

Book Reviews

THE WORLD OF THE STONORS. A Gentry Society. Elizabeth Noble. 2009.
The Boydell Press, Woodbridge, £50. ISBN 978-1-84383-429-8.

By a sad failure in what social historians term 'networking', I learnt of this book only when it was in final proof, and was too late to alert my neighbour across the Tasman to the existence of my article in *The Ricardian* of 2005, or to signal my forthcoming criticisms of Kingsford's edition of the Stonor letters and papers in the *Review of English Studies*. My projected new edition of the letters will benefit greatly from Elizabeth Noble's assiduous researches in the National Archives. Her short biographies of some of the Stonors' kinsmen and associates will prove equally useful, and she appends a very extensive bibliography.

By necessity, as much as choice, Noble focuses on the Stonors' role as 'elite' (as distinct from 'middling') members of a 'gentry society'. She quotes Colin Richmond's intention 'to let the Pastons do the talking', and says rightly that such an approach is less suitable for the Stonors. Of seven generations of Stonor males, only four left any letters that could be called personal: Thomas II (2) and his sons William (5), Thomas (3) and Edmund (3) – unless one adds Edmund's pathetic bequests of 1475. This means that many of the correspondents whose letters the Stonors kept are replying to others that do not survive, thereby creating huge problems for an editor who seeks to discover exactly what was going on. The question, 'who did the Stonors think they were?' cannot be answered. Instead, Noble asks 'What did their neighbours think of the Stonors?'. Her case is sometimes overstated. The Stonors, she says (p. 190), 'had no need to strive for gentry status or the trappings of its culture, and ... were constantly informed about how worshipful they were'. The word 'worshipful' was virtually obligatory in letters, meaning no more than the modern 'dear so-and-so'. And as Kingsford remarked in 1919, 'There was so much interchange of service between country squires, that one cannot attach special weight to the letters addressed to Thomas Stonor (II) by his neighbours'. Thomas Mull, for one, would be surprised by Noble's assessment that Thomas II 'demonstrates that he shared the [gentry] value of repaying his debts' (p. 161), and William Stonor be insulted by the idea that he acted as a collector of wool fells.

While William might have been as gratified as astonished to learn that he 'displayed those gentry qualities [*sic*] of flexibility and opportunism, even an entrepreneurial spirit, in embarking on his wool enterprises' (p. 97), he divested himself of those interests as soon as he could after the death of his wife, Elizabeth, and his uncle-by-marriage, William Harleston, expressed his opinion of such demeaning activities when he advised William not to 'over-wife you, nor over-purchase you, nor over-vile you ('disparage yourself') in future. (The frequently-quoted words 'over wissh yow' and 'owyr bild you' were products of Kingsford's imagination).

Totally baffling is Noble's suggestion (p. 57) that one of the Stonors added 'more gravitas to the Stonor lineage' by claiming to hold land from the lord of March, 'in the way that the Tallensi of northern Ghana reworked their genealogies'. The piece of land in question had been held of the earl of Ulster, from whom it descended to the earl of March by a marriage in 1368. On the other hand, one would like to know more about the scholastic exercises that Noble mentions in one unprinted document, and the strolling players at Christmas whose visits are reported in another.

Noble quotes Christine Carpenter's statement that the value of the collection as a whole had not been properly recognised. She does little to enhance its value to historians when she mistranslates, or otherwise misrepresents, some of the contents. She was rash, in particular, to attempt a translation from Friar Edmund's Latin letter to Edmund Stonor (d. 1382, Noble, p. 137). I am therefore a little suspicious about the alleged purchase of a lute in one household account: what does the original Latin say? In other places, too, Noble imposes her own interpretation on what has been written. Where Thomas III wrote to his brother William, 'Fain I would hear tell that I should be sent for to be your gossip ('godfather')', Noble proposes that 'William may have thought that his wife, Elizabeth, was pregnant'. That ignores the indelicate jibe that follows: 'but it is told me ye strike flat'. Still more oddly, when Thomas says in another letter that he will wait to return to England before ending his business with an assailant, 'or in Thomas's spelling, 'or I hende with hym', Noble seems to think that the word in question is the poetic 'hend', 'meaning being courteous in a chivalric sense, and that 'hym' means Thomas's brother Edmund (p. 164. Her further proposal that Thomas was younger than Edmund is unconvincing). She also misunderstands the whole purport of the angry letter to William, who was then steward of Thame, by George Stanley, Lord Strange (the same who

would become hostage for his father before Bosworth). And, for instance, Jane Stonor did not call the priest John Shynner 'varlet, deaf and her traitor'. Kingsford's 'varlet' is 'harlet' in the MS, and 'deffe' is Shynner's spelling of 'thief'. But Kingsford's misreading of 'the lord Mere' (i.e. mayor) who held Jane Stonor's arms, as 'the lord Mese', meant that Noble was unaware that Jane had her coat of arms engraved on a goblet that was made for her by the goldsmith Humphrey Hayford, mayor of London in 1477-78.

After the letters end, in 1483, Noble charts the further history of the family up to 1535. In 1499 the long descent of the Stonors' worshipful lineage from father to eldest surviving son was broken, as a result of William's penchant for marrying widows. He finally achieved, by his third marriage, one solitary son, who would die at the age of seventeen before producing an heir.

ALISON HANHAM

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY VII: Conflicts, Consequences and the Crown in the Late Middle Ages. 2007. Edited. Linda Clark. Boydell and Brewer, Woodbridge, £50. ISSN 1479-9871

This volume is centred around papers given at Merton College, Oxford, in the autumn of 2006, a conference called 'War, State and Society in Later Medieval Britain'. Of the eleven papers, eight bear directly on the theme of war, and five of these concern the last phase of the Hundred Years' War, giving the whole a coherence that such collections of conference papers often lack. Indeed, taken together these five essays, with their varying approaches, make a very valuable contribution to the subject. Jim Bolton's entertaining piece on the payment of the ransom of Sir Thomas Rempston, captured at the battle of Patay in 1429 and detained for nearly ten years until the massive sum of *circa* £3,300 had been paid, exploits a unique source. The ledger book of the London branch of the Italian bank of Filippo Borromei for the years 1436-39 shows who contributed (largely London merchants) to the raising of the second part of the ransom, although unfortunately it gives no clue as to their motives or the security they demanded from Rempston's family. It also, curiously, shows that the bank, probably through its miscalculation of an exchange rate, made a loss in transferring these funds to Rempston's captor, Tanneguy du Chastel. Catherine Nall's essay displays originality of another sort, in its manipulation of the sources. In a complex and well-argued piece, she seeks a 'diagnosis' of the English defeat in late fifteenth-century translations of military texts (*De re militari* and Chartier's *Quadrilogue invectif*) and annotations in

the surviving manuscripts. She treats the translations as in themselves 'creative works', subtle rewritings and reinterpretations of their original texts in the context of contemporary experience. In translation changes and annotations, she finds an emphasis on the central importance, in the maintenance of military conquest, of the discipline of soldiers and proper financial provision for war, the first of which could not be maintained without the second. In other words, the loss of Lancastrian France, as reflected in these texts, was seen as a function of English failure in these two crucial spheres, a failure which exposed the Norman population to the depredations of unpaid soldiers. While a similar 'diagnosis' can be traced in non-literary contemporary sources, there the emphasis fell on the misappropriation of funds by individual commanders and captains; by contrast, the translators and annotators of Nall's texts anticipated modern commentators by identifying financial failings as collective rather than individual, an abdication of responsibility by the 'whole political community' which had failed to provide adequate funds. Her piece repays the closest scrutiny as does that of Michael Brown, who places Scotland's relations with England and France in the context of its own tortuous internal politics during the last phase of the Hundred Years' War. He argues that the divisions within Scottish politics were exacerbated by rival answers to the question of whether an active alliance with France was to be preferred to a passive peace with England. The struggle was, however, an uneven one; only in the early 1430s was a comprehensive peace with the English in active agitation. Even then James I's apparent preference for that peace was probably a function of diplomatic tactic rather than of either conviction or the connexions he had developed in his long years in English captivity. What did not waver was the preference of his subjects for the old alliance, an alliance nourished by long-standing presence of so many Scots in Charles VII's armies and the French king's personal ties with the lords, such as Archibald, Earl of Douglas, and John Stewart, lord of Darnley, who led them. The other two pieces on the last acts of the Hundred Years' War explore narrower themes but they do so clearly and successfully. Anne Curry places the under-discussed campaign of 1416, which culminated in the famous naval victory over the French that ensured the security of Harfleur, in the context of Henry V's perception of a fluctuating military and diplomatic situation. James Ross provides a persuasive account of the relatively low level of participation by the Essex gentry in the later campaigns of the Hundred Years' War. Only some twenty per cent are recorded as participating, strikingly few of whom fought under the militarily-active local magnates, de Vere and Bourghier. He ponders whether this disengagement from war was a product of a loss of enthusiasm or a lack of opportunity, whether, in other words, the size of the armies the English put into the field in the dog days of the Hundred Years' War was restrained by problems of recruitment or by the limitations of royal finance. Nall's piece implies that the general contemporary

perception was that it was the latter.

Three other essays are concerned with other aspects of war. Christine Carpenter takes a broad theme – the bureaucratic innovations and adaptations necessary, in the period between the 1280s and the 1420s, to ensure effective rule by a king abroad on campaign – and concludes that successful rule by a king *in absentia* depended as much on the administrators left behind as it did on the ‘system’ within which they worked. Kleineke, in what is, in the terms of archives, the most researched piece in the volume, explores Exeter’s experience during the Wars of the Roses. He shows that that experience was much more intense than that of most English provincial towns and cities, in part because of the political instability of the county in which it lay. Devon provides a striking illustration of the temporary and shifting quality of the rule of individual magnate families, as the feud between Courtenay and Bonville gave way to a period of flux in which one short-lived lordship succeeded another. Exeter’s rulers, who Kleineke portrays as the largely passive recipients of the unwelcome attentions of local powers, had to pursue a careful course, encapsulated in a memorable verbal exchange (recorded on the mayor’s court roll of 1455-56) between the Courtenay earl and the mayor, who succeeded in the difficult task of being both timid and defiant. The final piece concerning war is that of Anthony Goodman, who, in his examination of the impact of warfare on the east and middle marches of Scotland between the 1480s and 1510s, stresses the importance of demographic and economic factors in the rise of Scottish ‘surnames’, lawless groups bound together by kinship for the purpose for raiding.

The other three essays sit rather uneasily with the rest, but all have something to offer. Peter Fleming examines the contrasting experiences of the Welsh and Irish communities in the cosmopolitan port of Bristol, showing that the Welsh prospered (despite the ill-feeling that might have been expected to be engendered by Glyn Dwr’s rebellion) while the Irish did not. Interestingly, he identifies a political cause to hostility to the Irish in the 1450s, with the city’s rulers sympathetic to the cause of York and the leading Irish citizens identified with the Lancastrian Ormonds. Lucy Brown examines the public justifications adopted by successive ‘usurpers’ for their assumptions of the throne. She shows how strongly both they, and the audience before they sought vindication and exculpation, continued to pay homage to an hereditary principle that was repeatedly undermined by the unpredictable developments of practical politics. One might wonder what other choice they had, and one of her conclusions – that Richard III and Henry VII ‘preferred’ to advance unsatisfactory hereditary claims, ‘rather than make any attempt to offer a more radical, and potentially more coherent, justification for their actions’ – is surely anachronistic. The final essay in the volume is an exercise in micro-history. Gillian Draper sets out to show John Coppes, receiver

of Romney Marsh for the College of All Souls in the 1460s, personally promoted the use of written bills by the college's lessees, exploiting an earlier strong literate and educational tradition in the locality.

This is a volume of generally high quality, and given the restraints under which such collections of essays are necessarily compiled, the editor is to be congratulated for giving it a central focus by drawing together five excellent essays on the English experience of the last year of the Hundred Years' War. In addition, the essays of Kleineke and Fleming make a valuable contribution to fifteenth-century urban history. It is to be hoped that the series continues to thrive.

S.J. PAYLING

THE WEALTH OF WIVES: Women, Law, and Economy in Late Medieval London. Barbara A. Hanawalt. 2007. Oxford University Press, £58

ISBN 978-0-195311-75-4

In this book, Hanawalt returns to themes that she has explored in her earlier work on childhood, on female space and on the rights of widows. She believes that the circulation of wealth through female inheritance, and a widow's ability to collect and keep her dower for life, even over more than one marriage, significantly contributed to capital formation in the late medieval city. It was this wealth, that included craft skills as well as jewels, household goods and real estate, that was women's greatest contribution to the ultimate rise of London as an international metropolis. She, therefore, denies that in the wake of the Black Death, London women enjoyed any kind of 'golden age' and does not find any evidence of a significant number of women enjoying enhanced rights to apprenticeship or new employment opportunities. Even when young girls were apprenticed, for example, it was generally within some aspect of the cloth trade, such as silk thread making, embroidery, or as dressmakers, purse makers and the like.

Because of the availability of source material, the book is inevitably focused on the lives of London citizens – the better sort – with less space devoted to the lives of the poor and unfranchised. Thus there are chapters on the formation of a marriage and the marital experience that rely on the experience of just a few families. Likewise the chapter on women as consumers emphasizes their role as buyers and renters of houses, rooms and shops and as purchasers of food and clothing, but says very little about the importance of being credit worthy which made such transactions possible for the less affluent.

The book ends with a discussion of how women's position changed over the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Using the work of Sutton, Bennett and McIntosh, Hanawalt points to the declining employment of women

in silk and linen production, brewing, inn-keeping and related activities. In addition, she finds an increasing male dominance of the property market. Here her argument is less convincing. Her main source of evidence was the deeds enrolled in the Husting court, where the number of deeds by males acting alone grew at the expense of husbands and wives acting jointly. Unfortunately there is no means of knowing how many of the wives recorded in joint transactions had been actively involved in the decision making, and how many were content to follow the wishes of their husbands. Thus the change may have been primarily one of record keeping than of actual practice.

To anyone already familiar with the work of Hanawalt and other feminist scholars, this book does not provide many new insights, but for students who are looking for a succinct overview of women's position in London society at this time, and how it compared with the situation of women on the continent, this could provide a good starting point.

MAVIS MATE

POVERTY AND WEALTH: Sheep, Taxation and Charity in Late Medieval Norfolk. Edited by Mark Bailey, Maureen Jurkowski and Carole Rawcliffe. 2007. The Norfolk Record Society, volume 71. Available from Dr Alan Metters, 29 Cintra Road, Norwich NR1 4AE, £18, £3.50 p&tp. ISBN 978-0-9556357-0-0

During the early fourteenth century Norfolk was the wealthiest and most densely populated county in England; although it lost its pre-eminence during the following two centuries, the documents transcribed here demonstrate clearly that various aspects of its economy continued to flourish. This volume comprises the accounts of a major flockmaster, income tax assessments from a leading provincial city, and deeds and charters recording charitable giving in an important urban centre. Rather than simply recording the financial affairs of the great and the good however, these documents also bring into focus the ordinary folk whose labours and property were inextricably bound together with them, folk such as Roger Wrask, shepherd, of Sedgeford (p. 26), Robert Catlyn and his daughter Margaret of the parish of St Peter Mancroft, Norwich (p. 144), and Elvered Potekyn of Great Yarmouth (p. 223).

In his introduction to the sheep accounts of Norwich Cathedral Priory, 1484 to 1534, Mark Bailey explains their content and layout, and also the relationship between the three types of accounts. The first category comprises stock accounts of named shepherds on the priory's manors, which, amongst other things, state the location and size of the flock, and details of the movement of sheep during the accounting year, including births of lambs and deaths through disease. They also record 'cullet' payments from locals who benefited from the

priory's flocks manuring their fallow land. Next are centralized stock accounts that count the total number of sheep in each of the flocks on a given day in the year. Thirdly, centralized accounts (surviving from 1525-34) summarise the annual receipts from, and expenditure upon, sheep farming across the whole estate. These are probably a later creation, produced in response to concerns about the priory's accounting methods. The three sets of accounts provide significant, hitherto untapped evidence for medieval historians as they reveal and reflect the importance of sheep rearing to the economy of the priory in particular and of East Anglia in general; furthermore, detailed accounts of sheep-rearing are unusual from this period, not least because many great landlords had withdrawn from this activity; and lastly, they demonstrate the evolution of centralized accounting systems in the late Middle Ages.

The second set of transcripts provides rare evidence of assessments for the war taxation levied in 1472 and 1489, rare because, contrary to usual practice, the assessors were not required to submit copies of their assessments to the Exchequer and so few of these assessments have survived; indeed, Norwich is the only locality in England from which there are returns for both of these taxes. The rolls from 1489 probably arrived in the Exchequer in 1492, during investigations into arrears (p. 109) but the survival of the 1472 returns is not explained. Following a brief but informative history of medieval taxation, Maureen Jurkowski discusses the purpose and nature of these two war taxes in particular and the troubles that collectors experienced, finally she compares and analyses the two assessments. Only about half of the 1472 assessment survives, whereas that of 1489 is full and complete. In 1472 each individual tenement or messuage was assessed and the owner identified, but the 1489 assessment, organised topographically, simply comprises lists of names and the total amount of tax to be collected from each person. It is estimated that the total assessed in 1472 was more than double that in 1489; moreover, in wards where both assessments survive, far fewer tenements were taxed in 1489 and their stated value had decreased dramatically. Initially the editor argues that the value of tenements had declined markedly between the two dates (p. 114) but analysis of assessments on goods indicates that evasion and underassessment were not uncommon (p. 117) – practices that certainly can be traced in some seventeenth-century Hearth Tax returns. Jurkowski concludes that decay had occurred in some areas of the city and moderate growth in others and suggests that the contents of the assessment rolls could be combined with archaeological and other evidence to corroborate this.

The final transcript is of the cartulary of St Mary's Hospital, Great Yarmouth. Originally founded about a century earlier, St Mary's was re-founded in 1386 when it received a new charter that marked the town's formal assumption of responsibility for the oversight and support of the hospital. The cartulary, which

was compiled fairly soon after, is of considerable interest because it casts light on the changes in charitable provision that occurred in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Having described the national and local background to almshouses, as medieval hospitals are more commonly known, Carole Rawcliffe then shows how the nature and function of St Mary's changed at its re-foundation. Whereas previously it had accepted sick and vagrant paupers, now sixteen reputable bedesmen and women were to be selected by the warden, bailiffs and burgesses to dwell there for life. Amongst other duties, these inmates were to offer a total of 300 *Paternosters* and *Aves* for the hospital's benefactors, wealthy merchants who had bestowed it with rents and property. That such an institution attracted charitable giving by townsmen in return for spiritual succour became a source of contention between the hospital and the local Benedictine priory, which would have expected to provide prayers in return for donations. Cartularies of pre-Reformation hospitals are rare survivals – only about fifty from over a thousand such institutions – and it seems likely that this particular record was kept because of disputes with the priory over revenue. As a by-product it also contains some details of the town's topography and of townsmen's bequests that are not documented elsewhere.

This volume has much to offer medieval historians because, although these documents relate to specific parts of a single county, each editor has provided an introduction that sets them in context and explains their wider significance. Although similar records were generated elsewhere, few others are known to have withstood the ravages of time and local or central government policy. Indeed, that these documents all survive from Norfolk speaks volumes for the richness of that county's surviving archival resources and the Norfolk Record Society should be congratulated for making them more widely available.

