

Book Reviews

LOLLARDY AND ORTHODOX RELIGION IN PRE-REFORMATION ENGLAND: Reconstructing Piety. Robert Lutton. 2006. Royal Historical Society, Studies in History, New Series, Boydell & Brewer, Woodbridge, £45.00. ISBN 0-86193-283-8.

The revisionist view that the institutions and practices of orthodox religion remained unfalteringly popular with the English laity until their transformation at the Reformation has come to predominate in both late medieval and early modern historiography. In this well-argued book the author takes issue with a key cornerstone of the revisionist position, namely, that the English parish, as portrayed by Eamon Duffy in *The Voices of Morebath*, was a monolithic community of orthodox worshippers with a strong corporate identity and an unquestioning faith in the traditional institutions of the Church. Lutton's study of the parish of Tenterden in the Kentish Weald forms a deliberate counterpoint to Duffy's remarkable evocation of the unified expression of religious belief found in one rural Devon community. The difference is more than one of sources, although it is significant that Duffy draws chiefly upon churchwardens' accounts, while Lutton relies primarily upon a close reading of testamentary wills, where he finds a range of subtly varying attitudes to traditional religion over the period *circa* 1475-1530.

Lutton's introductory chapter sets out the historiographical context before establishing the premise that underpins his analysis, namely that family and kinship networks were the most important conduits for the transmission of religious piety in Tenterden, not the parish community. Next he ably describes the atypical parish of Tenterden. It enjoyed Cinque Port status and relative autonomy from its (monastic) manorial lord and had a dispersed settlement pattern, and a woodland and ship-building economy. There were two centres of worship – the parish church of St Mildred and the chapel at the port of Small Hythe – and it experienced rising prosperity during this period.

The second chapter focuses on the piety of the twenty-three Tenterden families who left at least three testamentary wills. Particularly useful is the topic-by-topic examination of types of bequests and comparisons with the findings of other local studies (of Colchester, Bury St Edmunds and Norwich). Lutton finds that the bequests associated with traditional religious observances – that is, chantry foundations, Trental masses and gifts to monasteries and friaries – were decreasing in popularity in the late fifteenth and (especially) the early sixteenth centuries. In place of chantries, bequests for obits became increasingly common; they were cheaper and provided for a greater degree of

lay participation. Similarly, devotion to the cult of saints (in the form of bequests to lights before images and altars) was limited largely to saints of local civic or occupational symbolic importance. Rather, it was the enthusiasm for a new form of pious devotion – the votive mass of the Holy Name of Jesus – which is most striking. Lutton attributes its popularity to a growing humanist emphasis on the primacy of the Scriptures, a focus on Christ as the sole intercessor and, to a lesser extent, the humanity of Christ. The mass appealed in particular to the most upwardly socially-mobile families, whom Lutton terms ‘parsimoniously pious’.

After a chapter on the austere chapel of St John the Baptist in Small Hythe, which became, in effect, a chapel of ease for this increasingly populous and prosperous hamlet, Lutton develops further his concept of parsimonious piety. It was characteristic of certain increasingly-important Tenterden families, many of whom worshipped at this chapel. Their rising prosperity relied upon the successful redistribution of their economic resources (chiefly for capital investments in crafts and trade) to benefit each succeeding generation, which is partly why, in the late fifteenth century, they did not patronise the more traditionalist orthodox devotions and institutions. Clearly, however, the Jesus mass, in conjunction with forms of charitable and civic giving, held a special appeal for these families, who tended to intermarry.

It is not until the final chapter that what was surely an important influence on parsimonious piety in Tenterden – the Lollard heresy – is brought into play. Lutton undoubtedly delayed its introduction until after he had established that late medieval piety was in the process of change independent of Lollard influences, but the sect unquestionably played some part. Heresy had taken root in Tenterden and its surrounding villages by the 1420s, and although it disappeared around 1450, it had resurfaced by 1511 when a burgeoning network was uncovered during an archiepiscopal visitation. As to whether Lollardy experienced a revival or had merely continued undetected in the intervening years, Lutton argues successfully for both, pointing to suggestions of continuity in certain families, and a broad similarity in the beliefs of the earlier and later groups, while the trial depositions reveal that the Tenterden Lollards were winning new converts from the 1480s. Significantly, the rather moderate form of Lollardy practised in Tenterden does not appear to have been actively opposed by the other parishioners, although the evidence is ambiguous. The Lollards conformed outwardly and met nocturnally in secret, but informants referred to Lollards who talked in the churchyard during the service, and to many others who remained in church during the procession. Lutton suggests that these ‘others’ may have been the orthodox parishioners of the less traditional variety whom he has endeavoured to describe in this book. Certainly, Lollardy appealed to some of the same upwardly-mobile Tenterden families whose members patronised the Jesus mass, signifying that these were

merely two variations in the shifts in orthodox piety occurring in the years prior to the Reformation.

Finally, in his conclusion Lutton assesses the ramifications of his study for our understanding of late medieval and Reformation lay piety, and offers helpful suggestions as to the direction of future studies. It is difficult to make any major criticisms of this intelligent book. It is well written and thoughtful; Lutton has exploited his sources to the full and mastered a large body of secondary literature. One small quibble is the misnomer of the title which omits the word 'Tenterden' and suggests that the subject is much wider than the intensely local study that it is, even if its implications go far beyond that parish.

MAUREEN JURKOWSKI

THE SENSES IN LATE MEDIEVAL ENGLAND. C.M. Woolgar. 2006.
Yale University Press, London, £25.00 (hbk). ISBN 0-300-11871-6.

This is a fascinating book of two distinct halves, which has clearly developed from the author's previous work on the great household. Firstly it is a study of how medieval people understood and used their five senses, that is, vision, hearing, smell, taste and touch. C.M. Woolgar draws on a wide variety of sources, literary texts, household records, material objects and buildings, as he devotes a chapter to each of the senses, all of them extensively illustrated. Medieval people understood the senses in ways very different from our own approach. All the senses were given by God, but each could be diverted by the devil towards sin, and the snares of the senses and attempts to limit their influence formed a major strand in religious thought. To take the example of touch, for them it had not just a physical dimension, but moral and spiritual qualities which might be passed on; the touch of a holy man conveyed virtue and so, after death might his tomb. Kissing objects implied reverence. The importance of touch on occasions such as declaring fealty, touching for the king's evil, handfasting and oath-taking was balanced by the perils of touching women, for example; beatings were a popular form of punishment and scourging, the wearing of hair shirts and other mortifications of the flesh could be imposed as penance or self-inflicted to avoid the temptation of sensuality.

In a world which was very much quieter than ours, sound took on an additional importance within a Christian framework, when most people heard rather than read the word of God. The greater height of new Gothic churches gave increasing attention to sonorousness and amplification, while the resonance of secular halls was muted by hangings, cushions and other soft furnishings. Silence at mealtimes added to the formality of the occasion, particularly in contrast to the noise of the kitchen. The solace of birdsong was

a popular literary motif, and for many the time of day was measured by bells ringing for services; they also believed that the force of sound from consecrated bells kept demons away, hence the tolling of bells for the dead and the frequent use of hand-bells in funeral processions. From the thirteenth century debates on the nature of the world changed with the availability of a full translation of Aristotle's works from the Greek and the importance of medicine and physiology became more widely known through the translations of Arab medical works.

The second half of the book comprises three chapters exploring how the senses impacted on the perceptions and lifestyles of three different groups: the episcopate, queens of England and the aristocracy. Bishops were expected to live modest, self-denying lives, subjugating the senses as far as possible, in order to allow total study of sacred texts and other higher concerns. Some, like Archbishop Edmund of Abingdon, and Bishop Thomas Cantilupe of Hereford, achieved this, their private lives often a stark contrast to the episcopal lifestyle which echoed that of secular lords and by the fifteenth century produced manor houses such as that of Dogmersfield which was considered a fitting place for Henry VII and Prince Arthur to first meet Catherine of Aragon. The examples of the queens on which Woolgar concentrates are Eleanor of Castile, Isabella of France and Philippa of Hainault, for whom some of the best records survive. The secluded chambers of the queen's apartments, occupied by a small group of high-ranking women offered a singular opportunity for visual and sensual display, both in clothing, jewels and perfumes and cosmetics and in the furnishings which surrounded the ladies, and the arrangements for their cleanliness, an attribute much emphasised. In the chapter on the aristocratic household, he dwells almost exclusively on the early sixteenth century, drawing on three books of household regulations, one probably Neville, the others Percy, but almost certainly modelled on the court and not really relevant for any but a handful of the richest peers.

Woolgar uses the term 'late middle ages' to cover the period 1150 to 1550. In the chapters on the senses, most examples are from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, few from the fourteenth and even fewer from the fifteenth. While there is little in the book that is specifically Yorkist (and an illustration of Princess Cecily wearing purple, a colour reserved for royalty, is confused with her grandmother, the Duchess of York) the whole is a fascinating extension of our understanding of how medieval people lived and perceived their world.

ANNE CRAWFORD

SPECIAL OPERATIONS IN THE AGE OF CHIVALRY, 1100-1550.

Yuval Noah Harari. 2007. Warfare in History Series. The Boydell Press, Woodbridge, £45 ISBN 1-84383-292-5.

In the summer of 1423 the castle at Cravant (*dépt.* Yonne, France) was re-taken by the Anglo-Burgundian army after two Burgundian soldiers had talked their way into the main tower by promising the three guards – former friends of theirs – ‘the best cake they had ever eaten’. Once inside they seized some weapons, overpowered the guards as well as the girl friends who had joined them for dinner, and eventually were able to open the gates to their own troops.

This story is not told in the book reviewed here, but it could have been included as it presumably qualifies as a ‘special operation’: a combat operation, limited as to area, time and the number of people involved, but intended to achieve major results and employing unconventional and covert methods. Such operations could be aimed at castles and bridges, etc., or at the enemy’s weapon potential – not very common in the medieval period – or at people or symbols vital to the enemy’s morale. The author argues that the chivalric code of honour presented some problems to the execution of such operations, especially ‘foul’ deeds such as assassination, and has always influenced the attitude of commanders (and public opinion?).

After ‘An analytical overview’, containing many brief examples to clarify his general discussion of the subject, the author focuses on six cases in detail. Three are from the crusading period: the betrayal of the city of Antioch in 1098, which turned the First Crusade into a ‘success’ and without which the later crusades would not have taken place; the expedition to save Baldwin II, King of Jerusalem, from his prison deep in enemy territory, in 1123; and the assassination of Conrad of Montferrat at Tyre, a week before he was going to be crowned king of Jerusalem in 1192. This last case allows the author to have a common sense look at the famous ‘assassins’, the Nizaris, a radical, millenarian sect, whose objective was to spread their own beliefs, in the course of which they murdered mainly Sunnite Muslims but also many others. They were adept at taking on different disguises – even allowed themselves to be baptised Christians if necessary – and learning many languages; they were willing to wait months or even years while infiltrating the very household of their target. Whatever the rumours spread about them, it is unlikely they could be ‘hired’ for other purposes than their own. The fourth example given is the French attempt to re-capture Calais in 1350, shortly after it had been first taken by Edward III. It foundered in a web of dealing and double-dealing, but the final recapture of the town by the French in 1558 involved a plan very similar to the one that had failed two centuries earlier. Fifteenth-century operations are represented by the plots and counter-plots, killings and kidnappings,

successful or not, of the French kings and the Burgundian dukes, such as the famous 'Rubempré affair', in which Louis XI of France is supposed to have planned kidnapping Charles of Charolais, the future Charles the Bold, at Gorinchem in Holland, which was to be followed by the abduction of his father, Philip the Good, from his residence at Hesdin. It failed and its main result was that Charles and Philip were reconciled after having been engaged in a generation conflict for years.

Finally, the destruction of the mill at Auriol, near Marseille, in 1536, by a small French force under Blaise de Monluc, who became famous as a memorialist. The mill had to be put out of action because it was the only one still available to Emperor Charles V and vital for the feeding of his invading army. This late example was partly included by the author to show that the introduction of gunpowder had not had any great impact on the way special operations were executed: laying explosive charges and disappearing into the night before they were fired was not yet an option.

Every sample is embedded in a detailed, helpful description of the political situation and all the options open to the commanders, and the motives of the actual 'executors', which led them to take such risks. Though academically sound and with proper (end)notes and bibliography, this book is also meant for the general reader and is well and pleasantly written. The fifteenth-century chapter seems to be slightly 'sensationalised' – for example Charles the Bold's 'signs of insanity' – but that is only to be expected when Philippe de Comines is an important (and inevitable) source, and some very underhand and un-chivalric 'special operations' were indeed undertaken by both sides.

LIVIA VISSER-FUCHS

WOMEN IN ENGLAND IN THE MIDDLE AGES. Jennifer Ward. 2006. Hambledon Continuum, London and New York, £30, (hbk).

ISBN 1-85285-346-8.

Dr Ward is already well-known as an authority on medieval English women of the nobility and gentry, but here she spreads her net wider, taking in both peasants and the urban classes. She also extends her timeframe back as far as 500 and ends her study in 1500. During that period the face of England was transformed; how far the lives of women, their expectations and their concerns also changed is the subject of her study. The two periods of greatest change were late twelfth/early thirteenth centuries when the church developed its teachings on mass, marriage and how to live a Christian life, teachings which were spread by the growth in numbers of parish churches and the religious orders. This movement was complemented by the growth of common law and manorial custom with their rules for dower and the guardianship of children.

The second period of great change was the general economic improvement after the Black Death in the late fourteenth century, when women as well as men benefited from the rise of employment opportunities in the growing towns.

