

Book Reviews

CUSTOM AND COMMERCIALISATION IN ENGLISH RURAL SOCIETY: Revisiting Tawney and Postan. Edited by J.P. Bowen and A.T. Brown. 2016. University of Hertfordshire Press, Hatfield, £18.99 (pbk).

ISBN 978-1-909291-45-4

R.H. Tawney and M.M. Postan, two influential economic historians writing in the early- and mid-twentieth century, provided lucid and enduring accounts of the pre-industrial economic and social history of England. Although different in approach, both 'were conscious of the dynamic changes indicated by long-term movements in prices rent and trade' (p. 23). Due to the sources then available, their work mostly focussed on the 'classic' arable-orientated commercialising regions of the Midlands, southern England and East Anglia. The eleven essays in this collection, inspired by the work of both Tawney and Postan, study aspects of commercialisation in other regions and reconsider the role of custom in medieval and early modern England by arguing that it often facilitated the commercialisation of rural society rather than hindered it. Some of the chapters within this volume fall outside the period perceived to be of interest to readers of this journal, so this review briefly mentions those essays that cover a long time-span or the 'later' period, and then focusses on the 'medieval' chapters.

Christopher Dyer (ch. 1) opens by outlining the theses and approaches of both Tawney and Postan, setting the scene for the chapters that follow. John Broad (ch. 3) provides a survey of 'the relationship between rural families and their rights over land in England' over the period 1300-1925 in terms of land ownership and of the size of farming units (p. 52). His summary of landholding in medieval and early modern England is a useful overview, in particular the development of copyhold and its various forms. David Rollison (ch. 11) studies the 'commonalty' of Cirencester over the period 1200-1800. The medieval townsfolk frequently cited custom to justify their collective actions against the town's monastic overlords, but after the dissolution local control gradually came into the hands of the rate-payers alone. Andy Wood's 'Afterword' not only encourages empirical research into communities across the medieval/early-modern 'divide' but also across the rural/urban 'divide' since towns were dependant on their hinterland for supplies and workers. He champions the micro-historical approach: 'Big History' 'celebrates the macro-scale of world history' (p. 250) but micro-history brings to life communities and individuals that comprised up past society.

Bill Shannon (ch. 7) puts the woodland resources of High and Low Furness (then in Lancs.) under the historical microscope: numerous surveys of the duchy of Lancaster's woods revealed that their notional monetary value was meaningless since the tenants' customary rights (not necessarily ancient)

allowed them to take wood to build defences against the sea and for 'house bootes' (fuel and repairs to houses) and 'ploughe bootes' (repairs to husbandry implements). Custom and customary practices were usually transmitted orally; ironically they were often only written down during the course of a law suit that challenged their validity. Their oral form meant they might be obscure or ambiguous. Continuing the theme of woodland resources, Simon Sandall (ch. 8) explores how claims to customary rights in the Forest of Dean might be used, or abused, by local gentry to justify their exploitation of local resources. James Bowen (ch. 5) considers struggles over common rights of access to manorial waste and how communities (specifically in Shropshire) negotiated challenges to manorial custom and the changing uses of commons. He also provides an analysis of cottages being licensed on commons by Quarter Sessions. Turning from the poor, John Gaisford (ch. 10) studies the fortunes of three Elizabethan entrepreneurs. These clothiers from the Frome Valley 'achieved unprecedented wealth and influence during the Elizabethan era' (p.207). They were involved in manufacture of broadcloth in the West Country, an industry that has traditionally been overlooked by economic historians distracted by the 'new draperies' of East Anglia.

In the first 'medieval' essay Alexandra Sapoznik (ch. 2) considers the importance of the medieval iron industry in relation to the peasant agrarian economy since many tools were made of iron, not only ploughshares and coulter, spades, hoes and axes, horseshoes and nails but also the shears with which sheep were shorn to produce wool, so vital to England's economy. The demand for iron products was high because tools were in constant need of repair or replacement due to friction wear. Iron production was intensely exploitative of the land and its resources since iron not only had to be mined but also smelted at high temperatures using charcoal (p.40), and therefore workings were small and temporary. As very few written records survive regarding medieval iron production, the scale of the medieval iron industry can be understood more clearly from archaeological excavations of iron production sites.

Sheila Sweetinburgh (ch. 4) introduces her essay on farming in the late medieval Kentish marshlands with an analysis of bequests in the will of Thomas Wodman of Ivychurch, a type of documentary source familiar to many Ricardians. The various features of Wodman's will provide an ideal starting point for a discussion of custom and commercialisation in his region. For the post-Black Death period Sweetinburgh analyses land transfers on several manors and concludes that individuals were building up holdings of land from different landlords and that not all of them were local. Butcher-graziers were becoming large landholders and the activities of some of them, such as engrossing, enclosure and intimidation of poorer neighbours, had a detrimental effect on local social relations.

Tom Johnson's essay (ch. 6) is perhaps the most interesting chapter since he focusses on an unusual subject: the resources gained from shipwrecks and how those resources were distributed. Having outlined the legal position of 'wreck',

he notes that items regarded as wreck (or their value) were divided between the lords or towns who held the right to wrecks and the finder/salvager. He analyses data from the 'wreck rolls' of the 'Hethewardmote' of Leiston Abbey for the period 1377-1482. Such records appear to be unique and the almost continuous data allows quantitative analysis. It is possible to observe trends in collection, quantity and value of shipwreck and thus to speculate on the influences exerted upon this 'peculiar kind of late medieval local economy' (p. 124). Johnson deduces that the object found could not be sold until it had been presented to the court for valuation and registration. Since the majority of goods found as shipwreck were items related to shipping, fishing or trade, it is likely that there was an active local second-hand market for them. He offers a penetrating analysis of prices noted in the rolls and the relationship between prices and numbers of finds, concluding that a fall in annual wreck presentments might mean that items washed up were considered not worth collecting rather than that there had been a fall in the absolute number of wreck goods. He also tentatively calculates the proportion of the population who found shipwrecks; perhaps unsurprisingly of the 925 presentments of wreck 686 (74%) were found by shipmasters. Finally there is an analysis of the number of porpoises captured over time. For each porpoise the abbey paid 4 bushels of wheat. Since there was a clear relationship between the number of porpoises caught and the overall falling value of fish, perhaps fishermen attempted to catch porpoises to augment their returns from fishing voyages.

The custom of paying rent in kind on the estates of Durham Cathedral Priory is considered by Alex Brown (ch. 9). His analysis indicates that this was not an ancient, nor a fixed, form of rent payment but varied according to the requirements of the priory and the produce/fertility of its various manors. While payment in kind (crops, animals, fish) was an easy way to provision the priory, it was also suited tenants when coinage was scarce. After the dissolution the composition of cathedral personnel changed, some were allocated lands and all received stipends, and so rents were now taken in cash and tithe grain was often sold. Brown argues that the payments in kind hindered commercialisation in the region because tenants had sent so much of their grain to the cathedral. He also discusses the development of coal-mining on the Durham priory estates from the fourteenth century onwards. Before the dissolution the mines were kept in hand and the coal produced was 'consumed' by the monks; during the sixteenth century there was a shift to the wholesale leasing out of the mines and thus their commercialisation.

As most collections of essays are published in (overpriced) hardback books, Hertfordshire University Press should be congratulated for making these diverse, not to say disparate, but fascinating local studies available so cheaply. And they have bothered to provide a consolidated bibliography: something those hardback collections usually lack but which is so welcome to researchers.

HEATHER FALVEY

THE CARTULARY OF ST LEONARD'S HOSPITAL, YORK.

