966.** James Muirden. Illustrations by David Eccles. 2003. Constable and Robinson Ltd, London, £9.99. ISBN 1-84119-632-0

This is a book to enjoy. As the jacket cover claims:

Reliable as well as fun,  
Here's history for everyone.

It is a rollicking romp through over 2,000 years of the history of England, with occasional references made to events in Wales, Scotland and Ireland. James Muirden is not a historian but his research into his subjects is thorough and the result is history that is accessible to a non-specialist audience. The past is pre-

sented with great humour in rhyming couplets that are heavily influenced by the *Cautionary Verses* of Hilaire Belloc.

John took his nephew into care  
He disappeared, we don't know where. (p. 49)

The historical content is impressively broad and covers the chronological period from the Roman conquest of 55BC to England's victory in the World Cup of 1966. It is, of necessity, superficial but logically divided into chapters based on successive dynastic royal houses:

Their moods, most sudden and frenetic,  
Might now be called plantagenetic (p. 39)

and ending with the current royal family.

The rhymes and coverage are strongest and most confident in the better-known periods of history and the book is certainly gambolling along by Elizabeth's reign. Nevertheless, the medieval period is thoroughly covered in a light-hearted manner through the traditional history of kings and queens, including myths and fictions, and occasionally includes non-political events such as the arrival of plague.

Malignant 'Acts of God' were thought  
To mean bad marks on our report,  
So when the Black Death swept the land  
The Day of Judgement seemed at hand. (p. 63)

Key dates and facts are regularly inserted into the margins to anchor some of the flights of humour into a firm historical context. Complex topics such as the dynastic background to the Wars of the Roses are rendered accessible in rhyme, and controversial subjects are not ignored:

But Richard's role is still a theme  
To stir the groves of academe.  
Did he have both his nephews killed  
To get his royal aim fulfilled?  
Or was he statesmanlike and kind,  
And unforgivably maligned? (p. 85)

The use of modern idiom as humorous illustration, or to produce a rhyme, can be a distraction at times, for example when describing Henry IV's consolidation of his position on the throne:

So he asked Henry, Prince of Wales,  
To supplement his tele-sales  
By giving him a helping hand. (p. 71)

The history of the modern period is more comprehensive in coverage and extends beyond the history of royalty with references to intellectual devel-

opments and discoveries such as those by Galileo and Newton. Religious changes are presented in many guises including their role in the Civil War. Economic topics such as trade, capitalism and the industrial revolution are slipped in, and the social consequences are not ignored:

Slum-dwellers with no bed or loo;  
Piece-workers with too much to do ...  
They were flotsam on the shore. (p. 154)

The building and subsequent loss of the colonies and empire are covered, including fulsome descriptions of America and its fight for independence. The problems of governing Ireland are touched upon. Pepys is there along with Pitt, Gladstone and Disraeli, Churchill and Anthony Eden. Whilst Nell Gwyn, Florence Nightingale and the Suffragettes ensure that women are represented. The roaring twenties and swinging sixties appear, and Bob Dylan and the Beatles are there to provide its musical dimension.

The illustrations by David Eccles are masterly and witty and are liberally employed to complement the text and create an additional dimension to the fun and humour. Memorable scenes include Canute's division of the earldoms, the cavalier soldier taking a break from the fighting and reading 'Hullo' magazine, Queen Victoria as the pinnacle of an icy mountain, and the Eurostar train at Waterloo with Napoleon and his French troops. Nevertheless, there is a more serious side as the theme of the inevitability of war runs through the book and is encapsulated in the illustrations by the slogan 'Ere we go' employed in scenes from King Arthur through to the Second World War.

James Muirden has succeeded in producing a history of England that is a glorious rhyming match for the wry humour and historical facts of *1066 and All That*.