HEATHER FALVEY

FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT IN THE MIDDLE AGES. Edited by Peregrine Horden. The Proceedings of the 2003 Harlaxton Symposium. Harlaxton Medieval Studies, XV, 2007. Shaun Tyas, Donington; £49.50.

ISBN 1 900289 79 2 or ISBN 978-1900289-795.

This is another excellent volume in the Harlaxton Series, containing papers by twenty-one contributors. The symposium was conceived to test the hypothesis that medieval society was essentially one that favoured stability, and also to explore mobility in more than simply its physical aspects. Physical movement is not ignored, but the more familiar studies of peripatetic princes, urban migration, armies, and trade give way to some more unusual aspects of movement. The resulting

papers have been grouped into seven sections: Cultural Migration, Long Journeys, Itinerants, Women, Obstacles, Control, Image and Metaphor. These divisions demonstrate the breadth of focus, and the papers themselves range widely across disciplines, across both Britain and Europe, and from the early Middle Ages to the sixteenth century.

The papers are preceded by a stimulating introduction by Peregrine Hordern. Into the story of the mass mobility of migration and demographic change he weaves an awareness of the journeys of the individual. He points out that the possibilities for travel might vary according to period, geographical place, gender, and age, and that while many journeys might be local they could equally be long-distance – even for those in the strata of society usually seen as static. He also raises the matter of how historians might engage with the possibilities offered by DNA research. Much of what he says on movement will be familiar to historians working in the field, but he nonetheless puts forward a strong argument for medievalists to emphasise yet again that mobility did not begin with the early modern period. He also argues for a more systematic analysis and synthesis of the material we now possess, in the hope that we may be able to provide an index for the scale of mobility in the Middle Ages and through this possibly find a way to chart changes in it.

Within a review, it is simply impossible to do justice to all twenty-one writers in this volume, and it would be invidious to pick out one or two from such a scholarly group. Moreover, the value of this volume lies as much in the sum of its parts as in the parts themselves. Ranging so widely over time, space and discipline, the papers spark off all sorts of further comparisons and contrasts. A brief comment on each section will indicate the richness of the volume.

'Cultural migration' is illustrated by Christopher Page's examination of the Frankish-Roman contacts which gave rise to Gregorian chant, and it is complemented by Jan Hawkes's illustrated discussion of the transmission of early Christian art from Rome to and then through Anglo-Saxon England. For a later period Sophie Oosterwijk discusses the migration of the *Danse Macabre* from murals to misericords (also with illustrations), and Wendy Scase looks at the circulation at the end of the fourteenth century within Lollard texts of Peter Ceffons's *Epistola Luciferi*, despite attempts to control heretical tracts.

In 'Long journeys' Ian Wei first takes us into the physical journeys made by wandering scholars and then discusses the importance to later scholars of imagined travels for *exempla* and moral teaching. Peter Biller revisits the question of long-distance travel by heretics in Europe, and David Levine examines the 'normal' range and scale of the journeys of the higher clergy.

The fairly familiar world of itinerants such as pardoners and pedlars is given freshness by R.N. Swanson on the role of the church-sanctioned travellers

as a means of disseminating information, and by James Davis on the changing attitudes to pedlars (illustrated).

The section on women has very broad spectrum and includes Christopher Baswell's discussion of female mobility in the myth of Albina, Richard Smith on the movement of customary tenants on marriage in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century, and Caroline Barron on the migration of the cult of St Zita of Lucca to England.

The section on obstacles again includes an interesting mixture. Jennifer Neville explores the mental barriers to travel (in this case extreme xenophobia in medieval poetry); Paul Brand looks at the very practical obstacles (flood, arrest, and attack) to getting to English law courts in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries; and Carole Rawcliffe argues that medieval lepers had much greater freedom of movement than 19th century writers believed (illustrated).

In the section on the control of movement Dave Postles points out that the church not only encouraged movement (with such activities as voluntary pilgrimage and crusades) but also demanded it through Pentecostal processions, penitential pilgrimages, or referral to church courts; Nicholas Orme examines Exeter Cathedral's policies in ordering and controlling visitors' access to its precincts and buildings; and Jessica Freeman looks at the peculiarly English phenomenon of those in sanctuary being allowed to 'abjure the realm'.

Finally in 'Image and Metaphor' M.A. Michael considers the historical investigation of manuscripts as itself a 'journey' between past and present, using the instance of BNF MS Fr 571, a work probably created for the betrothal of the future Edward III and Philippa of Hainault (illustrated); Christa Grössinger considers the road to Hell (illustrated); and Ad Putter considers the road towards God through Hilton's *Scale of Perfection*.

We may indeed need the systematic analysis of scale and change that the editor calls for, but these chapters, as he also says in concluding his introduction, 'give us a Middle Ages that was very much alive'; they also provide a feast for those interested in 'journeys' of all types.

WENDY R. CHILDS

Wendy Scase's *Literature and Complaint in England 1272-1553* contributes to the burgeoning study of the influence legal culture had upon medieval literature in England, by demonstrating how a specific literary form (the 'complaint') was shaped by a particular development in English law. The complaint or written expression of a grievance as a means whereby one could seek judicial remedy for wrongs emerged during the reign of Edward I (1272-1307). Poetry and prose, in Latin, Anglo-Norman, and later English came to employ the epistolary formulae of the complaint to create a body of literature dubbed by Scase a 'literature of clamour'. This relied on the judicial plaint for its topics, forms and language, for terms such as 'bill', 'libel', 'petition' and 'plaint', and sometimes even for the means of its material production and modes of transmission.

Scase develops her theme chronologically, grounding it in a discussion of legal proceedings initiated by the complaint procedure. One of the earliest descriptions of the operation of the procedure in the English courts is found in the Latin *Poem on Disputed Villein Services* (from Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 57, fols 191v-92, a theological miscellany possibly from Leicester Abbey). This poem relates to a specific lawsuit, 1276-77, whereby a group of local villagers sought to establish that they did not hold their land as villeins of the abbot of Leicester, who hence had no right to the services he demanded of them. Scase argues that, as the procedure became firmly established as a way of starting legal action, the complaint informed literature within and beyond the judicial process. From the *Song of the Husbandman*, *Trailbaston*, and *Satire on the Retinues of the Great* in the mid-fourteenth-century British Library, MS Harley 2253 (fols 64, 113v and 124v), to the *Ballad set on the Gates of Canterbury* 1460 to the sixteenth-century *The Decay of England*, diverse writings were shaped by the framework of legal plaint as conventionally expressed in petitions and libels arising from the political crises of medieval and Reformation England.

Many little-known texts are introduced to the reader, Scase arguing that the dictaminal conventions involved in such works were adopted and 'vernacularized' by Chaucer among others. In this connection, however, she focuses on a text recently introduced elsewhere to Middle English scholars, the Mercers' Petition of 1388. Alone of the petitions submitted by other guilds at this time of factional London politics it is in English, and has attracted great attention among them because it is claimed that its scribe can be identified as Adam Pinkhurst. He, it is said, was also the scribe of the Ellesmere manuscript of the *Canterbury Tales* and the addressee of 'Chaucers Wordes unto Adam, His Owne Scriveryn' (a title supplied by John Shirley, famous for his gossipy rubrics in his anthologies of Chaucerian verse, produced

some thirty years after Chaucer's death). Pinkhurst's claim to be Chaucer's scribe is open to debate, and the link posited by Scase between the Petition and Chaucer's use of epistolary formulae is unfounded.

The plates of petitions and bills accompanying the text are not very helpful, since most are so reduced that it is impossible to read them. All are rather dark, but this may well be because the originals are worn and dirty rather than due to the quality of their reproduction. Many of them were affixed as posters in public places where they could be seen by the populace at large.

Literature and Complaint is an interesting, but not an easy, read, which covers a great deal of ground. The primary sources cited include two separate lists, one for manuscripts and one for printed and electronic works, beside an extensive bibliography. Scase, however, refers to many more manuscripts in her text (for instance, Bodley 57 and Harley 2253) than are cited as primary sources. Presumably she is conscientiously distinguishing between those she has seen and those she has not, though I regret the absence of a proper index of manuscripts.

PAMELA ROBINSON

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY VIII. Rule, Redemption and Representations in Late Medieval England and France. Edited by Linda Clark. 2008. The Boydell Press, Woodbridge, Suffolk. £50.00. ISBN 978-184383-414-4

One of the main tasks for the editor of this excellent series seems to be finding an alliterative title for each volume beginning with either an 'R' or a 'P'. It must be a thankless task and, frankly, it is very difficult to see any theme in this collection of essays, although each article does have something of importance to say. This volume is also evidence of how wide-ranging in approach fifteenth-century studies have become, from the politics of stained glass in Norfolk (David King) to how Henry Medwall's play *Fulgens and Lucres* should be read as part of the debate on 'old' and 'new' nobility in Henry VII's reign in an article by Ruth Lexton that provides an object lesson for historians on the use of contemporary literature. Anne Sutton focuses on the doodles in capital letters that have long delighted tired scholars working their weary way through lengthy plea rolls. Those she has found were created by a clerk of the Merchant Staplers of Calais although these are more miniature works of arts than idle scribbles. They also provide the material for an important piece on scribes and their careers and on the political attitude of the Company of the Staple to the accession of Edward IV. Another hidden gem from the archives comes from an unlikely source, the records of the Court of Common Pleas. Jonathan Mackman skilfully shows how the most boring of cases in these convoluted and baffling plea rolls throws up the most

surprising evidence, in this instance of the plate, jewels jewelled clothing, and gold and silver vessels, allegedly worth 5,000 marks, almost certainly the property of Lucia Visconti, daughter of Bernarbò Visconti, lord of Milan (d. 1385) and unfortunate wife of the debt-ridden Edmund Holand, Earl of Kent (d. 1405). Mackman's article is both an excellent detective story and a valuable primer on how to use the records of the Court of Common Pleas. For Lucy Rhymer the restoration of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, to a serious political figure rather than a man living in the past is long overdue. Here she shows convincingly how he managed to win the support of London and the Londoners in the 1420s and retain it until his death when he became the 'Good Duke Humphrey'. This is important urban political history involving the creation of a reputation, precisely the theme pursued by Kathleen Daly in her analysis of the importance for the Dauphiné of the battle of Anthon in 1430. No, this reviewer had never heard of it either, but Daly provides an almost classic piece of French provincial history, with the forces of the Dauphiné defeating the ambitions of Louis de Chalon, prince of Orange, supported by Savoyards, Burgundians, Germans and even Englishmen. The battle is a prime example of the ways in which local and regional politics were enmeshed in a broader conflict over the French throne between Charles VII and the English. Given that there are similar local and regional aspects to the 'Wars of the Roses', there are interesting parallels to be drawn here about the creation of memory, and none more so perhaps than between the battles of Anthon and Towton.

The volume is opened by Carole Rawcliffe in her usual elegant and thoroughly informative way with a study of the Guild Almshouses of medieval England which also has much to do with the public and private reputations of their founders, be they individuals or corporate bodies, urban communities and guilds of master mariners. Colin Richmond then takes us gloriously to half-time with a shotgun blast at all those who seek to defend or even apologize for the excesses of William de la Pole, Earl, Marquess and Duke of Suffolk, in East Anglia. Perhaps he overdraws the sufferings of Sir John Fastolf a little but his central argument, that Suffolk rode roughshod over the widely-held concept of a 'common wele' is compelling.

This is an eclectic collection, then, providing much with which to agree and disagree, something acknowledged throughout by the contributors. David King accepts that he may be reading too much into the stained glass of Norfolk, Carole Rawcliffe acknowledges that almshouses made little contribution to the relief of the sick and the poor in quantative terms whilst Colin Richmond, as ever, asks far more questions than he answers. But that is the joy of this volume of essays which demonstrates admirably the many approaches to the history of fifteenth-century England.

J.L. BOLTON.

MY MOST ILLUSTRIOUS MOTHER, THE LADY KATHERINE: Katherine Swynford and her Daughter Joan. Anthony Goodman. 2008. The Dean and Chapter of Lincoln Cathedral. Available from Lincoln Cathedral Shop, Minster Yard, Lincoln LN2 1PX; tel: 01522 56164. ISBN: 978-1-870561-34-1

That Katherine Swynford is a well-known figure is due largely to *Katherine*, the best selling novel by Anya Seton, first published in 1954 and recently reprinted. Anthony Goodman gracefully acknowledges this fact by beginning his booklet (22 pages) with a quotation from the end of Seton's book. Katherine is buried in Lincoln Cathedral, with her daughter Joan close by, hence the reason for providing visitors with a little more information about the two women.

The story of Katherine's long liaison with John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, which culminated with their marriage and the legitimization of their four Beaufort bastards, is essentially one of a traditional female role. She may have changed the dynastic course of the English monarchy, but Katherine was primarily a mistress and wife. Joan, on the other hand, though less well-known, was a more significant figure in the politics of her day, and despite its title, this booklet is about her rather than her mother. She was born in the late 1370s, probably the youngest of the Beauforts and the only girl, and in her early teens her father married her off to one of his household knights, Robert Ferrers, a match befitting her bastard status. Ferrers died about 1396, leaving Joan a landless widow with two small daughters. Almost immediately her prospects were transformed by her parents' belated marriage. Her second husband was Ralph, Lord Neville, who owned substantial estates in Yorkshire and County Durham. Neville profited greatly from his wife's royal connections, gaining the earldom of Westmorland from Richard II and lavish grants of land in Yorkshire as a reward for his unstinting support of the new Lancastrian dynasty after Joan's half-brother, Henry IV, came to the throne.

Most of Joan's married years were spent child-bearing: she and Ralph had nine sons and five daughters who reached adulthood, in addition to her two elder daughters and his two sons and five daughters by his first wife, Margaret Stafford. Such fecundity is in itself remarkable, but it raised the major problem of how to endow so many sons and find suitable husbands for so many daughters. That Ralph and Joan did so successfully was due to royal influence. Henry IV allowed Ralph to settle his Yorkshire estates on himself and Joan and their heirs male, thus permanently depriving his son and heir by his first marriage of much of his patrimony. The king also helped the couple arrange wealthy marriages for their children, in effect capturing the aristocratic marriage market for a generation. Ralph died in 1425 and understandably a feud broke out between the two branches of the family, and Joan and her eldest son, Richard, Earl of Salisbury, had to fight hard until her death in 1440 to keep the Neville lands settled on them. It was their

success in this battle that made the Nevilles such dominant figures in the political upheavals of the mid fifteenth century and Joan a formidable and influential dowager in her own right.

Goodman goes on to describe Joan's literary interests, which are reasonably well-documented and show her in a more personal light. Thomas Hoccleve, for instance, copied out for her a volume of his work, and her brother, Thomas Beaufort, and others bequeathed her books. In her will, she herself bequeathed her mother's psalter to each of her four sons who were peers to hold successively for their lives. Her devotional life is illuminated by the references made to her in Margery Kempe's autobiography, by her correspondence with the priors of Durham and her religious patronage. She refounded the chantry at the altar in Lincoln cathedral before which her mother was buried. Goodman thinks that as a woman, Joan, far more than her brothers, was concerned for the soul of her sinful mother. She certainly chose to be buried with Katherine rather than in the Neville tomb at Staindrop where her husband lies with her effigy beside him. The chantry at Lincoln, prominently positioned in the Choir, remains dedicated solely to Katherine. This is a useful and informative booklet about two remarkable women.

ANNE CRAWFORD

PRINT CULTURE AND THE MEDIEVAL AUTHOR: Chaucer, Lydgate, and Their Books 1473-1557. Alexandra Gillespie. 2006. Oxford University Press, £56. ISBN 978-0-19-926295-3.

Alexandra Gillespie's *Print Culture and the Medieval Author* is a comprehensive bibliographical history of the transmission of the works of Geoffrey Chaucer and John Lydgate from 1473, the date of the first book printed in English (Caxton's edition of *The Recuyell of the Historyes of Troy*), to 1557, the date of the incorporation of the Stationers' Company whereby London's growing monopoly of the production and sale of printed books was ensured. By way of introduction she discusses their works in late-medieval manuscript, raising several interesting questions. What relationship did the increase in Middle English texts from the second half of the fourteenth century bear to changes in the book trade? How did the formation of the London mistery of Textwriters, Scriveners and Limners (1357) and of the Stationers' Company (1403) relate to such changes, and what was their impact on modes of book production? Here Gillespie overlooks the scriveners' decision to form their own separate mistery in 1373 as legal and business writers (*scriptores litterae curialis civitatis Londoniensis*), differentiating their craft from that of the textwriters, limners and other book artisans who later formed the amalgamated

guild that became the Stationers' Company. What was the impact of the paper revolution? Can we speak of the mass production of, or even of a speculative trade in, medieval manuscripts? Most importantly, what was the impact of print on existing ideas about the authors of literary texts?

Medieval writers cited the *auctor* and worried about *auctoritas*. Thus 'Aristotle' was a way of authenticating a text as belonging to the Western philosophical tradition, whereas 'Wyclif' was a succinct label for heterodox writings. But in medieval manuscripts there is usually no author's name; only two of seventeen copies of Chaucer's *Troilus* are ascribed to him. In print, however, a named author added 'cultural capital' to books, facilitating their promotion by publishers and booksellers, and permitting the canonization of an author's *oeuvre*. Most of the texts linked to Chaucer had already been printed under his name by 1557, far fewer were attributed to Lydgate.

Fifteenth-century manuscript production had been 'lively', though Gillespie perhaps overuses the terms 'commercial', 'commercially', in relation to it. Despite a standardized cycle of miniatures in copies of Lydgate's *Troy Book*, the manuscripts were bespoke productions. As she rightly remarks, the key to understanding pre-print book production was the flexibility of its operation. Books could be made by anyone: professional copyists, amateur scribes for their own consumption, monastic scribes, or students. But not necessarily by Adam Pinkhurst, member of the scribes' guild, whom Gillespie unquestioningly accepts was the scribe of the Ellesmere and Hengwrt manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*. This view is unfortunately widespread among English scholars (as in Wendy Scase's book, see review above/below, p. 000).

While texts could be transmitted easily before printing, the press speeded up the process immeasurably. It has been estimated that the average scribe could copy about two pages of prose in *textura* per day and four to six pages in a cursive script, but printing processed more and cheaper copies at a time. New systems for the organization and promotion of texts developed as a consequence of mechanized production. At first Chaucerian or Lydgatean works were printed individually in small quarto pamphlets that could be bound together as the buyer chose to form *sammelbände*, just as composite manuscripts had been compiled from booklets. However, as printers sought new ways to exploit the market folio *sammelbände* may have been provided by the book trade itself, registering the variety of texts available in a printer's shop.

Gillespie discusses how the 'packaging' of texts can effect their interpretation. De Worde's quarto editions of Lydgate's *Horse, Goose, and Sheep*, *Court of Sapience*, and *Virtues of the Mass* bore no author's name, but he promoted their sale by exploiting the popular demand for vernacular devotional material by including woodcut images of saints and the Eucharistic sacrament to emphasize

their underlying Christian message. The 1513 Pynson edition of Lydgate's *Troy Book*, on the other hand, has not only woodcuts of the author and of a presentation scene at court, but the title page, with its use of the royal arms and mottoes, the Beaufort portcullis badge and crowned Tudor rose, explicitly presents this volume as enjoying royal patronage, and thus worthy to be read by gentlemen.