Rawlinson Volume. Edited by David X. Carpenter. 2015. Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series Volume CLXIII; Borthwick Institute for Archives, Borthwick Texts and Studies 42. Published by Boydell and Brewer, Woodbridge, £75. ISBN 978-1-90356-422-6

Most medieval hospitals were poor, obscure, and possibly fleeting. St Leonard's was one of very few exceptions, and was so rich that its mastership was one of the plum posts used to reward leading king's clerks during the years *c.* 1300-*c.*1470. The list of masters, whose biographies form one appendix to this edition, illustrate that vividly. More evidence is provided by the cartulary itself, a deluxe production in three volumes. One contains royal and papal grants and confirmations, of both property and powers, also deeds relating to the city of York; this survives in the Cotton collection in the British Library. The Rawlinson volume, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, contains the deeds relating to the East and West Ridings of Yorkshire. Some parts of this have been lost but the editor has supplied missing deeds, mainly from seventeenth century transcripts. A third volume recorded the hospital's properties in the North Riding, Cumberland, Westmorland, and Scotland. That volume has not been seen since June 1644 when the tower containing many archives (not only of St Leonard's) was blown up. Luckily, enough transcripts were made previously for Dr Carpenter to hope eventually to publish a reconstitution of this missing volume. The whole cartulary was compiled *c.* 1410 to *c.* 1420, by a wonderfully accurate copyist, almost certainly at the behest of William Ferriby, master from 1409 to 1415.

Why was St Leonard's so outstandingly successful? Its original position in front of the Minster in the major northern town gave it a high profile; and it was an early foundation, having initially few local competitors. Royal gifts during the twelfth century were followed by a massive spike in generosity by local landowners in the years *c.* 1210 to *c.* 1240, and a lesser one from *c.* 1260 to *c.* 1280, according to the editor's graph. However, its most lucrative single income source came from the tax of twenty-four sheaves of corn from every working plough in Yorkshire, which was probably granted in the 1130s; the promised edition of the Cotton volume may tell us more. This tax was so unpopular as to be a cause of the East Riding rebellion of 1469, after which Edward IV abolished it, promising the hospital compensation - which he never gave, and the house's prosperity declined thereafter. Perhaps the very fact that the hospital had no local founder or founding family meant that it attracted donations from a large number of individuals. Thus although the Reineville, Mowbray and Percy families were important benefactors they were not monopolistic patrons. The hospital also benefitted from the economic development, of the East Riding especially, during the thirteenth century, when land was drained and new settlements established. So much can be deduced from this edition.

The documents printed here record not only gifts to the hospital (of lands, rents, mills, even spices) but agreements about the management of its property, sometimes disposal of its property, and final concords settling disputes. The places named cover a wide area of lowland Yorkshire and your reviewer, whose kinsmen farm in the Vale of York, has spent a happy time reading about places of special significance to her – birthplace, the scenes of childhood holidays, and other places often visited. This is a valuable source for local history – and sometimes more – in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. However, we could argue that the greatest value of this edition lies in the very extensive notes about the families who held this land in those two hundred years, for the information given is richly detailed and accompanied by many family trees. This will be a wonderful quarry for historians of the Angevin and early Plantagenet period.

This is a magnificent edition: meticulous, thorough, painstaking, and beautifully produced. Each of the 475 deeds is preceded by an English summary, with an estimate of its date. Since few of these are dated making an estimate has in itself been a great labour, though some have been printed before, especially by Farrer and Clay (*Early Yorkshire Charters*, 1914-65) and Diana Greenway (*Charters of the Honour of Mowbray*, 1972). The detailed and extensive notes form an object lesson on ‘adding value’ to a document. It seems ungracious to lament the lack of a map.

This volume does not tell us the hospital’s complex history. Nor does it tell us what services it provided; for that we must read Pat Cullum’s Borthwick Paper *Cremetts and Corrodies* (1991). The underground physical remains of St Leonard’s have also recently come under investigation, and proved more extensive than expected; just as this volume was published, York’s local paper *The Press* reported, on 22 May 2015, ‘Staggering archaeological finds under York Theatre Royal – Extra Digs planned – panto must move’. The history of St Leonard’s Hospital is thus far from complete but this volume marks an important milestone in telling its story.

ALISON MCHARDY

RICHMOND CASTLE AND EASBY ABBEY. John Goodall. 2016. English Heritage Guidebooks, London, £3.99. ISBN 978-1-910907-08-5

Visitors to the lovely north Yorkshire town of Richmond are immediately struck by its castle, a sprawling, triangular *enceinte*, or enclosure, set on and above the cliffs of the river Swale as it prescribes a great loop. The castle is dominated by its hugely impressive great tower, or keep, which, with four storeys rising to over 100 feet or thirty metres, puts it, as Goodall mentions, in the medieval skyscraper category and in the company of other similar and contemporary, grand north-country keeps such as Newcastle, Carlisle, Bamburgh and Scarborough. Goodall’s description of this splendid structure, aided by plans and illustrations, makes finding one’s way around it so much more meaningful. We have no complete certainty as to who built this keep but

it does seem very likely that, as Goodall says, it was Conan IV (d. 1171), Duke of Brittany and Earl of Richmond and indeed, there is later testimony to this effect. Whether he managed to complete it might, however, be questionable given the note in *The History of the King's Works*, speculating that it could have been finished when it came into Henry II's hands on Conan's death, when that king had a considerable sum spent on Richmond.

The guidebook reproduces the depiction of the castle in the Register of the Honour of Richmond, stated to be c. 1400. This drawing shows the banners of the vassal knights on the sections of the walls for which they were responsible, on castle-guard, as part of their feudal duties to the lord about 1190. It is a neat reflection of how Richmond castle was the hub of the social, economic and military ethos of this very considerable and unusually compact estate. One of these lesser lords was Ranulph FitzRobert of Middleham: interestingly English Heritage reproduced this same image in the guidebook to that castle issued last year. Cynics might think this a convenience but in fairness, its place in that guidebook reflects the relationship from the other end, as it were. It shows how Richmond spawned lesser lordships and with them, lesser castles, such as Middleham was at that time (despite its vast keep). Both guidebooks also contain another illustration from the Register, being the depiction of William the Conqueror giving Alan Rufus the Honour of Richmond. This might perhaps be seen more reasonably as an editor's convenience, though again this image has its place in both guidebooks. In the earlier (Middleham) guide, the Register is though, dated to 1480. Is this inconsistency with the Richmond Guide's dating of 1400 an oversight or a correction?

As one would expect of English Heritage and this particular author, the guidebook is exactly as it should be with regard to all aspects of the castle. The fortress was inevitably altered and adapted down the centuries and consequently what is to be seen today needs much unravelling. In the nineteenth century it was a barracks and during the First World War, it was a prison for conscientious objectors. It is charming that Goodall provides coverage of this twentieth-century aspect of the castle's past. It reflects a dark episode in our national history when the State would have had people executed for anti-war principles that ran counter to national policy. That the plight of these objectors – 'the Richmond Sixteen' as they were called, was cleverly leaked before they could be shot, perhaps saved their lives. The outcry embarrassed the military: a fine example of the positive power of journalism and public relations one hundred years ago.