The subject matter falls into three parts, the first covering the lifecycle of marriage, motherhood, widowhood and work, the second dealing more specifically with the experiences of queens, noblewomen and religious women, and the third with charity and lay religion and with death. Many of the chapters cover somewhat familiar ground, though the addition of Anglo-Saxon examples, particularly in the chapter on queens, enrich them. In many ways the most interesting chapters are those on work and charity, areas less covered in Dr Ward's previous work. Every woman worked in some form or another, even the most noble had the managerial responsibility for her household, its health and welfare and the provision of hospitality by which it was judged, and in the absence of her husband, for the direction of the officials who managed their estates. Small wonder that most widows were quite capable of managing their own affairs. For less privileged women, much of their time was taken up with childcare and housework, but they also helped their husbands with farming, marketing or craftwork, probably areas in which they had worked before their marriage. While the largest number of young women were found in domestic service in smaller households, in towns and cities they could and did work at most trades even as skimmers, saddlers and armourers as well as tailors and hosiers. In most guilds women were permitted to continue their husband's craft. Conditions improved for working women after the Black Death, as they did for men, but the former were harder hit by the recession of the mid-fifteenth century.

In a period when almost everything about women was written by men, there are only two major sources where women express their own thoughts and wishes, albeit filtered through conventional forms, namely letters and wills. While Dr Ward does not make much use of the former, she does draw heavily upon the latter. Their evidences shows that many women possessed relics and psalters, and that even poor women left money to their parish church to pay for lights at altars, while richer ones left jewels, books and cloth to make vestments. The parish guilds and confraternities formed an important part of the social as well as religious life of parishes and although they reflected local social hierarchies, they were a way for everyone to become involved. Wills also reflected women's social networks, particularly in widowhood and old age, because after the primary concern for the fate of their souls and the disposing of their bodies, followed by bequests to their children and natal relations, many left gifts to their servants and friends.

In answer to the question, did the lives of women change during the millennium of this study, the conclusion has to be – not very much. Certainly

their material lives improved as a result of the general rise in living standards, particularly after the Black Death, but for the majority of women life continued to be one of childcare, housework and low status and poorly paid work. In 1500 as in 500 no woman had free disposition of property and they had to conform to their family's arrangements for their marriage or risk social exclusion. Dr Ward's bibliography testifies to the large body of work over the past two or three decades which has illuminated the lives of half of the English population of the middle ages. Her study is a very good summary of that work: it is comprehensive, full of telling examples and supplemented by some interesting illustrations. It is definitely to be recommended.

ANNE CRAWFORD

THE YORK MYSTERY CYCLE AND THE WORSHIP OF THE CITY. Pamela M. King. 2006. Westfield Medieval Studies Volume 1. D.S. Brewer, an imprint of Boydell and Brewer, Woodbridge, £45.

ISBN 1-84384-098-7.

The publication of a monograph on a cycle play is a rare event; one that discusses drama and liturgy together is akin to the sighting of an endangered species. So it should be with a double fanfare that the relaunch of Westfield Medieval Studies is announced – and all the more appropriate that the author of its first title is Professor Pamela King, who was formerly on the staff of Westfield College and a past member of the editorial board.

Much previous commentary on the York Play has focused either on performance issues or on its civic context. By focusing on the influence of worship on the text and the mind-set of those who performed or watched the play, King shows us the play in three dimensions: dramatic, civic, and devotional. She acknowledges that much of the book has already been published elsewhere as separate articles but, unlike many publications that merely gather together a collection of an author's previous writings, often with a tenuous connection, this has been extensively reworked with new material to form a cohesive and engaging whole. The book is divided into a general introduction and four parts, each with its own introduction. Parts 2 and 3 are the most substantial. Although the general introduction is headed 'Civic Drama and Worship', there is relatively little discussion of the basic practice of worship, despite it being the less familiar of the two genres among the younger generation of researchers who will form much of the market for this volume. A reference to, say, John Harper's *Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy* would have been helpful for the liturgically uninitiated, and a route map to the organisation of the book would have been a further useful addition to this introductory chapter.

Rather than taking the reader straight through either the York cycle itself or the liturgical year, King gives special treatment to the church's great festivals. Since the plays were produced on the feast of Corpus Christi which celebrates the fundamental sacrament of the Eucharist, Corpus Christi makes a logical choice for show-casing in Part 1. Here we engage with the background to the plays: the religious and civic networks of late-medieval York, particularly the Guild of Corpus Christi, leading on to the question of Lollardy and Love's *Mirror*. From her involvement in play production King gives the reader a striking sense of how one might perform a scene where the Virgin Mary gives birth on stage with her back to the audience, 'lifting [the baby] above her head with both hands' (p. 24), thereby making a connection with the priest at the elevation of the host at Mass. But, having flagged up the plays as being chiefly about Christmas and Easter, in Part 2 King takes us straight to the boring bit of the liturgical calendar, that is from the period post-Epiphany to the end of Lent. For more on Christmas itself, and for Holy Week and Easter, we wait till Part 3. This organisation of the material means that the reader does not get a feel for the cyclic nature of both drama and liturgy, though to read the play through with the book to hand would bring out less obvious connections and depths that we would otherwise not reach, and this is how I would use it. Meanwhile Part 4 looks at the interactions between church and city in York and how contestations are (or could be) made manifest in the play.

In her introduction to Part 2 King argues that the play cycle (and this applies to the other cycles as much as to York) is not so much biblical as liturgical in organisation: the pageant texts draw heavily on the liturgy, in particular the lections which were read aloud as part of that liturgy during the church's year which itself is mirrored in the play cycle. She explains the relationship of the Bible to liturgy and, importantly, how inherently sacramental and 'paraliturgical' the play is. There are useful tables setting out the various readings and the pageants to which they relate, and a liturgical index arranged, like the tables, in calendar order. The tables show graphically an important point made in the text: that the episodes dramatised are highly selective, the authors using criteria that are typological rather than dramatic.

In the discussion of typology I was slightly puzzled by the use of the word 'anti-type' to mean a person or event displaying opposite characteristics (Eve at the Fall and Noah's wife at the Flood *versus* the Virgin Mary, p. 61) without explanation, rather than the normal meaning of antitype, being New Testament fulfilment of Old Testament foreshadowing 'type'. Or perhaps the hyphen signifies the difference. I personally do not like the use of 'man' and 'mankind'. However, these are but peripheral criticisms in comparison with my great delight in the book as a whole.

The strength and uniqueness of this monograph comes from the way it leads the reader by the hand and introduces him or her to the mysteries of

liturgy through the more accessible play script, demonstrating in the process just how essential liturgical worship was to the people of late-medieval York who brought forth and watched this complex drama.

PENNY GRANGER

THE ORDER OF THE GOLDEN TREE: The Gift-Giving Objectives of Duke Philip the Bold of Burgundy. Carol Chattaway. 2006. Burgundica XII. Brepols, Turnhout, Belgium, € 68. ISBN 2-503-52297-1.

On New Year's Day 1403, not long before his death, Philip the Bold, the first Valois duke of Burgundy, grand-father of Philip the Good, handed out an elaborate jewel, a clasp, to sixty noblemen. No picture of this ornament survives, but it is known to have represented a golden tree, and it is likely that its distribution amounted to the creation of an order. The purpose of this order, which did not survive the death of its founder in April 1404, is the mystery that the present book tries to solve.

As far as can be deduced from the ducal accounts the ornament was a *fermail* – physically something in the nature of a pilgrims badge, but much more costly – containing a tree of gold, set between a lion and an eagle, both in white enamel. There appears to have been a crescent-shaped sapphire underneath the feet of the animals and around the whole a scroll (*roullan*), with the words *en loyauté*. The objects are specified as being of the duke's 'order' (*ordre*) and as such they are unique in the accounts, which mention many similar gifts, often to unnamed recipients. The author argues that the golden tree was not a standard 'device' of Philip the Bold.

The second chapter leads the reader through the many meanings the tree symbol had at the time – particularly in combination with the lion, the eagle and the crescent – from trees that figured importantly at chivalric *pas d'armes* to the golden tree that appears in Christine de Pizan's *La vision*, where it stands for the Trojan royal dynasty from which the kings of France claimed to be descended. Another text by Christine, *Le livre des faits et bonnes moeurs du roi Charles V le sage*, made at the request of Philip the Bold, is also important in the context.

Of potential interest to Ricardians is the exploration of the motto of the order, *en loyauté*, but only the usual sense of the word 'loyalty' is discussed, with a tiny excursion into the meaning 'legal'. Next there is a meticulous survey of the men who received the order, their general status, their position *vis-à-vis* Duke Philip, including a discussion of who did *not* receive the order. Many men and women were presented with New Year's gifts of a similar nature on the same occasion, but *not* with the badge of the Golden Tree. A number of men holding military offices and already sworn to the duke's service were

included among the recipients, suggesting he wished to bind them to him even further, and there were also 'members' about whose loyalty Philip may have had serious doubts, but whom he clearly wanted to influence by his gift.

Finally a detailed look is taken at the occasion on which the order's badges were handed out in the context of other gift-giving occasions and the meaning of gifts generally, but also – most importantly – the political situation, which included the intermittent madness of King Charles VI. The dynastic policy of Duke Philip at this time was very marked: he carefully recorded what each of his three sons would inherit and planned their marriages into the royal family. It was thought, moreover, that the king's brother, the duke of Orleans, was planning a coup in the near future to obtain the crown for himself.

The available evidence suggests that the jewels were not purely decorative and that the order was not meant for a general, 'ordinary' purpose such as defending France against her enemies or going on crusade, but concerned legitimate succession, in the kingdom and in the duchy of Burgundy. The motto implies that a certain commitment over and above the existing obligation to their lord was expected from the 'members', who were mostly of military importance. It is likely that Duke Philip's fears about his influence and position within the kingdom, and concerning the future position of his sons led him to make extra sure of the support of these sixty men. They were honoured with an unusual and expensive – though like all such gifts carefully graded according to rank – jewel which made them members of the unofficial and rather secret Order of the Golden Tree.

All this is convincing and credible. My only regret and/or comment is that the author has turned being systematic into an art form: she tells the reader so often what 'this chapter' or 'this study' is *about* to explore, consider or analyse that it becomes irritating, as is the over-frequent use of the words 'hypothesis' or '(interim) conclusion'. This book is a densely argued, thoroughly researched and mostly very readable presentation of one aspect of medieval political culture; the reader is guided by the impeccable contents and need not be taken by the hand and reminded where he or she has been or is going.

The second half of the book is taken up by the text of the accounts that include the gifts of the order's badge, other references to the order, a list of people receiving New Year's gifts in the same period, a select glossary, and a series of appendices underpinning the conclusions in the text: biographies of the order's members, their relative status, other gifts they received and other data about them, such as their military value. The bibliographical information is presented in four parts: a structure hardly convenient to the user; the index is selective.

Like all volumes of the Burgundica series the book is expensive, densely printed on shiny, heavy paper, which makes it difficult to read and handle. The price and use of this paper are the more puzzling as there is not a single

illustration – in a study that is partly founded on art historical and iconographical research and would presumably have had much to offer.

LIVIA VISSER-FUCHS

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY VI. Identity and Insurgency in the Late Middle Ages. Edited by Linda Clark. 2006. The Boydell Press, Woodbridge, Suffolk. £00.
ISBN 1-84383-270-4.

This latest collection of ten articles, most of which were first given as papers at The Fifteenth Century Conferences held in 2005 and 2006, has the specific theme 'Identity and Insurgency in the Late Middle Ages'. At first sight it is difficult to see how some of them relate either to the theme or to each other. 'Insurgency' is fairly easy to spot, with Grummitt discussing the 'Yorkist' interpretation of Cade's rebellion and Jurkowski Lollardy in Coventry and the revolt of 1431 and 'Identity' in Goodman's article on how myths of national identity were forged in the late middle ages and Ruddick's on who were members of the English nation in the reigns of the first three Edwards. But what connection, if any, can there be between 'Violence and peace-keeping in the English Marches towards Scotland' (Armstrong) and 'Julian and her sisters: female piety in late medieval Norwich' (Hill) or between 'Lydgate's poem to Thomas Chaucer: a reassessment of its literary and diplomatic contexts' (Fernholz and Nuttall) and "'Let's kill all the lawyers': did fifteenth-century peasants employ lawyers when they conveyed customary land?' (Tompkins)?

Each of the articles published here are worth reading in its own right, without need of connection to that common theme. Picking favourites is invidious, because they are all careful and illuminating pieces of research, but it is a reviewer's privilege to do just that. Payling's discussion of the motives of those who sought election to the Commons in Parliament in Henry VI's reign is high politics with low purposes, and should appeal to all. Often it was a case of trying to help a friend raise his ransom or protecting a patron's interests, as might be expected. These personal motives could only be pursued during times of relative political peace, however, and as England slid towards civil war in mid-century, lordship re-asserted itself and national rather than local politics became the key to election as an MP. The composition and role of the knightly class in late-medieval England is still much discussed and so it is very useful to have Scottish comparisons. What do they show? That lineage and martial prowess still mattered but that increasingly, in Scotland as well as in England, administrative ability began to count as much as experience in war. This reflected the needs of the Scottish crown, but the class still kept its identity and was central to the social and political fabric of fifteenth-century Scotland. Lastly, two intriguing propositions, that Thomas Chaucer's circle of

Oxfordshire friends could miss him so badly during one of his absences abroad and that Norwich had quite as many anchorites as it did. Read and discover why.

Yet taking each article separately is to miss the point of the whole, which is surely the importance of identity, be it religious, political or social and economic. Rebellion can be about identity: the way in which it is subsequently interpreted by one side to belabour the other demonstrates the formation of political identity. Religious identity was forged through reciprocal bonds of giving and receiving patronage for personal piety and through collective heretical beliefs that led to rebellion. Local identity rests in bonds of kinship, friendship and lordship, both for the settlement of disputes and election to parliament. If this collection of essays is taken as a whole, the reader will be challenged to think hard about questions of identity, insurrection and language, three of the most important themes in recent historical research in the period. It will genuinely be worth the effort.

J.L. BOLTON

THE BATTLES OF ST ALBANS. Peter Burley, Michael Elliott and Harvey Watson. 2007. Battleground Series – Wars of the Roses. Pen and Sword Books Ltd, 47 Church St., Barnsley, South Yorkshire, £14.99 (pbk).