Chaucer was the first English author whose works were assembled in a monumental folio edition, that of William Thynne published by Thomas Berthelet, 1532. Not only is this edition printed in a font based on *lettre bâtarde* rather than *textura*, but also the printer, Thomas Godfray, used a title-page border earlier employed in Froben's edition of Erasmus's *Epigrammata* (Basle, 1518). This presentation, based on continental models and which looks very different from an anonymous manuscript copy, supplies a cultural framework promoting the renown of England's literary heritage and her national poet in defence of the realm's prestige in the face of Polydore Vergil's denunciation of its Arthurian 'history'.

This careful study of manuscripts and printed books is accompanied by some interesting detail. In 1439 John Whethamstede, Abbot of St Albans, approved the payment of £3 6s 8d to John Lydgate for writing the first vernacular life of St Alban, the first cash payment ever recorded to someone for writing an English text. The 1542 edition of Chaucer's *Workes* by Richard Grafton prints the marginal note 'This is a Canterbury tale' besides a reference to pilgrimage as a penitential practice (Parson's Tale, l.104). This seems to be an earlier instance of 'a canterbury tale' in the sense of a cock-and-bull story than is cited in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (George Turbervile's *Book of Falconrie*, 1575), although Gillespie leaves the precise meaning ambiguous. An 'Afterword' discusses Lydgate's lost tomb.

The well-chosen plates aptly illustrate Gillespie's arguments. Separate indexes of manuscripts and of printed books demonstrate scrupulous scholarship, and are accompanied by an extensive bibliography.

PAMELA ROBINSON

CORNISH WILLS, 1342-1540. Edited by Nicholas Orme. 2007. Devon and Cornwall Record Society, New Series, Volume 50. Available from the Devon and Cornwall Record Society, 7, Cathedral Close, Exeter, Devon EX1 1EZ, £20 (UK) and £25 (overseas surface mail). ISBN 978-0-901853-50-9

Most record society editions of county wills calendar those from the local court, be it archidiaconal or episcopal, but Cornwall cannot be so lucky. The records of the archdeaconry of Cornwall do not survive prior to 1569 and those of the bishopric of Exeter suffered extensive losses due to enemy bombing during the Second World War. Professor Orme has done an admirable job tracking down wills of medieval Cornish men and women, and wills which relate to Cornwall in some way, wherever they may be found. While he does not claim his list is exhaustive, the edition includes all the 122 Cornish wills known to have survived up to 1540, together with extracts which benefit Cornish people or churches from a further sixty-six. The wills are listed in date order and are fully transcribed into modern English; there is a glossary of unfamiliar terms, and, of great benefit to the reader, a biographical note on each of the testators. The edition begins with a very full introduction on the nature of wills and how they were administered. Only a very few (22) survive either in the original or in the form of a private copy; all the remainder are taken from a court's registered copies. Most of these are from the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, which means there is the additional advantage of being able to access copies of the originals on the website of the National Archives. Most Cornishmen who left their homes went to one of three places, Exeter or Oxford, if they were clerics, and London, but that they often maintained a network of friends among fellow exiles and remembered their place of origin is evidenced from the bequests they made.

The majority of Cornish people who left wills disposing of their personal goods would have had them proved in the court of the archdeaconry of Cornwall, only those with property in Devon as well would have had to go to the expense of having their will proved in the episcopal court at Exeter, while those who had property outside the south west, usually in London, had, perforce, to use the Prerogative Court of the Archbishop of Canterbury. This means that this collection of wills is weighted heavily towards the gentry, and wealthy ones at that. There are fifty gentry wills, with members of the Arundell family most prominent. There are no wills of peers, because in the Middle Ages, none had their primary home in Cornwall. The collection is also noteworthy for the lack of women's wills. Most widows tended to live in one place and would have used the archdeacon's court, so there are only seven wills of women and extracts from two more. One of these seven, that of Rose le Soor, however, is of particular interest. Not only is it the earliest complete will (1342), it was made in the lifetime of a husband, a rare

occurrence, thus the property it deals with was almost certainly brought from an earlier marriage and which she wanted to benefit her daughters from that marriage.

Wills by and large followed a fairly constant pattern. The testators commended their soul to God and named their chosen place of burial and the arrangements they wanted for their funeral, often setting aside a specific sum to pay for it and for future masses for their souls. Then they moved on to charitable bequests, often to their parish church, its guilds or altars, revealing much about Cornish church buildings and furnishings, before dealing with personal bequests. It is important to remember that these did not constitute the sum total of their goods, the residue was left to the executors to deal with, and that their property was largely dealt with separately and married daughters would have received their major entitlement at the time of their marriage, sometimes not featuring in the will at all. Because of the comparative wealth of the testators here, the goods they bequeathed are of considerable social interest, though it is striking that while very few books appear among the wills of the laity, as early as 1348 one man left six, all to women. Of even greater interest are the two surviving inventories: that of yeoman John Keych in 1387, listing his stock and crops, and the goods of Rose le Soor referred to above.

Professor Orme has produced an exemplary book to fill a major gap in the history of late medieval Cornwall, which will be of interest to a much wider range of readers than its title might suggest.

ANNE CRAWFORD

RE-PRESENTING 'JANE' SHORE: Harlot and Heroine. Maria M. Scott. 2005. Ashgate. Aldershot, £40. ISBN 0-7546-3740-9.

Maria M. Scott's short volume seeks to explain the appeal of the Shore 'story' across the centuries following Sir Thomas More's representation of her in his history of Richard III, devoting a chapter each to the centuries succeeding the sixteenth. Her overall thesis in a nutshell is that the story's fascination – and on occasion its political relevance – comes through its staging of the collision between sexual desire and social order. Shore's 'popularity' is as an 'erotic victim'; that almost nothing was known of her as an historical personage by those retelling her story ensured that different ages were able to produce from the real Elizabeth Shore a 'Jane' Shore for their own times.

The first 'production' of Shore was Thomas More's, and had the more or less explicit aim of questioning the Yorkist dynasty's fitness to rule. Shore herself became for More an exemplary 'bad end' (he claims she still begs around London at his time of writing), but even more so an example of Edward IV's unkingly vulnerability to Jane's sexual influence, and of Richard III's tyrannical

manipulations. Whilst showing some sympathy for how she actually influenced the king for the better, Jane's function in More's account is a 'rhetorical' one as More seeks to make his points about the falls of over-influential subjects and the weaknesses of the Yorkist monarchs.

By the time of the next major fictional treatment of the Shore story, Thomas Churchyard's contribution to the 1563 *Mirror For Magistrates*, England had been ruled by a queen for well over a decade. The voice of the lament belongs to Shore's wife, presented as a figure 'both sinned against and sinning'. Her 'weakness' throws the king's abuse of his strength into sharp relief. Less politically-inflected accounts like ballads made more of her 'wantonness'; Michael Drayton's poems in his 1597 *Heroical Epistles*, uniquely, focuses on the courtship alone. Later sixteenth-century versions of the story make much more of Shore's location socially and geographically; Thomas Heywood's two-part *Edward IV* (1590s) develops the opposition between royalty and citizenship still further. Two other plays, Shakespeare's *Richard III* and the anonymous *True Tragedy of Richard III*, also represent her (though she does not appear onstage in Shakespeare's play). In the *True Tragedy*, as in the ballads, she is 'less intentionally wicked than constitutionally wayward'.

The seventeenth century showed little interest in Shore (Scott thinks that this is because Jacobean and Caroline tastes were for more 'bizarre examples of sexual irregularity'). Rowe's 1714 *The Tragedy of Jane Shore* was, on the other hand, 'an instant success', and Scott provides a sustained reading of it. *Shore's* neoclassical plot means that its titular heroine does not appear until after Edward's death, and though it is Shore's tragedy she is deprived of some of the agency of earlier accounts by this. Her only 'actions' are resisting Richard's political machinations and Hastings' sexual advances, and repenting. Chapbook accounts of the story after Rowe tend to offer the same story, a study in 'erotic masochism' centring on seductions and attempted seductions, after which 'eros' is displaced by 'pathos'.

The nineteenth-century allowed Shore a narrative voice again, after a gap of three centuries. Lucy Leman Rede's *The Monarch Mistress* gives us both Shore's voice and a third-person omniscient narrator's. Direct access to Shore's desire increases the tension between the harlot and heroine positions which define the Shore myth. Scott analyses a further three Victorian novels, Bennett's *Jane Shore: or, The Goldsmith's Wife* (pre-1841), Rymer's *Jane Shore: or, London in the Reign of Edward IV* (1846), and Ainsworth's *The Goldsmith's Wife* (1874), as well as Willis' play *Jane Shore* (1876). She attends to the variety of extenuating devices used - for example, Bennett's Shore has been badly advised by her mother, never loved Matthew Shore and believes him to be dead, is under a variety of constraints, and loves Edward.

The final chapter surveys a wide range of twentieth-century representations, across a range of media. This diversity - and the cultural distance

between a 1905 historical romance and analysing Shore's non-appearance in the Loncraine/McKellen 1995 postmodern 'remake' of Shakespeare's *Richard III* – makes it difficult to develop a thesis. Scott concludes that more explicit treatment of sexuality diminishes modern accounts aesthetically and distances them from their predecessors; she also detects a new censoriousness in Desmond Seward's account in *The Wars of the Roses* (1996). This chapter confines itself mostly to description – the textuality of the examples used is secondary to broad-brush accounts of what they 'say'.

There are some scholarly slips. Rede's *The Monarch's Mistress* is not in the bibliography, and Scott does not even supply a date of publication in the text. The intellectual and social contexts are very broad brush – is 'the switch from poetry to prose' *really* 'typical of the Enlightenment' (p. 89)? Overall, while the book brings a range of texts together, more work remains to be done in analysing and contextualizing them.

STEPHEN LONGSTAFFE

WARWICK THE KINGMAKER. Politics, Power and Fame. A.J. Pollard. 2007. Hambleton Continuum, London, £30. ISBN 978-1-84725-182-4

'When I became a postgraduate student at Bristol University in 1964', A.J. Pollard tells us, 'Charles Ross proposed that I should undertake a study of Warwick the Kingmaker'; however, 'after a month or two of preliminary exploration we decided that there was not enough material for a doctoral thesis'. Now, over four decades later, Pollard has penned just such a political study of this fifteenth-century celebrity. In particular, by probing beneath the surface of invaluable but all too clearly partisan literary sources, and maximising the potential of more neutral private letters, diplomatic correspondence and record evidence, he seeks to explore and throw new light on Warwick's public persona, behaviour and reputation in the political and military context of exceptionally turbulent times.

Virtually all contemporary and near-contemporary commentators, whether admirers or critics, highlighted Richard Neville Earl of Warwick's high profile role in the Wars of the Roses; moreover, as Pollard convincingly demonstrates, their contrasting verdicts have very much underpinned those of historians ever since. During the 1460s, for many, Warwick became a very model of chivalry: the London author of *Bale's Chronicle*, for instance, tells us, 'he was named and taken in all places for the most courageous and manliest knight living', while the Burgundian chronicler Georges Chastellain believed him a man 'about whom henceforth there will be told marvellous and noble tales'. In 1469 a Milanese envoy judged the earl as astute a man as ever was Ulysses; the Flemish monk Adrien de But, a few years later, likened him to a 'third king' of England at the height of his power

and reputation; and, as for Philippe de Commines, he placed this veritable 'prince' of his times in very much the same bracket as Edward IV and Louis XI. In 1460-61, moreover, Warwick was also said to have been 'much loved by the commons of Kent and London' and, when penning the *Great Chronicle*, Robert Fabyan specifically recalled how, in 1468-69, 'the earl was ever had in great favour of the commons of this land'. Yet, maybe, all these verdicts simply reflected Warwick's own spin on himself! Very different, certainly, was critical comment in official and quasi-official pro-Yorkist reports, newsletters and verses highlighting Edward IV's courageous struggle for his throne in 1470-71 and successful re-establishment of his dynasty, or vitriolic Burgundian outpourings portraying the earl as a perfidious traitor and outright disgrace to the noble ideals of chivalry.

Early historians of Warwick the Kingmaker very much picked up on contemporary and near-contemporary notions of him as both an exemplar of chivalry and a great man of the world. Polydore Vergil, for instance, concluded in early Tudor times that, as a young man, the earl was 'marvellously adorned with virtues' and 'wonderfully beloved of the people', and eventually met not a disreputable but a noble end at Barnet; his first biographer Thomas Gainford, a century later, portrayed him as the perfect aristocrat; and, for Thomas Carte in 1750, he was the wealthiest and most powerful man in the realm who 'deserved all the popularity he enjoyed'. In 1761, by contrast, David Hume had no time for the old nobility, saw Warwick as a hindrance to the growth of liberty, and believed him to be 'the last of those mighty barons that formerly overawed the crown and rendered the people incapable of any regular system of civil government'; for James Gairdner, in 1886, 'his removal was a blessing for his country'; and, in 1957, even Paul Murray Kendall reluctantly conceded that Warwick 'left no enduring print upon the English state'. Not until Michael Hicks' scholarly and well-informed 1998 biography, however, did a full-scale modern reappraisal of the Kingmaker find its way into print.

No wonder the 'Warwick phenomenon' so fascinates A.J. Pollard and analysing its origins, nature and significance provide the central core of his splendidly readable book. First, in four clear, coherent and frequently thought-provoking chapters, he outlines the earl's public career and explores its political context. By 1456, he emphasises, Warwick had emerged as a dynamic force in the Yorkist camp; in the later 1450s he became the most important man in England and most renowned Englishman on the continent; and, following the battle of Northampton in 1460, he found himself in command of the kingdom. Whether or not Warwick was a 'kingmaker' in 1461, he certainly remained at the very centre of political and courtly life during Edward IV's early years; however, after Elizabeth Woodville became queen in 1464, her father Richard Earl Rivers increasingly displaced him as the king's right-hand man. Eventually, in 1469, Warwick resorted

to rebellion, played the key role in restoring Henry VI to the throne in 1470 and, in 1471, not only met his military match at Barnet but lost his life in the process. Turning from 'Politics' to 'Power', Pollard then pens four analytical chapters, covering Warwick's massive estates and huge income (making him the wealthiest single magnate of the entire fifteenth century), his formidable affinity (particularly in the north and west midlands) and the crucial importance of his role as captain of Calais and keeper of the seas from 1457 at the latest. Finally, he addresses head-on the conundrum of Warwick's enduring 'Fame', critically examining, in particular, the validity of the earl's reputation as both a veritable champion of the common multitude and the very embodiment of contemporary notions of aristocratic chivalry.

A.J. Pollard's conclusions about 'this great gleaming star' certainly carry conviction. Charismatic, self-confident, haughty, arrogant, ambitious and acquisitive, Warwick deliberately cultivated celebrity and, almost alone among the magnates of his time, recognised and engaged with a political world beyond the narrow confines of landed, clerical and urban elites. A daring politician if a cautious general, he proved himself a consummate intriguer, dissembler and manipulator; even by 1461 he had become a veritable national hero; and, over the next decade, he not only put himself on a par with kings but contrived to outshine them. A loose cannon on the ship of state he may have been, and a transient prodigy, but no fifteenth-century aristocrat made so powerful an impact as Warwick the Kingmaker.

KEITH DOCKRAY

LATE GOTHIC ENGLAND: Art and Display. Edited by Richard Marks. 2007. Shaun Tyas, Donington, in association with The Victorian and Albert Museum, London, £35. ISBN 978-1900289-801.

Late Gothic England: Art and Display is a collection of thirteen papers originally presented at a conference in 2003 in conjunction with *Gothic. Art for England 1400-1547*. One might be disinclined to pick up a book published so long after the Exhibition and its prize-winning Catalogue, but any such inclination should be resisted. Eight of the current authors wrote either introductory chapters or entries for the Catalogue, and the same expertise informs this collection. Most of the essays concern Exhibition objects, or images included in the Catalogue introductory chapters, and many will remain definitive for the objects studied. The *Art* of the title encompasses eleven papers; *Display*, which seems to suggest the motivation of the people who commissioned and paid for the art, actually refers to the culture of Exhibition, the subject of the last two essays.

As Richard Marks points out in his preface, a number of the papers

focus on Continental art and influence (note the Exhibit title, *Art for England*, not 'English Art'), for example, 'William Sandys, a courtier in a changing market' by Maurice Howard and 'The Withypool altarpiece' by Susan Foster. Two essays deal with textiles: the Herkinbald tapestries, whose provenance is traced in Elizabeth Cleland's 'An *exemplum justitiae* and the price of treason' and 'The ankle boots and stockings of William of Waynflete' by June Swann and Lisa Monnas. Jane Geddes in 'The tomb railings of Lady Margaret Beaufort in Westminster Abbey,' a model paper of its kind, addresses issues of English craft and foreign craftsmanship. English workmanship is specifically addressed in Emily Chappell's 'New light on the "Little Men" at Naworth Castle' and Eleanor Townsend's survey of the pre-Reformation church furnishings at Cartmel Fell, "'For the loving of Almighty God.'" Margaret Aston integrates historical detail with iconographic analysis in 'A double death? St George's image and reformers' (the plural noun without article cunningly chosen to reach beyond the Reformation). It is especially good to have Kim Wood's thorough study of the little-known Mercer's Christ ('The Mercers' Christ re-examined'), though curious that she does not cite Pamela Sheingorn's treatment in *The Easter Sepulchre in England* (Medieval Institute Publications, 1987).

The papers, all of which are illustrated, are arranged in no discernible order other than roughly chronological. A number are purely descriptive, untrammelled by the tendentious theses that too often burden academic papers. The first essay by Catherine Reynolds on 'Painting and the visual arts in the poems of John Lydgate' is essentially a literary paper. It is illustrated by a scene from the Troy Book, which also featured in the Catalogue, a duplication characteristic in the current volume. Usually, however, duplicated plates are supplemented with additional images to provide the context in which the objects were originally situated, notably the head of God the Father (pl. 18) and the figure of Christ from a crucifix (pl. 46) with eight plates each for the Sandys home, the Vyne, and Cartmel Fell, respectively. Eleven plates illustrate Cherry's fine paper on the sillography of guilds and fraternities (one seal was exhibited, Catalogue 134, here pl. 3). The figure of the Mercers' Christ illustrated in the Catalogue introduction is supplemented with two further images. Although the Catalogue included a section on Lady Margaret Beaufort, the definitive essay on her tomb railings is independent of the Exhibition. It is richly served by ten illustrations. The other independent paper, which traces the provenance of the Herkenbald tapestry, is illustrated with four colour plates. Roger van der Weyden's *Exhumation of St Hubert* is also reproduced on the book jacket, a curious choice since Cleland devotes only one sentence to the painting.