MARGARET YATES

**THE UNCONQUERED KNIGHT: A Chronicle of the Deeds of Don Pedro Niño, Count of Buelna, by his Standard-Bearer, Gutierre Diaz de Gamez.** Translated by Joan Evans. Facsimile reprint 2004. The Boydell Press, Woodbridge. £ 14.99. ISBN 1843831015

This is an unaltered reprint in paperback of the selection edited and translated by Joan Evans in 1928. It has the same eight adequate and very relevant, but rather murky, black and white illustrations from fifteenth-century Flemish manuscripts and the same helpful map of Pero Niño's wanderings in the Mediterranean and on the North Sea.

The 'unconquered knight' is the famous Castilian soldier and buccaneer (1378-1453), who in the early years of the fifteenth century raided and plun-

dered not only the coast of North Africa but also the south of England. The eye-witness and author of this episode of Niño's adventurous and romantic life was his eminently loyal servant and standard-bearer, Guttiere Diaz (or Diez) de Gamez, who saw no evil in his hyperactive master and had nothing but praise for him. Niño was a man who more than once during his naval career wondered whether 'there was not ... some place that [he] might put to the sack' and who, for example, 'ordered all the houses and the corn (of which there was much in this part) to be fired and whosoever they found there to be killed and plundered'. When he had burned the island of Portland and the town of Poole, he wished to have a go at London itself, but his wary and weary sailors fobbed him off with Southampton, telling him it was London and showing him that the place was too well defended. It is difficult to feel any sympathy for Niño and his martial exploits and they are not the reason why this text is of interest.

What is fascinating is the details of the soldiers' profession, medieval ships and their manoeuvres, the gentler aspects of the hero's life and especially the curious, typically fifteenth-century mix of the cruel banality of war and the bland righteousness of the author's standard ideas on morality and chivalry. Like so many biographies of the period the book starts as a 'mirror for princes': first an exposition on the Four Cardinal Virtues, explaining every aspect of them, then stories about the origins and glories of knighthood, before it passes to the hardships of military life:

Knights who are at the wars eat their bread in sorrow; their ease is weariness and sweat; they have one good day after many bad; they are vowed to all manner of labour; they are for ever swallowing their fear; they expose themselves to every peril; they give up their bodies to the adventure of life and death. Mouldy bread or biscuit, meat cooked and uncooked; today enough to eat and tomorrow nothing, little or no wine, water from a pond or butt, bad quarters, the shelter of a tent or branches, a bad bed, poor sleep with their armour still on their backs, burdened with iron, the enemy an arrow-shot off.

The hero's childhood is also for a large part taken up by the pious and slightly tedious instructions of his tutor – which include a warning against prophecy, particularly the prophecies of Merlin. His first brave actions during the hunt and a siege follow immediately after, but most pages are filled with the raids on Arab villages along the coast.

The Arabs are a race of folk who always live in the open country. They take about with them their wives, children and their flocks, and all the movables they possess. ... They have no land which is accounted theirs especially more than another. They are great gentlemen ... They go about always armed for war, and serve whom they will. ... There are very many, and spread over many countrysides.

But understanding the enemy does not keep the Castilians from killing and enslaving them. The description of England and the English is long and rather less flattering, and they, too, are slain in great numbers when occasion demands.

In a more pleasant vein we are told that after a number of years Niño allowed himself a long holiday from his fighting and killing and stayed in France, 'a noble nation', whose inhabitants 'like to give pleasure to everyone', and he soon proved that to him 'all good learning and all courtesy came by Nature'. He dressed well, hunted well and fell in love with the wife of his host. One of the most attractive scenes in the whole book describes his hostess and her ladies, which sounds as if it was copied straight from a courtesy book:

In the morning, after she had risen, the lady went with her damsels to a grove, which was near there, each with her Book of Hours and her rosary. They seated themselves apart one from the other and said their Hours, and spoke not until they had finished prayers. Thereafter, picking flowers and violets as they went, they came back to the Chapel where they heard a low Mass. Coming out thence, they took a plate of silver on which were chickens, larks and other birds roasted, and ate, and left as much as they would and then they were given wine. My lady ate but rarely in the morning or only took a few trifling things to please those in her company.