ISBN 9-7818-4415569-9.

This book covers the two battles fought in or around St Albans in 1455 and 1461. The first of these is usually taken to be the start of the Wars of the Roses. The battles are described competently and in detail, the second in greater detail than the first since the second is a complicated battle taking place in and around St Albans, unlike the first which takes place on the edge and in the centre of the town. The problems, such as why the second battle was fought at St Albans at all, the tactics of the earl of Warwick (the Yorkist commander) and the identification of the actual ground over which the battle was fought are dealt with separately. Here there is a problem since the maps illustrating the second battle are not really adequate for such a complicated engagement. The text needs careful reading to understand the authors' explanations of exactly what happened and a good clear map would have been a help. The first battle is much better served in this respect. There is a summary of the events leading up to each battle and the aftermath to each, taking events up to the battle of Towton, the end of the first phase of the Wars of the Roses.

After the battle descriptions there are chapters describing St Albans at the time of the battle and as it is now with tours of the battle sites. This is a regular feature of the books in this series and is a good idea. It is often difficult to read

the events of the past from what a battlefield looks like now without some help. The last chapter is entitled 'Weapons, Armour and Armies of the Wars'. This seems out of place in a book which is part of a series on the Wars of the Roses since each book in the series can hardly have such a general chapter and discussion of important points about the weaponry, such as the handguns used, and about raising the armies, belongs in the main text. As an Appendix there is a potentially very useful list of names 'mentioned in the ... sources as associated with the battles'. Unfortunately virtually none of the sources are identified in this list which rather negates its use for a historian.

The book is well illustrated with good modern pictures of the battlefields and also contains many pictures of battle re-enactors and their weapons. These latter do not add a great deal to the reader's understanding of events. There are four colour plates, the centre one a splendid full page spread of Graham Turner's picture of the first battle of St Albans. The other two plates would have been better used for larger reproductions of the coloured battle maps which are printed, very small, on the back cover.

In all, this book contains good brief descriptions of the two battles fought at St Albans in the fifteenth century together with a description of how the course of the battles can be followed in the modern town and environs. The authors have used a good range of sources although there are no footnotes, a feature of this series.

PETER HAMMOND

HENRY VII. Sean Cunningham. 2006. Routledge Historical Biographies, London, £10.99 (pbk); £45.00 (hbk). ISBN 0-415-26621-1; 0-415-26628-3 (hbk).

The publication of a new scholarly biography of Henry VII (the first for nearly twenty-five years) is something of a landmark for students of the period. Sean Cunningham's biography, while not without its faults, is a major achievement and should now be recognised as the standard work on the first Tudor king. First, it should be made clear that this is a work of biography, principally about Henry himself and not about the development of the early Tudor polity or about the nature of the government of the realm. The king, therefore, takes centre stage. It is Henry who is portrayed as architect of his regime; similarly, the author suggests that the nature of the early Tudor polity can only be understood through an understanding of the character and aims of the king himself. The book begins with a four-chapter narrative of Henry's life. His formative years in exile are expertly covered, while Cunningham's account of the establishment of the regime, the king's relations with foreign powers, his tribulations with various pretenders to the throne, and the obscure politics of Henry's last decade provide the best narrative we have of the reign to date. A

further seven chapters deal with aspects of the reign thematically, looking at the nature of early Tudor institutions of government, Henry's governance of the realm, the relationship between the government at Westminster and the localities, the church, and a very useful section of Henry's relations with London.

The picture of Henrician government that emerges is one very different to our familiar image of late-medieval England. Cunningham's Henry VII, I suspect, will be more recognisable to scholars of Tudor England (or even continental Europe) than those brought up in the McFarlane tradition of fifteenth-century England. Very early in his reign Henry, we are told, 'felt he had to rule through enforcement rather than consensus' (p. 42). This may seem a curious assertion, given what we know about the importance of aristocratic networks in the successful enforcement of royal justice, lordship and the waging of war. Nevertheless, Henry's suspicion and willingness to develop new methods of government to enforce his authority are recurrent features throughout the book, but the author seems reluctant to take this a stage further and engage with the extent to which Henry's reign transformed the underlying structures by which England was governed. Tudor government appears, by 1500, to have been dictatorial: it had by the 1500s, for instance, 'tipped the balance of Tudor judicial policy towards repression and tyranny' (p. 153). But if this was really the case something monumental had happened to alter fundamentally the nature of the English polity. This is a big issue and something for which the book does not provide a really satisfactory answer. Equally, some may question the extent of the king's ability to personally shape the nature of that polity. We are told that 'it was entirely Henry VII's personality that shaped and directed the course of the reign' (p. 285). To an extent, inasmuch as the king controlled increasing amounts of royal patronage, this is true, but recent work by John Watts and others has drawn attention to the importance of Henry's counsellors (especially lawyers and churchmen) in imparting a different flavour to the reign from its predominantly aristocratic predecessors. Cunningham is, of course, aware of this, but the argument is not sufficiently developed.

This said, there is much in this book to be savoured. Cunningham synthesises existing work by Carpenter, Luckett and others on Henry's relations with the localities and complements this with his own research on Lancashire and Kent. Similarly, he is able to draw on his considerable expertise in the archive to give a nuanced account of the role of obligations, recognisances and bonds in the government of the realm. The book hints at the tensions created in Henry's court and government in the latter years of the reign, as the king, wracked by illness, distanced himself from his servants. The origins of the struggle which came to the fore on the king's death with the execution of Empson and Dudley are traced, although I suspect much more

can be made of the dynamics of political conflict late in the reign (conflict which occurred within the king's court and household circle, rather than, as before, between the king and his supporters on the one hand and supporters of the various Yorkist pretenders on the other).

The late Sir Geoffrey Elton steadfastly refused to write a biography of Thomas Cromwell, stating that the historian 'should not write biography – or at least should not suppose that in writing biography he is writing history' (G.R. Elton, *The Practice of History*, 2nd edn. Oxford 2002, p. 124). Cunningham's *Henry VII* is a brave attempt to combine the narrative style of biography with the analytical style of a history. That said, the book's shortcomings, highlighted above, arise principally from its biographical format. Not all of these are of the author's making: the lack of footnotes will infuriate many scholarly readers, while the at times clumsy inclusion of chapters on church, trade and the defence of the realm smacks of a publisher's *diktat*. Nevertheless, this book shows just how much are our understanding of the king and the reign has come since Stanley Chrimes published his 'biography' (a book in which the king himself was strangely absent) in 1972. Henry remains one of the most elusive and controversial of English kings, but Cunningham has provided a new and most welcome synthesis, and one from which to conduct further research. As such it deserves to be read by everyone interested in the period.

DAVID GRUMMITT

MEDIEVAL SUFFOLK. An Economic and Social History 1200-1500. Mark Bailey. A History of Suffolk, Volume 1. 2007. The Boydell Press, an imprint of Boydell and Brewer, Woodbridge, £25. ISBN 978-184383-315-4.

In 1349 the majority of Suffolk men and women had, for three generations, suffered from poverty and debt. Most of them lacked sufficient land to maintain a subsistence income. By 1500 the county had become one of the success stories of late medieval England. The rate of growth of taxable lay wealth had increased more than four fold, and large areas of south and east Suffolk were among the richest regions in the country. Suffolk could lay claim to perhaps the strongest pastoral economy, at the same time as being the most industrialised and urbanised county in England. Mark Bailey's new volume on *Medieval Suffolk* not only illustrates what changed, but takes up the more daunting challenge of explaining why it changed as it did.

Following the 'Introduction', the book logically divides into two, with six chapters devoted largely to the period before the Black Death and four to the period afterwards. These provide a panoramic view of medieval Suffolk's social and economic history, considering in turn 'Landlords and their estates, 1200-

1349', 'Peasants and their lifestyles, 1200-1349', 'The agrarian economy, 1200-1349', 'The Suffolk landscape, 1200-1349', 'Towns and the urban environment', 'Commerce, crafts and industry', 'Pestilence, rebellion and the decline of villeinage, 1349-1500' 'The rural economy, 1350-1500', "'The world turned upside down': rural society, 1350-1500' and 'Towns, trade and industry, 1350-1500'. A final chapter offers Bailey's stimulating conclusions and his comparison of the two periods.

Notwithstanding the seismic economic shift caused by the Black Death, continuity in Suffolk's medieval history was as important as change. As Bailey says on his penultimate page, 'The factors constraining the development of the Suffolk economy in the thirteenth century were largely those contributing to its development after c. 1350'. In a county of small manors, smallholders and a multitude of small market towns, common people had long enjoyed more personal freedom than many elsewhere. A varied geography endowed them with a diverse resource base. They fished the estuaries and coastal waters, made leather from their cattle and cloth from their sheep. They had to work hard for their living, supplementing meagre returns from the land by income from other occupations. This gave them a sense of independence and enterprise which was to bear rich fruit in the fifteenth century.

In judging the success of pastoral farming in the late middle ages, Bailey asks the reader to consider its development over short periods and individual sectors. In the immediate aftermath of the Black Death, there was growing interest in sheep rearing and dairy farming. However, both wool and dairy prices fell in the fifteenth century, taking much of the profit out of these types of husbandry. Nevertheless, the owners of larger flocks could still rely on economies of scale to make a turn out of sheep, and peasants effectively combined dairy farming and pig rearing on a smaller scale. Commercial rabbit rearing thrived for a while before succumbing to an oversupplied and depressed market. Only stock rearing remained buoyant, and paved the way for Suffolk's intensive dairy farming and stock fattening in the early modern period. Gentlemen and yeomen emerged as the most active and dynamic of agriculturalists, with Bailey stressing their crucial role as 'active dirty boot farmers'.

In seeking the roots of Suffolk's woollen cloth industry, Bailey cites Joan Thirsk – pointing to the high population density, emphasis on pastoral farming, secure tenancies of small holdings and underemployed labour force which characterised Suffolk before the Black Death. As pre-conditions for industrialisation they enabled rapid growth of textile production afterwards. Furthermore, the clothiers of new boom towns such as Hadleigh and Lavenham could call on the pool of expertise that had already developed in earlier urban centres of production, a string of fulling mills and a skilled rural workforce to help make their fortunes. By the end of the middle ages Suffolk

was producing more cloth than any other county in England and feeding a hugely successful export trade. Bailey is, however, anxious to stress that this was not capitalism as we know it. Although the clothiers employed teams of outworkers, there was, as yet, no broad based wage dependent proletariat. The Suffolk cloth industry was 'one of western Europe's prominent false starts along the road to industrial capitalism'.

Among Bailey's stated aims is his wish to contribute to the 'ongoing dialogue between the general and the particular'. He does this by combining a study of 'broad characteristics and general themes', with a closer look at some of the personalities who emerge from the fragmentary medieval records. The world of the lay lord in 1300 is brought to life by focusing on the social circle of Sir William de Pakenham, a knight with a collection of manors in north-west Suffolk, and his more modestly endowed retainers William de Thelnetham and Ralph de Bardwell. The prelude to the Peasants' Revolt is illustrated through events in Lakenheath and the truculence of the local constables, John Carter and John Mayhew. Together with their equally querulous neighbours, they were kicking back at attempts to impose the old regime on new times. The Suffolk cloth industry attracted investment from important London merchants and the contribution of men such as John Stansby, John Motte and John King is given due recognition.

The medieval historians of Suffolk are proud of the work that they have done over the years. Bailey generously acknowledges their contribution to his book, but be in no doubt that most of what he writes stems from his own original research, including his earlier doctoral work on the Breckland. He has produced a coherent, clear and, above all, very readable study of the county's medieval history. Thanks to the generous bequest of Ann Ashard Webb and the professionalism of the Boydell Press, his excellent volume is beautifully produced and available at a relatively modest cost. Hopefully, this will help attract the wider readership it deserves.

NICHOLAS AMOR

THE YORKISTS: The History of a Dynasty. Anne Crawford. 2007. Hambledon Continuum, London, £19.99. ISBN 1-85285-351-4.

This book is an overview of the Yorkist dynasty, straying into Henry VII's reign to include Elizabeth of York. It is an excellent text book for A Level students. The Yorkists are initially put into their context. Chapters then cover individuals although a chapter is dedicated to the influential Neville and Woodville families. It is shrewdly pointed out that, although the Nevilles could initiate Edward IV's policies in his 'first' reign, the Woodvilles could only support them in his 'second' reign.

Dr Crawford's view of the main Yorkist men is conventional. She sees Richard, Duke of York as 'a reasonably competent peer' who failed because he 'could not rise above faction' and lacked insight and judgement. She accuses York of not accepting the olive branch when offered but this is unfair. He did accept it but was denied his rightful place in government. Much of the book is devoted to Edward IV and he is admired despite his shortcomings. He is likened to Charles II: 'Both were sensual cynics, intelligent but lazy, and both were prepared to take large financial handouts from France to maintain their thrones and their independence from taxation.' Conventionally pious, he was not averse to acting against the laws of inheritance when necessary. He had restored peace to the country by 1483 and had re-established the authority and financial autonomy of the crown. Clarence is glossed over as arrogant and greedy although he is credited with some brain and being more than Warwick's puppet.

Dr Crawford's opinion of Richard of Gloucester is positive. She considers him a complex, intelligent and genuinely pious man yet paradoxically she seems convinced that he was a child murderer. Despite accusing him of being grasping in the scramble for the Beauchamp lands in the early 1470s, she does concede that Gloucester was probably no worse than others of his day; a refreshing comment. Indeed Dr Crawford is at pains to point out that Gloucester was a loyal and reliable member of the family; politically strong but a good lord and extravagant, generous benefactor. However, I do wonder if this is just setting the scene to emphasise the unexpected *volte face* in April to June 1483. She blames unwelcome Woodville influence over the new king as a cause for the crisis yet asserts that the Woodville plot was merely a smokescreen for Gloucester's personal ambitions. She believes that Richard was proactively plotting although she hints at Buckingham's influence over the duke. Interestingly though, Dr Crawford sees Antony Woodville, Earl Rivers, too as a ruthless businessman instead of the benign uncle as he is often portrayed. Dr Crawford is correct in stating that there were unprecedented reasons for this usurpation, however, I dispute her assertion that bastardy did not prevent Edward V from being king. She cites William I as the precedent but William became king by conquest, not through natural inheritance. She also attacks Gloucester for stripping young Richard of York of his titles but the dukedom of Norfolk was never rightfully Richard's after Anne Mowbray's death.