Readers can pick and choose from this *florilegium* on the basis of specialised interest, but the two concluding essays should be required reading for every serious exhibition viewer. Both address the theories, often conflicting, behind the creation and realisation of exhibitions. Exhibit-makers have different ideas about

what visitors need and want. Indeed, visitors are a cantankerous lot. At the recent *Byzantium* exhibit at the Royal Academy, I overheard one woman complaining that not enough information had been provided with the objects, and I was particularly irritated by two decorated vessels placed so low that one needed to kneel to appreciate them, a hazardous manoeuvre in a crowded environment. Just such issues are addressed by Alexandrina Buchanan in her historically-oriented paper, 'Show and tell: late medieval art and the cultures of display,' tracing the shift from a museum culture primarily concerned with teaching (telling) to one increasingly concerned with displaying objects to their best advantage, thereby enabling the viewer to react sensually, to wonder, to admire. Lest any forget the significant strides that have been made in the art of display, the plates demonstrate the gulf between the 1902 Bruges *Exposition des Primitifs Flamands* (pls. 55 and 56) or the 1908 Burlington Fine Arts Society *Exhibition of Manuscripts* (pl. 57) and the three medieval exhibitions in the last quarter century, the 1984 *English Romanesque Art* at the Hayward Gallery (pl. 58), the 1987 *Age of Chivalry. Art in Plantagenet England* at the Royal Academy (colour pl.1), and the 2003 *Gothic. Art for England* (pl. 59), where the lighting was meant to simulate the atmosphere of a sacred place and evoke something of the awe and wonder that the objects would have originally inspired. Paul Crossley in the concluding essay, 'Between spectacle and history: art history and the medieval exhibitions,' describes the making of these three great exhibits against the background of the shifting fashions in academic thought and the cultural conflicts that arise when organizing committees comprise curators and academics. The inevitable *Sturm und Drang* lie just below the surface of Crossley's article. This sociologically instructive paper ranges from the dangers of corporate sponsorship to the kaleidoscopic intellectual upheavals of the last quarter of the twentieth century with their inevitable influence on exhibition making. Having read these two essays, visitors will never look at exhibitions in quite the same way.

ANN ELJENHOLM NICHOLS

THE LATE MEDIEVAL COLLEGE AND ITS CONTEXT. Edited by Clive Burgess and Martin Heale. 2008. University of York, York Medieval Press. Boydell and Brewer, Woodbridge, £45. ISBN 978-1-90315-322-2

This collection of essays publishes the proceedings of a conference held at the University of York in 2004, and as a themed volume on the late medieval secular college it is both long overdue and most welcome. In origin an early medieval institution, the college enjoyed a resurgent popularity in the later middle ages: more than 100 were founded in England between 1300 and 1540, even excluding academic institutions, while only a handful of monasteries originated in the same

period (p. 68). The twelve papers of this collection are grouped into three sections: four general essays on the context of the late medieval college, five similarly broad pieces on its role (or roles) in church and society, and three more narrowly focused case studies.

The first of the essays, by Clive Burgess, seeks to explain just why the secular college was such a success and he finds the key in its malleability as an institution – that is, its ability to be moulded by the preferences and needs of founders and patrons – and its fulfilment of a multiplicity of purposes. Colleges such as Ewelme in Oxfordshire served as both chantry and mausoleum for its noble founders, and almshouse and school for their tenants and employees. Burgess also sees the proliferation of colleges as related to the conduct of the Hundred Years' War and the concomitant need for an increase in intercessory prayers and liturgy to aid the war effort. He cites the importance of Edward III's foundations of St Stephen, Westminster, and, especially, St. George, Windsor, in providing models emulated by many other noble founders.

The next two essays widen the context to continental Europe and Scotland. Jerome Bertram's piece is very broad indeed, beginning with Charlemagne's foundation at Aachen in 877 and ending with the closures of the French colleges of Saintes-Chapelles and Vincennes in 1787, but it concentrates on the period after the reforms of the Fourth Lateran Council, and draws extensively on a published study of St Mary, Erfurt, one of the oldest (and still functioning) collegiate churches. Helen Brown's essay is the first treatment of Scottish collegiate foundations as a whole, categorising them into four distinct types: noble, royal, clerical and burghal. The earliest were the noble foundations of the fifteenth century, all administratively similar and located chiefly in areas under the influence of the trend-setting Douglas family. The royal foundations were slightly later, and the colleges founded by bishops later still, with their statutes expressing, in one case notably, the founder's concern for the quality of prayer. Burghal colleges, a sixteenth-century Scottish peculiarity, were, in effect, expanded parish churches whereby urban communities endeavoured to gain control over church building and streamline the administration of chantry endowments.

Martin Heale considers the relations between colleges and monasteries, arguing that contrary to expectations, they co-existed comfortably and in some cases, symbiotically. Monasteries provided models (both positive and negative) for many features of the colleges founded in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, and some colleges, indeed, were converted into monasteries, but by the later fifteenth century guilds and other institutions exercised a greater influence over the collegiate form, and monasteries themselves came to resemble colleges more closely (i.e., the relaxation of the monastic diet, domestication of claustral buildings and introduction of pocket money). Interestingly, however, he finds that

while colleges appealed to noble patrons, testators lower down the social scale continued to favour monasteries in will bequests.

The second section of the book kicks off with Alison McHardy's fascinating examination of the role of the secular college as source of patronage. Bishops, especially of monastic cathedrals, founded colleges to provide prebends for the personnel staffing their households and administration. This is the less attractive side of the secular college: to support 'frequently absent, multi-tasking incumbents', who 'took income, exercised power and enjoyed status without contributing to the spiritual welfare of their community' (p. 89). Both ecclesiastical and noble patrons, however, found colleges highly useful for this purpose, as evidenced by McHardy's investigation into patterns of patronage at Ottery St. Mary, Crediton, Newarke and Warwick, *inter alia*, but the importance of this role declined in the fifteenth century, when administrative posts were staffed increasingly by laymen, and royal and noble patrons, at least, tended to cede their rights to others.

Julian Luxford then looks at colleges as mausolea – a role sometimes integral to the church's artistic decoration – presenting a tri-partite analysis of chantry, non-chantry and educational colleges. Although well illustrated with examples of *in situ* survivals and excellent use of documentary evidence of non-survivals, none of his findings surprise. Chantry colleges tended to centre upon the tombs of founders and patrons, with clerics' tombs subordinate in size, type and location. Monument commemoration in non-chantry colleges varied considerably and it is difficult to draw more than broad conclusions, while educational colleges housed the unostentatious tombs of mostly fellows and benefactors. Pat Cullum then focuses on the charitable role of the college, stressing the fluidity of the institution which can be traced back to its pre-conquest origin. Early colleges were major providers of charity in their localities, although they tended increasingly to 'outsource' their charitable activities, but this tendency was reversed in late medieval (post Black Death) colleges, which often re-acquired or expanded their charitable functions.

The educational role of colleges is the subject of James Willoughby's essay on the provision of books for university and other secular colleges. Both housed permanent collections for reference and a circulating stock for loan, built up by bequests of former canons and fellows, for reasons neatly summarised in a bequest to Oriel College in 1576: as a monument of good will, to secure prayers and in recompense of debts to the college (p. 158). Magnus Williamson's examination of the provisions of the will of John Boraston, a musician at Eton College, opens out into a broader consideration of the changing status of musicians in secular colleges in the fifteenth century and the emergence of a professional group of lay, specialist singers of polyphony, whose relationships with their colleges were sometimes only marginal.

Anne Sutton's study of John Neel, master of the hospital of St. Thomas in Acre, London, for 43 years is the first of the case studies. In impressive detail, it demonstrates how the head of this poorly-endowed, reputed birthplace of St Thomas Becket exploited all the resources at his disposal to increase the college's wealth and standing – encouraging the patronage of the earls of Ormond as descendants of Becket's sister, hiring out the college as a meeting place for livery companies, fostering connections with the Mercers' company and a local fraternity, and founding a school. The second case study, by Winifred Harwood, presents an overview of the administration of Winchester College, based chiefly upon its financial accounts. Among many interesting details are the college's bulk purchases of wax for its chapel in London, imported mostly from Poland through Hanse merchants, and its dabbings in the fifteenth-century land market by the purchase of inns – evidently the shrewd investment of the day. Finally, David Skinner gives a dramatic account of the dissolution of Fotheringhay College, with biographical appendices of its musicians and choristers.

The quality of the essays is consistently good and they are full of intrinsic interest, while contributing nicely to the overall theme, and presenting altogether a flattering view of the late medieval college. In the interests of balanced reporting, this reviewer would like to have seen the inclusion of an essay on less successful colleges – for example, early foundations which languished in the later middle ages, such as St Edith, Tamworth or St Chad, Shrewsbury. This volume, however, is about the rehabilitation of the college and in this it succeeds.

MAUREEN JURKOWSKI

LONDON AND THE KINGDOM: Essays in Honour of Caroline M. Barron. 2008. Edited by Matthew Davies and Andrew Prescott. Harlaxton Medieval Studies XVI. Shaun Tyas, Donington, £49.50. ISBN 978-1900-289-91-7.

This, the sixteenth volume of proceedings of the Harlaxton Medieval Symposium, is dedicated to Caroline M. Barron, and with the theme of 'London and the Kingdom' offers a very fitting celebration of her career to date. As recounted by Vanessa Harding in her introductory chapter, Professor Barron herself wrote in 1995 of a 'recent flurry of interest in the history of London in the later middle ages' (Caroline M Barron, 'London in the Later Middle Ages 1300-1500', *The London Journal*, vol. 20, 1995, p. 22). Few could argue that this flurry was anything but the result of the support, encouragement and tutelage of Caroline – and this *estschrift* volume surely attests to this in the breadth and quality of its essays from no fewer than twenty-six of her friends, colleagues and both former and current students. In keeping with the interdisciplinary nature of the Harlaxton Symposium, and also of Caroline's own work, these contributions are organised

under seven headings ranging from 'Religious Life', to 'Lawyers and the Law in London' and 'London, Literature and the Kingdom'. Such a broad survey of current scholarship of late medieval London is a much appreciated contribution, for while monographs and articles in journals such as *The London Journal* have been plentiful, an overview such as this has been lacking for a considerable number of years. Indeed, for a comparable publication we would have to look to *Studies in London History Presented to P. E. Jones*, published as long ago as 1969 (edited by A.E.J. Hollaender and William Kellaway, London 1969).

The papers included here are diverse, yet a unity is maintained by their relationship to 'CMB's own broad and varied publication history which is extensively presented in Heather Creaton's closing 'Bibliography of the Published Writings of Caroline M. Barron'. For example, the papers gathered under the first heading, 'Producers and Consumers' can be seen as taking a lead from Barron's article on aristocratic consumption of 1995 – Ian Archer provides a masterful reappraisal of the economic role of the Elizabethan court in London under the title of 'Conspicuous Consumption Revisited' (C.M. Barron, 'Centres of conspicuous consumption: the aristocratic town house in London 1200-1550', *The London Journal*, vol. 20, 1995, pp. 1-16). Meanwhile Barbara Harvey supplies a detailed and engaging account of the reciprocal ties of payments and hospitality between Westminster Abbey and its London tenants and suppliers. Perhaps Martha Carlin's innovative and thorough discussion of household economy and the practical activity of buying food, 'Putting Dinner on the Table in Medieval London', can be seen in relation to not only Professor Barron's work on the London markets, but also what we learn to have been her first publication: *American Cooking for English Kitchens* (edited by Grace A. and Caroline M. Barron, London 1957).

The second of the themes covered in the volume, 'Religious Life' reflects another strand of Caroline's work, while also illustrating a common trend throughout the book of using an initial London example to explore broader national themes. Carole Rawcliffe's account of the importance of liturgy in the medieval hospital, for example, initially considers St Bartholomew's as a site of both physical and spiritual cleansing. Likewise Mary Erler examines the continuing communal life of nuns after the dissolution through the example of Syon by examination of the sisters' wills, along with others from Newcastle to Winchester. Clive Burgess' 'London, the Church and the Kingdom' uses the occasion of a ecclesiastical parade held in the city in 1535 to provide a powerful argument that all religious activity had not only local implications, but represented an 'act of state'. Gervase Rosser considers other aspects of lay religious activity in his wonderful essay, 'Party List', focusing upon the role of fraternities as social venues in terms of Aristotelian notions of 'good' friendship.

'Merchants, Trades and Learning' is a diverse section which begins with

Hannes Kleineke's enlightening vignette of fifteenth-century education in 'The Schoolboy's Tale'. Mercantile activity, though, is the focus of many more than the three other papers under this heading. John Oldland's stimulating re-appraisal of the 1544 lay subsidy presents an encouraging impression of the wealth of artisans and smaller traders and a more balanced distribution of wealth than we may hitherto have imagined. Nonetheless, the sums of money discussed in relation to Richard II's interactions with London and its Goldsmiths by Jenny Stratford remind us that medieval London was no egalitarian society, as indeed do the profits likely to have been made by fishmongers through customs evasion, enabled by their privileged position in the city, discussed by Stephen O'Connor in his 'A Nest of Smugglers?'. Detailed consideration of a successful (and we should hope, honest) merchant is provided by the encouragingly integrated biography of the vintner Simon Seman by Jessica Freeman, and Nigel Saul's discussion of his memorial brass, amongst others of Barton-on-Humber, the location of the 'field-trip' held from Harlaxton in 2004. Further biographical interest opens the section on 'Lawyers and the Law' in the form of Derek Keene's fascinating account of celebrated lawyer Francesco Accursii's dual career in the worlds of Italian politics, and the court of Edward I – during which time he lived in London, and appears to have stimulated administrative and legal innovation in the city. Penny Tucker's 'London and the Making of the Common Law' brings forward discussion to the fifteenth century, and considers, conversely, the influence of London's customs on royal legal innovation.

Maintaining the reflection of themes studied by Caroline Barron, Anne Sutton's comprehensive paper explores women's roles as wives, widows and daughters of London Mercers through their wills – illuminating a surprisingly 'self-contained' community. Stephanie Hovland's analysis of female apprenticeship, amongst the silk workers along with many other crafts, similarly unites economic history with gender history. The latter field is also represented by Christian Steer's detailed reconstruction of the roles of women in tomb memorialisation in London, both as subjects and commissioners of effigies and brasses. Elizabeth New also considers the interplay of gender and representation in her innovative and informative exploration of that vital accessory of the written word in medieval London, the seal.

The written word forms the basis of the final two sections of the volume, 'London Literature and the Kingdom' and 'Literacies' – the former contains lively inter-disciplinary interpretations of London's relationship with the throne. Stephen Rigby uses Chaucer's *Knight's Tale* to consider how contemporary ideas of tyranny were to our own in relation to Richard II's governance. Meanwhile, on a similar tack, Paul Strohm similarly illustrates contemporary ideals of power by 'reading the gaps' in the Great Chronicle of London's treatment of Henry VI's lacklustre

procession through London following his redemption in 1471.

Mary Rose McLaren's 'Reading, Writing and Recording' begins discussion of 'Literacies' by returning to consider the implications of the popularity that chronicle in the city – suggesting a more developed level of literacy and reflexivity than commonly ascribed to the late medieval London laity. Interestingly this appears to be contradicted by the final paper, Shelia Lindenbaum's 'Literate Londoners and Liturgical Change' where it is argued that few Londoners progressed beyond literate understanding to active interpretation of the gospels. A rather different form of literacy is discussed in Laura Wright's entertaining linguistic exploration of 'The Playground Language of London Schoolchildren' in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, with interesting medieval implications.

While the categories employed as headings in this volume are thus somewhat elastic, its eclectic nature is surely a supremely fitting tribute to the breadth and vibrancy of Caroline Barron's distinguished career, both as a scholar and author and as a valued mentor and friend to students of so many aspects of medieval studies. Indeed, this breadth and variegation is also a hallmark of the Harlaxton Symposia, and this volume also maintains the traditions of that institution in other respects – not least in the provision of a well-compiled index and accurately reproduced plates, as well as the distinctive green dust-jacket and handsome presentation. However, a welcome improvement is the higher quality, and thinner, paper which allows this, although the longest volume so far in terms of pages, to remain a manageable size. Indeed, this volume, in living up to its title of *London and the Kingdom* so admirably, should certainly be a welcome addition to the book collection of not only the London historian, but of anyone interested in the social context of the whole of later medieval England.

JUSTIN COLSON

EDWARD IV. Hannes Kleineke. 2008. Routledge Historical Biographies, London, £13.99(pbk). ISBN 978-0-415-36799-9 (hbk); 0-415-36800-6 (pbk)

Hannes Kleineke is one of the most brilliant linguists, researchers, and historians, working on fifteenth-century England, but Edward IV is not his primary area of expertise and this brief biography does not contain his most original work. It digests and re-presents the great books of Cora L. Scofield and Charles Ross in a shorter and more accessible form. It is based on extensive reading of the printed primary and secondary sources and on occasional highly-effective forays into the public records. It is much more fully referenced than Sean Cunningham's *Henry VII* in the same series. Discussions of Edward's historiographical reputation, his origins and childhood are followed by five chapters of narrative, assessment of government and the man, and the end of the reign. *Edward IV* is very well-organised and written

in the most lucid prose that successfully conceals that English is not the author's first language. Kleineke has a gift for cutting succinctly through dense detail and complex issues, for example the dynastic alternatives in Henry VI's later years, the northern resistance to Edward IV, and the conflict between the patronage favoured by kings and the resumption preferred by the taxpaying Commons. The sources 'are more suited', he wisely writes, 'to the writing of the history of the reign than a personal account of the monarch ... [They] may by chance reflect accurately the attitudes of the age, but ... may just as likely not'. Kleineke perceives the teenage boys behind Edward and Edmund's letters to their father Richard Duke of York in the mid-1450s. He reveals how Montagu's legitimate hereditary expectations were overlooked in 1471 when Edward treated his brother Warwick's Neville lands as forfeit. There are particularly effective passages on Edward's campaign against lawlessness in the 1460s, on commercial relations with the Hanse and Cologne (repeatedly), on parliament (especially in 1461) and taxation (especially in 1463), and on Edward IV's matrimonial plans for his children. There is plenty of detail on the major crises, but at many points there is more to be said than can be contained in so short a compass. Thus Bishops William Dudley and Richard Martin were not just royal chaplains, but chancellors of the queen and of the earldom of March respectively, and Kleineke's account of George Neville's fall needs elaborating from the ancient indictments. If there are very few errors of fact, little if anything is new. Kleineke depends unduly on Scofield and Ross for Edward IV and on Griffiths for Henry VI rather than on the numerous subsequent publications (that he cites) that have corrected and amplified their histories. Hence he is rather traditional in interpretation. Kleineke subscribes to no overall explanation of the Wars of the Roses and gives a very Yorkist interpretation of the 1450s. His accounts of Edward's marriage, mistresses and bastards, and of his provisions for his second son are no longer current. The contributions of Bertram Wolffe are scarcely considered. What he has produced is a succinct narrative and a well-reasoned survey of the reign that will be a reliable introduction and a valuable point of reference for undergraduates or anyone else interested in the reign. I shall certainly acquire multiple copies for my students. But this book does not supersede earlier publications.