At times the author gives a picture of his own life and the demands of the profession of standard bearer, but most of the story is entirely focussed on the deeds and loves of his master.

The sections selected for this by now ancient edition end on a high note. The editor says in her (very brief) introduction: 'it is better to remember Pero Niño unconquered and happy than to watch him fighting the enemies that he could not overthrow – Destiny, Old Age, and Death.' I cannot agree with this conclusion: a full modern edition, discussing all the aspects of the work, finding its sources, identifying the people mentioned in it, comparing it to other biographies of the time and gathering together all the work that has been done since 1928, would be a worthwhile publication and make this text better known. The most recent study on the subject generally, Elizabeth Gaucher's *La biographie chevaleresque*, does not even mention Pero Niño.

LIVIA VISSER-FUCHS

**GUILDS AND THE PARISH COMMUNITY IN LATE MEDIEVAL EAST ANGLIA c. 1470-1550** Ken Farnhill. 2001. York Medieval Press, York, £50. ISBN 1-903153-05-0

The popularity of guilds and fraternities among the late medieval laity has been a topic of great interest to historians over recent years. What was it about these organisations that attracted people? What functions did they fulfil for individuals and wider communities of village, town and city? How popular and viable were they in the years leading up to the Reformation? These, and many other questions, form the subject of Ken Farnhill's detailed study of guilds in East Anglia, a particularly fertile ground for study given his identification of some 1800 guilds known to have existed in his study area at various points from the late fourteenth to the mid sixteenth centuries. The particular focus of this monograph is the relationship of the guild to the parish, an important subject for study given that most guilds were located within parish churches. Many historians have simply viewed this in terms of personnel: the chaplains employed by some guilds, or in connection with chantries they administered, are simply seen as additional staff, ready and willing to cure souls, teach children and so on. It is clear, of course, that the relationship was far more complicated than that, and so one of Farnhill's main tasks is to try and characterise this relationship in terms of the interactions between the various roles ascribed to guilds by historians. These include the traditional views of guilds as providers of services for members, both living and dead, through feasting, charity and intercessory prayers and masses, as well as more recent interpretations which, while emphasising the importance of these activities, have drawn attention to their political roles – as diffusers of conflict or as a means of social control – and their economic significance as consumers, money-lenders and property-holders.

The author begins by charting the establishment of guilds in East Anglia, and examining some of the possible reasons for their popularity. A by-product of this is a very useful gazetteer of guilds known to have existed in the period under consideration: more than 1200 in Norfolk, and some 500 in Suffolk, between 1300 and 1500. There are, of course, some difficulties with the sources when taken individually (which the author acknowledges), the main series being the 1388 returns to the royal inquiry into guilds, the 1524-25 lay subsidy returns, the chantry certificates of 1548, as well as miscellaneous sources such as wills and accounts. Change over time is difficult to chart which, as the author admits, militates against analysis of patterns of guild foundation in relation to social and economic changes in this long period. Nevertheless, when used together, the number and distribution allows for some interesting analysis: it is clear, for instance, that at least half of all parishes supported a guild at some point during the period. There was a predictable

concentration of guilds in urban areas, and as the author points out, this was in part a reflection of the role played by guilds in furthering commercial contacts and creating social bonds amongst a diverse and changing population.

A particularly important question that the book attempts to answer concerns the reasons why people joined guilds. Here the main aim seems to be to test the ideas of other historians, such as Gervase Rosser, against evidence from a particular geographical area. This in itself is no bad thing, but it means that little emerges here that takes the debates further, or pushes our understanding of, for instance, the language employed by the guilds, the meanings implicit and explicit in their pronouncements, debates and structures. Instead, Farnhill attempts an analysis of some rare guild accounts, in order to evaluate the financial advantages of joining guilds, the ways in which these institutions raised money and, hopefully, remained solvent through a judicious policy of managing their resources in the face of the needs of members. The financial problems of the Annunciation guild in Walsingham in the early sixteenth century stemmed almost entirely from a senior officer's failure to return the previous year's surplus. Despite such problems, the author concludes that benefits of guild membership were tangible and many. Once again, however, the limited scope of this chapter leaves many questions unanswered, or at best left dangling. Another passing reference to Gervase Rosser's work suffices for consideration of the vital questions of the 'unofficial' benefits of guild membership – the networking opportunities, the sense of 'belonging', and the importance or otherwise of the rhetorical insistence on good behaviour, love and brotherhood. Given the growing corpus of literature available on this subject, such as the work of Rosser (oft-cited in this study) and Virginia Bainbridge's study of nearby Cambridgeshire, the failure to address such questions in a more avowedly comparative and theoretical way could be said to be a missed opportunity.