Richard III is credited with having the makings of a good king but his reign was overshadowed by the usurpation. Dr Crawford rightly asserts that the 1483 rebellion came about due to loyalty to Edward IV from the southern gentry. The infill of northerners into their posts did little to help Richard's reputation. She takes a sensitive approach to Richard's personal life. She suggests that Richard and Anne must have been close for it to have caused a

sensation when the king stopped sharing her bed in an age when kings and queens regularly slept apart. However, that suspicion fell on Richard regarding Anne's death highlighted the mistrust that the king had provoked. Dr Crawford points out the lack of response to Richard's call to arms against Tudor but, as Paul Murray Kendall highlighted in his biography of Richard, it was the same for Henry Tudor before the Battle of Stoke and, unlike Richard, Henry was married with a son.

Yorkist women are portrayed as strong and taking a role in politics. Cecily actively supported her husband and had a good relationship with Edward both before and after his marriage. Elizabeth Woodville is congratulated on having a successful marriage and being the ideal queen. Dr Crawford, however, seems to toss off the bad reputation Elizabeth acquired due to her twisting of inheritance laws to benefit her family. Of Edward's sisters, Anne and Margaret were both women to be reckoned with: Anne divorced her first husband and Margaret ran Burgundy in her husband's absence and stood firm against Louis XI.

Two issues surrounding Edward IV are treated as appendices. Dr Crawford refutes Dr Michael K. Jones' theory regarding Edward's illegitimacy. Rumours circulating about Edward's illegitimacy she links with Warwick and says Cecily did not collude with Warwick and Clarence at Coventry but tried to affect a reconciliation. Indeed, she points out Cecily's self-description as Edward's mother in her will. The important issue of Edward IV's possible pre-contract of marriage to Eleanor Butler is discussed more briefly. Dr Crawford sees it as unlikely because neither Eleanor nor her family protested when Edward announced his marriage nor again in 1483. However, just how many influential family members did Eleanor have by 1464? Also, why did Stillington too not protest at that time? Maybe neither of them felt confident enough to stand against a powerful and popular king? Dr Crawford's second suggestion that Edward could have gone to the Pope on the quiet to obtain the necessary paperwork to legalise his marriage to Elizabeth is also unlikely. Eleanor herself died not long after the marriage and Edward did not have a male heir to protect until later. This is an issue which really needed exploring and I was disappointed in its superficial treatment.

Overall, I came away feeling that the York family were complex and paradoxical. The women worked to keep the family together, effecting more than one reconciliation but the disharmony between the men caused the downfall of the House of York with the alleged final betrayal by Richard of Gloucester completing that downfall. As Dr Crawford concluded, Henry Tudor did not win the throne of England; the House of York lost it.

JANE TRUMP

A SOCIAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND, 1200-1500. Edited by Rosemary Horrox and W. Mark Ormrod. 2006. Cambridge University Press, £50 (hbk), £22.99 (pbk). ISBN 0-521-78345-3 (hbk); 0-521-78954-0 (pbk).

This volume aims to describe, 'How medieval men and women negotiated the world in which they lived' (p. 479). To that end, its nineteen chapters cover a wide variety of themes, from the central, such as religion and law, to the more modish, embodied in chapters entitled 'The magic universe' and 'Ritual constructions of society'. The value of the individual chapters is, unsurprisingly, largely proportional to the significance of the theme addressed. Four contributions stand out for their quality. Rigby's introductory chapter is an assured and stimulating account of alternative views of the engines of economic and social change. Walker persuasively and elegantly argues for a broadly-positive view of late-medieval developments in the administration of justice. Duffy describes, in masterly fashion, a late-medieval lay piety 'rooted in the concrete, nourished by the sight of images and the touch of relics' (p. 312). Campbell's comprehensive survey of rural life is full of arresting statistics and examples. This high quality is, however, not maintained throughout. The essay on the important theme of social mobility is disappointing in that it does not really engage with the question of how opportunities for advancement varied with the changing economic conditions of the period; and the contribution on war is too brief to accord the subject the importance it deserves. Other essays are diminished by a tendency to dissolve into reflections too self-evident to be worthy of statement. It is hard to know, for example, why one needs to be told, in the discussion of reading and writing, that, with the invention of printing, 'handwriting hardly died out, nor has it' (p. 470); and the remark that, 'all social classes enjoyed and took advantage of whatever free time they had' (p. 292) is a strikingly trite conclusion to the piece on work and leisure. None the less, taken as a whole, this is a useful volume, covering an immense amount of ground, each chapter provided with a bibliography.

SIMON PAYLING

THE LOST PRINCE: The Survival of Richard of York. David Baldwin. 2007. Sutton Publishing, Stroud, £20. ISBN 978-07509-4335-2.

This book is a combined biography of Richard, Duke of York, younger son of Edward IV and 'Richard of Eastwell', until now thought of as the possible illegitimate son of Richard III. David Baldwin attempts to show that these are one and the same person. This is not an easy exercise since the only indisputable fact about Richard of Eastwell is a burial entry in Eastwell parish

register to say that a man named Richard Plantagenet was buried on 22 December 1550.

Baldwin takes as his starting point a long and circumstantial story about this mysterious Plantagenet which first appeared in print in 1735. There are later versions of the story which embellish it in many ways. In essence Sir Thomas Moyle, owner of Eastwell in the mid-sixteenth century discovered that one of his building workers could read and understand Latin and asked how this came about. Plantagenet told him that he was an illegitimate son of Richard III and had been brought up by a nurse and later educated by a clergyman. He met his 'father' only twice, the last time just before Bosworth when Richard said that if he won the battle he would acknowledge him as his son and if he lost Plantagenet should flee, which he did, going to London and becoming a bricklayer.

Baldwin accepts this story without asking why it should be true and why it did not surface for 185 years and finds a number of facts which he claims support it and which link it with Richard of York. His argument is detailed and it is not possible to deal with all of its ramifications in a short review. However, departing from his source Baldwin has Plantagenet go to Colchester rather than London in the years between Bosworth and being in Eastwell. He has him taken there by Lovell who was a man whom Richard could trust to spirit his nephew (as Lovell knew him to be) safely away from Bosworth rather than be left to his own devices to flee as the 1735 account has it.

No proof is put forward to show that Plantagenet was in Colchester, only some facts which can be interpreted in various ways. First of all, for example, that Lovell took sanctuary there. Why flee there Baldwin asks unless he had a particular secret purpose, that is to take Prince Richard to the Abbey of St John's, known to be a refuge for dissident Yorkists. Why too Baldwin asks was Lovell allowed to stay there for six months not the statutory forty days unless he was negotiating with Henry VII for the safety of the prince? Henry is assumed to have known about Richard's survival and indeed visited Colchester frequently to check on him. A novel piece of evidence put forward is that one Eleanor Kechyn, a widow of Colchester, was pardoned for unspecified offences provided that she never went at large for the rest of her life but remained in the custody of her relatives. Baldwin speculates, using a court case, which may have brought her to the attention of Bishop Morton, that she may have become too friendly with Prince Richard and this was a way to prevent her marrying him. Baldwin concludes this part with the remark 'or are we allowing imagination to run away with us'. Indeed.

Of course one major problem with Baldwin's use of the 1735 story is that Richard Plantagenet claimed to be a bastard son of Richard III. Baldwin gets over this by further speculation that Plantagenet decided that it would be better not to admit that he was actually Richard of York but would say that he

was illegitimate, thus making himself no threat to the Tudors. The probable fate of John of Gloucester might show the fallacy in this thinking. Why tell the story at all if he was still unsure if he was safe or not? He could surely have found a less complicated way to explain literacy. As noticed Baldwin departs from his source at several points when he wishes.

In the rest of the book there are chapters covering the known life of Richard of York. The introductory chapter discusses what contemporaries said about the death or possible survival of Prince Richard and goes on to discuss more recent speculation such as that by the late Jack Leslau and the Reverend John Dening who obtained his information on what happened by means of a medium. The book ends with several appendices including a long poetical version of the legend of Plantagenet and an account of the legend of the mediaeval Hopper ring, another unlikely story about a possible mistress of Richard III and dating from the nineteenth century.

To sum up, there is no evidence that the story of Richard of Eastwell is anything other than a pleasant story told to an eighteenth century antiquarian. Its embellishment with increasing detail as time goes on does not prove that the original is not true but it is suggestive of something that is not anchored in anything other than the imagination of the latest teller. Some of the details, for example the first appearance of Richard III has him embellished with the star and garter, the young man being schooled by a clergyman in the country and a 'fine great house' with stately rooms where Richard III first meets his son sound more like details an eighteenth century gentleman would think of rather than something a fifteenth century man would recall. I suggest that the story is a classic example of the 'missing prince' legend, built around the entry in the Eastwell parish register, and has nothing at all to do with Richard of York who may or may not have survived his uncle. The story of Richard of Eastwell in its origins and development is a fascinating one and it is a pity that Baldwin did not tell this but chose instead to pile speculation on speculation in an attempt to prove a theory.

PETER HAMMOND

THE RELIGIOUS HOUSES OF LONDON AND MIDDLESEX

Edited by Caroline M. Barron and Matthew Davies. 2007. The Centre for Metropolitan History and the Victoria County History, London, £20.00 (hbk). ISBN 978-1-905165-12-4.

Until now, anyone wanting a brief authoritative summary of the history of a particular religious house in London would likely turn first to one of two volumes of the Victoria County History – the first volume of VCH *London* or that of VCH *Middlesex*. However, one did this with growing caution, since the

former was published in 1909 and the latter in 1969. Obviously there has been much important historical research published since the first appearance of these invaluable volumes (in his Editorial Preface to the publication under review, Matthew Davies notes that 'St Paul's and Westminster Abbey have been the subject of several thousand books and articles between them'). How could one be sure that the basic fact one was checking – the date of foundation or the name of the prior in 1400 – had not been subject to reassessment? The publications cited in the footnotes were equally out of date, and unreliable as a starting point for further research.

This new publication by the Centre for Metropolitan History and the Victoria County History provides an answer. Accepting that the sixty-five articles on London and Middlesex religious establishments contained in the original VCH *London* I and VCH *Middlesex* I were still of use, while it was simply not feasible to rewrite them from scratch, it was decided to reprint the original text and footnotes along with a new introduction to each article, which would draw attention to more recent published work and note any significant corrections needed to the original. In addition, the lists of 'Heads of Houses' could be corrected.

In the new book the allocation of places to the two old VCH volumes is reflected, with Part I devoted to 'London Houses' and Part II to 'Middlesex Houses'. This is wise, although it perpetuates the anomaly by which Westminster, the Strand and three 'Surrey' houses in Southwark are classed as 'London', while the three great Clerkenwell houses are 'Middlesex'. A map introduces each part: a new map for 'London', the 'Middlesex' map being reproduced from the original VCH volume – the latter demonstrates how few and insignificant (apart from Syon Abbey) were the religious houses of 'outer' Middlesex beyond the City fringes.

Of few entries has the writer of the new introduction been able to say 'there is little to add' (or in one case 'nothing further has been discovered'), and as might be expected these relate to minor and obscure houses. But it is to the credit of the original contributors to the 1909 and 1969 publications how few major *corrections* have been necessary (the recognition that the Pied Friars and the Friars de Areno were one and the same, for example) – mostly the new introductions provide supplementary information and bibliographical references to an expanding literature. Very rarely does the commentator note that the original contributor failed to make use of an already published source that would have been available to them – for example, Jessica Freeman cites a relevant publication by C.L. Kingsford in 1925, not drawn on in the 1969 account of the Hospital of St Giles-in-the-Fields. However, Patricia Croot provides a 'Note on the Middlesex Leper Hospitals' which corrects Marjorie Honeybourne's VCH *Middlesex* articles on these institutions (which drew on her much-cited paper in *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological*

Society, 1963) that concluded that several hospitals had been founded by the City of London, and that hospitals had been deliberately and strategically located around London.

Some twenty-one authors provide the new introductions – a far cry from 1909 when Minnie Reddan single-handedly wrote forty-one of the forty-six 'London' articles (her extraordinary achievement is given due credit here in Matthew Davies's Preface). This reviewer sees no reason to doubt that the new contributions are thorough, comprehensive and authoritative in their coverage (several of the authors cite their own and others' unpublished theses or dissertations).

The contribution of archaeology to our knowledge is acknowledged. Major archaeological reports (including several 'in progress' or 'forthcoming') are cited where appropriate – for example, in the entries for Eastminster (St Mary Graces), St Mary Spital, and St John's Priory, Clerkenwell. However, the contributors do not necessarily note minor archaeological interventions on the sites of smaller religious houses. Those interested in the layout and fabric of particular houses would do well to check for references in J. Schofield and C. Maloney (eds) *Archaeology in the City of London 1907-91* and A. Thompson *et al.* (eds) *Archaeology in Greater London 1965-90* (both Museum of London 1998). Meanwhile, archaeological work is ongoing. In her introduction to the Syon Abbey entry Stephanie Hovland refers to a paper in *Current Archaeology* 2004; since then annual Birkbeck training excavations have continued to add to our understanding of this fifteenth-century Bridgettine foundation.

To these updates, Caroline Barron adds a valuable introductory essay, setting the religious houses of London in their context. She considers the origins and social class of founders of and recruits to London religious houses, and discusses the multiple functions such places had in medieval urban society, their contribution to the communities around them, and their ultimate fate. This essay effectively, and much more appositely, replaces the 'Ecclesiastical History' chapters of the old VCH *London*.