Edward IV comes out as an effective king, but certainly not a great one. The number of surviving documents that he signed causes Kleineke to view him as a hardworking monarch, but one whose narcissistic desire to be liked lies behind several of his misjudgements. Surprisingly little is made of the king's patronage of St George's Chapel Windsor. In Edward's *Second Reign*, of principal interest to Ricardians, Kleineke proclaims an (unsubstantiated) love affair with his people. He takes a more favourable view than most of the diplomacy of the king's last years, which was designed to save Burgundy from complete overthrow without losing

his French pension, and thinks that the Scottish war of 1480-83 denied Edward the resources to support Burgundy properly. Even the collapse of that foreign policy could have been repaired. He declines to look forward into the tumultuous sequels to Edward's death or to apply such hindsight to explain Edward's *Second Reign*. As befitted his secondary importance, Richard Duke of Gloucester does not feature at all frequently, but where he does occur Kleineke's treatment fits in well with Ricardian orthodoxy. Thus Kleineke blames on the jealousy of Clarence (repeatedly labelled vain!) the transfers from Gloucester of Richmond honour – when Clarence was only fourteen – and the great chamberlainship at the share-out of Warwick's great offices, when Gloucester actually secured both the constabship and admiralship of England. Gloucester benefits from an unduly favourable account of the Warwick inheritance dispute. Whilst admitting that Gloucester had no dispensation for his marriage to Anne Neville, Kleineke repeats the traditional date. Gloucester was 'the greatest landowner not just in the North, but' – Kleineke states improbably – 'in all England'. Duke Richard may have opposed Clarence's destruction, was 'the king's effective lieutenant of the North', and his recapture of Berwick has been under-appreciated. He even says that Gloucester 'displayed nothing but loyalty': as though loyalty was a merit rather than an obligation! Surely more could not be expected by Ricardians of a historian who is clearly no Ricardian?

MICHAEL HICKS

THE GOOD KING. René of Anjou and Fifteenth-Century Europe. Margaret L. Kekewich. 2009. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke and New York, £50.

ISBN 978-1-4039-8820-1

This book is, in some ways, very important. For me, and anybody else who spends much of a scholarly lifetime studying the court and cultural life of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy (1396-1467), the apparently one and only 'Great Duke of the West', this study provides a counter balance and a sorely needed sense of relativity, because it paints a full picture of a man who was, potentially, as powerful as Duke Philip himself, though politically his life was something of a failure. René d'Anjou (1409-1480) could lay claim to as many – and far more prestigious – titles as Philip of Burgundy: King of Jerusalem, Hungary, Naples and Aragon, Duke of Anjou, Bar, Calabria and Lorraine, Count of Guise, Barcelona, Provence and Piedmont. This 'collection' of titles is only partly represented in the magnificent and colourful coat of arms – here illustrated in grey and grey – which, together with its various crests, symbols and mottoes, is best known from the stunningly beautiful enamelled terracotta relief made by Luca della Robbia 1466-78 and now at the V&A. The

intricate arms can also be found in those of Queens' College, Cambridge, which was first founded by René's daughter, Margaret, queen of Henry VI. Like Duke Philip, René created, or rather revived, his own chivalric order to rival the Order of the Garter, the Order of the Crescent.

For Ricardians, too, a study of the father-in-law of the last Lancastrian king should be a welcome source of information and puts Henry VI's wife in a larger, continental context. As the author rightly says: 'This work attempts to rectify an omission in English-language studies by providing an Angevin perspective to fifteenth century European history ...'. It is not her fault that this context is horribly complicated at times, nor does it seem to be René of Anjou's fault that he did not bring down all before him, as Philip of Burgundy did. René did live, however, to see his grand-son command the army that defeated and killed Philip's son, Charles the Bold, at Nancy in 1477. René equalled Philip in his posthumous reputation: he is 'Le bon roi René' just as his rival is 'Philippe le Bon'.

In the present book the story starts with the battle of Bulgnéville, 2 July 1431, which was meant to establish several of René's territorial claims, but landed him in Burgundian captivity for a number of years, being forced in the end to pay a huge ransom to Duke Philip. The rest of this chapter goes back in time to deal with René's family, his complex inheritance and his loyalty to the French crown. The next chapter of necessity has to try and unravel the origins of the Angevin empire in Italy and elsewhere, and the valiant attempts of René and his capable son John, Duke of Calabria, to hold on to it. Their chances were good, but eventually Alfonso V of Aragon sacked Naples in 1442 and was invested with the kingdom the next year. René returned to France, his son went on trying until 1462.

In chapter three Margaret of Anjou makes her appearance and the question is rightly asked: why was she chosen as Henry VI's bride? The assumption that she went to England merely as a proper wife and future mother is rejected, and one gets the impression that none of the parties involved, the English council, the French court or the Anjou family, had any idea what they were letting the bride and everybody else in for. The events, both in England and in France, leading up to the betrothal in Tours Cathedral on 24 May 1444 are set out. We are reminded how much the French hated the English invader and also that Margaret, though closely connected to the French royal family, would not add more 'fuel' to the English claim to the French crown by inheritance. The end of the Hundred Years War and the situation in England are treated in detail.

After his costly defeats by Burgundy and Aragon, René is said to have turned his attention to more peaceful, though no less expensive, ways to uphold the prestige of his house, and it is for those that he is best remembered: tournaments, patronage of the arts and 'home improvement' of his many residences and their gardens; he was also a great giver of gifts and liked to 'pamper' his courtiers. His

personal interest in literature – the famous author Antoine de La Sale was his secretary – is well known and he was himself a poet (the *Book of Tournaments*, the *Book of the Love-Smitten Heart* and the *Mortification of Empty Pleasure*) and is often said to have been a painter. Some of his illuminated manuscripts are among the most famous and sumptuous to survive. Painters and sculptors worked for him: his piety, love of chivalry and ceremony prompted innumerable artistic commissions, as well as the founding of his own chivalric order. All this and an evaluation of his patronage is to be found in 'detail in chapter four, 'René's Court. It is in this section in particular that the reader regrets the publisher's decision not to have colour illustrations – I cannot believe the author had anything to do with this, on the contrary. The absence of colour when trying to present to the reader the magnificence of René's manuscripts in particular is almost painful.

The last part of the book deals with 'The dissolution of René's *apanagé*', the end of the house of Lancaster and the disastrous years 1470-71, when John of Calabria, René's only surviving son, died, and Margaret of Anjou was defeated and her son killed. John's son, Nicholas, who was for a short while the promised bridegroom of Charles of Burgundy's only daughter, Mary, also died suddenly in 1473, leaving the fate of the house of Anjou in the hands of René II, son of René I's daughter, Yolande; he brought about the death of Charles the Bold. René of Anjou himself died in July 1480. Many of the Angevins' territorial claims were absorbed by the French crown and their claims in Italy led to the Italian wars of the next century.

This review can only give the barest outline of the endlessly intricate material, political and artistic, that Kekewich's book addresses. On the whole she is very successful and it is all 'there'; it is the nature of the material that makes it so difficult to remember the details and that turns her study into a reference book that will have to be consulted again and again.

There are two simple maps – one of them rather grubby in my copy, a family tree that needs a magnifying glass, a fascinating bibliography, and an adequate index. The price is a bit of a shock for a book that was not allowed – almost perversely in my view – any colour illustrations.

LIVIA VISSER-FUCHS

THE LOGGE REGISTER OF PCC WILLS, 1479-1486. Edited by Lesley Boatwright, Moira Habberjam and Peter Hammond. 2008. 2 vols., Richard III Society, Knaphill, Surrey, £25 to members plus p&cp £7.50; £35 to non-members plus p&cp £7.50 ISBN: 978-0-904893-18-2 (2 volume set)

INDEX TO TESTATORS OF ENGLISH LATE MEDIEVAL AND EARLY TUDOR WILLS AND TESTAMENTS 1399-1540, published in serial publications, books and other printed matter between 1717-2000. 2008, CD-Rom, Richard III Society, Knaphill, Surrey, £9.99 to members plus pp £1.50.

As the second item under review admirably demonstrates, wills have long been used by historians as perhaps the most valuable source for the study of individuals, and among the most important for the study of medieval society. While caution must be exercised in their use, as preparations for life after death are not necessarily the most reliable indicators as to how life was lived, wills remain amongst the foremost sources for historical research. Most important of the courts before which wills were proved, and probate was granted, was the Prerogative Court of Canterbury (PCC), which exercised overarching jurisdiction over England and Wales. Surprisingly, perhaps, while individual wills from all medieval registers of the court have long been in print, the edition of the Logge volume (the name of which derives from the first testator, John Logge) is the first time a whole register has been printed in full. Covering the period between 1479 and 1486, thus encompassing the whole of Richard III's reign, the Logge register contains 379 'wills' from 378 testators (Humphrey Starkey's will and testament were enrolled separately), comprising forty-one women and 337 men, the latter total made up of 301 laymen and thirty-six clerics. Wills in English have been left un-modernized, while Latin wills are printed in the original language, followed by a modern English translation. There are often notes to other sources on the testator at the end of each will. The edition comes with a lengthy introduction, a short glossary and bibliography, and three separate indexes to persons, places and subjects.

Most readers of *The Ricardian* will not need reminding of the genesis of the project which resulted in these two products, as both the *Logge Register* and the *Index to Testators* have been compiled by members of the Richard III society. The stated aim of the exercise of publishing the register was twofold: to 'get another source for fifteenth century history into print, in accordance with the wider aims of the Richard III Society', and 'to help people who wished to research aspects of the fifteenth century for themselves to learn some of the necessary skills' (p. 3), enabling any member of the Richard III Society who wished to improve their palaeographical skills to work on a project. The Logge Register project came to encompass as many as thirty-four transcribers.

Both of these aims have been fulfilled admirably. As, ultimately, the value

of the *Logge Register* stands and falls on the quality of the edition of the wills, it is very pleasing to report that the editorial procedure of independent transcriptions by two separate transcribers, each one checked by one of the editors, and problems arising dealt with through a further process of checking and discussion, has produced a text with a very low error count, certainly on the dozen wills spot-checked by this reviewer. This is a real achievement given the abbreviated nature of the original Latin (and English) text, often highly technical vocabulary and the idiosyncrasies of all medieval clerks. On a technical level, the purist might be concerned by the fact that the probate clauses have been summarised, rather than printed in full (though the usual forms are given and translated on pages 32-35), and that the abbreviations have been silently expanded in both English and Latin, except for county names. For almost all readers, however, this is unlikely to detract from the uses they can make of the wills, and such decisions are understandable in an already lengthy work.

One or two problems arise in the editorial practice and indexing. There is, for example, a consistent use of maser (defined by the *OED* as 'a cloud of gas and plasma'), rather than mazer, for a maple wood drinking cup. Indexing is usually by the modern spelling, with no entry under the contemporary – it might take a little while, working from the will, to find that 'Evelchestre' is Ilchester (vol. 2, p. 232) in the index. A further issue is more irritating for the reader. The indexes to persons and places mentioned in the wills refers to the number of the will, not to the page it is on, so the reader may need to search several pages, if the will is not a short one, before locating the what they were searching for – references to page numbers would have been more convenient.

The introduction contains useful discussions of certain trends and fashions among the testators (e.g. clothes and book ownership), information on social groups contained in the register (monks, students, servants), some detail on individuals (such as Lord Hastings), and on the manuscript itself (The National Archives, PROB 11/7), but there are some issues with the discussion of the court as a whole. The PCC was indeed the most important of the courts, but it did not mean that 'anyone of sufficient status would go to the archbishop's court' (p. 4), and while it may have been more usual if property was held in more than one diocese to use the PCC, this rule was never strictly adhered to. Many men of high status chose to use the most convenient court. Despite holding lands and goods in a number of southern counties, the will of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, was proved in 1491 in the Prerogative Court of York, rather than that of Canterbury. Even the local consistory court could be used – Richard, Earl of Oxford (d. 1417), had his will proved in the court of the bishop of London, and this must also have been the case for many in the provincial cities. It is noted (p. 24) that there were few testators from 'the important southern cities of Winchester

(2), Norwich (1) [and] Coventry (1)' all of which were the seat of bishops, and thus offered quick access to the consistory court, while there were significant numbers from Bristol (15) and Gloucester (8), which were not. This does not hold true for London of course, and 153 of 378 testators were from London. The register is then not a representative sample of the higher status society of the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Canterbury, but very heavily weighted towards the capital and certain of the home counties, which perhaps needed comment in the introduction.

None of these quibbles detract from the success of the project, and from the value of the edition of the register. Historians will be using the edition for a long time for the study of individuals, to investigate the Prerogative Court at the end of the middle ages, to try and answer all sorts of questions concerning the purchase and dispersal of goods, for trends in religion and fashion, and not least for the study of those who lived and died in proximity to Richard himself, as duke of Gloucester and king, such as William, Lord Hastings and William Catesby.

The *Index to Testators* was the second strand to the Richard III Society project. For members 'who did not have the skill of palaeography and knowledge of Latin' required for the edition of the Logge register, it was agreed that an index to all published wills covering the late medieval and early Tudor periods (1399-1540) would be of value' (p. 4 of introductory booklet). The project team of the *Index* comprised seven members, with input from the Logge register team, and was co-ordinated by Wendy Moorhen. The team has delivered a large index comprising over 28,000 entries (for a rather smaller number of testators). It is indeed interesting how many of the testators appear in more than one publication – a large proportion have been abstracted or transcribed in two or more.

The *Index* is in the form of a CD-Rom containing a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet, with each individual testator having entries under (most) of the following headings – surname, Christian names, the dates the will was made and proved, and when it was proved, place of residence, associated county, bibliographical reference to the publication, substance of the printed edition (e.g. whether a complete transcription, abstract, brief note, which is particularly useful for the researcher) and comments (e.g. title of, or genealogical information relating to, the testator). There is a separate Word document with full bibliographical information of the various published sources referred to in the brief reference in the spreadsheet, and a fifteen page introductory booklet explaining editorial practice under the various headings, as well as a summary of what published sources were used. On this latter point, an impressive number of works, dating from as early as 1717, were consulted in making the index, and it is hard to spot anything that was missed, other than the only deliberate omission, which was 'wills abstracted in any of the peerage publications', as such abstracts were often not

indexed. In practice, most members of the peerage (if they have a surviving will) appear in this index to wills in print anyway.

The editors decided – rightly – that the standard procedure should be to allow the user to sort out issues to do with identification and duplication. Individuals where two different printed editions of a will exist have two entries, and variant spellings generate different entries as well, not least as the original editors of the published work being indexed often modernised names from the original. While this can lead to numerous entries for the same person (particularly a member of the peerage), the inevitable conflation of individuals through editorial rearrangement would have been considerably more difficult to disentangle by the user. The great advantage of electronic resources such as this, is that they can be amended by the user, rather than being in a fixed (printed) form. For the study of individuals and families the *Index* is an invaluable resource, providing a very useful shortcut through one stage of the research process. To remain so, however, it will need to be updated in a few years time to cover publications in the first decade of the twenty-first century, a task that members of the Society would be admirably placed to do.

JAMES ROSS

MEDIEVAL WALL PAINTINGS IN ENGLISH AND WELSH CHURCHES.

Roger Rosewell. 2008. The Boydell Press, Woodbridge, £39.95.

ISBN 978-1-84383-368-0

The appearance of a substantial monograph providing an overview of medieval mural painting in the British Isles is long overdue. Since 1963, when Caiger-Smith's *English Medieval Mural Painting* was published, there have only been successive editions of a brief survey by E. Clive Rouse (1968, 1971, 1980, 1991). Prior to Caiger-Smith's book we have to look to the magisterial volumes by E.W. Tristram on the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (1944, 1950, 1954) and the pioneering survey by Keyser (1883). Francis Wormald was amongst the first art historians (and he was much more than this) to recognize the importance of English wall-painting and Caiger-Smith was his research student (as was Peter Newton, who was encouraged by Wormald to embark on his ground-breaking research on medieval stained glass). The study of the subject has been transformed over the last half-century through new discoveries and better-informed conservation methods. Clive Rouse, Audrey Baker and Eve Baker paved the way and from the 1980s Professor David Park and the conservators and art historians (the labels are not mutually exclusive) he has trained at the Courtauld Institute of Art have led

the field. At the same time, new art-historical concerns with audience, reception and gender and more cross-disciplinary (and cross-media) approaches have taken their place alongside traditional interests in iconography and style. The results of this research have been disseminated through articles in academic journals and monographs on individual themes.

The fruits of all this are harvested very successfully in Roger Rosewell's book. *Medieval Wall Paintings in English and Welsh Churches* succeeds in spanning the divide between an academic and an informed popular readership. It is concisely and clearly written and benefits from the use of colour for over 250 illustrations, many of which were taken specially for the book (including the author's own photographs). For the most part they are of sufficient quality to be helpful; the less distinct usually result from difficulty of access or poor state of preservation. Revealed here is the whole gamut of painted imagery and its contexts – church walls, window jambs, piers, screens, retables, niches and tombs. The interiors of the Guild Chapel at Stratford-upon-Avon (fig. 140) and Raunds, Northamptonshire (fig. 251) demonstrate how naves were dominated by the Rood and its accompanying imagery. Details of specific schemes underline the vast qualitative variation, from the rustic (Bloxham, Oxfordshire, fig. 243) to the refined (the Reliquary Chapel in Norwich Cathedral, fig. 132). Quality was not always synonymous with high-status buildings and patrons: the crudely executed imagery on the sophisticated tomb of Alice de la Pole at Ewelme, which looks as if it was based on woodcuts, contrasts with the elegance of the Crucifixion in a fourteenth-century tomb recess at Turvey, Bedfordshire (figs 214–5, 59). A factor in this instance is likely to have been the respective visibility of the paintings to viewers. Nor does artistic skill invariably match the complexity of subject-matter, as the rare (unique?) Purgatorial mural with speech-scrolls in the village church at Swanbourne, Buckinghamshire, demonstrates (fig. 89). Here the iconography would have been specified in an instruction or design from the donor (probably a cleric).

The text falls into two sections. The first consists of an Introduction, centred on a case-study of the extensive surviving wall paintings of the parish church at Slapton, Northamptonshire. This is followed by six chapters, the first of which outlines the chronology of wall painting in England and Wales from Anglo-Saxon times to the Reformation. Chapter Two surveys the range of subjects found in church murals in the period and the following chapter is concerned with those who commissioned wall-paintings and the craftsmen who executed them. Chapter Four covers materials and techniques used by medieval mural painters and Chapter Five addresses questions of function, meaning and reception and the interaction of mural imagery with imagery in other media. Domestic painting is largely excluded, although the splendid mural decoration of the chapel at Haddon Hall, Derbyshire, is illustrated. The final chapter examines the fate of mural imagery during the

Reformation and its rediscovery from the nineteenth century until the present day, a story which encompasses well-intentioned but not always appropriate restoration and conservation techniques and materials; fortunately, current practices are much better-informed.

The second part of the book comprises a very useful Gazetteer which makes no claim to be comprehensive, followed by an equally helpful Subject Guide. The former reveals the extent to which, for various reasons, surviving wall painting is concentrated below the Wash; Wales too is poorly represented. The Bibliography is accurately prefaced by the word 'Select', as primary sources and publications other than on wall paintings are excluded. The book is completed by an Index of places, names and iconography. Unfortunately the Gazetteer and Index are not as helpful as they might be. No indications of date are provided in the Gazetteer and omitted from the Index are the counties in which the cited locations are given; nor are there any page references to places listed in the Gazetteer. Confusing too is the exclusion from both the Index and Gazetteer of references to the illustrations, although this can usually be rectified by looking up the page references in the former. Even this is not always a guarantee of success. An altar image at Littleham is illustrated on pages 236-37 (fig. 235); Littleham is not listed in the Index and to find it in the Gazetteer requires the reader to know that the church is in Devon. The illustration captions do not give county locations either and by no means all the illustrations are numbered. The Index also excludes entries in the Subject Guide. Thus under 'Saints', the former has forty entries (excluding some location entries which do not belong here), compared with sixty in the Subject Guide. It would be highly desirable if these problems could be remedied if (and one hopes, when) the book is reprinted.