The ensuing case studies similarly do little to answer these questions, although to the author's credit there is much else of interest in these chapters, which look at the guilds in Wymondham and Swaffham as examples of 'urban' settlements, and then Bardwell and Cratfield, two Suffolk villages. Guild and parish are seen as interdependent, particularly in the urban context, where the cult of saints was maintained and fostered through the efforts of the guilds, rather than at the instigation of the churchwardens. Here it seems that much of the activity in parish churches was 'decentralised', in that the maintenance of lights, images and certain chapels was the responsibility of guilds rather than the parish authorities. As in larger urban centres, such as Norwich and London, the guilds exercised a degree of independence, although their location within the physical spaces of parish churches meant that co-existence and co-operation were, to some degree, essential.

The final chapter charts the fortunes of the guilds immediately before and

during the Reformation. Evidence is again a problem, but it is possible to detect the effects of some of the restrictions imposed on the guilds in the run-up to the Chantry Act of 1548. The 1538 ban on lights before images seem to have been observed by most of the guilds surveyed here, with the exception of St Peter's guild in Bardwell, which seems to have acquiesced only reluctantly. Overall, the evidence suggests that despite these challenges to their practices, the popularity of the guilds ensured that there was 'no sudden collapse in guild activity ... but a gradual process of dissolution'. A related section usefully discusses the broader background to the foundation – and failure – of guilds throughout this period, not just in the years immediately preceding 1548. Farnhill suggests, not unreasonably, that social and economic changes – as well as changes in religious fashions – could militate against the survival of guilds. In his view, therefore, the failure of some guilds in the early sixteenth century should not automatically be taken as an indicator of lack of enthusiasm. Once again, though, this chapter could have gone further. How far, for instance, did the destruction of the guilds at the Reformation affect the ways in which men and women were able to express their piety, their ability to commemorate the departed and to act collectively in their localities?

This book makes a worthy attempt to explore the functions and fortunes of guilds in a part of the country where they were a remarkably popular, and durable, form of association. It is meticulously researched, and the author is careful throughout to acknowledge the limitations of some of his source material. It thus forms a useful addition to the literature on the subject and provides a further case study for those seeking to push the arguments and debates somewhat further than is attempted here. The relationships between guilds and parishes remain something of a mirage, a fact that stems as much from the variety of 'solutions' arrived at in particular localities as it does from the evidential problems. The tight focus of the book is both a strength, but also a weakness, particularly given the wider relevance of many of the issues with which he is grappling. Consideration of selected evidence from Lynn, or indeed Norwich, might have allowed for some firmer conclusions and, perhaps more importantly, an appreciation of the full span of guild activity, and their place in the wider networks of politics and social relations. The omission entirely of craft guilds is also to be regretted, in the sense that they too had links with parishes, and indeed often sprang from roots as parish guilds themselves: in some urban centres, for instance, membership was sought and obtained by people outside the ranks of the particular craft, another indicator of the popularity of this form of association. Finally, it is perhaps a pity that more was not made of the abundant evidence for the religious convictions and attitudes displayed by the guilds and their members through their devotion to patron saints, embracing of fashionable cults, and organisation of religious services. True, this book is an important corrective to the notion that guilds somehow

existed in isolation from wider social and economic patterns, or that they did not have significant economic functions in their own right. However, in an effort to emphasise their undoubted 'function and flexibility' there is a danger of underplaying an important, and indeed fundamental, aspect of their existence.