Until recently a reprint like this would have been prepared photographically from pages of the original book. Scanning and digitisation have now allowed the text to be freshly set – the typesetting credited to Olwen Myhill – and the volume has a crisp, clean look to it. However, the only illustrations suffer from rather muddy reproduction, and one must question whether these six nineteenth-century engravings of buildings in the last stages of dilapidation really add anything.

The volume ends abruptly on page 324 with the account of Mile End Hospital. It has no index. Neither did VCH *London*, and the list of religious houses on the Contents pages makes access to individual articles easy enough. An index would have allowed the reader to cross-refer between the articles and identify common trends and themes. Yet an index was probably, given

limitations of time, resources and price, too much to hope for. In spite of this caveat, the editors and publishers have provided us with a valuable reference source at an extremely reasonable price, and have renewed one's faith in the 'old-fashioned' VCH approach.

JOHN CLARK

THE CARTULARY OF ST MARY'S COLLEGIATE CHURCH, WARWICK. Edited by Charles Fonge. 2004. Studies in the History of Medieval Religion. The Boydell Press, an imprint of Boydell and Brewer Ltd, Woodbridge, £65. ISBN 1-84383-107-4.

Those who have read the Rous Roll will know the outlines of this story of the earls of Warwick and their church at Warwick, but, as is well known, John Rous requires amplification and correction. This Cartulary spans nearly five centuries, and the comprehensive introduction of this edition begins by explaining the foundation of the collegiate church of St Mary and All Saints c. 1123 by the second earl of Warwick, in fulfilment of his father's intentions, and by outlining the problematic evidence of the take-over of the endowment of the existing college. Its foundation as a secular college was unusual for its time when monastic foundations were the vogue and the interesting discussion of why this format was chosen by the earls acknowledges that they may have been attracted by the vulnerability of such a foundation to lay influence and the use of its prebends as rewards for the earls' clerks, quite apart from the spiritual benefit of prayers for the founders' souls.

The college had a dean and chapter of canons, like a secular cathedral, each holding a prebend; the canons elected the dean (until 1367 when the earl took over) and the presentation to the prebends lay with the earl. The dean was also 'rector of the church of Warwick' and therefore responsible for its parish and the grammar school (its regulations are in the Cartulary) and the song school attached to St Mary's. The college suffered from the absenteeism of the canons and there is substantial analysis of how this was combated: the establishment of vicars and chaplains attached to each canon; the equalisation of the canons' income out of a common fund; and the standardisation of residency at 260 days. The dean had to be resident. The college was subject to the oversight of the bishops of Worcester and the bishops' statutes, as well as the acts of the dean and chapter appear in the Cartulary – of particular interest to readers of this journal may be those made in 1441 by Thomas Bourchier (Bourghier), Bishop of Worcester (given in full, Appendix 1). After 1441 there was no significant development of the College's constitution. Since a cartulary is above all a record of the property of a house, the College's role as an institutional landowner is extensively discussed, with cross reference to those financial

accounts already in print, but this is not allowed to minimise its successful role as a religious provider both inside and outside Warwick.

The College accepted and benefited from many lay foundations – the gild of Holy Trinity and St Mary founded by leading burgesses in 1383; the personal altar of the earl and countess for their obits, established by 1408; and an increasing number of chantries and obits for local merchants – and thereby elaborated its liturgy and strengthened its links with the civic community. Another major series of endowments began to come in from the 1390s, including four manors in the fifteenth century. In 1461 Edward IV granted the meadow of Northbrook in Fulbrook (nos 227-28) to support the obits of Richard, Duke of York and Richard, Earl of Salisbury on 30 December. Richard Neville and his wife, the Countess Anne Beauchamp, made grants and satisfied the will of her father.

The most famous addition to the College, the Beauchamp Chapel, of which the construction began in 1441, is unfortunately not referred to in the Cartulary, although it forced the removal of the dean's house and a realignment of the churchyard boundaries. The dean with whom Richard Beauchamp discussed his chapel was Thomas Yonge (1395-1432), the man who initiated the Cartulary, of which the major part was compiled between c. 1419 and c. 1447. Intriguing details which relate to persons of the Yorkist period are few: Anne Beauchamp borrowed the papal dispensation for her parents' marriage from the College archives, her husband Richard Neville borrowed a mass book, and they both returned these items (no. 2); in May 1485 Richard Brackenburgh was promoted by Richard III to the deanery and he remained in office until his death in 1499. The editor provides complete transcripts of all documents from before 1350 and calendars those after, with exceptions made for inventories and certain other items; each document has comments and notes. He has also compiled a most useful list of the holders of prebends throughout the College's history, supplemented by biographies of each man (Appendix 2). He is to be congratulated on this major addition to the history of the College of St Mary at Warwick.

ANNE F. SUTTON

STOKE FIELD. *The Last Battle of the Wars of the Roses.* David Baldwin. 2006. Pen & Sword Military, Pen & Sword Books Ltd, Barnsley, £19.99. ISBN 1-84415-166-2.

The titles of books are often misleading – none more so than those that suggest that they are just about battles. David Baldwin's is no exception and this book, like others of its ilk, takes in the whole story of the lead up to the

1487 'rebellion' – which includes an initial chapter that summarises the vicissitudes of the Wars of the Roses – the course of the rebellion and its aftermath. It could hardly be otherwise given how little we really know about the course of most medieval battles and consequently how little there is that can be said with certainty. The battle of Stoke is very much a case in point. The sources, which Baldwin analyses in chapter ten 'How do we know?', do not proffer a great deal. What we can say though is that the battle appears to have lasted no more than an hour or so, and seems to have involved an uncomplicated sequence of moves.

Of course this is not the first time this story has been told. In particular Michael Bennett published a full length study *Lambert Simnel and the Battle of Stoke* in 1987. It is wise then that Baldwin anticipates the obvious question as to 'why a new assessment is needed ... twenty years later' (p. xv) and provides his explanation. Although that is not altogether convincing, this story that climaxes in the last battle of the Wars of the Roses remains a good one, and Baldwin tells it well and enthusiastically.

The reader who has been immersed in books on the politics and wars of the period will inevitably find particular themes and ideas some of which will stimulate more than others. Baldwin's comparison of Stoke with Bosworth is well made, and perhaps he could have explored this even further. He notes that Henry Tudor's invasion in 1485 was a very considerable gamble that, on balance, at the time must have seemed unlikely to succeed. That it did lent a greater significance to the invasion he in turn faced in 1487. In both battles, the opening move seems to have been made by the rebel forces and large elements of the royal army were never engaged. Had Henry arrived at Stoke in time to take part in the battle, no doubt he would have looked to his own personal safety in what ensued: a discussion on the merits of such sensible circumspection *versus* Richard's brave impatience would have been interesting. Baldwin makes a good point of underscoring the part played by the earl of Oxford and his retinue, emphasising the benefit of experience they would have had from Bosworth. Though Baldwin also pays due note to Schwartz's contingent of Swiss and German mercenaries, it would have been fascinating to see some attempt to compare their *rôle* with the foreign contingents in Henry's forces in 1485. This is nitpicking however, and due credit must be given to Baldwin's efforts to reconstruct this simple battle in some detail. Inescapably this requires much theorising, such as we find on page 62 in the discussion on the barrage of missiles most likely encountered by the advancing rebel forces in the opening move. As Baldwin notes, that the rebels took the step of exposing themselves to that disadvantage was because they realised that they could not hope to improve their position and that their best chance lay in defeating their opponents piecemeal.

In supplementing the fragmentary information to be derived from the written sources, Baldwin combines knowledge of fifteenth century warfare, a detailed grasp of local topography and what A.H. Burne labelled 'inherent military probability'. He notes alternative deployments and strategies and gives judgement on their likelihood. Ultimately however, it is transparent that the outcome seems to have never been in doubt. The usual difficulties we have with reports of numbers as ever makes it difficult to know how many were engaged on each side and how many were casualties, but Baldwin's estimates appear to be as sensible as any. He is equally competent on non military matters. He is efficient in drawing out certain local rivalries that led some to fight on one side or the other, and through that shows that most were not moved to risk the peril of battle for a cause as amorphous as loyalty for its own sake to York or Tudor. At the same time however, he gives special emphasis to the part played by Lord Lovel who, exceptionally, does emerge as one moved by higher considerations than mere self interest.

The book is equipped with a number of drawings and diagrams and eight pages of black and white photographs. It includes appendices providing lists of the names of those on each side, on Simnel's Irish coinage, and on the matter of the grave pit unearthed in 1982. Notes and references and a select bibliography follow. In conclusion, Baldwin has woven his story into an attractive read without losing its academic basis, and is to be congratulated for it.

JAMES PETRE

CAXTON'S TRACE. Studies in the History of English Printing. Edited by William Kuskin. 2006. University of Notre Dame Press, Notre Dame, IN., £22.50 (pbk). ISBN 0-268-03309-9.

The quotation from which the title of this book is taken is to be found in Robert Copland's 1510 edition of *King Appolyn of Thyre*, where Wynkyn de Worde's printing and publishing associate states that he is 'gladly folowyng the trace of my mayster Caxton begynnyng with small storyes and pamfletes and so to other' (STC 708.5). Thus the volume ranges from studies of the output of Caxton himself, to that of his successors, and to his reception in the nineteenth century. This collection of essays is not, however, in the main bibliographical. Rather, it is a critical project, the theoretical and ideological underpinning of which may be summed up by the words of William Kuskin in his introduction: '... following the trace of the first stock ... is a performance that engages writer, printer and reader in a form of literary consumption that is simultaneously a form of literary production' (p. 15). This notion, together with that of the cultural and symbolic economy, is taken up by several of the

contributors, while others consider the question of the similarities and dissimilarities between the modes of production of manuscript and print also raised in the introduction (p. 5). Where there is room for disagreement, though, is in the invocation here of 'some' who may be 'happy to view fifteenth-century books as essentially literal, removed forever from current debates over the canon and the digital revolution by virtue of their handmade status, a return to a world of details that are ultimately apolitical and nostalgically irrelevant', an apparent justification for the view that 'fifteenth-century print culture is 'on the margins of literary studies' (pp. 23-24, also p. 231). But this is something of a chimera: the volume has no need to construct within itself fictional adversaries (?antiquarians, ?scholars of the history of the book, ?British ex-education ministers – Charles Clarke is actually cited) which it then rebuts.

The volume is divided into three, unequal, parts followed by a 'Coda'. These sections are: 'The Introduction of the Press: The Culture Machine'; 'Manuscript and Print Strategies'; and 'Language, Book, and Politics'. One of the most interesting essays is that by David R. Carlson in the first section, who turns on its head the idea that Caxton's decisions as to what to publish were based on literary considerations, and that the resulting books were the *raison d'être* of his business. Carlson argues instead that the principle output was ephemera such as indulgences and handbills, and that what was once regarded as an occasional and subsidiary activity formed the staple of the printing firm. It is a provocative theory, and one which offers scope for further investigation. A.E.B. Coldiron's and Alexandra Gillespie's pieces in the second section form a nicely balanced pair, the former showing how the *Moral Proverbs* of Christine de Pisan changed their import from manuscript copy through the printed editions of 1478 and 1526, while Gillespie focuses on two *sammelbände* (one the famous book of Roger Thorne in St John's College, Oxford) to demonstrate how the practices of book owners in the age of print echoed those in that of the manuscript.

The final two essays before the 'Coda' share a similarly apposite juxtaposition. Patricia Clare Ingham concentrates on the translating into English from French of statutes, at the same time offering a critique of editorial and cultural models which employ the 'arborescent', or vertical structure as opposed to the 'rhizomatic', or horizontally multiplying one. Tim William Machan then cogently argues for the existence in print from the fifteenth into the sixteenth centuries of an authoritative linguistic phase of early modern English, simultaneously demonstrating the irony that the new technology of publishing, by still distributing the works of Chaucer, Lydgate *et al*, concealed the real linguistic changes that were happening (see esp. p. 316). It is appropriate that these two chapters, with their emphasis on Caxton first and foremost, should precede the 'Coda', Seth Lerer's 'Caxton in the

Nineteenth Century', for this entertaining, intelligently argued (and well-illustrated) piece shows how following the rediscovery of Caxton and the increasingly scholarly approach to understanding him, from William Frognall Dibdin through to William Blades, he became revered in much the same way as Chaucer. (And, it could be added, for some of the same reasons.) Lerer's conclusion, that 'Caxton remains the fulcrum on which sainthood and secularity, literature and enterprise, vernacularity and learning, English and Continental all balance' (p. 365) in the history of printing sums up both the current state of research into the history of the book, and this volume.

Of the essays not yet mentioned, Jennifer R. Goodman's exploration, through Caxton's published romances, of the printer's continental influences, is timely. It questions and discards the idea of a 'Burgundian monoculture' in Caxton's life and output, and opens the way for further research. Mark Addison Amos' essay, 'Violent Hierarchies: Disciplining Women and Merchant Capitalists in *The Book of the Knyght of the Towre*', is more highly theorised, as the title alone demonstrates. The thesis is that 'In the *Book of the Knyght*, as in so many conduct books, the codification of gendered transgression encodes ... the urgency of class differentiation' (p. 88) and the summation is: 'The Knight's constant linking of the courtly class with those fair of face and full of grace reveals his condemnation against the "uncurteys" lower classes as a fantasy of social control', this critical stance being rationalised by Caxton's 'noureture' among the London mercers and his continuing involvement with the London mercantile guilds. The final chapters to be considered constitute the opening half of Part III. The first, by William N. West, has as its intention a comparison of Caxton's editions with those of the same texts by Wynkyn de Worde. And while, alarmingly, West writes that 'It would seem, then, from the point of view of bibliography, that de Worde adds little or nothing new to English culture' (p. 255), (and this from an initial comparisons of their radically different editions of Malory's *Morte Darthur*), he finally concludes that 'verbal change is what is truly significant' (p. 266). This remains, however, an essay which is bound to court controversy. The final paper, by William Kuskin himself, interestingly takes the attack on the Norman, Richard Pynson, at a tavern in London in April, 1500 as its starting point to examine the evolution of English nationalism and capitalism in the years either side of the turn of the sixteenth century. (There is, incidentally, an error on p. 199: John Tate opened his paper mill in Hertfordshire, not Herefordshire.) It is an effective and original examination of the way in which 'money, books, and laborers' 'shape local and national definitions of English community' (p. 200).