That *Medieval Wall Paintings in English and Welsh Churches* largely represents a synthesis of recent scholarship (including that of David Park and Athene Reiss, both of whom are singled out in the Preface) is by no means a criticism. If it achieves nothing more – which surely it will – this book has made a much-neglected aspect of English medieval culture accessible to a wide audience. It will be an indispensable companion for the most specialised as well as the serendipitous church visitor. For this the author is to be congratulated.

RICHARD MARKS

CALAIS. An English Town in France, 1347-1558. Susan Rose. 2008. The Boydell Press, Woodbridge, £50. ISBN 978-1-84383-401-4

For years there was no modern scholarly study available on 'English' Calais and now, all of a sudden, there are two: the present book and the one by David Grummitt, reviewed elsewhere in this same issue of *The Ricardian*. The main difference between the two books is the fact that Grummitt deals with one aspect in particular – the Calais garrison – and a more limited period, while Rose's study is general and covers the whole of the English occupation of the town and the marshes from Edward III on. It also appears that, generally speaking, Grummitt is good on English primary sources and not so much so on continental ones, primary or secondary, while Rose focuses on secondary sources and is particularly good on continental (French) ones, thus providing some very helpful further information in her notes. Grummitt's book is also more tightly structured, while Rose wanders a bit from subject to subject in each chapter. More comparison is tempting, but I will refrain – apart from saying that both books have the same disappointing little map and that the other illustrations are mainly to be found in Rose (eight against Grummitt's two – if one includes his other maps).

Rose starts from the very beginning, explaining why Calais was besieged at all in 1347, and includes the famous scene between Edward III, his queen and the burghers of the town, analysing its sources and its afterlife. What happened to the native inhabitants after the English take-over and how the town was populated and daily government organised makes fascinating reading. The first setting up of the famous Staple (chapter 3) in 1348 was part of the attempt to give Calais a life of its own and as such was eminently successful. The next few chapters are also very readable, covering the period from the wedding of Richard II to Isabella of France in St Nicholas' Church at Calais, through the reigns of Henry V and VI, the Burgundian alliance and how it came to an end and culminated in the siege of 1436, to the political intrigues of the 1440s to 1460s, during which Calais played an important subsidiary role. None of this is quite new, but it is very helpful to have it summarised in proper order *and* it makes the material accessible to the more general reader, as indeed the book as a whole does.

Chapter 6 returns to the Staple and its 'heyday', the more stable period down to the late 1480s, for which the Cely letters are the most detailed source, providing information about the daily lives and activities of the merchants. Again: there is nothing new here for the expert, but it is all brought together very effectively. As the author says in a rather modern sounding conclusion: 'The life of the wool merchant in the latter decades of the fifteenth century in Calais was ... busy and exacting but also provided many opportunities for making new contacts and savouring new experiences'. Under Henry VII Calais' more or less quiet life

continued: chapter 7 discusses the minor changes that were made to, for example, the accounting system, and the new fortifications, such as the *Tour de Guet*, the watch tower, which is the only substantial building dating to the English occupation that survives today. It was under Henry VIII that the town again started to play a role in the king's foreign policy and in the 1530s it became as affected by religious changes as the rest of the country, if not more so, because of its geographical position, which made it not only a relatively safe haven but also a thoroughfare for many people with different beliefs. This is also the period covered and illustrated by the famous Lisle letters.

For the early sixteenth century there are more interesting sources: plans, sketches of the town and some fortifications, terriers and rentals, another letter collection, the Johnson papers, and even a 'tourist' description of the town written in 1520. As a consequence chapter 8 is full of information on the physical aspects of the town and the marshes, and the daily life of its temporary and permanent inhabitants, before it turns again to the ups and downs of the Staple Company and of one family in particular, the Johnsons. The last chapter deals with various incidents and the political situation that led up to the French re-conquest of the territory, including the fact that Mary's marriage to Philip II brought England into the Habsburg sphere to the chagrin of France. In her conclusion the author wishes to contradict the implication of the views of some modern commentators that the possession of Calais was a waste of money, however prestigious, though she does express doubt as to its usefulness as a military point of entry into France.

There is a bibliography, which does not seem to mention every book used – and which it is fascinating to compare to that of David Grummitt in his book – and a brief index. The price, once again, had better not be mentioned.

LIVIA VISSER-FUCHS

WAR, STATE AND SOCIETY IN ENGLAND AND THE NETHERLANDS, 1477-1559. Steven Gunn, David Grummitt and Hans Cools. 2007. Oxford University Press, £65. ISBN 978-0-19-920750-3

The debate whether 'War made the state' or 'The state made war' is ongoing and will presumably never be resolved, if only because different people in different times, living in different states and involved in different wars will provide different answers on the basis of the same evidence. But whatever else the book discussed here has to offer to the wider debate – and I am hardly qualified to evaluate that definitively – it certainly does provide source material, in great quantity and much detail. In fact, thanks to its vast amount of information, its tight structure, systematic subdivision and densely packed notes, it is almost a reference book, in

the most positive sense of the word. The reader is less likely to read the whole text through than to remember that there is much to turn back to when specific questions need to be answered or particular examples found. The notes provide a vast range of 'further information', both from British and continental sources.

The period covered stretches from the death of Duke Charles the Bold of Burgundy to the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis signed by Elizabeth I of England and Henry II of France on the one hand, and Henry and Philip II of Spain on the other, a treaty that ended the major European conflicts for a generation. An introductory chapter, 'War and the state', explains the book's purpose: 'exploring as subtly as possible how two comparable polities mobilized for war and how that process affected them', and presents an overview of the areas involved – England and the Burgundian Netherlands, the political and economic situation prevailing in each and the wars they fought. The introduction ends with a section on military institutions and their effect on financial ones: 'war forged stronger military and fiscal systems'.

The next three sections, each containing its own introduction and several chapters, deal with towns, nobles and subjects at war. The towns studied in more detail are York, Beverly, Hull, Exeter, Canterbury, Norwich, Salisbury and Rye in England and Valenciennes, Douai, Antwerp, 's-Hertogenbosch, Leiden and Haarlem in various parts of the Low Countries, and the subjects include troop levies, urban armouries, fortifications, life in wartime – down to its most mundane aspects – and the impact of war on urban government and finances, and the role towns played in the 'national' polity. The section on the nobility and their consistently important military role and the continuing influence of chivalric culture is similarly structured. To give one small sample of the detail presented in this study: in the chapter 'Costs and rewards', subheading 'Direct profits', we are informed that one Englishman possessed a copy of Cicero's letters, 'found in the library of Our Lady's church in Boulogne', and another had a history of Scotland, 'found in Edinburgh at the winning and the burning thereof'. This chapter and the next two go on to discuss the effect of war on the position, the power and the authority of greater and lesser nobles, discussing the role of the noble family, including its illegitimate sons, the growth of noble patronage and affinities, and the relationship between nobles and certain towns, such as the Howards and the major towns of East Anglia. Such links were stronger in the Netherlands because actual war came so much closer to home.

The third section, 'Subjects at war', is naturally most concerned with the question whether war made the state or *vice versa*. Propaganda in all it shapes played a large part, from printed texts to samples of impressive princely architecture. During times of war the obligations of subjects to their overlords inevitably had to be stressed even more than usual and the image of the ruler enhanced: his justice,

his defence of the faith and his martial greatness. Personally, I think there was nothing new in the endless series of princely entries; showy coronations, splendid marriages and ostentatious funerals, or in the recording of all these ceremonies, except perhaps in the number of the occasions and the fact that they tended to be more and more 'over the top', and the use of the printing press to inform people about them. How much actually reached and influenced people, then as in previous centuries, remains a moot point, but the sheer quantity no doubt made a difference.

Fascinating, too – and again because of the many detailed examples given – is the description of the ageless trials war brought to ordinary civilians by soldiers who wanted a roof over their heads and also 'food, drink, money, and sex' and the crimes they committed to obtain all this; all, of course, much more common in the Low Countries than in England itself because of the close proximity of actual war. One question that is asked is: who did subjects blame for these troubles? God? The enemy? Ineffective government? Of course, as always, some people benefited from war: a few merchants, gun casters and the arms industry generally. On the whole one has to conclude that whatever the political, long-term effect of war in this particular period under discussion – for example on feelings of national identity – most of its aspects were timeless and universal and as such make depressing reading.

In their conclusion the authors leave no doubt that war contributed much to political change and was 'a process with deep social and political ramifications'. It is not easy to find fault with that!

One relatively trivial fact struck me while reading through this well produced and attractive book: it is a pleasure to use an English study that spells French, German and even Dutch names and other words correctly. Both bibliography and index are impressively extensive and certainly make the book even more valuable to many kinds of readers. The price I shall not discuss.

LIVIA VISSER-FUCHS

TOMB DESTRUCTION AND SCHOLARSHIP: Medieval Monuments in Early Modern England. Phillip Lindley. 2007. Shaun Tyas, Donington, £35.

ISBN 1-900289-873.

Anyone who has stared at a defaced medieval monument dissatisfied by the usual explanations should read this book. Phillip Lindley's monograph concerns the destruction of medieval church monuments between the Dissolution of the monasteries and the Restoration of the monarchy, and the concomitant growth of scholarly antiquarianism. It unpicks the relationship between the invention of

tradition, the nature of Tudor historical understanding, first hand observations of lost monuments, and modern attempts at reconstruction. Three chapters trace in the broad narrative, illustrated with numerous diverting examples, and are followed by a further three devoted to specific case studies. The value of the study is twofold: as well as providing a remarkable synthesis of a topic of broad general interest, it also engages in live debate by offering solutions to individual problematic cases.

The first chapter includes a very useful synoptic account of the Dissolution. Rather obviously 'the fate of tomb monuments was generally linked to that of the churches which housed them,' (p. 11) but what is thrown into relief is the impact on the surviving corpus of tombs: if the nobility favoured burial in monastic establishments, then the loss, and hence the survival, of medieval tombs was forever skewed. Moreover events, however apparently driven by broad ideological shifts, provoked far from coherent or monolithic responses. Social and material opportunism was balanced by those who, like the Mowbrays and the Howards, pleaded for their ancestral foundations, while the monastic clergy lacked any advocacy to rescue their memorials. The chapter includes a role-call of lost treasures, alongside a tale of the trade in cheap tomb parts and recut heraldry, of simple pillage and re-use. The 1547 Act for the Dissolution of Chantries escalated a programme of systematic destruction which persisted through the 1590s until all the 'sights, and ceremonies associated with chantries – the "para tomb" – and the recalling to memory of the deceased, the audible memorials and prayers, ceased' (p. 30). Barely balancing the losses was increasingly fine sculptural design on enormous monuments, accompanied by extravagant encomia in English and neo-Latin verse, and a widened clientele for whom the tomb fulfilled new cultural functions. Chapter two then parallels this first chapter chronologically. Tribute is paid to fifteenth-century antiquaries, notably John Rous and William Worcester. The fallow early sixteenth century then precedes a wave of activity that followed the Dissolution, marked out by a palpable 'sense of separation and loss' (p. 61). It is argued that a particular and new sense of anachronism was precipitated by an awareness of change. Here the huge influence of Camden's *Britannia* is acknowledged, but John Leland is singled out as 'unquestionably the most important figure amongst the first generation of Tudor antiquaries,' (p. 66) although he, like Thomas Churchyard and John Stow, remained credulous defenders of legendary history.

It is in the third chapter on the Civil War period that authorial partisanship increasingly shows through. There is, for example, an affecting account of Sir Humphrey Orme's 'appalling' experience of watching his new wall-monument being smashed (p. 121). There is relish too in presenting the parliamentary commanders as ignorant zealots, exposing Gurney's eccentric lack of personal taste, and Dowsing's limited linguistic powers. The examples are verifiable, but pressed into the service of an argument which describes the fate of Archbishop

Parker's bones, dug up and cast on a dunghill, as 'disgusting' (p. 124). The chapter's main focus is, however, the long line of antiquaries, who with danger to reputation, fortune, and personal safety, made the accounts without which this book could not have been written. There is affection and exasperation for John Weever, whose awareness of the eccentric and digressive structure of *Ancient Funerall Monuments* is forgivingly acknowledged, and whose characterisation of the opposition as 'a sniffling conventicle or companie of proud Sectaries' (p. 104) provides one of a number of diverting quotations. The reader learns how Spelman, Hatton, Shirley, Dering, D'Ewes, and Dugdale, though differing in religious and political opinion, were connected through a common sense of gathering crisis, and through networks like the Society of Antiquaries. The account of Robert Cotton who died 'partly as a result of grief at being parted from his books 'is both memorable and sad (p. 95).

Arthur's tomb in Glastonbury is the first of the three case studies. The tomb, missing since the sixteenth century, is here reconstructed on the basis of Leland's description. Its role in the 'British history controversy', vital to Henry VIII's claim to imperial supremacy, and defence against 'sneering foreigner' Polydore Vergil, is also explored (p. 157). Chapter five considers the much-studied but 'obstinately elusive' Percy tomb in Beverly Minster, for once not a tragic loss so much as an against-the-odds survival, interfered with not by iconoclasts but by misguided nineteenth-century restorers. The ensuing argument evaluates the scholarship and attributes the tomb from the antiquarian sources, taking in a brief history of the Easter Sepulchre in England in passing. The final chapter takes up the task first set by Octavius Morgan in 1872, assessing when the Herbert monuments in Abergavenny were attacked by iconoclasts, reconstructing their physical integrity, and dating their reconstruction (p. 202). The book concludes by observing the continuing importance of medieval monuments in the Restoration as accepted proof of the right to bear arms. The Abergavenny monuments were rebuilt in that period on their original medieval footings, where they remained until again 'restored' in the 1990s.

Phillip Lindley's style is both engaging and reassuring, each chapter punctuated by illustrative examples and clear and succinct summaries. Attention to structure is matched by careful and generous acknowledgement within the text of scholarly debts. Additionally, around twenty per cent of the text is a treasure-trove of footnotes. The eighty black and white plates are functionally useful, particularly the reproductions of sketches from early antiquarian sources. An historian whose focus is the funerary monument can in the end be forgiven some bias against the committed iconoclast, and a real warmth for the antiquaries who responded to events described by Camden as *mingendo in patrios cineres* ('pissing on the ashes of the ancestors').

PAMELA M. KING

THE CALAIS GARRISON. WAR AND MILITARY SERVICE IN ENGLAND, 1436-1558. David Grummitt. 2008. The Boydell Press, Woodbridge, Suffolk, 50. ISBN 978-1-84383-398-7

Writing reviews tends to become a rather routine activity, however attractive it may seem at first to be playing God and judging one's fellow men and women in this minor way. There is also a sense of futility, for who is going to read your text apart from your editor and the author – if the latter ever becomes aware of its existence? So this time, to amuse myself if nobody else, I decided to get a little expert help from the man whose life and work pursue me into dreams when I work too late, the Burgundian soldier and author Jean de Wavrin. He knew about war – he served in the Anglo-Burgundian army for almost twenty years; he knew about books – he composed at least one and owned quite a collection; he was at the siege of Calais in 1436 and visited the town at least once before he died in 1475. He was also scrupulously fair in his judgment of military matters at all times.

What, then, would he have thought of this book – apart from any amazement at the academic conventions of today and being continuously sidetracked by the fascinating and tempting titles in the footnotes and the bibliography? The contents are well and strictly organised, which is something Wavrin would have approved of, and the way the material is set out holds the attention. First a much needed general introduction on Calais and its marches, their physical characteristics and a brief overview of their political and economic history during the century under discussion. Next, the story of the siege by Duke Philip of Burgundy in 1436 introduces the reader to many aspects and problems of the enclave's existence and survival. It is followed by more detailed looks at all these aspects: the organisation and composition of the garrison, why men served in it and what equipment they were provided with, and how everything was paid for. Each subject has its own full-length chapter, for example 'Weaponry and Fortifications' also has sections headed 'Calais and the "military revolution"', 'The artillery revolution', and 'The artillery fortress revolution'. The last chapter deals with the loss of Calais in 1558 and its intriguing political consequences. Each chapter is provided with a helpful conclusion.

Jean de Wavrin would have been professionally fascinated by the amount of practical detail about the organisation and equipment of the garrison and the careers of its best known captains, as well as by the fact that this study is also concerned with the general development and nature of war and military service in England in the fifteenth and early sixteenth century against the background of the changing situation and conditions on the continent. Calais as a prestigious and important outpost provides perfect and focused material: nowhere else in England life was so slanted towards the profession of arms, with its resulting *esprit de corps*,

and nowhere else the mixture of chivalry and military expertise expected of a soldier was so apparent. Wavrin himself was always prepared to praise a man's military expertise *and* his 'honour', if he deserved it, even when he was well aware of his subject's low birth. In his eyes a man could not be a good knight without being a good soldier and *vice versa*. Whether he would have agreed that there really was a *change* towards a preponderance of 'mere' professionalism and a consequent lowering of the social status among military men, in Calais as well as everywhere else, is a moot point, just as it is arguable that chivalry was ever 'pure', except in men's minds, and therefore the 'rhetoric of chivalry' had ever been anything but just that, rhetoric. On the other hand it is undeniable that there was a development towards standing armies, loyal only to one prince and a nation state, in a way that Wavrin would have applauded, but found hard to credit.

As to the general tone of the book, Wavrin might well have decided there is a slight lack of 'chivalric' magnanimity towards the author's predecessors and colleagues, a tendency towards smugness, even chauvinism, especially in the chapter on the siege of 1436 – rather the opposite of Wavrin's own attitude, which allowed him to admire Humphrey of Gloucester's professionalism even during the latter's bloody trek through Flanders ('The duke of Gloucester and his captains travelled in such good order that we were unable to do any damage', and 'the duke of Gloucester and his captains were so much in control and acted so wisely that it was impossible to take them by surprise and they were so alert that they kept themselves safe from all danger and gained much honour and praise', *Recueil*, vol. 5, bk 5, ch. 37). Perhaps the author's grasp of Burgundian sources could have been tighter. Why, for example, say that Anglo-Burgundian relations were 'worsened' by Duke Philip's disapproval of the marriage of John, Duke of Bedford, to Jacquetta of Luxembourg if this disapproval is not explained? Do not mention the name of the commander besieging the castle of Guînes if you do not realise that he was Jean de Croy, Lord of Chimay, a member of one of the most powerful families at the Burgundian court and an active participant in the siege, and do not call him plain 'Jean le Croy' – Wavrin would have been appalled at this social *gaffe*. Do not claim that Wavrin and Monstrelet did not 'recognise the subtlety of the rivalries within the Flemish camp', if you do not know that they did not write their own reports, but based their work on an existing account. This had a strong Picardian bias, considered the Flemings useless soldiers and regretted the fact that the duke had not tapped into the full resources of Picardy, because if he had the outcome of the campaign could have been very different – though Wavrin himself did not think so. Why call Enguerrand de Monstrelet 'Jean', allow his name to be twice spelled 'Eugerrand' in the bibliography, and refer several times to the standard Douet d'Arcq edition of his work, but in one case to the Johnes translation, if you have really consulted his chronicle? I also notice – and I never expected otherwise

– that the ghostly pikemen on Bosworth Field conjured up by Michael Jones are here to stay and are now used to support an argument.