MATTHEW DAVIES

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## 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

John D. Austin, *Merevale and Atherstone: 1485. Recent Bosworth Discoveries*. 2004. Published by The Friends of Atherstone Heritage, White Heart Heritage Centre, Long Street, Atherstone, Worcs., CV9 1 AX. £4.95. ISBN 0-9538532-1-7

A seventy-page 'sourcebook' providing pieces of information, factual and fictional, many of them local and supporting the most recent theory on the battle's location.

Sir John Baker, *The Oxford History of the Laws of England*, volume 6, 1483-1558. 2003. 964 pages. Oxford University Press, £125. ISBN 0-19-825817-8

Contents include the Constitution (including the devolution of the crown), the Courts, Civil Procedure and Pleading, the Legal Profession and its Learning, Criminal Law, and the Laws of Property, Torts and Contract. Indices of persons and subjects.

Jean-Marie Cauchies, ed., *Publication du Centre européen d'études bourguignonnes (XIV<sup>e</sup>-XVI<sup>e</sup> s.)*, number 43, 2003, *Rencontres de Chalon-sur-Saône (26-29 septembre 2002)*, 'Autour d'Olivier de la Marche', contains articles by sixteen authors on the life and work of the chronicler, including court life at the time and, for example, music for the Feast of the Pheasant (1454).

Jean-Marie Cauchies, ed., *Publication du Centre européen d'études bourguignonnes (XIV<sup>e</sup>-XVI<sup>e</sup> s.)*, number 44, 2004, *Rencontres de Malinas (25-27 septembre 2003)*, 'Marguerite d'York et son temps', contains articles by twelve authors, commemorating the life of Margaret of York on the occasion of the quincentenary of her death. All items relate to Margaret of York but the following items may be of particular Ricardian interest:

Paul de Win, "Danse macabre" autour du squelette de Marguerite d'York', translated in the present issue of *The Ricardian*;

S. Cassagnes-Brouquet, 'Edouard, Richard et Marguerite: les princes de la maison d'York et les artistes flamands en Angleterre', pp. 137-50, an overview of cultural relations between England and Burgundy.

L. Visser-Fuchs, 'Edward IV's grants of privileges to people and places in the Low Countries, 1472-1478', pp. 151-68, concerns those granted to Louis de Bruges, Lord of Gruuthuse, Hendrik van Borselen, Lord of Veere, Peter Bladelin, Lord of Middelburg in Flanders, and Margaret of York herself and her town of Malines.

Both volumes are available from Prof. J.-M. Cauchies, Facultés universitaires Saint-Louis, Boulevard du Jardin botanique 43, B-1000 Brussels, Belgium, c. €30. Off-prints of the article on Edward IV can be obtained from Livia Visser-Fuchs, Faas Eliaslaan 43, NL-3742-AS Baarn, Holland, €1.

R.H. Helmholz, *The Oxford History of the Laws of England*, volume 1, *The Canon Law and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction from 597 to the 1640s*. 2003. 693 pages. Oxford University Press, £125. ISBN 0-19-825897-6

Includes a history of the church and canon law in England from the Anglo-Saxons to Elizabeth, and chapters on Civil Procedure and the Law of Proof, Monetary Obligations and Economic Regulation, Testamentary Law and Probate Legislation, Marriage and Divorce, Defamation and Crimes and Criminal Procedure. Indices of persons and subjects.

Derek Keene, Arthur Burns and Andrew Saint, editors, *St Paul's: The Cathedral Church of London 604-2004*. 2004. 448 pages; illustrated. Yale University Press, New Haven and London, £65. ISBN 0-300-09276-8

Extensively illustrated collection of articles giving an overview of the cathedral's history and role within the city and the nation, as well as (before 1550): its saints' cults and liturgy; its endowment, estates, income, dean and clergy; its tombs, fraternities and chantries.