There is no way in which a review of this book can present it as an easy read. It requires effort and, aside from a very few essays, it requires the mastery of a specialised theoretical vocabulary. This is not to say that it is not worth the effort: there are sufficient new ideas to spark reaction in the reader and, aside

from the odd bibliographical gaffe, only some of which have been highlighted in this review, it repays the work involved, not only in reading the individual chapters, but in teasing out the connections between these chapters.

CAROL MEALE

RAMSEY: The Lives of an English Fenland Town, 1200-1600. Anne Reiber DeWindt and Edwin Brezette DeWindt. 2006. The Catholic University of America Press, Washington D.C., \$79.95; £53.50.

ISBN 978-0-8132-1424-5 and ISBN 10-8132-1424-6.

Ramsey is one of many towns we owe to the economic development of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It grew up, largely by immigration from nearby Huntingdonshire villages, adjacent to a Benedictine abbey whose origins go back in turn to the years 964-69. The abbey's role in facilitating the town's development must have been considerable. The site, an island in the fens, required shaping over the years to permit ease of access and adequate drainage. There was urban development at Ramsey by the early thirteenth century, and by the 1280s the town had a Wednesday market and a parish church. It was never recognised as a borough, and remained small; at no point before 1600 did the combined populations of Ramsey and the neighbouring villages of Hepmangrove and Bury exceed 1,500 inhabitants. Commercial possibilities there were limited by the absence of regular through traffic; roads that went to Ramsey went no further. Yet much of the interest of the DeWindts' account of the town up to the late sixteenth century lies in its demonstration that Ramsey was an urban community with considerable institutional and economic independence of the abbey to which its origins were so closely attached.

This research has depended upon the scattered archive of Ramsey Abbey, and has required the DeWindts to make frequent visits to England. Evidence from court rolls and accounts produced by the abbey administration constitutes the backbone of their work, but they have also used charters and churchwardens' accounts, as well as the varied types of data collected by royal officers. From the period after the dissolution there are fewer records of urban society, but excellent detail is obtainable from a Star Chamber dispute in 1585 between the townsmen and Henry Cromwell, whose family had acquired Ramsey at the Dissolution. This all amounts to a formidable body of information, much of which is tabulated, with extraordinary generosity, in the CD that accompanies the book. The aim of the study is to portray the institutions and society of the town rather than to define economic and social trends, but the authors are well aware of the changing nature of the community, and draw attention to many of the ways in which it changed

between 1280 and 1580. One of the strengths of the prosopographical technique on which the study is founded is that individuals are never far from view. It is impossible to write extensive biographies of townsmen from records of this type, but it is a pleasure to come across such characters as William Chaceden, Henry Cook and Celia Tannatrix.

In the absence of record evidence, one might suppose that Ramsey would be a stagnant sort of place, quiescent and heavily dominated by its ecclesiastical landlord and lacking the signs of autonomy to be expected in chartered boroughs of greater size and wealth. Yet, as the DeWindts show, these expectations would be false. For a start, even if the town was off the beaten track, its population was far from stable. People came and went with remarkable rapidity. Of the recorded surnames in the town, forty-six per cent occur in only a single year, and only forty-five per cent recur over periods longer than five years. Nor was it a particularly placid environment in which to live. Between 1280 and 1595 there are 1,979 recorded acts of violence and nuisance including 141 acts of theft and over 800 acts of interpersonal aggression. Before 1460 this was a place where the hue and cry was a lively institution; it was called out 895 times on record during the fourteenth century. The later fourteenth century, in particular, stands out as a period of demographic instability and exceptional levels of petty crime.

Though the abbey was landlord of the whole town, and had jurisdiction over its inhabitants, the records demonstrate a strong tradition of institutional independence. Not only was the court leet an active institution in policing the town and defending its institutions, but behind it was a larger body from whom the twelve jurors were drawn. The DeWindts call this a 'shadow "town council"'. It had about forty members. By the late fourteenth century the town had a complex establishment with numerous official positions to be filled – besides jurors it needed ale-tasters, overseers of the food trades, capital pledges, coroners and constables, churchwardens and a court bailiff. In normal circumstances the burgesses co-operated with the abbey, and hostility was more muted than in the abbey towns of St Albans or Bury St Edmunds. Ramsey's inhabitants remained passive during the Great Revolt of 1381. Yet they were sufficiently independent of the abbey to be able to defend their interests vigorously. There was a major disturbance over a number of issues in 1326-7, when townspeople felt their liberties were under attack, and again in 1341 when they objected to the conduct of the abbot's bailiff. A later disturbance in 1400 required intervention by the royal council.

The economy of Ramsey was not as tied to the abbey as its origins might imply. There was business to be had in supplying the monks, to be sure, and a small core of Ramsey families was heavily dependent on monastic employment. Yet the town's trade was more complex than simple dependency would imply, since it was supplying a large agrarian population as well. Over a

hundred different occupations are identifiable from the records, though these should not be taken to imply as many narrow specialisations, since 'no one manner of making a living was consistently associated with any family or any individual' (p. 298). There was a large amount of business in the food and drink trades, which often drew women into the courts. The abbey records show that the employment they offered to townsmen was characteristically casual; over half of all named employees occur only once. The relative autonomy of the urban economy explains why the town was able to withstand the disappearance of all monastic employment after 1539.

The text is well annotated, and the amount of data on the accompanying CD means that the authors' observations are supported with exceptional thoroughness. There is a useful glossary of terms, an extensive bibliography, and an index. The book has nine black-and white plates, and in addition the CD offers the exceptional luxury of a range of coloured photographs of Ramsey and its environment, which even hundreds of years later help to impress upon the imagination what it meant to be a medieval fenland town.

RICHARD BRITNELL

MALORY'S CONTEMPORARY AUDIENCE: The Social Reading of Romance in Late Medieval England. Thomas H. Crofts. 2006. *Arthurian Studies* Volume 66. D.S. Brewer, Cambridge, an imprint of Boydell and Brewer, Woodbridge, £40. ISBN 1-84384-085-5.

It would be as well to begin this review by saying what this book is not, for the title could mislead. It is not primarily a study of individuals or social groupings who may have formed Malory's contemporary audience – rather, the crucial part of the title is the second half, for Crofts adopts Frederic Jameson's notions of the processes of reading, which lead to the conclusion that 'all reading is "social reading"' (p.1), the activity always being filtered through our relationships with the past and with current others, as well as through shared political and literary knowledge. He is clear from the outset about his self-determined remit, his stated aim being 'to place the production of Malory's *Morte Darthur* – in both its manuscript and printed form – in the context of political and literary culture in the second half of the fifteenth century' (p.1). Thus the book opens with an account of the battle of Nibley Green, tragically and mistakenly framed in chivalric terms by the protagonists in letters which they exchanged, but Crofts in the main leaves detailed questioning concerning who constituted Malory's actual audience to the recent work of Raluca Radulescu, Hyonjin Kim and Richard Moll (p.6).

The narrative of the book traces an elegant arc from the opening discussion of the problem of what constitutes the 'text', and the nomenclature

of Malory's *Arthuriad*, through to the conclusion that the final tale (in Vinaver's edition) represents not simply the 'death-wish of a class', in Felicity Riddy's formulation, but also that of 'Malory's historical audience, Caxton's customers, whose age witnessed the "mutual madness" of civil war, of whose desire the *Morte Darthur* is ostensibly a fulfilment' (p.150). Such insights, which are frequent, are apposite, although Ricardians may not warm to the idea that Caxton's substitution of the boar for the predatory bear in the episode of the tale of Arthur and Lucius is an intentional 'inflection', encompassing 'a culture-wide opinion of Richard' and 'the failure of Richard to be in any way Arthurian or chivalric' (p.99, also pp.154, 157). The body of the book comprises chapters on Caxton's 1485 Preface, along with an analysis of fourteenth and fifteenth century historiography; a theoretically as well as observationally-based interpretation of the marginalia of the story of Balyn as preserved in the unique manuscript; the Roman war; and the closing of the book, entitled 'No Hint of the Future', which brings together ideas from previous sections, including Paul Strohm's notion of an 'amnesiac' text (most powerfully exemplified here by Arthur himself, who wilfully 'forgets' the mutual love of Launcelot and Guinevere, see e.g. pp.132-33). At first glance it may seem as though the lack of engagement of *Malory's Contemporary Audience* with the bulk of the *Arthuriad* – namely the accounts of Tristram and the Holy Grail, neither of which receive more than the barest mention – is a serious flaw, but this view would discount the distinctive critical focus of each of the chapters, which range from the study of historiography and exemplarity, to the processes of fifteenth century literary production and the ontology of the book. As a consequence, this is not a work to be recommended to newcomers to Malory: a relatively high level of textual knowledge is assumed by the author.

The volume does not, however, lack contentious elements. There is, for example, a considered but ultimately unsatisfactory reconsideration of Richard Griffith's theory about the role which Anthony Woodville, Earl Rivers may have played as patron of either Malory or Caxton (pp.19-21). But Jenny Stratford's researches have long put paid to any notion that Woodville inherited the French royal library along with all its Arthurian romances and was thus in a position to provide Malory with books (see 'The Manuscripts of John, Duke of Bedford: Library and Chapel' in *England in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Daniel Williams [Woodbridge 1987], pp.329-50), although Crofts' support for William Matthews's suggestion, that Malory may have used an already existing Arthurian compilation in French as his principle source is intriguing, if not followed through (p.17-18). And in the section on the adventure of Balyn, only French antecedents are quoted for the rubrication of names within manuscripts: in fact the producers of many fifteenth century English codices followed this practice, amongst them the scribes of some copies of Lydgate's *Life of Our Lady*. On a different note, the frequent citation of theorists can

become a little repetitive: amongst those quoted – and often at some length – are Jameson, Marx, Freud, Foucault, Nietzsche, Althusser, Gramsci, Pierre Bourdieu, Raymond Williams and Walter Benjamin. This tendency to quote extends to those who have written about Malory. While this demonstrates wide reading, it perhaps is a little too reminiscent of the thesis which was the genesis of this book. Crofts could justifiably have had more confidence in his own ideas and means of expression.

The book ends on a startling note. Crofts quotes the work of Meg Roland who, on the basis of a linguistic study of Caxton's prose, concludes that the ending of the four surviving knights going on crusade to Jerusalem was written by Caxton, whose text is the only surviving witness, and not Malory, his final words being that this ending is 'noisy and anachronistic' (p.158). This comment alone gives pause for thought, but the book for which it provides a climax is one which repays detailed reading for the many observations which similarly cause the reader to reassess previously held opinions.

CAROL MEALE

THE COURT AS STAGE. England and the Low Countries in the Later Middle Ages. Edited by Steven Gunn and Antheun Janse. 2006. The Boydell Press, Woodbridge, Suffolk, £45. ISBN 1-84383-191-0.

In the last *Ricardian*, volume 17 (2007), pages 104-06, I reviewed this book. Somehow, and unforgivably, I omitted my comments on three fascinating contributions to this generally very interesting book.

The first is Peter Stabel, 'For mutual benefit? Court and city in the Burgundian Low Countries', on the economic impact of the highly itinerant ducal court on the cities where it resided, increasingly and most markedly, Brussels. Tables showing, for example, the relation between 'court demand' and 'urban income' are given, but it is argued that the effect of the court and its needs should not be overrated and that 'consumption patterns, still followed 'the traditional market hierarchy', favouring larger cities anyway.

The second article I left out is D.A.L. Morgan's 'Memoirs and the self-consciousness of the court: the birth of a genre'; it traces the genre, often taken to be a mainly sixteenth-century French phenomenon, back to its many and various forerunners at the fifteenth-century Burgundian court, foremost among them Commynes and La Marche, but also the many 'opinions' (*avis*) notes, newsletters and short accounts written for the use of other authors. As usual Morgan's article is densely packed with information, both in the text and the notes, and covers *en passant*, with many new insights, almost all the relevant Burgundian literature.

Finally I need to mention Steven Gunn, 'The court of Henry VII', which discusses the 'drama' at court: the rise and fall of royal officials, the ceaseless quest for favour and advantage, the ongoing contest to influence government, of which the court was the epicentre, the games played for the benefit of the international stage, and the ceremonial show required by social status.

As I have said in my original review: 'this is an unusually coherent collection and one that really builds a bridge between English and Dutch scholarship, making available to English readers recent research in Flanders and the Netherlands, not only through the contributions themselves but also through the many useful references in the notes'. The three articles I inadvertently omitted confirm this view.

LIVIA VISSER-FUCHS

THE PARISH IN LATE MEDIEVAL ENGLAND. Edited by Clive Burgess and Eamon Duffy. 2006. Harlaxton Medieval Studies XIV, Proceedings of the 2002 Harlaxton Symposium. Shaun Tyas, Donington, £49.50. ISBN 00-1-900289-76-8

Over the years one has come to look forward to the publications of the Harlaxton conferences in part because when thematically structured, they constitute anthologies on specific topics, the Lancastrian court in 2001, for example, and the parish in 2002. The volumes have moved from strength to strength, and this fourteenth volume of eighteen essays is no exception. It is divided into five segments: Parish and Community (the longest section, with essays by Clive Burgess, David Levine, Martin Heale, Nicholas Orme, Beat Kümin, Elizabeth New, and Ken Farnhill); Priests and Service (Robert Swanson, Susan Powell, and Magnus Williamson); Lay Activity (Nigel Saul, Nicholas Rogers, Judith Middleton-Stewart, Katherine French, Alexandra F. Johnston, and Peregrine Horden); and Reformation (the smallest section, with articles by Peter Marshall and Eamon Duffy). The majority of the papers explore the parish of late medieval England both as a physical place and also as a community of men and women. The editors provide a chronological framework in their essays: Burgess, who situates the one-priest parish against the perspective of a church whose liturgical life flourished in regular and collegiate communities ('Time and place: the late medieval English parish in perspective'), and Duffy, who fittingly concludes by using the 1552 inventories of church goods to view the parish in transition ('The end of it all: the material culture of the medieval English parish').