There are three maps/illustrations – more detailed ones would perhaps have been helpful in view of the military importance of the physical characteristics of the land and the sea around the town. The index is a little selective and has little subdivision. The price, as usual with this publisher, is one that might tempt the prospective reader to wait until the book is remaindered – but it is in fact too interesting and too full of information to wait that long.

LIVIA VISSER-FUCHS

THE LONDON GUILDHALL: An Archaeological History of a Neighbourhood from Early Medieval to Modern Times. David Bowsher, Tony Dyson, Nick Holder and Isca Howell. 2008. MOLAS Monograph 36, 2 vols, London, £65 (hbk). ISBN 978-1-901992-72-4.

Almost half a century ago, the Corporation of London embarked on an ambitious programme of re-development in its historic headquarters, the Guildhall precinct in the north-western corner of the city. While over four decades this process caused much annoyance, noise and dust for a generation of local office workers, it also provided the Museum of London Archaeological Service (MOLAS) unrivalled opportunities for excavation and recording work. Now, nearly another ten years later, the investigators have skilfully assembled a selection from the mass of data they collected for presentation to a broader audience. The result is this splendidly produced and richly illustrated set of two fine quarto volumes that should appeal to the specialist and the more general reader in equal measure.

The first part of the work is devoted to a chronological survey of the topographical evolution of the Guildhall precinct and adjoining streets. Limited evidence from the Saxon period means that the introductory chapters on the period up to the Norman Conquest are of necessity short, but from the eleventh century a wealth of finds allows for a more extensive street-by-street discussion. Alongside the ancient thoroughfares of Aldermanbury, Basinghall Street and Cat Street, the churches of St Lawrence Jewry and St Michael Bassishaw are given separate consideration; from the 1390s the newly founded Blackwell Hall market enters the picture. A short discussion of the evolution of the guildhall neighbourhood from the late eighteenth to the end of the twentieth century rounds off the chronological survey.

The second part of this study takes a thematic approach. Much emphasis is placed on evidence from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, to which a substantial part of the second volume is devoted. Themes addressed include woodland management, daily life and craft and industry in this period. For the later middle

ages and the modern period there is a detailed discussion of the evolution of the Guildhall and its precinct, as well as of the neighbouring Blackwell Hall and its cloth market. Shorter sections are devoted to the parish churches of St Michael and St Lawrence, and the four Cat Street taverns, the Saracen's Head, the Three Tuns, the Maidenhead and the King's Arms.

The Guildhall was of course the setting for much high political drama. It provided the backdrop to some of the show-trials of the fifteenth century: it was here that in 1460 Sir Thomas Brown and his fellow defenders of the Tower against the Yorkist earls were tried and condemned, it was here that in 1468 Sir Thomas Cook faced the judicial proceedings (conducted by, among others, the 'replete and lympysh' Mayor Oulgreve, who fell asleep during the hearing) principally designed to transfer his property into the hands of Queen Elizabeth's grasping kin, and it was here also that in 1499 the conspirators plotting to free Perkin Warbeck and the earl of Warwick from the Tower were tried and convicted. The stage for these events, the late medieval guildhall, extensively rebuilt during the fifteenth century, was of course studied in detail some years ago by Caroline Barron, with whose work on the subject many readers of *The Ricardian* will be familiar. Nevertheless, this present set of volumes (the production of which Professor Barron was closely involved with) offers much interesting supplementary detail on the fifteenth-century civic rebuilding programme. Particularly valuable are the findings of the excavation of the guildhall chapel in the late 1980s, which produced the inscribed foundation stones (naming Alderman Henry Frowyk and Common Councilman Thomas Knolles) that illustrate the covers of the two volumes.

To render the volume accessible to a general readership, much supporting data has been omitted from the main text. To assist the specialist, this has helpfully been supplied in tabulated form on an accompanying CD ROM in WORD (and in two cases in EXCEL) format. The material provided here includes, besides a full catalogue of eleventh- and twelfth-century leather finds, and some fifty-eight tables, selected dating evidence for the various periods of the Guildhall area's development (tables 1-9), data concerning the age, gender and distribution of livestock and domestic animals (tables 13-27, 29), data concerning pottery and tile finds (tables 11-12, 32-50), various botanical data (tables 10, 51-52), and data relating to human burials in the Guildhall chapel and St Lawrence Jewry (tables 30-31, 56-58).

The sheer quantity of what is on offer here is staggering. The tabulated data on the supplementary CD ROM aside, the two printed tomes run to some 536 pages, contain some 427 diagrams and illustrations, ranging from numerous maps and plans, photographs of excavations and finds, and contemporary watercolours and engravings to a series of artist's impressions of the Guildhall precinct at various stages of its evolution. While at £65 not cheap, in view of the richness of

its contents the two-volume set does represent excellent value for money, and is certain to become standard reading for any student of London history.

HANNES KLEINEKE

THE MEDIEVAL STAINED GLASS OF ST PETER MANCROFT NORWICH. David King. 2006. *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi*, Great Britain, Volume V. Published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press, £99.

ISBN 0-19-726264-3; 978-0-19-726264-1

The author comes from a family of glaziers, G. King and Son, specialising in the conservation of medieval stained glass, and to them we are indebted for the photography of glass far above the ground. These pictures alone make this an amazing book, but it is also packed with information on glazing and iconography. It is also a complicated book and the wise reader will have a magnifying glass to hand to ensure maximum appreciation of the details of the images. There is a history of St Peter's, the most important of the churches of Norwich's fifty-one parishes (a church for every week and a pub for every day of the year, runs the saying; there is a map of the parishes). It was funded by the city's wealth and faced the largest civic guildhall outside London across the market. It was the transfer of the advowson to the College of St Mary in the Fields, an establishment close to the civic elite, which prompted the rebuilding. The sequence of building is carefully set out using the wills of donors and other documentary evidence (appendices of extracts of wills and the evidence of antiquaries who saw the glass in earlier centuries support this). Major glazing programmes took place in the 1440s and 1450s, re-leading took place in 1479 and the north porch was rebuilt before 1501. Between the Reformation and 1947 much glass was destroyed and the majority of what remains relocated in the East window. The book sets out to identify the original sequences of what is now one of the most impressive survivals of fifteenth-century glass in this country.

The author reconstructs the plans and choices of the donors, and finds a preponderance of narrative schemes: a Marian sequence, St Peter, the Passion, St John the Evangelist, St Margaret, a Genealogy of Christ and the Holy Kindred. The surviving glass is grouped, placed in its original positions with descriptions of its iconography and its sources, and suggestions concerning donors and the civic background of the choices. There is an important section on the workshop styles of the glass. The source material naturally varies. One of the best surviving sequences is that of the Toppes window – fifteen of thirty panels survive and eleven are in St Peter's – which included a Marian sequence of the infancy of Christ and the later life of the Virgin. It is concluded that the Mass of the Holy Name of Jesus was celebrated at the altar beneath this window and influenced the subject matter of the glass which acted as a giant retable. It was given by Robert

Toppes, mayor of Norwich 1452-53, who also paid for the glazing of the Guildhall mayoral chamber. The glazier employed was John Wighton, an alderman from 1453, who had a Dutch glazier in his workshop, William Mundeford, as well as Mundeford's wife and son (died 1481). This identification of the style of a long-running workshop enables the author to allot glass in other Norfolk churches to Wighton and Mundeford (e.g. East Harling and Stody).

The three fragmentary surviving panels of the St John the Evangelist sequence (originally thirteen), which suffer from major losses are necessarily among the most difficult to date and put into a satisfactory context. The attempt to see anti-Richard III propaganda in this sequence because of a pig-faced tormentor is not convincing. In fact the dress of this figure (Catalogue 6c, dated to c. 1480- c. 1500) is similar to that of the man throwing dice for Christ's clothing (dated to 1449-c. 1455, Catalogue 3c) and is exactly comparable to a tormentor of Christ (Catalogue 3b, 1449-c. 1455) and a citizen in the massacre of the Innocents (Cat. 2g, 1450-55). Generally there are few good images of contemporary dress in the surviving glass, though it is interesting that Simon Magus is dressed in the manner of a serjeant at law. The use of the contemporary terms for items of clothing is always preferable. In comparison, the analysis and dating of the fragmentary St Margaret window, which includes not only the life of St Margaret, but panels of Elizabeth of Hungary, St Francis, the Annunciation and the Visitation, is much more convincing in its contemporary and local details. The identity of the donor bishop depicted with St Francis is suggested as Robert Ryngham, rector of Barnham Broom and bishop of Gathy, suffragan bishop of Norwich (d. 1453), thereby making a complex link to Walter Lyhart, Bishop of Norwich, the confessor of the newly pregnant Queen Margaret of Anjou (pp. ccxxv-ccxxx), among others.

Footnotes contain a mass of information, for example note 117 lists the known priests of Mancroft, note 132 sets out the cult of St Anne, and notes 128 and 137 list benefactors. Appendix 1 (of six) lists Norwich glaziers from c. 1440 to c. 1540 in chronological order and makes fascinating reading. The extensive Introduction (pp. i-ccxxvii) is followed by the Catalogue of the glass in situ (pp. 1-134), with full page black and white illustrations of each panel, descriptive texts including the iconography and diagrams showing the extent of the original and replacement glass in the panel. There are also twenty-five colour plates. The pictures of the glass together with the extensive illustration of comparative material make this book extremely valuable, as well as a pleasure: the charming faces of the Toppes wives (Catalogue 1g), the female heads in the Massacre of the Innocents (Catalogue 2g), the several feathered angels, and the Virgin Mary learning to read while dressed in the formal court dress of a mid-fifteenth-century English princess.

ANNE F. SUTTON

IMPORTED IMAGES. Netherlandish Late Gothic Sculpture in England c. 1400-c. 1550. Kim W. Woods. 2007. Shaun Tyas, Donington, £49.50.

ISBN 1900289830 and 978-1900289-832

When John Brown, the one-time steward of Syon Abbey, commissioned a carved altarpiece for the altar of Our Lady there, the narrative carving was entrusted to one James Hales, who had lived much of his life 'beyende the see in Flaunders & oder places'. Whether Hales was a Netherlander (?Jacob van Halen) or an Englishman who had been trained abroad is not clear from the court case regarding this commission, held between 1493 and 1496. Whatever his origin, Hale represents the dominance of Netherlandish influence upon sculpture in late medieval England.

Kim Woods begins her study of the interaction between England and the Netherlands by providing an overview of the various local centres of production of sculpture in the Low Countries, as well as the Lower Rhine and Picardy. Identification of the place of origin of a sculpture is sometimes facilitated by the presence of hallmarks. Stamps were applied to wooden sculpture in Brussels (from 1454), Antwerp (from 1470) and Mechelen (from c. 1500) as a means of quality control. The political and economic background to the development of particular schools of sculpture is provided and the stylistic traits of the principal workshops in each centre are deftly characterised. The first chapter is, in my opinion, the best available English-language guide to Netherlandish sculpture of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

The second chapter is devoted to the mechanisms by which images were imported into England. Like the trade in imported books of hours, an important role was played by east coast merchants. As early as 1407 a man with the suggestive name of Arnaldus Beldemakere had imported an altarpiece to Great Yarmouth. Within a short space of time, four altarpieces of 'overseas work' were installed in churches in Hull. These altarpieces were commissioned specially, but devotional images were imported in large quantities for sale on the open market. In addition, there were sculptors of Netherlandish origin working in England. Kim Woods draws attention to the case of Bricius the Dutchman, who worked on the roof bosses in the cloisters at Norwich Cathedral in 1414-15. The Flemish carvers Dirike van Grove and Giles van Castell provided wooden sculptures for Edward IV at St. George's Chapel, Windsor, including monumental figures of St. George and the dragon and St. Edward the Confessor. There are also surviving sculptures, such as the bosses of the Divinity School in Oxford or the images in Henry VII's Chapel which, while showing a familiarity with continental developments, are not necessarily the work of foreign sculptors. Only very rarely do church inventories record the origin of a work of art, but at the Reformation there were most probably a fair number of carvings which, like the Elsing Spital Crucifixion,

were of 'Flanders work'. The altarpiece at Long Melford remembered by Roger Martin was probably of this number: 'At the back of the high altar ... there was a goodly mount, made of one great tree ... carved very artificially, with the story of Christ's Passion, representing the horsemen with their speares, and the footmen, etc., as they used Christ on the Mount of Calvary, all being fair gilt, and lively and beautifully set forth'. This sounds like one of the Antwerp altarpieces that are still to be found in the Lutheran churches of northern Germany and Scandinavia. Unfortunately the Reformation in England did not proceed with such gentility towards 'Popish idols'.

Paradoxically, despite the almost total loss of pre-Reformation imports, England contains numerous examples of late Gothic Netherlandish sculpture. The upheavals of the French Revolutionary Wars, which saw the dissolution of monastic houses and the destruction of churches throughout the Austrian Netherlands, fortunately coincided with the Catholic revival in England and the revival of interest in Gothic art. These two movements came together in the figure of A.W.N. Pugin, who raided continental antique dealers for suitable furnishing for the churches he designed. This is an area which has already been touched on by Charles Tracy, both in an article in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* for 1999 and in his book, *Continental Church Furniture in England: A Traffic in Piety* (Woodbridge 2002). However, his concern was with furniture and ornamental woodwork rather than figural sculpture. In this book the acquisition of images by Catholic (and High Anglican) families and institutions is carefully documented. The fruits of their collecting stand as a substitute for the lost imports of medieval England.

The second part of the book comprises a catalogue, 359 pages long, of 109 Netherlandish sculptures in English collections accessible to the public. Each item is the subject of an essay providing a description of the iconography and provenance and an analysis of the style. Where appropriate, comparable examples are illustrated. Highlights are the collection assembled at Oscott College by Pugin, including a stunning Apocalyptic Virgin and Child, made in Brussels c. 1490, and a signed work by the Maastricht artist Jan van Steffeswert; the Bowes Museum altarpiece, of c. 1485, which has painted wings by the Master of Ste Gudule; and the four large mid-sixteenth century figures of the Evangelists, at Mark, Somerset, which may have come from Bruges Cathedral. It is an unfortunate sign of the times that Dr Woods has to be coy about the location of some of the churches possessing all too portable late medieval carvings. One of the most interesting entries is that dealing with the Dead Christ in the Mercers' Hall, London, which is not a nineteenth-century import but a medieval survivor, found during the post-war reconstruction of Mercers' Hall. Kim Woods demonstrates that it is by a North Netherlandish sculptor of c. 1500-10. It is made of Chilmark stone, confirming

that it was made in England. Later, in 1523, the Mercers brought over the carver Walter van Dale from Antwerp to discuss the making of an altarpiece, for which he charged the large sum of £90 Flemish. The catalogue also includes a few north German works, most notably altar wings by the Lübeck-based Imperialissima Master. Unaccountably, it omits the Virgin and Child in Our Lady and the English Martyrs, although this is mentioned on pages 141-42. Found in a Cambridge house in the nineteenth century this image belongs stylistically to the 1550s and appears to be Netherlandish. I have suggested that it may possibly be the 'Image of our lady vppon the hyghe altar', for which the wardens of Great St. Mary's paid 8s. 6d. in 1558.

This is without doubt one of the most important works on Anglo-Netherlandish cultural connections to appear in recent years. Fortunately, Dr. Woods has been served well by her publisher. Her argument is assisted by a healthy ration of 241 plates, several in colour. The quality of reproduction well matches the clarity of her discussion. Aesthetically and intellectually, this book is a pleasure to use, and will well earn its keep on the bookshelf.

NICHOLAS ROGERS

HUMPHREY NEWTON (1466-1536). An Early Tudor Gentleman. Deborah Youngs. 2008. The Boydell Press, Woodbridge, £50. ISBN 978-1-84383-395-6

Humphrey Newton of Newton and Pownall can be viewed either as a member of the insular and provincial minor Cheshire gentry of late medieval England or as one of a new class of upwardly mobile gentlemen of early Tudor England. His life spans a period of political, social and religious upheaval and he has a foot in both camps. His religious beliefs and practices are firmly rooted in the past with faith in the power of saints to intercede on behalf of the living and the value of prayers for the dead to help the passage of the soul through Purgatory. His literary interests are also to some extent backward looking focused on genealogy, history, and magical spells but in other ways looking forward to a more modern age with an interest in the natural world and the practical benefits of astrology. If, as Deborah Youngs convincingly argues, we regard his tomb effigy as his family's statement of identity, we see a secular man dressed in a full-sleeved fur-lined long robe represented in the conventional stance of prayer. What is distinctive about the tombs of Humphrey Newton and his wife Ellen who lie head to toe in recessed wall niches in a side chapel of the chancel of Wilmslow parish church is their modesty. It seems that the family even used second-hand materials to construct the decorative canopies over their effigies! The tombs are not covered with splendid armorial heraldry or other displays of status and wealth that we might expect to find adorning the resting places of members of the upwardly mobile gentry.

There are simply the remains of a Latin inscription asking for prayers. Humphrey's head rests on three tuns emphasising his family origins, whilst Ellen who died shortly after her husband, is depicted in widow's garb with her head resting on a wheatsheaf, the symbol of the Fittons, her patrimonial family, from whom she brought to her marriage the impressive estate of Pownall. The importance of this additional landed estate to the improved status of the Newton family at the turn of the century is also indicated visually in the stained-glass coat of arms displayed in the windows of the same chapel which were added at the end of a substantial rebuilding programme in the 1520s. A number of leading Cheshire gentry families helped to finance this building project and are commemorated in the glass either by family portraits or in heraldry. One window bears the newly redesigned Newton coat of arms with the addition of the Mainwaring arms quartered as a result of the marriage of Humphrey and Ellen's eldest son William to Katherine, daughter of Sir John Mainwaring in 1522. It is a symbol of the newly acquired social status of the Newton family for which Humphrey had worked assiduously over his lifetime.

In her detailed and multi-dimensional study, Deborah Youngs succeeds in locating Humphrey Newton in both his local environment and broader social and cultural context, providing the reader with an insight into the mind of 'an ordinary gentleman'. He does not match up to the popular view of the late medieval gentry as highly ambitious, quarrelsome and keen to find favour with those who held political power in the locality. Although seeking to improve his family's position through advantageous marriages and the acquisition of land, Humphrey Newton appears to have been content with a gradual and modest rise up the social scale which neither involved the family in violent feuds with their neighbours nor the wider political turmoil of the Wars of the Roses. He preferred to do things by the book and used a non-aggressive and pragmatic approach to social advancement. His methods are surprisingly, and perhaps exceptionally, well documented through the fortunate survival of both his commonplace book containing working documents relating to land law and inheritance issues compiled between the 1490s and 1520s, as well as a cartulary containing copies of title deeds and charters transcribed in the mid-sixteenth century. These two manuscripts have been fully utilised by Deborah Youngs to inform us about the minute details of Humphrey Newton's life: his work as a legal secretary and scribe providing professional services to other Cheshire families, his efforts to improve the value of his estates, his literary tastes and religious practices and his personal lifestyle and aspirations as a poet. Unlike earlier generations of the gentry who prospered through military service, Humphrey Newton advanced up the social scale by practising his skills as a writer of specialist documents in an age when the written word was gaining valued amongst an increasingly literate and educated society.