The maps on pages 3 and 22 show the detail and extent of the great fief of Richmond and how it constituted one of four conspicuous and compact honours in Yorkshire in William I's division of lands after the Conquest, the others being Pontefract, Tickhill and Holderness. These were certainly the most noteworthy of the county's fiefs in the eleventh century although possibly the author might have added the extensive 'manor' of Wakefield. All five were centred on a particular castle: the honour of Holderness on Skipsea and Wakefield on Sandal. Pontefract, Sandal, Skipsea and Tickhill seem to have

started life, like so many castles of the Conquest, as earth and timber affairs. Tickhill received a stone gatehouse about 1100 and Pontefract and Sandal were subsequently elaborated into major masonry castles in succeeding centuries. Richmond, however, is unusual in that it seems to have been built in stone from the start, making it one of England's most important castles in those critical, early years of Norman rule. Its primary structure at that time appears to have been the later named Scolland's Hall which lies on the south-east stretch of the castle on its riverside. It has affinity with the contemporary hall at Chepstow, which Goodall could possibly have mentioned. That early hall developed into Chepstow's keep; at Richmond the hall remained a quite distinct entity, perhaps because its subsequent keep may not have been intended to serve as accommodation – at least as Goodall sees it.

These maps whet the appetite for a corresponding picture for the other end of the Middle Ages. More would have been an extra! By then, Tickhill and Pontefract had become duchy of Lancaster honours, Sandal (Wakefield), with Conisbrough had formed a core of duchy of York estates, while elsewhere considerable lands had been accumulated by the Percies (including parts of Holderness – notably Wressle) and the Nevills. Richmond was one of the many estates which passed into the possession of Richard as Duke of Gloucester and effective 'Lord of the North'. With his accession in 1483 it was reunited with the Crown *demesne*. How did his Nevill Middleham then articulate with Richmond? We are not told but the assumption inferred is that the old dependency had lapsed.

There is in fact no detail in the guidebook about Richard's tenure but there is very little that could be said anyway. While he certainly commissioned works on other northern fortresses as duke and king, there is no record of activity at Richmond. His successor, Henry VII, the titular earl, also did nothing of which we know during his far greater period of opportunity. Fortunately restoration work on the great keep in the mid-nineteenth century rescued Richmond's 'jewel in the crown', all as Goodall expertly relates.

In the manner of some other English Heritage guides, this one takes in a neighbouring site – Easby Abbey. It was one of three Premonstratensian houses in 'Richmondshire', the others being Egglestone and Coverham. Egglestone – another English Heritage site – will doubtless be covered in a forthcoming 'red guide', whenever Barnard castle (and Bowes castle) is published. It will be interesting to see how the editors manage that triptych; redrawn county boundaries seem to provide an excuse for modern combinations which pay little respect to historic associations. If Easby had to go in with Richmond then it would have been preferable that Egglestone had too. But this is nit-picking and we must be grateful for yet another splendid EH red volume, published at a time when the prospects for such detailed and sumptuous guidebooks to – now pseudo-state owned sites – is as bleak as ever.

JAMES PETRE

THE LATER MEDIEVAL INQUISITIONS POST MORTEM: Mapping the Medieval Countryside and Rural Society. Edited by Michael Hicks. 2016. Boydell and Brewer, Woodbridge, £60. ISBN 978-1-78327-079-8

This volume is the latest in a series of initiatives intended to rehabilitate the inquisitions *post mortem* (IPM) as a major medieval source that has included publication of new volumes of calendars of IPMs and a website (<http://www.inquisitionspostmortem.ac.uk>) which every medievalist should add to their on-line reading list.

Hick's short introduction is followed by twelve papers by other authors on a wide range of topics, not only about IPMs, but also Proofs of Age. For the uninitiated, the former were summaries and valuations, made on the death of tenants-in-chief of the king, of the deceased's lands and other fixed assets, such as markets and mills, on each manor. The latter were statements as to the date of birth and age of the heirs that would determine whether they were old enough to take immediate possession of their inheritance or should become royal wards. IPMs are of particular interest to historians when accompanied by more detailed extents.

A key figure was the escheator, a royal official who served for just a year in a defined locality which was, by the fifteenth century, generally a county. His job was to seize the deceased's property, convene the inquisition and report back to chancery. Assuming that the heir was of age, the property would then pass to him or her. The sheriff in each county summoned a jury who would attest to the truth of the return made to chancery and, in appropriate cases, to the age of the heir.

Three of the papers – by McKelvie, Dryburgh and Garrett – are concerned with the administration of IPMs in the peripheries of the kingdom, namely Scotland, Calais, Ireland and Northumberland. They suggest that the system was robust under all but the most extreme conditions. English rule of Scotland was relatively short-lived and the only known IPMs date from 1296. These indicate that Edward I was willing to use, in the conduct of local government, jurors who had not sworn fealty to him – perhaps because effective government would have been otherwise impossible. His IPMs were more intrusive than earlier inquests made by Scottish kings and this may have helped to stir up resentment and undermine English rule. After the capture of Calais the French population were mostly expelled and replaced by English settlers who each year had, in turn, to keep the watch. Calais IPMs illustrate the underlying feudal principle, often lost sight of elsewhere, that the king's subjects were granted their lands on condition that they contributed towards the cost of defending his kingdom. In Ireland this was as difficult as it was in France. Nevertheless, in the thirteenth century the Irish seigniorial economy was diverse with references in IPMs to markets, fairs and mills, as well as orchards, gardens and deer parks. In Northumberland the administration of IPMs was slower than in the home counties, largely because of the greater

distance that writs had to travel to and fro from London. Otherwise the system worked as well.

In her paper Ward studies the operation of the court of the honour of Clare and draws parallels with that of IPMs. In his, Dyer explains what IPMs can tell us about changing land use, markets and industry in the different landscape zones of the West Midlands. In particular, he tracks the varying chronologies in the transition from arable to pastoral farming after the Black Death. The manors of landed estates were prudently distributed over different zones in a manner that facilitated their management and spread the risk of harvest failure. Mileson catches a 'rare glimpse of the experience and outlook of peasants' in their topographical by-names as reported in the IPMs. Free tenants bore different by-names to the unfree because they often lived outside the main row of homesteads and near mills, springs, greens, and crosses - all of which survive as surnames today. Holford studies fairs and markets, and Tompkins mills, using IPMs to shed fresh light on the declining number and value of each in the fifteenth century. For instance, the market in Kersey, Suffolk was at farm in 1385 for £5, but in IPMs of 1425 and 1432 was, like most others elsewhere, valued at only £1 per annum.

Proofs of Age are used by Deller, Clarke and Hicks as sources to tease out details of the lives of jurors; the church services of baptism and churching which both took place very shortly after birth; and the consumption of wine during and after such services. While the evidence given by jurors was often based on pre-prepared templates, sometimes it provided personal insights that are found nowhere else in the archives.

This new volume leaves us in no doubt as to the historical value of these sources, but each of the authors is keen to stress their limitations, and not just in the cases of fraud and corruption described by Payling in his paper. While IPMs may be the 'single best source for reconstructing both the institutional and economic geography of the country', Dyer finds 'gaps and deficiencies' in extents and urges caution in using them due to their formulaic nature, suspicious valuations and extensive borrowings from previous versions. They give a sense of change over more than two medieval centuries, but one that is 'fuzzy and out of focus'. So, proceed reader with care and make good use of this growing library of secondary material.

NICHOLAS A. AMOR

THE PROSE *BRUT* AND OTHER LATE MEDIEVAL CHRONICLES. Books Have Their Histories: Essays in Honour of Lister M. Matheson. Edited by Jaclyn Rajsic, Erik Kooper and Dominique Hoche. 2016. York Medieval Press, York, £60. ISBN 978-1-903153-66-6

Reading a collection like the book discussed here one wonders whether the editing of medieval texts, historical and literary, has not reached a new stage.

Editors should perhaps try and organise that a full digital image of their manuscript is made available by the library that holds it. Alongside an *easily* readable transcript and *important* variants, their book could explain what the reader can see on his screen, make him or her aware of what is special and, of course, discuss all aspects of the background of the text, but also allow the scholarly user to check details of personal interest.