It is always instructive to read articles, précis of which one has heard as conference papers. Five years after the Symposium I am struck that those I remember as being the most impressive turn out to be the ones with

documented research well in advance of what is normally expected for such contributions. Many of the essays are well-supplied with figures, in particular, New's tables on seals ('Parish and guild seals'); French's on churchwardens ('Women churchwardens'), and Farnhill's appendix on Walsingham guilds ('The Guild of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Priory of St Mary in Walsingham'). Pre-eminent is Williamson's 'Liturgical music in the late-medieval parish: organs, voices, way and means', not so much an article as a monograph, which radically reshapes preconceptions about parish music. It is buttressed by four tables as well as by an eighteen-page appendix on liturgical polyphony in parishes before 1560. (Not surprisingly London parishes occupy five of the pages.) Volume XIV is well worth the price for this monograph alone. The collection is also rich in visual material. Articles by Heale ('Monastic-parochial churches') and Rogers ('Hic iacet ...: the location of monuments') are accompanied by floor plans of churches, and Middleton-Stewart provides three excellent maps for her treatment of Fenland parishes. The editors of this and previous volumes are to be especially commended for allowing extensive illustration of individual articles, thereby making accessible an aggregation of images on specific subjects, for example, the nine seals for New's article, including one with a lovely ship and chain (St Stephen's, Bristol). Volume XIII deserves a prize for allocating sixty-four plates illustrating only seven articles, but Volume XIV has a respectable thirty-three illustrations; five illustrate Roger's essay on monuments; six, Williamson's on music, and eight, Nigel Saul's 'The gentry and the parish'.

Shaun Tyas is to be thanked for providing an index, sadly missing in previous publications of the Harlaxton *Proceedings*. Happily, for readers of this journal, the index turns up one reference for Richard III, an anecdote about Sir Richard Edgecombe, who simulated drowning by throwing his hat into the river, thus escaping his pursuers. In thanksgiving for his escape, he built a chapel dedicated to St George at Cotehele (Cornwall), still in existence. The anecdote found in Nicholas Orme's interesting treatment of chapels is typical of the wealth of detail throughout the volume ('The other parish churches'). It may well be that in a field so intensely researched as the late medieval parish, much of the material turned up in archives will be largely anecdotal, though nonetheless compelling. Duffy, for example, transforms John Garynton's bequests of vestments and a flock of ewes (to support lights in his parish church) into the drama of religious revolution. Swanson uses the accounts and notes of vicar Richard Gosmer to document the complexity of a priest's life ('Profits, priests and people'), while Powell finds in John Mirk's handling of the *Glossa Ordinaria* evidence for his sensitivity to the needs of a parochial audience ('The Festival: the priest and his parish'). Johnston ('Parish playmaking') ranges through dozens of examples to provide a sense of the busy play-life of the parishes, many of which appear for other reasons elsewhere in the collection.

Volume XIV may not be an exhaustive treatment of the late medieval parish, as the editors grant in their preface, but the reader has no cause to complain. Here one finds much to instruct and more to delight.

ANN ELJENHOLM NICHOLS

LEPROSY IN MEDIEVAL ENGLAND. Carole Rawcliffe 2006. The Boydell Press, Woodbridge, £60. ISBN 13:978-1-84383-273-7.

This is primarily a work of intellectual history, not social and economic history. Its focus is the ways in which medieval men and women responded to what they believed to be leprosy, and the author takes great pains to dispel the myth, still current today, that the medieval leper was either segregated from society or banished to its very edges. As she points out, many leprosaria were closely integrated into the religious and social fabric of their host towns, sharing chapels, priests and cemeteries. No special distinctive item of clothing set lepers apart from healthy members of society, and it was assumed that conjugal ties could and would continue unbroken unless the healthy spouse had taken a vow of chastity.

The early chapters explore the presumed causes of the disease. On the one hand was a belief in the close relationship between sin and disease, between body and soul, so that excessive indulgence in sex, food or alcohol was regarded as a risk to health and a possible explanation for the onset of the disease. Yet gradually new theories about planetary forces, heredity, and environmental pollution were developing, so that other factors such as diet and clean, spacious housing could also determine whether or not the disease developed. Thus the responses to the disease were as diverse as the explanations for it. Some people sought to protect themselves by avoiding contaminated or dangerous food or taking hot herbal baths and a few might resort to more extreme procedures such as blood-letting or cauterisation with hot irons. Above all it was important to treat the soul as well as the body, by having frequent confession or going on a pilgrimage.

The belief that Christ had not only consorted with lepers but had actually come to resemble one in his last hours bestowed a special status on the leper and encouraged men and women to support leprosaria in the hope of easing their own redemption. Even if the wealthy did not want to tend the sick in person, they could do so vicariously as a founder or benefactor of a hospital. At least 300 leprosaria were established in England during the middle ages, most of them before 1350. They were primarily modest foundations, but some grew over time with piecemeal acquisitions of two or three acres given by local people concerned for the welfare of their soul. Just under a third of these

institutions were dedicated to Mary Magdalen, whose intercessionary powers came to be regarded as valuable as that of the lepers themselves.

In an important chapter on life in the medieval leper house, the author concludes that many leprosaria did their best to provide for the bodily and emotional needs of the sick, providing an ample allowance of food and ale, together with the daily celebration of the Eucharist and the canonical hours. Nonetheless in the poorer houses, such services were, of necessity, somewhat rudimentary. Although the house as a whole was subject to the strictures of a religious rule, individual inmates might enjoy a level of personal autonomy.

By the fifteenth century as the work of Muslim physicians and their translators became known, medical knowledge spread throughout society. Fewer men and women were likely to be diagnosed as leprous, so that houses inevitably had fewer inmates. Meanwhile the old established leprosaria faced increasing competition for donations from other institutions such as friaries, almshouses and schools. Consequently many houses faced financial difficulties and came to rely heavily on begging, or on tolls on trade. A few suburban houses tried to adapt by establishing gardens, orchards, fish-ponds and home farms, keeping hens, pigs and geese. Others changed their focus to care for the elderly. Nonetheless, by the fifteenth century several once prosperous hospitals accommodated no more than one or two leprous individuals.

This is an important book, written with a great deal of erudition. The author eschews simple explanations, pointing out how ideas changed over time and continually stressing the diversity of beliefs, and responses. In particular the reader was reminded that not all lepers lived in a separate establishment; some chose to remain in private quarters at home; or lived in an unstructured extra-mural group, or even took to the road as beggars.

MAVIS E. MATE

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

Michael Alexander, *Medievalism. The Middle Ages in Modern England*. 2007. Yale University Press, Yale and London, £25; US \$45. ISBN 0-300-11061-6.

Well illustrated account of the revival of interest in the middle ages from the eighteenth century onwards, from Walpole to Tolkien; it covers literature, art, religion and architecture.

Sophie Cassagnes-Brouquet, *L'art en famille. Les milieux artistiques à Londres à la fin du Moyen Âge (1350-1530)*, Histoires de Famille, La Parenté au Moyen Âge. 2006. Brepols, Turnhout, Belgium, 55 euros (pbk). ISBN 2-503-51844-3.

The author traces the professional, family, parish and guild life of the painters, glass-makers, sculptors and goldsmiths and other craftsmen and women who flourished in London, many of whom were immigrants from continental Europe. The development and widening range of skills available in London is explored. Extensive use is made of the excellent surviving records of London, from wills and deeds to the acts and accounts of relevant misteries.

Gwilym Dodd, *Justice and Grace. Private Petitioning and the English Parliament in the Late Middle Ages*. 2007. Oxford University Press, £55. ISBN 0-199-20280-5.

Covers the period from the reign of Edward I and deals with the petitions from small communities and individuals relating to a variety of matters, from the ransom of a husband to protection from marauding gangs. Also deals with the change in language used, who appeared for the petitioners, the effects of a royal minority, as well as the role played by parliament in local politics and administration.

Eberhard König *The Bedford Hours, The Making of a Medieval Masterpiece*. Translated by Christiane Roth and Christopher de Hamel. 2006. British Library, London, £20. ISBN 0-712-34978-9.

A translation of part of the introduction to the facsimile edition of this magnificent book which was finally presented to Henry VI by his uncle, John, Duke of Bedford. Theorises on the milieu, workshop and connections of the Bedford Master, and whether it was originally commissioned by Louis de Guyenne, the father of Anne of Burgundy, Duchess of Bedford.

Maureen Jurkowski and Nigel Ramsay, with Simon Renton, editors, *English Monastic Estates, 1066-1540*. 2007. 3 volumes. 795 pages. List and Index Society, £52 (non members), £35 (members), available from The Assistant Secretary (LIS01), List and Index Society, The National Archives, Kew, Richmond, Surrey, TW9 4DU.

An authoritative list of the principal estates owned by all of the English monastic houses from the Norman Conquest to the general dissolution of the monasteries, compiled for the English Monastic Archives project at University College London. Organised by county and then monastic house, all of the manors, granges, churches, chapels and urban property (worth at least £5 annually) owned by some 740 monasteries are listed, together with the parish and county in which the property was located, the dates of the house's tenure and, where applicable, dates of appropriation of churches. There are citations of the sources from which this information was gathered – mostly primary sources such as bishops' registers, and monastic cartularies and other documents from monastic archives, some of them unpublished. Including a full index, these volumes provide the most comprehensive guide yet produced to the immense landed wealth of the English monasteries.

William Marx and Raluca Radulescu, editors, *Readers and Writers of the Prose Brut*, *Trivium*, volume 36, 2006. £15 plus p&p £1.50 (UK) and £3 (overseas) from Professor Janet Burton, Trivium Publications, Dept. of History, University of Wales, Lampeter, Ceredigion, SA48 7ED; cheques payable to Trivium Publications. US price \$25 plus \$5 p&p. ISBN 0-905285-77-8.

The *Brut* was a widely disseminated chronicle of England of which many copies survive. These essays range in date from Anglo-Saxon sources of the Anglo-Norman *Prose Brut* to the fate of the aboriginal Albina and her sisters, Gogmagog and King Lear, in Tudor and Stuart times. The capacity for variation between texts is illustrated from the versions covering the reigns of Richard II and Henry IV (W. Marx). The evidence of women's ownership and how they read the chronicle is discussed using copies which belonged to Esabell Alen, Elizabeth Neville-Daubeney and others (A.N. Vines). The accessibility of the text is tackled via the marginalia and additions in fifteenth-century copies and reveals the trends of interest (T. Dukker). Gentry reading of the *Brut* is shown to reveal family pretensions (R. Radulescu).

Poverty and Wealth: Sheep, Taxation and Charity in Late Medieval Norfolk, Norfolk Record Society volume 71, 2007; available from Dr Alan Metters, 29 Cintra Rd., Norwich NR1 4AE, £18, £3.50 p&p.

This volume includes 'The sheep accounts of Norwich Cathedral Priory 1484-1534' edited by Mark Bailey; 'Income tax assessments of Norwich, 1472 and

1489' edited by Maureen Jurkowski; and 'The cartulary of St Mary's Hospital, Great Yarmouth', edited by Carole Rawcliffe.

Craig Taylor, editor, *Debating the Hundred Years War. Pour ce que plusieurs (La Loy Salique) and A Declaration of the Trew and Dene Title of Henrie VIII*. Camden Society Fifth Series, Volume 29. 2006. Cambridge University Press for the Royal Historical Society, £45. ISBN 0-521-873908.

An edition of two treatises discussing the laws governing the succession to the French crown, English claims to French lands, and responsibility for breaches of treaties and truces. The first was probably written in 1464 for the Saint-Omer negotiations by Guillaume Cousinot and contributed to the establishment of the Salic Law myth; the second dates from the reign of Henry VIII.

ARTICLES

Nicholas Amor, 'Late medieval enclosure. A study of Thorney, near Stowmarket, Suffolk', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History*, volume 41, part 2, 2006, pages 175-98.

A wide ranging survey of all aspects of the subject from land use to signs of prosperity in local towns and the families of Hotot, Kebbyl and Tyrell of Gipping. Tables and photographs.

John Ashdown-Hill, 'Suffolk connections of the house of York', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History*, volume 41, part 2, 2006, pages 199-207.

Records visits by the family to area and its shrines, as well as any grants made and the surviving artefacts of period. Explains the connection through the lordship of Clare, held by Cecily Neville during reign of Edward IV.

Richard Beadle and Colin Richmond, 'The expenses of John Paston I, 1457-1458', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History*, volume 41, part 3, 2007, pages 281-87.

British Library Additional charter 17246, a roll of accounts from the widely dispersed Paston archives, with additions in John Paston I's hand. A complete transcript (Latin and some English) gives details of his footwear, clothing, and their repair, payments for alms and religious benefits such as indulgences, besides dates and pomegranates for his wife, the costs of glazing, and the expenses of William Worcester riding about on marriage negotiations, among many other matters.

John Blatchly and Bill Haward, 'Sir Robert, Lord Curson, soldier, courtier and spy, and his Ipswich mansion', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History*, volume 41, part 3, 2007, pages 335-49.

The career of Robert Curson, c. 1460-1535, is notable for Ricardians because he was arrested at the same time as Sir James Tyrell but not executed with him. Most of this article is devoted to retracing and reconstructing his large mansion in Ipswich, part of which survives. Illustrations.