Humphrey's connections were mainly with other gentry families of

a similarly modest status from east Cheshire, south Lancashire and Derbyshire although his professional work and aspirations as a writer did bring him into contact with some of the more influential men of the North West including the Stanleys. However the connections were not with the main branch of the Stanley family nor were they for political or military purposes; rather, it was common literary and landowning interests that brought Humphrey into contact with a junior branch of the family namely James Stanley, warden of Manchester College, and his son Sir John Stanley of Handforth, heroes of the poem *Scottish Field* written in c.1516 to celebrate the military prowess of Cheshire and Lancashire. But the world of knightly endeavour on the battlefield commemorated in this poem was one far removed from the experiences of Humphrey Newton and his family. It could be argued that it is this difference of experience that locates Humphrey Newton in the Tudor rather than the medieval period.

DIANA DUNN

A DETAILED STREET MAP OF THE CITY OF LONDON FIVE HUNDRED YEARS AGO. Introduction by Caroline Barron. 2008. Size: 93×60 cm. (36×23 ins). Old House Books, The Old Police Station, Moretonhampstead, Devon TQ13 8PA, £9.99; postage £2 for order under £10.

ISBN 978 1 873590 775 (folded), 978 1 873590 782 (rolled).

It must have been as a result of post-War urban rebuilding works that the idea was developed of producing a series of publications of historical atlases of European towns. That England proved remarkably effective in rising to this challenge was the achievement of the late Mary Lobel. She helped set up a separate charitable trust to fund the British volumes, and she secured some outstanding writers for the lengthy topographical surveys that she adjudged the essential accompaniment to the historical maps. As cartographer, she secured the services of Col. W.H. Johns, who applied equally high standards to his part of the enterprise.

Two volumes were published with accounts of different English provincial towns; but the crown in the enterprise was intended to be London. The model that had been applied for the provinces – taking some eighteenth-century map as a base on to which to map earlier features – did not work for London, however: too much of the city had been destroyed in the Great Fire, and the first satisfactorily detailed and accurate maps (by Leake, 1666, and Ogilby and Morgan, 1677) came too late. As a result, Col. Johns had to map the late medieval city – as it would have been in about 1520 – from scratch. The resultant *British Atlas of Historic Towns*, vol. 3: *The City of London, From Prehistoric Times to c. 1520*, ed. Mary D. Lobel, was published only in 1989. Mrs Lobel died not long afterwards, leaving much of her estate to the Historic Towns Trust, for the support of further works.

The *City of London* atlas was always a costly book, and its plates showing the City in c. 1520 were its principal cartographic element: they made four double-page spreads. It was, therefore, an excellent idea for Old House Books to reissue the map, somewhat reduced in scale but now fitted on to a single sheet of paper. Digital technology has doubtless been used, and it is not quite as sharp as the original work, but in every other respect it is a splendidly useful piece of work. It is, after all, the only historically reliable map of late medieval London that has been produced, showing all the known architectural features (including some, like Baynards Castle, for which there is only documentary evidence as to its precise size and outline). It is decorative too, and the rolled version would make an excellent wall-hanging. Caroline Barron has written a new Introduction, which accompanies the map: this is a succinct and informative *tour d'horizon*, although I am sorry that there isn't anything in the way of an account of the map's making, such as was written by Col. Johns for the original book.

NIGEL RAMSAY

MEDIEVAL SINGLE WOMEN: The Politics of Social Classification in Late Medieval England. Cordelia Beattie. 2007. Oxford University Press, £45

ISBN 978-0199283-41-5

Beattie tackles the question does the term 'single-woman' refer only to the never married, or does it embrace any unmarried woman including widows. Using a wide variety of medieval texts, ranging from those produced by clerics, to guild regulations and criteria adopted by local authorities for the collection of taxes, she shows how the meanings changed according to the context.

In pastoral manuals mendicant authors were primarily concerned to categorize sin in order to assign the appropriate penance. Women were primarily discussed in relation to sexual sin, and as a result the categories of maid and widow not only referred to female life stages, but came to acquire strong associations with virginity and chastity. The meanings of the categories, however, were relatively fluid and Beattie points out that such discourses left a conceptual space for a never-married woman who had been sexually active, but subsequently repented and taken a vow to be chaste.

The distinction in common law between a married woman (a *femme couverte*), whose husband was legally responsible for her property and a woman alone (*femme sole*) who was legally and economically independent, clearly influenced organizations outside the legal profession. In guild returns the category 'single-woman' was based on the concept of *femme sole*, and appears in respect of who was responsible for payment of various dues and fees. In the case of the typical

guild entrant (the married man or couple), the dues and fees would be paid by the man, but in the case of a woman not married, (the 'single woman') it became her responsibility.

At the heart of the book is a discussion of the categories used by the collectors of the fourteenth-century English poll taxes. The tax of 1379 was to be levied on every man or unmarried woman over the age of sixteen, according to that person's estate and degree. While men were described by a range of occupations and social positions, for women it was marital status and the social status of the man to whom she was married that mattered. It is because the single woman was a woman not 'under *coverture*' that she is included in the 1379 tax schedule whereas married women were not.

The tax returns, however, do not follow a common pattern. In the Bishop's Lynn return of 1379 not all women included are classified as *sola*: some females are labelled *puella* (which suggest youth) and some are classified as *vidua* (which denotes their widowed state). Beattie, therefore, suggests that the term *sola* could function as an umbrella category for both the never married and the widowed, as *solus* did, for men, but for widowed women the term *vidua* usually, although not always, was chosen as the key status. In the case of daughters living at home the category of maiden was largely selected, and any work that they did within the parental home was not recorded. For most women labelled as *sola*, however, it is their work identity that justifies their tax assessment, and they are described as servants.

In some returns (such as those for Derby) the occupational status of female tax-payers, like those for males, is actually prioritised over their marital one. There is a difference, however, in the variety of occupational designations used to describe the two sexes. Men have a large array of designations, but the majority of women are classified simply as spinners, even where there is evidence from by-names that they may have followed other occupations such as mustard maker. The term widow appears to have been used only when she was not working. Similarly in the returns for Howdenshire, young sons and daughters still living at home frequently have an occupational category as well – servants, or labourers. Clearly individual assessors were making choices how to classify taxpayers.

The term 'singlewoman' begins to appear in some early fifteenth century texts and becomes more common by the end of the century. Beattie links this spread, not to any changing economic conditions, but to the passage in 1413 of the Statute of Additions, which sought to standardize the personal designations used in legal writs and appeals. The term widow, however, was widely held to be an appropriate designation or addition, but by the end of the century the term single-woman had come to replace the older variants of the term 'maiden'. This replacement, however, seems to have occurred in different records, in different places, and at

different times. Moreover since every classification involves an interaction between the person being labelled and the record keeper, it was quite possible for the same individual to be described by a variety of personal designations at different times.

This is a slim, but important, book. In future any discussion of the poll taxes, or of civic and guild records, will have to take into account the fluidity of any categorisation used and realize that a term which has a certain meaning in one context will not necessarily mean the same in another context. Furthermore Beattie proves, quite conclusively to my mind, that the increasing use of the term single-woman is linked to changes in record keeping and cannot be linked to the increasing economic importance of marriage for women.

MAVIS 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

Charles Beem, editor, *The Royal Minorities of Medieval and Early Modern England*. 2009. 272 pages. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, £45. ISBN 978-0-230-60866-5

Includes: R.A. Griffiths, 'The minority of Henry VI, King of England and of France'; M. Hicks, 'A story of failure: the minority of Edward V'.

Mary Eder, editor, *Records of Early English Drama Ecclesiastical London*. 2008. 618 pages. British Library Publishing, £180. ISBN 978-0-7123-5024-2

Extracts all references to drama from all ecclesiastical records generated in London including those of St Paul's and the capital's many parishes. A comprehensive introduction covers maying, parish pageant cars and costumes, among other themes. Ten appendices include the subjects of boy bishops and Paul's Cross sermons.

Kathleen L. Scott, *Tradition and Innovation in Later Medieval English Manuscripts*. 2008. 194 pages. Illustrated. British Library, London, £45. ISBN 980-0-7123-4936-9

The chosen manuscripts represent those left out of the author's monumental *Gothic Manuscripts c. 1385-1490* and deals with, for example, model books, bible illustration, genealogical rolls, and the introduction of Italian influence on decoration. Extensively illustrated.

Anne F. Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs, editors, *The Book of Privileges of the Merchant Adventurers of England 1296-1483*. 2009. 436 pages. Illustrated. Published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press, £65. ISBN 978-0-19-726440-9

This book was made for use at an embassy sent by Richard III to Flanders and Brabant, then in a state of civil war, in 1484. The introduction describes the trade and diplomatic relations between England and the Low Countries, 1477-85, the close involvement of Richard in all negotiations and his key relationship with the Glymes family of Bergen op Zoom. The privileges in French, Latin and Dutch from the several princes of the Low Countries all have individual introductions and an English fifteenth-century translation. Appendices on the trade with Antwerp and the office of governor; glossary of English words.

ARTICLES

John Ashdown-Hill, "Yesterday my Lord of Gloucester came to Colchester ...",

Essex Archaeology and History, volume 36, 2005, pages 212-17.

This article considers the evidence for a visit to Colchester by Richard Duke of Gloucester in the summer of 1467 or 1468, and discusses the probable itinerary, using evidence from Catherine of Aragon's well-documented visit to Colchester and Edward V's visit to Coventry.

Chris Briggs, 'The availability of credit in the English countryside, 1400-1480', *Agricultural History Review*, volume 56, part 1, 2008, pages 1-24.

Based on the records of three Cambridgeshire manorial court and a church court, the author charts changes, and presents explanations for an apparent decline in the availability of credit, arguing that the effect of legal and institutional changes was as important as the monetary difficulties of the period.

Peter D. Clarke, 'New evidence of noble and gentry piety in fifteenth-century England and Wales', *Journal of Medieval History*, volume 34, 2008, pp. 23-35.

The evidence comes from the registers of the papal penitentiary which increasingly received petitions concerned with matters of conscience, such as licences for portable altars, to appoint a personal confessor or to be dispensed from fasting, or from a vow taken to go on a pilgrimage or to be chaste and not marry again. Mentions licences issued for portable altars and confessors to Richard, Duke of York in 1494 (the pretender), and the earl and countess of Warwick along with the duke of Clarence in 1467, as well as the licence to Margaret of Anjou to have special foods in times of fast in 1475.

Clifford S.L. Davies, 'A rose by another name. Why we are wrong to talk about "the Tudors"', *Times Literary Supplement*, 13 June 2008, pp. 14-15.

How the family could equally be called Meredith; how the name became attached to Henry of Richmond, who in fact claimed through the Beaufort line, and to his descendants; and the misleading results of the use of this family name for five monarchs of England.

Vincent Gillespie, 'Chapter and worse: an episode in the regional transmission of the *Speculum Christiani*?', *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700*, Volume 14: *Regional Manuscripts 1200-1700*, edited A.S.G. Edwards, The British Library, London, 2008, pages 86-111.

A study of the complex evolution of this popular Middle English text, which provided priests with help in their cure of souls and their own lives. It was compiled 1400-20 in the Lincolnshire / Nottinghamshire area (earlier misdating is corrected), and was printed several times 1484-1517. Tabular analysis; illustrations.

Steven Gunn, 'Henry VII in context: problems and possibilities', *History*, volume 92, issue 307, July 2007, pages 301-17.

The author offers positive advice to encourage the study of a problematic and under-documented reign which is often presented as the end or the beginning of very different periods. Suggests new angles and combinations of subjects – domestic, cultural, and foreign – and incidentally supplies a summary of recent work.

Winifred A. Harwood, 'Trade and consumption patterns in Central Southern England: the supply of iron and wax to Winchester College c. 1400-1560', *Southern History*, volume 29, 2007, pages 1-28.

The magnificent series of the College bursars' records provides details on local retailers, as well as specialist suppliers in the Forest of Dean and the West Midlands, bulk suppliers in London and Salisbury, and less often Southampton. Sources and types of commodities are explained: iron included nails and horseshoes; wax was used especially by the church and existed in many grades. Details include the fact that Dudley was a major supplier of nails at the end of the fifteenth century surpassing even London, or the capture of the College's wax market by London from the 1480s. Tables.

Michael Hicks, 'Out of session: Edward Guildford of Halden, Justice of the Peace for Kent, 1436-43', *Southern History*, volume 28, 2006, pages 24-45.

The author emphasizes the paucity of sessions of the peace records and the importance of Guildford's roll which is provided in calendared form. It records the work of an average JP who never attended the sessions but performed certain duties out of sessions, especially issuing writs and taking bonds. Brief biography of Guildford who died 1448-49.

Simon Horobin, 'A manuscript found in the library of Abbotsford House and the lost Legendary of Osbern Bokenham', in *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700*, volume 14, *Regional Manuscripts 1200-1700*, edited by A.S.G. Edwards, British Library 2008, pages 130-62.

Detailed discussion of this important, recently discovered manuscript, with a presentation of all the evidence that indicates it contains the saints' lives translated from a Latin text of the *Legenda aurea* by Osbern Bokenham, friar at Clare Priory, who died 1463/7: scribes and script, dialect, comparison to related manuscripts and to Bokenham's known work and his own references to some of his work that was (until now) believed to be lost. It is suggested that the manuscript belonged to Cecily Neville, Duchess of York, and passed to her grand-daughter, Bridget. Four photographs, a sample of part of a life (St George's) and a complete list of the contents of the manuscript.

Tom Beaumont James, 'Migration and the Southampton melting pot in the fifteenth century', *Southern History*, volume 28, 2006, pages 1-23.

Better demographic records for Southampton exist for both aliens and migrants. These groups ensured that the town's population increased over the fifteenth century. The author uses several techniques for assessment: for example a study of the official class, locative surnames and calculation of the numbers of temporary residents.

Peter Murray Jones, 'The *Tabula medicine*: an evolving encyclopaedia', *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700*, Volume 14: *Regional Manuscripts 1200-1700*, edited A.S.G. Edwards, The British Library, London, 2008, pages 60-87.

A study of the compilation and development of an early fifteenth-century alphabetical, medical encyclopaedia, using all six surviving manuscripts including the customised extracts made by the Yorkist physicians, John Argentein and Roger Marshall (d. 1477). Assesses the sources used both mendicant and details of recipes used by physicians such as William Hatcliffe (d. 1480) and reported by named patients. List of manuscripts.

Evan T. Jones, 'Alwyn Ruddock: "John Cabot and the discovery of America"', *Historical Research*, volume 81, number 212, May 2008, pages 224-54.

This article examines Dr Ruddock's plans for her new book on Cabot and tries to indicate how her extraordinary discoveries may be recovered. These include new material on the support of Cabot from the Austin Friars of London, the role of Fra Giovanni Antonio Carbonaro and his Italian bank, and the events of the 1498-1500 voyage down the east coast of north America. Dr Ruddock, one of the foremost scholars to work on the North American voyages of discovery, died without completing her book and ordered the destruction of all her notes and materials.

Derek Keene, 'Tall buildings in medieval London: precipitation, aspiration and thrills', *The London Journal*, volume 33, number 3, November 2008, pages 201-15.

This paper covers the period *circa* 1090 to 1666, identifying tall buildings with power and pride. It discusses, among other things, the effect of land values, the impressive view of the city and the bridge then available from the river, and how people used their rooftops for recreation. Diagrams and illustrations.

Anne F. Sutton, 'Robert Bale, scrivener and chronicler of London', *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700*, Volume 14: *Regional Manuscripts 1200-1700*, edited A.S.G. Edwards, The British Library, London, 2008, pages 180-206.

An account of Bale's career (1440-75), presenting the evidence of events which supports his authorship of the chronicle that bears his name. His matrimonial and financial problems, his relationship with John Neel, Master of St Thomas of Acre (1420-63) and his scrivener work for such employers as the Mercers' Company, are described, including the strange sale of gunpowder to Richard of Gloucester. Illustrations.

Theron Westervelt, 'Royal charter witness lists and the politics of the reign of Edward IV', *Historical Research*, volume 81, number 212, May 2008, pages 211-23.

Charters were comparatively rare by Edward's time. The author reasserts the value of witness lists and analyses the persons chosen by Edward: the royal family, leading councillors and officials, as well as the changes which took place after 1471. The use of the duke of Buckingham is particularly commented upon.

Notes on Contributors

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J.L. Bolton is a professorial research fellow in the History Department at Queen Mary, University of London. His research interests are medieval money and the banking activities of the Borromei family of Milan in the 1430s.

Wendy R. Childs has a long standing interest in international trade and travel. She is currently Research Professor in the Institute for Medieval Studies and Professor Emerita in the School of History at the University of Leeds.

Cecil H. Clough has published extensively on aspects of the Italian Renaissance and on the cultural ethos of fifteenth and early sixteenth-century England

Justin Colson. Currently a research student at Royal Holloway, University of London, supervised by Dr Clive Burgess, working on a thesis entitled 'Neighbourhood and Parish: Local Communities in Fifteenth Century London'.

Anne Crauford 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*.

Diana Dunn is Senior Lecturer in the Department of History and Archaeology, University of Chester.

Keith Dockeray. His most recent book is *Memoirs of a Yorkshire Bastard: A Chronicle of the Life and Times of a Gay Medieval Historian*.

Heather Falvey has completed a 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.

Alison Hanbam offers some detailed criticism of Kingsford's work on the Stonors in 'C.L. Kingsford: The Stonor Letters and Papers, and two Chronicles' in *The Review of English Studies* forthcoming.

Michael Hicks is Professor of Medieval History, University of Winchester. He is

author of biographies of Edward IV, Clarence, Richard III, Anne Neville, Edward V and Warwick the Kingmaker.

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Nigel Ramsay is an historian of the late medieval English Church: google on 'English Monastic Archives' for his current project, a reconstructional catalogue of the archives of English monasteries.

Pamela Robinson, Reader Emerita in Palaeography and Senior Research Fellow, Institute of English Studies, London University, compiled a *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 888-1600 in London Libraries* (British Library, 2003).

Nicholas Rogers is the Archivist of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. He writes on various aspects of late medieval culture, and is Editor of the *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society*.

James Ross finished his thesis on the fifteenth-century earls of Oxford, partly funded by the Richard III Society, in 2004. He works in the medieval records team at the National Archives, London.

Monika E. Simon studied medieval history in Munich and York, writing her DPhil thesis on the Lovells of Titchmarsh. She is continuing to research the family.

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

Instructions for Contributors to the Ricardian

Contributions are welcomed on any subject relevant to the aims of the Society. These may be illustrated in black and white, with good contrast. All contributions must be typewritten with double spacing and wide 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 quotations. References and notes should be in footnote format. Details need not be repeated 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 1979-81, vol. 1, pp. 45-46.

D. 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 2010 issue of *The Ricardian* should be sent to Dr Anne F. Sutton, 44, Guildhall St., Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk IP33 1QF. Further advice on presentation can be obtained from the Editor.