Secondly, one may ask whether there is not a tendency among historians, including and perhaps especially, literary ones, to milk the same texts over and over again, looking for ever more esoteric depths and ever more specialist angles, assuming that the personal oddities and technical limitations of medieval writers are deeply significant and all demand attention.

Thirdly and really trivial: could authors discussing a text with a nice title please *not* use an abbreviation for the object of their study? For example, *HRB* for the *Historia regum Britanniae*, *LRE* for *Le Livre de Reis de Engleterre*. Are they showing off their great familiarity with the text? Or just too lazy to type it in? Why not just put it in a simple, reader-friendly form (*Historia*, *Livre*) and leave such fads to the BFG or NGO's?

To the book itself: after a *c.n.*, a bibliography of everything Lister Matheson has ever written and the introduction proper, follows an attractive little memoir on the dedicatee by Julia Marvin. Part I, entitled 'Uses of History' contains the first four chapters. In Chapter 1, Krista Murchison discusses the focus on religious matters that made the *LRE*(!), an early fourteenth-century Anglo-Norman prose chronicle, of particular interest to the monastic community in Norwich that probably commissioned it. Chapter 2, Christine Rose, on miracles and marvels in the fourteenth-century Anglo-Norman universal chronicle of Nicholas Trevet, suggests among other things that Trevet used these in order to entertain and thus instruct, and that the prose *Brut* (1334 to c. 1417) later added to his text as a continuation contains miracles with a darker tone, thus showing up the different natures of the two texts. Chapter 3, Kaufman on portents and wonders in Warkworth's chronicle (1461 to 1474, but written just after 1483), is of some Ricardian interest. After a useful discussion of the chronicle as a whole and its restrained tone, the author concentrates on just two marvels: the bleeding of Henry VI after death and the appearance of a headless man between Banbury and Leicester in 1474. The bleeding (twice) of Henry's body possibly 'represents the apparent murders of the two princes in the Tower, ..., so that one unnatural death forecasts more unnatural deaths, in this case, the two innocents, ...'.

Chapter 4, D. Embree, 'The Lawyer and the Herald', has as its subject two other texts of 'Ricardian' importance: the *Historie of the Arrivall of Edward IV* and the *Chronicle of the Rebellion in Lincolnshire*. The author takes a paragraph to suggest that the two reports 'might have been composed' by the same person – something only claimed by Antonia Gransden thirty years ago – and then, having created his problem, uses the rest of his short text to conclude that this was not the case. The only person we *know* to have been behind these texts in

the sense that *his* newsletter was copied verbatim by the author of the *Arrivall*, Nicholas Harpissfeld, is only mentioned in a footnote (NB he was a clerk of the signet, not of the privy seal!). The full-length article by the present reviewer (*Ricardian*, vol. 10, 1994-96) on Harpissfeld's life, and the generally suggestive role he, as a royal clerk close to the king, played in the process of creating one of these texts, is ignored or has been overlooked (NB the ascription of the *Short Version of the Arrivall* to Harpissfeld's pen is not 'tentative': he signed it; what more do historians want!). Even if Embree is interested in 'habits of mind, rather than identities' would it not have been useful to take into consideration the career of one of the *known* authors, instead of drawing conclusions from texts that were created by several people over an unknown period of time?

In Chapter 5, the first of Part II, 'The Prose *Brut*', Erik Kooper tackles Longleat 55, a composite manuscript known as the *Liber Rubens Bathoniae*, the Red Book of Bath, and containing a Latin *Brut* that was apparently not accepted as a proper *Brut* by Matheson. The text has additions on the founding and naming by Brutus of Totnes and of Dover by Hengist and other idiosyncrasies, but is otherwise a 'run-of-the-mill' *Brut*. This leads to a discussion of which texts represent 'genuine' *Bruts* and whether a 'prose *Brut* chronicle' is a genre rather than a specific text. Not surprisingly the author ends with a compromise. The next contribution (6), by William Marx, is concerned with what Matheson called 'peculiar' versions of the Prose *Brut*, as opposed to the Common Version (which can, however, also be Abbreviated or Extended) and especially with their development and 'textual archaeology', uncovering layers of additions and substitutions, which usually have been seamlessly inserted.

In Chapter 7, Jaclyn Rajisc on Cambridge, Corpus Christi 546, offers a genealogical roll, which, very unusually, ends as early as Harold Godwinson and ought to be classified as a 'Very Short Text Based on the *Brut*'. It was written as late as 1527, however, and the mystery of its ending is solved by the fact that the maker had other rolls in his possession, one of which started with William I: Corpus 546 was a 'prequel'. Chapter 8, by Neil Weijer, legitimately claims that the printed editions of the *Brut*, more specifically those by Caxton (1480) and the 'Schoolmaster Printer' of St Albans (c. 1486), are of great value for the study of the text and do more than just attest to its popularity.

Part III of the present book, 'Receptions and Afterlives of Late Medieval Chronicles', is obviously less concerned with the *Brut* itself: its first chapter (9), by Heather Pagan, returns to Nicholas Trevet, and gives a full and attractive overview of the manuscripts of this fourteenth-century text, and its owners and readers, royal and non-royal, English and continental, from the time it was written to well into the seventeenth century. Equally interesting and detailed is Elizabeth Brian's chapter on the visible evidence – red crayon marks in a very specific section of BL Harley 24 – for the collating activity of Bishop Matthew Parker and his circle, in this case with two other *Bruts*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi 174 and 182. Chapter 11, by E.D. Kennedy, is about one man, Thomas Hearne, but is rich in wider learning, discussing Hearne's attitude to medieval

chronicles and his editions – in which he took one manuscript as his source -- against the background of his time, his unappreciative colleagues, but also avid readers, who allowed him to make a living from his work; he died before he could edit a *Brut*.

Caroline Eckhardt, in the penultimate paper, shares her knowledge of the verse *Castleford Chronicle* (c. 1327), its Yorkshire origin, its only surviving, fifteenth-century manuscript and the latter's adventurous career, which ended in Göttingen in the eighteenth century. Finally A.S.G. Edwards traces the 'commercial' history of *Brut* manuscripts, which can be illustrated by one of the examples he lists: the copy that is now Takamiya 29 was sold in 1939 for £30 and in 1977 for £10,000. This change reflects the rise of scholarly interest that the *Brut* has enjoyed in the last century, an interest that is confirmed and celebrated by the present collection.

The book ends with an Index of Manuscripts Cited that is rather elaborate (why repeat the place and name of the holding library in full for every ms?) and a General Index which is rather select. The price of the book cannot be considered helpful if furthering more general knowledge of the subject is the aim.

LIVIA VISSER-FUCHS

THE TOWER ARMOURY IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

Thom Richardson. 2016. Royal Armouries, Leeds, £40. ISBN 978-0-948092-75-6

This book derives from a University of York 2012 PhD thesis entitled 'The Medieval Inventories of the Tower Armouries 1320-1410'. Like Tobias Capwell who similarly once worked at the Armouries and who produced a PhD and then a book, *Armour of the English Knight 1400-1450* (reviewed in *The Ricardian* 2016), Richardson has first-hand experience of his subject from his 'day job' as Keeper of Armour in the Armouries. His PhD and this book under review, are the result, he notes, of a quarter of a century investigation into the documentary records in question.

In his initial chapter on the administration of the Tower Armoury, Richardson summarises the duties and divisions of the departments of state in the fourteenth century, paying special attention to the Privy Wardrobe which had responsibility for the provision of arms for the kings' wars. He then narrates the careers of the keepers of the Privy Wardrobe to 1410. The final element in this chapter is 'the English system', that is, the way the English practised war. His point here is that though the English generally did dismount to fight on foot, there were more exceptions than is usually accepted. Some earlier writers have in fact noted this, which Richardson acknowledges. They include Capwell whose work presumably came out too late for Richardson to use.