Ruth Kennedy, editor, *Three Alliterative Saints' Hymns: Late Middle English Stanzaic Poems*. Early English Text Society, Original Series 321, 2003. 120 pages. Oxford University Press, £40. ISBN 0-19-722324-9

The St Katherine Hymn, by the Carmelite Robert Spalding of the Stamford Convent, was probably produced for the guild of St Katherine in that town c. 1399; it exists in a fifteenth-century prayer roll, probably made for display. The fourteenth-century St John the Evangelist's Hymn survives in the Anthology made c. 1450 by Robert Thornton of Rydale (d. 1469). The late fourteenth-century St John the Baptist Hymn is one text in a book of religious writings made probably near Peterborough by a professional scribe. The editor discusses sources and suggests a connection between alliterative verse and dramatic texts; extensive notes and glossary.

Shannon McSheffrey and Norman Tanner, editors, *Lollards of Coventry, 1486-1522*. 361 pages; illustrated. Camden Fifth Series Volume 23, 2003. Cambridge University Press for the Royal Historical Society, University College London, Queen St., London WC1 6BT. £45. ISBN 0-521-83083-4

An heretical community in Lichfield diocese, well-documented by a court book, Foxe's martyrologies and civic annals. Latin texts with facing-page translations. Introduction analyses evidence for recruitment, meetings and beliefs, long careers of some Lollards, procedures and pressures used by clergy, and the rarity of Lollards giving testimony against others. Social background found to be artisan (a third women) with an average age of forty; a double standard in use meant that the possession of devotional works in English by one of the lower class was construed as heretical. Despite the campaign of March 1486 by Bishop Blyth (d. 1503), when eight convicts recanted in the usual public rituals, Lollards continued in Coventry. Later campaigns covered were 1511-12 and 1520-22.

Anne M. Scott, *Piers Plowman and the Poor*. 2004. 272 pages. Four Courts Press, Dublin, £55 (hbk). ISBN 1-85182-725-0

An attempt to describe the medieval understanding of poverty using *Piers Plowman* as a constant commentary.

Sheila Sweetinburgh, *The Hospital in Medieval England: Gift-giving and the Spiritual Economy*. 2004. 240 pages. Four Courts Press, Dublin, £55 (hbk).

ISBN 1-85182-794-3

Gifts were exchanged for prayers; the prayers of the poor and sick were especially valuable currency. A national view complemented by particular case studies.

Tim Tatton-Brown and Richard Mortimer, editors, *Westminster Abbey: the Lady Chapel of Henry VII*. 2003. 366 pages. Illustrated. The Boydell Press, an imprint of Boydell and Brewer Ltd, Woodbridge, £ 50. ISBN 1-84383-037-X

Articles on all possible aspects of the Lady Chapel, before and after Henry VII rebuilt it, by leading authorities including: Barbara Harvey (the old Lady Chapel), Roger Bowers (musicians and liturgy), Margaret Condon (Henry's piety, propaganda and his will), Christopher Wilson (functional design), Tim Tatton-Brown (building history), Julian Munby and Charles Tracy (roofs and chapel stalls), Philip Lindley (sculpture). Reveals what Henry VIII never finished and describes the recent restoration work.

## ARTICLES

Richard Brown, 'The ecclesiastical patronage of the bishops of Winchester, 1282-1530', *Southern History*, volume 24, 2002, pages 27-44.

The first study of the clerical appointments, so important to the spiritual welfare and education of the laity, within a bishopric. Describes Winchester's vast resources, including 101 parishes, as well as its limitations, the need to expand its foundations, and the effect of royal and papal intrusion. Analyses of rate of replacement, the fashions for exchange and appropriation, and also of the recipients, both ordinary clerics and careerists, and the increased interest in education and preference of graduates. A table of collations.

Lesley Ann Craig, 'Royalty, virtue and adversity: the cult of Henry VI', *Albion*, volume 35, 2003, pages 187-209.