J.L. Bolton and Francesco Guidi Bruscoli, 'When did Antwerp replace Bruges as the commercial and financial centre of north-western Europe? The evidence of the Borromei ledger for 1438', *Economic History Review*, volume 61, issue 2, May 2007, pages 360-79.

This article counters the many theories about how and why Antwerp surpassed Bruges as a trading centre using the evidence of the 1438 ledger of the Bruges branch of the Milanese Borromei Bank. It concludes that by this year Antwerp, Middelburg and Bergen op Zoom (the twin fair town of Antwerp) – and London – were equally important to the bank's business, and that that business made use of a long and well-established infrastructure of trade between these towns.

Francesco Guidi Bruscoli and James L. Bolton, 'The Borromei Bank Research Project', *Money, Markets and Trade in Later Medieval Europe. Essays in Honour of John H.A. Munro*, edited by L. Armstrong, I. Elbl and M. Elbl, Brill, Leiden, 2006, pages 460-88.

The results to date of the Project to publish the ledgers of the Milanese (and Venetian) Bank of Borromei which survive for its branches of Bruges (1438) and London (1436-39), a remarkable new source for fifteenth-century trade. Analyses the import and export trade through London and the bank's reliance on commission and the exchange rates to balance its accounts, using letters of advice and exchange to transfer money (not coin) across Europe. It is concluded that the bank's losses in these years were the result of mismanagement; branches at London and Bruges were refounded under new contracts in the 1440s. Graphs and family trees.

P.R. Cavill, 'Debate and dissent in Henry VII's parliaments', *Parliamentary History*, volume 25, part 2, 2006, pages 160-75.

Reconsiders but does not controvert the traditional concept of a servile parliament of the 'new monarchy', which was largely based on a mistaken correlation between power and lack of records. Notes examples of heated discussion, e.g. 1485 over Henry's act of attainder of Richard's supporters, and traces regular protests over taxation through the reign, as well as opposition to legal innovations and coercion; notes too the corrections made in 1510 of Henry's actions in response to widespread criticism.

Christopher Dyer, 'A Suffolk farmer in the fifteenth century', *The Agricultural History Review*, volume 55, part 1, 2007, pages 1-22.

Robert Parman rose from the status of serf to yeoman in Chevington, Suffolk, with an income of about £20; his wife was a brewer. Served the abbots of Bury St Edmunds, his lords, with skill, had influence in his village, and supported his church but probably gave little to the poor. One son went into the church. An example which shows the potential for change in the farming community.

John Hatcher, A.J. Piper and David Stone, 'Monastic mortality: Durham Priory, 1395-1529', *Economic History Review*, volume 59, part 4 (2006), pages 667-687.

Based on reliable data, this work shows life expectancy for these men dropped in the second half of the fifteenth century (as did that of monks in the urban south). Correlation with life expectancy of lay population is difficult but it remains sure that mortality was the largest demographic factor. Methodology, figures and tables given, with wide reference to other studies.

Michael Hicks, 'The Second Anonymous Continuation of the Crowland Abbey Chronicle 1459-86 revisited', *English Historical Review*, volume 122, number 496, April 2007, pages 349-70.

Draws together the research done on the Second Continuation since 1966 – establishing that Fulman's edition is 'extremely reliable' – and re-analyses the composition of the text and the evidence for its authorship. Hicks' (new) candidate is Richard Langport or Lamport, bachelor of canon law, privy seal clerk in 1446, and clerk of the council from 1462 until the beginning of Richard III's reign. Langport also served as ambassador and died in 1490; he meets many of the requirements for the authorship of the Continuation, but still 'is merely the most probable candidate to date'.

Simon Horobin, 'Politics, patronage and, piety in the work of Osbern Bokenham', *Speculum*, volume 82, number 4, October 2007, pages 932-49.

Re-assesses Bokenham's work in the light of the newly discovered Abbotsford manuscript of his translation of the *Golden Legend* (probably owned by Cecily, Duchess of York) its additional lives, their emphasis on moral qualities (*courtesy*) and the 'mixed life', their playing down of miracles, their sources, and how and where the author found and used them. Discusses the East Anglian 'network' of Bokenham's patrons, but also shows he was more widely known and is mentioned, for example in a Bedfordshire will. Argues that Bokenham was not merely a follower of Chaucer or a Yorkist propagandist.

Philippa M. Hoskin, 'The accounts of the medieval Paternoster Gild of York', *Northern History*, volume 44, number 1, March 2007, pages 7-17.

The rediscovery of the 1399 accounts of the gild which controlled the Paternoster play which taught the Lord's Prayer and was played on an occasional basis. Confirms earlier speculation about the structure of the play in seven parts and reveals additional duties of the gild including a light and a prayer-board in the Minster; some analysis of members and income.

Sanae Ikeda, 'Caxton's printing of Christine de Pisan's *Fayttes of Armes and of Chyvalrye*, *Journal of the Early Book Society*, volume 10, 2007, pages 185-200.

An examination of the set-offs in eleven extant copies of the 1489 edition to elucidate the processes of Caxton's printing house. The paper was dampened before printed, and it and the ink dried at different rates when hung out. In this case the set-offs were created when the printed pages were apparently folded and piled by each individual quire; probably the pressure of a standing press was also applied to the piles of quires.

Maureen Jurkowski, 'Lollardy and social status in East Anglia', *Speculum*, volume 82, number 1, January 2007, pages 120-52.

In great detail and from an amazing number and variety of sources, the author discusses Lollardy in rural Norfolk and Suffolk in the first half of the fifteenth century: first the overall picture (with map), showing how it was concentrated in an area south-west of Norwich, particularly the villages of Loddon and Earsham, where the heresy was brought mainly by sympathizers who fled London after the Oldcastle revolt. The people they influenced were often of a relatively high social status, to whose self-confidence 'Lollardy with its creed of self-reliance' appealed.

Hannes Kleineke, 'Lobbying and access: the Canons of Windsor and the matter of the Poor Knights in the Parliament of 1485', *Parliamentary History*, volume 25, part 2, 2006, pages 145-59.

Assesses the means of access by petitioners and the people providing it and where they were accosted. Access to the king was essential for success as in the case of the Canons of Windsor who preserved their Yorkist endowment with the help of Oliver King's favoured position with Henry VII. The Poor Knights lost their case and once again became dependent on the Canons for support.

James Lee, "'Ye shall disturbe noe mans right': oath-taking and oath-breaking in late medieval and early modern Bristol", *Urban History*, volume 34, part 1, 2007, pages 27-37.

The Michaelmas Day ceremony of oath-taking by Bristol's officers set out their allegiance to the king and their accountability and duties. The language of the oaths of the entire hierarchy (from apprentice up) is examined and how office set a man apart, subjecting him to special rules. The author compares the

reverence of an oath on the Bible, which contributed to law and order, to the waivers and disputes which emphasised an oath's disruptive power.

Alain Marchandise, 'Jean de Wavrin, un chroniqueur entre Bourgogne et Angleterre, et ses homologues bourguignons face à la guerre des Deux Roses', *Le Moyen Age*, volume 112, parts 3 and 4, 2006, pages 507-27.

After a brief discussion of Wavrin's position among Burgundian historians and his life the author argues that he had Yorkist sympathies and that these may have been due to his meeting Anthony Woodville on the occasion of the famous Smithfield tournament in 1469; he concludes that Wavrin was the main source on English events for the Burgundian court, witness the surviving manuscripts. This article is part of a thematic volume on the historical culture at the Burgundian court and includes a 23-page bibliography on the subject.

Neil Murphy, 'Receiving royals in later medieval York: civic ceremony and the municipal elite, 1478-1503', *Northern History*, volume 43, September 2006, pages 241-55.

Considers the entry from the point of view of the providers, the mercantile elite: how the city learnt of the coming event; its comparison with the provisions by other towns; its employment of specialists such as Henry Hudson in 1483; the use of public space which could be rented to important citizens; adornment of building and clothes worn; gifts to monarch paid for by councillors and their private access to him and his court; and the use of the Corpus Christi play.

Nicole Rice, 'Profitable devotions: Bodley MS 423, Guildhall MS 7114, and a sixteenth-century London pewterer', *Journal of the Early Book Society*, volume 10, 2007, pages 175-184.

The Guildhall MS is the 'Jury Book' presented to the Pewterers' Company in 1463 by Robert and Cecily Chamberlayn; it includes the oaths sworn by the freemen of the company, ordinances, obits, and recommendations for honest behaviour. The Bodley MS contains religious, meditative texts copied by the Carthusian Stephen Dodesham, which were later owned by a pewterer, Alin Kyes. Both MSS are presented as productions of the same desire to be obedient to God and love one's neighbour.

Charles Tracy, 'Master William Pykenham, LLD (c. 1425-97, scholar, churchman, lawyer and gatehouse builder', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History*, volume 41, part 3, 2007, pages 289-322.

The family connections of Pykenham, Archdeacon of Suffolk, and a brief summary of his career precede a detailed description of his tomb and magnificent gate-tower which survive at Hadleigh, and his gatehouse which survives at Ipswich, with extensive cross referencing to and illustrations of comparable buildings.

Livia Visser-Fuchs, 'The manuscript of the *Enseignement de vraie noblesse* made for Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, in 1464', in G.H.M. Claassens and W. Verbeke, eds, *Medieval Manuscripts in Transition. Tradition and Creative Recycling*, Louvain 2006, pages 337-362.

Discusses the political and diplomatic circumstances in which the manuscript, (Geneva, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire fr. 166) was made, as well as the text, the probable author (Hue de Lannoy), the book's curious illustration and ownership marks and why and by whom it was – perhaps – presented to Warwick. Two appendices list other manuscripts of the text and those of related texts, the *Instruction d'un jeune prince*, the *Vraie cronique d'Escocce* and *Pour ce que plusieurs*; three black and white illustrations.

Christine L. Winter, 'The Portsoken presentments: an analysis of a London ward in the fifteenth century', *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, volume 56, 2005, pages 97-161.

The only surviving ward jury returns for medieval London: 1465-83 with gaps. Portsoken is the most eastern of the city's 24 wards outside its wall and near the Tower; its alderman was the prior of Christchurch (Thomas Pomeroy 1445-81, Thomas Percy 1481-95). They indict matters of nuisance, especially environmental but also sexual and public. The editor's analysis corrects several currently held misconceptions, for example on the level of cleanliness in the streets. Full description of rolls and an edition in modern spelling; lists of officers, jurymen, table of indictments and index of individuals.

Notes On Contributors

Nicholas Amor is a solicitor practising in Bury St Edmunds and is researching part time at UEA a DPhil thesis on fifteenth-century Ipswich. He has written and lectured on medieval Suffolk for many years.

John Ashdown-Hill, member of the Royal Historical Society, author of a forthcoming study of Eleanor Talbot, currently completing a PhD on John Howard's client network, and researching Yorkist royal DNA.

J.L. Bolton is a Professorial research fellow in the History Department at Queen Mary, University of London.

Andrew Breeze (b. 1954), MA, DipCeltStud, PhD, FRHistS, FSA, is the author of *Medieval Welsh Literature*, Dublin 1997, and co-author with Richard Coates of *Celtic Voices, English Places*, Stamford 2000.

Richard Britnell who specialises in the social and economic history of the Middle Ages, was successively a lecturer, reader and professor of History at Durham University, but is now retired.

John Clark is Senior Curator (Medieval) at the Museum of London. He has written on medieval London topics and worked on exhibition projects, including the Museum's new Medieval Gallery.

Howard Clarke retired recently as Associate Professor of Medieval Socio-Economic History at University College Dublin. He continues to work on various projects and as secretary of the Royal Irish Academy.

Anne Crawford is the Archivist at Wells Cathedral. Her publications include *Letters of the Queens of England*, *Letters of Medieval Women* and *The Yorkists: The History of a Dynasty*.

Heather Falvey has recently completed her PhD thesis on custom, resistance and politics. She teaches local history, palaeography and research methods for the University of Cambridge's Institute of Continuing Education.

Penny Granger, an independent scholar based in Cambridge, gained a PhD from the University of East Anglia in 2006 for a thesis on the liturgicity of the N-Town Play.

David Grummitt is a Senior Research Fellow at the History of Parliament. He is the co-author of *War, State and Society in England and the Hapsburg Netherlands c. 1477-1559*, Oxford University Press 2007.

Peter Hammond. President of the Society, Research Officer until 2001. He is the author/editor of books on late fifteenth-century history, including the battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury.

Alison Hanham. Associate Professor of Medieval History at Massey University (retired). Her recent publications include articles on the letters of John Paston's friend, Friar Brackley, and the texts of More's *Richard III*.

Maureen Jurkowski is an Honorary Research Fellow at University College London and the author of numerous articles on the Lollard heresy. She is currently based at The National Archives.

Julian M. Luxford is a lecturer in Art History at the University of St Andrews. His publications include *The Art and Architecture of English Benedictine Monasteries, 1300-1540: A Patronage History*.

Mavis E. Mate is an Emerita Professor at the University of Oregon. She has written extensively on the economy and society of late medieval England and published two books dealing with women.

Carol Meale is Senior Research Fellow, University of Bristol. She is the editor of *Women and Literature in Britain 1150-1500* (Cambridge 1996). She has written extensively on the fifteenth century.

Ann Eljenholm Nichols, author of *Seeable Signs* and *The Early Art of Norfolk*, an index of parochial art, is currently preparing a pictorial index of Cambridge College manuscripts.

S.J. Payling works for the History of Parliament Trust.

James Petre. A member since 1967. He currently works for the Chartered Institute of Public Relations and continues his research at Cardiff on the Crusader Castles of Cyprus.

Compton Reeves is Professor Emeritus of History at Ohio University, where he teaches one term a year. He resides in Arizona, and is past Chairman of the American Branch of the Society.

Jane Trump graduated in history at York University in 1981, studying under Professor Barrie Dobson. She is currently researching Thomas Grey, Marquess of Dorset.

Livia Visser-Fuchs is writing a book on Jean de Wavrin's historical work.

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), p. 48.

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

Contributions for the 2008 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.