Richardson's work is based mainly on the Privy Wardrobe accounts among the Exchequer records (primarily E101 Accounts Various). He covers personal body armour, shields, equestrian equipment, longbows, *springalds* and crossbows, close-contact weapons, flags, banners, ordnance, military textiles, tents and packing materials. His declared approach is to devote a chapter to each of these 'categories', explore them from the base line of the terms used in the accounts and present these, where possible, with the aid of surviving examples or representations in contemporary depictions. In each category's chapter, he gives very detailed data from the Armoury records, year on year. This is valuable material: it reflects for example, the numbers of different types of troops fighting in English contingents in the Hundred Year War until the accession of Henry V. It provides detail on the nature of armour and weaponry, on their costs, on their manufacture, storage and shipment.

Inevitably, an esoteric vocabulary is involved. Richardson provides a hefty glossary to help. There remain, however, a few unelucidated terms. For instance, in the chapter (ch. 5) on longbows, we are told that the bow was a 'self bow'. What is that exactly? There is frequent mention, from the records, of painted and white (military) longbows, and though it is made clear that the painted type was the more expensive, what otherwise was the distinction? More problematical is the assertion (ch. 6, p. 141) that 'until the reign of Edward III, the crossbow was the main missile arm of the English infantry'. No evidence is given to support this rather radical standpoint.

These are minor quibbles in what is the great reservoir of information contained in this book. Staying with longbows, there is discussion on their size, drawing weight, the number of arrows and bowstrings conventionally associated with them, how all were made and at what cost. We learn, incidentally, that quivers were hardly ever used, that the best arrows were made of ash, and we have a fascinating note that in 1343, sheaves were bought from three female fletchers, all called Alice! What may be most striking though is the scale of such munitions: the accounts show that for the Crecy campaign and siege of Calais, the Tower armoury handled a total of 25,645 bows, 1,169,424 arrows and 141,074 bowstrings.

Richardson's deductions from his records are also very interesting in relation to larger artillery pieces. In the fourteenth century, the *springald* was in common use. This weapon has only been properly understood in the last twenty years. Richardson moves our knowledge forward by proving that this bolt shooting engine powered by torsion skeins, was used only in the defence of fortifications and not in attacking them or in field actions. When it comes to the *ribald*, Richardson cuts new ground showing that this was not a gun as previously thought, but a wooden, wheeled cart onto which ten spears were lashed. Such a weapon was, as is well known, used successfully by the Hussites and the French (against the English) in the next century.

The fourteenth century is well known for the introduction in the West of gunpowder artillery – a matter that has attracted much attention from many

who have gone before. Richardson brings us a few extra details through his study, neatly tabulated (p. 178) showing, by the by, that there was no distinction to be drawn by the use of the words 'gun' and 'cannon'. One fascinating cannon recorded in the 1380s had eleven barrels – a large, probably central barrel for large gun stones and ten lesser ones for bullets or large quarrels.

In conclusion, it has to be said that this is not an easy read. It is very dense with the data from the numerous inventories that form the core of the author's research and frequently it is hard to see the wood for trees. It might have been better to organise it rather differently by using the chapter by category system employed, just for general observations and grouping all the statistical matter from the inventories afterwards, in a separate, composite section. Still, if the book is approached as a quarry for detail, it is a gold mine and, as this review attempts to exemplify, the book is peppered with gems for the study of military technology. You just have to read the book to find them!

JAMES PETRE

THE ABBEY OF BURY ST EDMUNDS. History, Legacy and Discovery. Francis Young. 2016. Lasse Press, Norwich. £19.99.

ISBN 978-0-9933069-4-5

As the author says, 'Recent years have seen an explosion of authoritative studies on different aspects of the history of the Abbey and cult of St Edmund'; and Dr Young has done a service in bringing 'together the findings of these scholars and [making] them accessible to students of medieval and monastic history and the general reader alike' (p. xiii). After briefly setting the context (the site; the organisation of the Abbey, its relations with the town of Bury St Edmunds and a note about histories of the abbey (a subject returned to later), he follows a traditional route of origins (to the Conquest), the key figures of Abbots Baldwin and Anselm, the age of Samson and Magna Carta, 'a century of troubles' (1229-1329) ending with the burning of the abbey by the townsmen in 1327, the long period from 1329 to 1469 (ranging from the Black Death through the 1381 rising to John Lydgate and the Bury parliament of 1447 during which the duke of Gloucester died), ending with the final years to the surrender in 1539.

In all of this, Young has been meticulous in sticking to what recent scholarship has to say; indeed, he is so keen to outline what each of the researchers said that it is often hard to discover what he himself thinks, especially in the contested fields of the origins of the cult and the founding of the abbey. He outlines succinctly the abbey officials (there is a useful list of abbots, prior and sacrists but not cellarers) with clear indications where dates are uncertain; he briefly discusses the relations with the town at various stages, Joscelin of Brakelond's chronicle and the Jews (more could perhaps be said

about the difficulties caused by Jewish loans, page 58) and disputes with the friars. Throughout he weaves the thread of royal patronage, coming to a climax with Henry VI's long stay at the abbey in 1433 (there is a useful time-line, although it should be noted that he gives the date of Lydgate's death as 1449 which is after the Bury St Edmunds' parliament of 1447). And (p. 164) he reports the doubtful assessment of Edmund King: 'On 26 January 1775 [Edward] King read a second paper to the Society of Antiquaries reporting on a lead seal discovered in the ruins and a fragment of an inscription, apparently from the tomb of John Lydgate, discovered in the area of the crypt'.

Because the book follows the existing research, some periods are detailed, others are less so. The discussion of the fifteenth century and early sixteenth indicates that more is needed on these years (the later abbots' registers have not yet been printed). Two very brief references to abbey leases and copyholds (pp. 91, 127) suggest that little is known about the estates of the abbey, despite the very full cartularies that survived the Reformation.

The book however comes alive when Young starts on the post-Reformation history - clearly the theme which arouses his excitement; the later ecclesiastical history of the (nominal) abbey; the antiquarians who explored and recorded the ruins; and the historians who wrote about it are all listed in chronological order. Young has collected a very large number of illustrations, some of them not easily available. But there are odd omissions. He writes, 'it is easiest to appreciate [the ruins] from the air' (p. 4) - what the Foreword calls 'the helicopter view', but there is no aerial photograph; there is no plan of the whole site, and there is no map, although Young constantly talks about street and places as if all his readers will know where they are. Similarly, he often drops in names and items without explaining them - not every reader will know what the Larling plaque (p. 30) is.

Despite these omissions, this is a very useful publication, providing the base for the next wave of research - nicely printed with colour and grey-line illustrations.

ALAN ROGERS

CABOT AND BRISTOL'S AGE OF DISCOVERY. Evan T. Jones and Margaret M. Condon. 2016. Cabot Project Publications, Department of History, University of Bristol, 11 Woodland Road, Bristol BS8 1TB. Price, £11.99.

ISBN 978-0-9956193-0-2

This attractive booklet may look like a superior tourist guide, but it is a well-presented, thoroughly researched scholarly study. Every fact and theory about the early voyages from Bristol to the 'new land' is included, discussed, explained and where necessary discarded. First, all aspects of Bristol's trade up to John Cabot's expeditions are set out, its size, direction and the experience it gave to sailors; how the spring and summer trade to Iceland complemented the autumn

and winter voyages to France and Portugal, creating year-round activity, and how the great distance to Iceland prepared men and ships for Atlantic ventures. These ventures were meant to find the rich lands of China and Japan, but led to the discovery of new places, which were then, at first, hoped to provide the highly valued red-dye wood called 'brazil'.