Including a summary of the literature and opinions, this article attempts to explain the popularity of this cult not only by reference to Henry's real character, but more importantly to the notion of a royal saint in adversity, while discounting Tudor political input. The 174 recorded miracles are used to define the geographical spread of the cult; and also to explain the well-known woodcut. Illustrated.

Lesley Ann Craig, '"Stronger than men and braver than knights": women and the pilgrimages to Jerusalem and Rome in the later middle ages', *Journal of Medieval History*, volume 29, 2003, pages 153-75.

Contradicts assumption that female pilgrims were rare on the longer routes; defines the position of pilgrims in general, their need for wealth and the permission of their superiors to travel; widows as a consequence were the most frequent female pilgrims. Women met and 'solved' the problems caused by male resentment of their gender, class and age, with conformity and silence, acceptance of worse travelling conditions and unofficial exclusion from some shrines (as unclean), by travelling together under the 'protection' of a noblewoman, their care of sick male pilgrims, and by their exceptional piety.

Mary Erler, 'Fifteenth-century owners of Chaucers' work: Cambridge, Magdalene College MS Pepys 2006', *The Chaucer Review*, volume 38, number 4, 2004, pages 401-14.

The two parts of this manuscript were probably joined by Pepys; they both contain copies of Chaucer's works. This is an attempt to locate two men who put their names on the pages, their families and connections: the John Kyriel, a prisoner in France for twenty-six years, who lived to take part in the 1475 Expedition and died 1483; and William Fettyplace, mercer of London, who died 1524. Both

families were of Kent with members moving between the gentry and mercantile classes.

John A. Goodall, 'The use of the rebus on medieval seals and monuments', *The Antiquaries Journal*, volume 83, 2003, pages 448-471.

Survey and analysis of rebus on seals and brasses, with black and white illustrations, a list of known rebus 1164 to 1569 and an index of motifs.

Ralph Griffiths, 'The island of England in the fifteenth century: perceptions of the peoples of the British Isles' *Journal of Medieval History*, volume 29, number 3, September 2003, pages 177-200.

Survey of the views, of both other inhabitants of the islands and of foreigners, on Scotland, England, Wales and Ireland, including the tensions and prejudices that prevailed.

Philippa Hardiman, "'This litel child, his litel book": narratives for children in late-fifteenth-century England', *Journal of the Early Book Society*, volume 7, 2004, pages 51-66.

Nursery rhymes, school-books, courtesy books are the obvious ones, but the evidence for narrative texts is hard to find. The author selects, for example, a 'Life of St Katherine' without the martyrdom – so it has a happy ending – and makes a case for Caxton's small books, which may well have been meant for children and sold cheaply and separately, even though they usually survive in composite volumes.

John Hatcher, 'Understanding the population history of England 1450-1750', *Past and Present*, number 180, August 2003, pages 82-130.

A clear exposition of the Cambridge Group's proposals for a system of population trends, unique to England, where fertility levels dominate (age at marriage driven by living standards) and there is a strict relationship between population and economic resources; this was based on post 1541 data and has been widely accepted since 1985. The article is largely devoted to revealing the flaws in methods and reasoning; and on the way points out the failure of the fifteenth century to fit into this system with its low to falling population and high living standards. Places emphasis on the role of mortality (e.g. high levels between 1457 and 1485 and through to 1520s).

Shelagh Mitchell, 'Richard II and the broomscod collar: new evidence from the issue rolls', *Medieval England II*, edited C. Given-Wilson, Woodbridge 2002, pages 171-80.

Meticulous detail on the use of livery collars (used by the duke of Lancaster but not Edward III or Richard II), badges and devices, and the habits of particu-

lar kings and nobles. Richard II's penchant for badges (rose in splendour, white hart) for his own adornment and how these were later used by him as livery badges from 1387, particularly the latter from 1390. Concentrates on Richard's personal collars of textile or metal, often with mottoes, notably the collar of broomscods (the French livery of his new wife) in the Wilton Diptych, for which £40 was paid to Drew Barentyne, goldsmith of London, in 1398.