In 1495/6 the Genoa-born Venetian Zian Chabotto came to Bristol via London as an insolvent debtor. How this unlikely candidate, probably, gained backing for his plans to sail west, including the king's patent, is explained. His first venture started out too late in the year, in 1496, and had to be abandoned. On 2 May 1497 the *Matthew*, provisioned for an eight-months voyage, found 'America' on 24 June and was back on 6 August. In fact, the *Matthew* only explored the coast of Newfoundland, the crew disembarked only once, planting the banners of the pope and the king of England and claiming the land in their name. On his return Cabot rode to Henry VII at Woodstock, was granted an immediate audience and received the substantial sum of £10. Then events were overtaken by Perkin Warbeck's rebellion and the king had other matters on his mind.

In 1498 not just one ship but a small fleet set out – and disappeared. This disappearance may be mostly due to a lack of sources and various theories are explored, including those of the late Dr Alwyn Ruddock. Her research notes were unfortunately destroyed after her death in 2005 and not everything that she had discovered has been found again. Between 1499 and 1508 other voyages were undertaken by Bristol men, among them William Weston and John Cabot's son, Sebastian. As trading ventures, however, they were disappointing and yielded little and the exploration aspect was of less interest for their patrons. The death of Henry VII in 1509 also removed one of the instigators. Sebastian Cabot moved to Spain and played a part in Spanish efforts to discover and colonise new lands.

Chapter 8 deals effectively with the Bristol myth that America was named after a Bristol customs officer called Richard 'Ameryk' or 'ap Meryke', whose role was far too trivial to have afforded him that honour. Chapter 9 looks at the practicalities of the voyages: ships, crews and life at sea, and the final chapter discusses why there are so few records of Bristol's discovery voyages: people at the time had other expectations and did not feel that much had been achieved, and it was only in late sixteenth century that population growth, among other things, made settling in and maintaining new territories and establishing new trade routes important, and turned Cabot from 'the man who had failed to find to discover a route to the Orient' into a hero 'who discovered North America and claimed it for England'.

This hundred-page booklet has been beautifully produced with fifty-eight black and white and colour illustrations and maps, endnotes and a 'Further Reading' section.

LIVIA VISSER-FUCHS

FARMERS, CONSUMERS, INNOVATORS. The World of Joan Thirsk. Edited by Richard Jones and Christopher Dyer. Explorations in Local and Regional History Volume 8. 2016. University of Hertfordshire Press, Hatfield, £16.99 (pbk). ISBN 978-1-909291-56-0

While Joan Thirsk's research focused largely on the period after 1500, much of it has relevance for the later fifteenth century. This volume, based on a conference held in her honour, examines several key themes in her scholarship – regional farming, rural industry, economic innovation and consumer demand – and applies these ideas to new research. While drawing largely on evidence from the early modern period, many of the themes presented in these new studies will be of relevance for those exploring the economy and society of the later Middle Ages too.

In Part 1, 'Countries, *pays* and regions', three contributors consider the historical significance of the regions identified by Thirsk for the *Agricultural History of England and Wales*. David Hey examines Thirsk's influential concept of *pays*. He suggests that the term 'country', which was much used in early modern England, is more appropriate when exploring matters such as local speech, building methods and materials, and the concentration of local industries. Through an analysis of surname distribution, he shows that people often moved within their 'country' but knew little of the areas beyond, with the concept of the county familiar to the gentry but not to the masses. John Broad notes that Thirsk's regions reflected the household-based economies of rural producers, but placed less emphasis on the influence of London and other towns. Large-scale farmers, orienting their production to meet this urban demand, had differing priorities from smaller-scale farmers, and consequently there could be multiple types of farming systems within the same area. In a brief chapter, John Chartres also looks at markets as agents of change within farming regions, touching on the role of fairs and market towns.

The second section of this book, entitled 'Farmers and Fields', explores themes related to Thirsk's work on enclosure and her seminal article on the common fields. Thirsk argued that the common field system in England developed primarily from population growth and pressure on resources in the medieval period, challenging the prevailing consensus that these systems had very early, pre-Conquest origins. Tom Williamson examines her arguments and shows that while aspects of her thesis have been questioned, recent research has generally tended to support Thirsk's views. James Bowen explores agricultural regions in Shropshire using probate inventories and suggests that Thirsk's interpretive framework needs to take into account smaller sub-regions. Nicola Whyte examines different ways of understanding the history of enclosure through the everyday process of creating boundaries. She focuses on the arable districts of east and north Norfolk, using deposition evidence of equity court commissioners.

In Part 3, ‘Innovators’, Craig Muldrew examines Thirsk’s explanation for the tendency of rural industry to develop in pastoral areas, subsequently developed by other historians as the concept of proto-industrialisation. Thirsk argued that animal husbandry demanded less time than cultivating crops, giving time to spare for other activities. In pastoral areas where there were dense populations encouraged by local inheritance customs, a workforce emerged that could be employed in craft industry. Muldrew looks at spinning, and tries to quantify its contribution to the wider economy. Jon Stobart uses a case study of village shops in Cheshire to examine another of Thirsk’s concepts, that of the emerging consumer society. Although urban tradesmen generally organised the supply of their goods, village shops were strongly rooted within rural communities.

Part 4 explores consumers. Susan North analyses the shop contents of mercers, grocers and chapman. She finds a diverse range of fabrics, threads, trimmings, tools and accessories, demonstrating that fashionable clothing was widely available outside London. The inventories also reveal that the products of the early economic projects described by Thirsk, notably bobbin laces, wool fabrics and linens, were available from the mid-sixteenth century. The chapter also provides a helpful explanation for others looking at the contents of these inventories. Mark Dawson’s chapter studies the cultivation of oats and the consumption of oatcakes, concentrating on north-west Derbyshire. He explores methods of baking and the equipment used, and suggests that the consumption of oats was a question of taste and an expression of preference, rather than based solely on the prevailing climate and geology of the area. Richard Hoyle examines the diary of Peter Walkden, an eighteenth-century nonconformist clergyman and farmer, living near Preston in Lancashire. He compares items in the diary with ideas about the growth of consumption, and theories that an enlarged market for manufactured goods encouraged households to re-orientate their work towards earning more income to spend on acquiring these goods – an ‘industrious revolution’. Hoyle finds that Walkden consumed only a few of these new products, notably sugar and tobacco, and usually existed on a meatless diet. While he bought some ready-made clothes in Preston shops, and had other clothes made up for him by tailors in his house, he also bought second-hand items, and frequently attended farm sales. An introductory chapter by Christopher Dyer details Joan Thirsk’s career at Leicester and a concluding chapter by Richard Jones summarises the volume. The book is attractively produced, well illustrated, and reasonably priced. Focusing on several key aspects of Joan Thirsk’s wide ranging interests, this book deserves the attention of economic and social historians of the late medieval as well as the early modern periods.

JOHN S. LEE

JASPER THE TUDOR KINGMAKER. Sara Elin Roberts. 2015. Fonthill Media, Stroud. £20. ISBN 978-1-78155-390-9

You wait ages for one, then three come along at once. Rather than referring to London buses, I am of course referring to biographies of Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, duke of Bedford, half-brother to Henry VI and uncle to Henry VII. Such is the explosion of popular interest in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that three biographies of Jasper were published within six months in 2015 (Debra Bayani and Terry Breverton are the other authors), but the one written by S.E. Roberts, an expert on Welsh law and literature, is perhaps the most promising. Jasper is certainly in need of a good study in print. R.S. Thomas's doctoral thesis on his political career and estates is not widely available, and as a great magnate between 1452 and 1461, one of the leading Lancastrians resisting the house of York from 1461 to 1485, and then for a decade one of the most powerful men in the kingdom until his death in 1495, his importance is obvious.