Richard J. Moll, 'Gower's *Cronica tripartita* and the Latin glosses to Hardyng's *Chronicle*', *Journal of the Early Book Society*, volume 7, 2004, pages 153-158.

Corrects M.B. Parkes' conclusion that the *Vox clamantis* and the *Cronica* circulated among a small group of Gower's friends, and proves that the scribe of Hardyng's *Chronicle* in BL MS Lansdowne 204 and Hardyng himself knew and used the *Cronica* – but not the *Vox*.

Raymond A. Powell, 'Margery Kempe: an exemplar of late medieval piety', *The Catholic Historical Review*, volume 89, number 1, January 2003, pages 1-23.

Counters the ambivalent attitudes of modern historians towards Margery, and shows her as neither individualistic nor eccentric but part of a pietistic tradition, which urged her to imagine Christ's life in realistic detail (e.g. Love's *Mirror*). Puts her foibles in context and suggests her book was a conscious promotion of her own 'cult' as a suffering future saint, 'Margery of Lynn'.

Wendy Scase, 'Writing and the "poetics of spectacle": political epiphanies in *The Arrivall of Edward IV* and some contemporary Lancastrian and Yorkist texts', in J. Dimmock, J. Simpson, Z. Zeeman, eds, *Images, Idolatry and Iconoclasm in Late Medieval England*, Oxford 2002, pages 172-184.

Relates the *Arrivall*, and particularly the 'miracle' of the image of St Anne, to the 'choreographed' royal entries and court spectacles of the period.

Harry Schnitker, 'Margaretha van York en Cecily Neville: politiek en heiligenverering in de Nederlanden en East Anglia', *Handelingen van de Koninklijke Kring voor Oudheidkunde, Letteren en Kunst van Mechelen*, volume 105, 2001, pages 81-96.

Puts in perspective the religiosity usually assumed to be so dominant in the lives and libraries of Margaret and Cecily and emphasises the political aspects of their devotion to various saints.

Harry Schnitker, "'Een bibliotheek ontsloten.'" Nieuw licht op de boekenrij van Margaretha van York', *Handelingen van de Koninklijke Kring voor Oudheidkunde, Letteren en Kunst van Mechelen*, volume 106, 2002, pages 265-288.

A fresh look at various aspects of Margaret's 'library': she did not merely have religious books; why did she have only French books when she spoke four languages; how does her collection fit into the cultural trends of England

and Burgundy and where does it overlap with Burgundian urban literary fashions of the time.

Ruth Wilcock, 'Local disorder in the Honour of Knaresborough, c. 1438-1461 and the national context', *Northern History*, volume 41, number 1, March 2004, pages 39-80.

Knaresborough is a duchy of Lancaster honour well-served by records. The contribution of leading families to the rising tide of disorder (e.g. the Fitzhughs, Gascoignes, Percies and Nevilles) and of poverty and famine among the lower ranks, are assessed. Archbishop Kemp's high-handedness is seen as provocation before 1452, with Sir William Plumpton in opposition. Detailed rehearsal of the crimes and confrontations -- from local battles to bow-making in the forest -- which increased through the 1440s and '50s until 1461 when the spoils went to the Nevilles. Tables.

## 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 notes 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)0, p. 48.

Anyone interested in taking display advertisement space -- full, half or quarter page -- should contact the Editor.

Contributions for the 2006 issue of the *Ricardian* should be sent to Dr Anne F. Sutton, 44 Guildhall Street, Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk IP33 1QF. Further advice on presentation may be obtained from the Editor.

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*Lynda Dennison.* An independent researcher and Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. Currently compiling an 'Index of Images in English Manuscripts from the Time of Chaucer to Henry VII in Oxford College Libraries'.

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*Lynda Pidgeon*. Member of the Society since 1981. BA(Hons) History, University of Reading, 2003. Currently working on a part-time MA in Medieval Studies, continuing to look at the Wydevile family.

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*Theron Westervelt* completed his PhD on William Lord Hastings and the governance of Edward IV. He works at the Library of Congress in Washington DC.

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