The first chapter deals, generally successfully, with the family background, the thin evidence for Jasper's childhood and adolescence, and sensibly downplays the 'Welshness' of Jasper and Edmund Tudor, arguing that Jasper may have been unable to speak the language, given his birth and upbringing in southern England, and lack of evidence of much contact with his father, Owen, the Welsh squire who married Henry V's widow, Catherine of Valois. However, there are a few points that grate. In stating that little is known of education at this period, Roberts appears to be unaware of the extensive scholarship on royal and noble education (e.g. Nicholas Orme's excellent *From Childhood to Chivalry. The Education of the English Kings and Aristocracy 1066-1530* (1984)) and the implication that Jasper and Edmund Tudor may have been unable to read and write as there is no direct evidence that they could is highly unlikely (not least as she notes Jasper signed a document in his own hand a few lines later on p. 33). She also unrealistically downplays the prospects of the two young Tudors – despite their uterine relationship with Henry VI and sharing the blood royal of France – arguing that 'they may not even have expected to be royal servants' (p. 35).

The second chapter deals with the adult Jasper, created earl of Pembroke in 1452, and his role in the politics of the kingdom as it descended into civil war. Roberts argues plausibly that the lack of a provision of a wife for Jasper (unlike his elder brother Edmund, who married Margaret Beaufort in 1453), may have been because of Henry's collapse in the summer of 1453 and only partial recovery, though it is perhaps puzzling that he did not seek a wife on his own behalf. Jasper did not ultimately marry until the autumn of 1485. However, the picture of Jasper as given in this chapter, while reflecting a lack of clarity in the sources, could perhaps be more questioning. He supported York before 1455 (why?), he seems to have been absent from the battles of Northampton and Towton (why?), and the inherent tensions between Jasper's role as a courtier and as a major landowner and royal agent in South Wales could have been

further explored, as indeed could his relationship with Henry VI and Queen Margaret. The subsequent chapter takes the story through Jasper's escapades in Wales during the 1460s, the Readeption, and Jasper and Henry Tudor's exile in Brittany and France. As Roberts notes, as far as the sources are concerned Jasper rather fades into the background once Henry comes of age, yet he must surely have remained the primary influence on the king-to-be, and both the choice of Milford Haven near Pembroke as a landing spot for Henry Tudor's army in 1485 and the task of raising support in Wales must have been primarily Jasper's. She further argues that despite the fact that none of the (admittedly poor) sources for the battle of Bosworth itself actually mention Jasper being present on the battlefield, he must have been so. This is plausible, though does lead to questions. She consistently downplays Polydore Vergil's account, which barely mentions Jasper, arguing that it was trying to ensure the uncle did not overshadow the nephew, which seems a little unlikely. It is at this point, however, that Roberts' plausibility veers into the realm of the purely speculative. She argues, without evidence, that it was 'far more likely that Jasper was commanding the main forces at the battle' rather than Henry (p. 96), and then asks whether Jasper 'could have been the one who killed Richard III', despite the fact that what little literary evidence there is supports the notion that either Rhys Fawr or Sir Rhys ap Thomas were responsible.

The last chapter skips through Jasper's most successful period, where as duke of Bedford, uncle of the king and virtual ruler of south Wales, he was a pillar of Henry VII's regime. This chapter misses the opportunity to explore Jasper's role in more detail: little attention is paid to his vast landed estates, the extent of his involvement in Wales (particularly his connections with Sir Rhys ap Thomas, and Ralph Griffith's 1993 study of the latter appears not to have been consulted) and his role at court (Emma Cavell's recent edition of *The Herald's Memoir 1486-1490* is also not used). An appendix on the Welsh poets demonstrates the author's expertise with a different source base. Endnotes, a bibliography and index complete the apparatus.

There is, regrettably, a high level of error and misunderstanding throughout the work. On the 'Some Important Dates' (p. 11), for example, Henry VI's descent into mental illness is given as 10 August, whereas a precise date is unknown, while his recovery is given as 7 January 1455 despite the fact the relevant primary source says Christmas day. On page 22 Richard II is said to have died in 1401 rather than 1400. Margaret of Anjou's entry to England is given as 1449 rather than 1445 on p. 31. It was not 'usual' to have a pass or safe-conduct to visit the royal court (p. 30). There was nothing unusual in Owen Tudor being described as a 'well-beloved squire' (p. 31). We are told that Lord Clifford and the duke [*recte* earl] of Northumberland were killed on the duke of York's side at First St Albans in 1455, rather than the king's (p. 47). The description of the forces at Ludford Bridge has made three Nevilles out of two 'Richard Neville, the Earl of Warwick, his son, also Richard (later to be known as Warwick the Kingmaker), and the Earl of Salisbury' (p. 55).

The book is aimed at a general audience. It is fairly short – the main text comprises 110 pages – and nicely illustrated with 30 colour plates, and written in an accessible style. It provides a competent narrative of Jasper's life and career, although it felt to this reviewer that the study never quite got a handle on the man, in the main as a result of uninformative and difficult source material. There remains then, scope for a more in-depth study in print of Jasper, building on the extant material on Jasper's estates and affinity and recent re-interpretations of the period to provide a rounded assessment of a key player in the Wars of the Roses.

JAMES ROSS

THE BUILDING ACCOUNTS OF THE SAVOY HOSPITAL, LONDON, 1512-1520. Edited by Charlotte A. Stanford. 2016. Westminster Abbey Record Series, VIII. Boydell Press, Woodbridge, £60.

ISBN 978-1-78327-066-8

In his last will and testament, dated 31 March 1509, Henry VII expressed his intention to perform the Seven Works of Charity and Mercy by setting up and sustaining three hospitals: one in London, at the Savoy, and others in Coventry and York. Nothing more is heard of the latter two, but the Savoy Hospital was indeed set up and endowed; and it had an active existence of over thirty-five years before being closed down by Edward VI in 1553.

Henry had in fact spent some time preparing his scheme for the Savoy Hospital, even seeking insight for its planning from Italian models. It may have been thanks to these that it had a salaried physician and surgeon in attendance daily - the first English hospital to offer such assistance. Henry's will refers to his having 'signed with our hande' a plat (or architectural plan) for it, and building works had begun before his death. Prudently, he had also placed 10,000 marks in the keeping of the Dean and Chapter of St Paul's, so that funding for its endowment was already in place and available to his executors. In the event, the abbot of Westminster was substituted for his counterpart at St Paul's, and it was he who was made visitor of the hospital. The surviving records of the hospital are very few, but such materials as there are, are largely to be found in the archives of Westminster Abbey.

Westminster Abbey Muniment 63509 is a book which contains the detailed accounts for the hospital's building works from September 1512 to July 1515, with the addition of expenditure on materials and piecework from August 1513 to April 1520. It is this volume which has been edited by Charlotte Stanford for the Westminster Abbey Record Series - a commendable publishing enterprise of the present Dean and Chapter.

Stanford's edition is itself an admirable piece of work. She has presented WAM 63509 in full, entering every detail of every employee's wages, even for every half-day, and she has done this in a way that is visually clear and yet with

sensible modernisation (such as putting all sums into Arabic numerals). The accounts were audited at the time by external accountants, and she has indicated where they found fault with the record-makers' arithmetic. All in all, and helped by her provision of a glossary, extensive subject-index and table of (unpaid) holidays, this will be an invaluable source for economic historians.

Stanford's thirty-two page introduction will nonetheless doubtless be what most readers turn to most frequently. It is a clear and careful account of the hospital's history, with particularly full consideration of the actual building works (pp. 13-25) and of how it must have looked inside (pp. 25-31). Numerous details - not all drawn from the account book - help us to visualise the hospital as a functioning institution, taking in 100 needy men every evening (allowed to stay only until 7 a.m. in summer, 8 a.m. in winter). There was a chapel with stained glass (by Barnard Flower and others) and much Tudor heraldry as well as an image of Henry VI. In the dormitory, the inmates' beds had flock, not straw, mattresses, and counterpanes in the Tudor colours of green and white. At night the dormitory was lit by four lamps and it was warmed by four fires. The livery which was worn by the lay staff was marked with Tudor roses.

Only when Stanford strays beyond her immediate remit is the introduction slightly less satisfactory. The mis-spelling of a Lansdowne MS as Lansdale (p. 12) is perhaps one clue to her not having made all the use that she might of materials in other locations. She seems not to have consulted the Oxford D.Phil. thesis of C.J. Daly on 'The Hospitals of London: Administration, Refoundation, and Benefaction, c. 1500-1572' (1994). It is surprising, too, to find her saying almost nothing about the building's master carpenter, Humphrey Cook, and then declaring that 'about John Elmer, master mason, less is known'. Both men have extensive entries in John Harvey's biographical dictionary of *English Mediaeval Architects* (1984), at pages 64-65 (Coke) and page 11 (Aylmer); other carpenters and masons who worked at the Savoy in this time also feature in Harvey's work - and the hospital is of course in his index, with six entries. Coke and Aylmer/Elmer evidently were on friendly terms with each other, the latter being an executor of Coke's will. Consideration of the two men's other works might have enabled Stanford to have put the Savoy into a broader architectural context.

NIGEL RAMSAY

CLERICAL AND LEARNED LINEAGES OF MEDIEVAL COUNTY CLARE: A Survey of the Fifteenth-century Papal Registers. By Luke McInerney. 2014. Four Courts Press, Dublin, €55. ISBN 978-1-84682-391-6

Luke McInerney is an Australian-born independent scholar now living in London but deeply committed to the study of the medieval history of Clare, the county of his ancestors. In a comparatively short period he has produced an

impressive range of scholarly articles on the history of the area in the later Middle Ages with a particular focus on the important families of what was then the lordship of Thomond. Most of these have been published in academic journals, notably the *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, published by the Thomond Archaeological and Historical Society and are also available online on the Adademia.edu website where his productivity is evident in the nearly thirty papers posted there. He has now produced a full monograph on the learned members of those families both lay and clerical.

His focus is on the period from the end of the twelfth century to the eve of the reformation in the early fifteenth century. His achievement is particularly impressive, given the scarcity of source material both for this period and this specific topic. He makes full of the surviving Papal letters and correspondence to Rome especially the record of payments which the clergy were obliged to make for appointments as well as various complaints and petitions to the Holy See. In addition to his expert analysis of this rarely used material, he has transcribed and made available to a wider audience many interesting and useful documents.

After a short introductory, but valuable, discussion of early monasteries in the area, and the termon lands that were associated with these institutions, the main territorial divisions in the later medieval period are outlined and the church lands within them are discussed in the context of the clerical families who had control of them. It is clear from this study that hereditary succession operated throughout the period and that clerical celibacy was frequently ignored in the interests of passing on church positions within families and that no particular social stigma or disapproval was associated with this practice.

It is of interest to note that hereditary succession was also often adopted by the new European religious orders which were established after the arrival of the Normans. The practice can be seen operating among the Augustinian canons who established foundations in the area covered by the study. Interesting, but hardly surprisingly, the secular clergy at parochial level were not immune either, and the same fundamental system operated for diocesan appointments and promotions. It is clear from this study that it was the more powerful dynastic families who benefitted most from this practice.

There is also a valuable discussion of some of the secular learned families who settled in Co. Clare in the later medieval period. Each of these families is analysed, often with helpful genealogical tables and maps. The inclusion of a glossary of technical terms is particularly helpful for those who are not specialists in the topic or period.

As the distinguished Trinity College medievalist, Dr Katharine Simms notes in the introduction 'never before has the evidence for this county been brought together in such a comprehensive and detailed manner, and employed to answer such fundamental questions about medieval Irish church and society'. Her considered judgment is that Luke McInerney's study 'will certainly remain an invaluable reference work for many years to come'. It should also be

emphasised that the book is of interest not just to historians of the medieval church in Ireland. Its broad scope sheds light on local politics, social history and cultural life. Those interested in family history will find much of interest and value while historical geographers and those interested in place-names and the Irish language in the period will also be indebted to the painstaking and detailed research of the author.

LIAM IRWIN

**ARCHERY AND CROSSBOW GUILDS IN MEDIEVAL FLANDERS
1300-1500.** Laura Crombie. 2016. The Boydell Press, Woodbridge, £60.

ISBN 978-1-78327-104-7

Not many books or articles have been written in English about the iconic archery guilds of medieval Flanders and the present book is a welcome addition. It is also very readable and appears to be complete and well researched, even though specialised experts may perhaps find that slight errors have crept into the background information, but this is mainly due – as the author herself suggests in her Acknowledgments – to (necessary) simplification. Any attempt to summarize its contents cannot do justice to the fullness of this study.

The book's six chapters really cover all aspects of the archery and crossbow guilds in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The Introduction explains which region will be discussed, including a brief history of this area, and the sources used, mainly the town accounts of important places like Ghent, Bruges, Lille and Tournai, and smaller ones such as Ypres, Douai and Oudenaarde, but there are also princely charters, the guilds own records and a few narrative sources. Most shooting guilds originated in the early fourteenth century, some were rather older, others gave themselves almost mythical beginnings. They were military organisations with a specific function and soon came to play an important role in the social life of towns, greatly contributing to civic pride. They existed side by side with the urban jousts, such as the Bruges company of the White Bear, and they may also have influenced the development of the famous 'chambers of rhetoric'. At times the archers and crossbowmen served their overlord in his campaigns, for example when Philip the Good besieged the English in Calais in 1436, though in that instance especially the men of Ghent played an unfortunate part, and were despised by the more aristocratic (and non-Flemish) chroniclers of their day.

The guilds were first and foremost communities, that could be joined by many kinds of people but had a hierarchical structure, with officers of various ranks from the constable or dean down. Members were 'brothers', but had been carefully selected: they had to be honourable and physically capable of using their bows properly, but there were also clergymen, and even women and children could be members, though this is not well documented. Some noblemen joined, but most members were *poorters*, full citizens, from almost all

crafts and professions. Guilds came together regularly to practise but also once a year in a very special meeting, to eat and drink together and hold the *papegay* competition, of which the practical details are not very clear and only later depictions survive. The winner was ‘king’ of the guild for the next year, whoever won three times in a row became ‘emperor’, and anyone could reach this status irrespective of his social background. Apart from purely social conviviality the shooting guilds, like all guilds and fraternities, also had their religious part to play: in Lille, for example, throughout the year on specific saints’ days masses would be said for deceased members and on St Sebastian’s day a chaplain would sing ‘songs of remembrance’. Funerals were attended by everyone, mutual help was given in times of need, chapels were maintained and communal saints venerated.

Chapter 4 looks at the relations of the guilds with the civic authorities and the nobility, and with their overlords, in this case mainly the dukes of Burgundy, who greatly supported the fraternities and used them as an extension of their power. Much attention was – and is here – paid to the concept of honour, of members, of towns and of princes. The next chapter focusses on the archery and crossbow competitions between guilds, their origin, funding and organisation, and the role of – again – honour as well as friendship on these occasions, including ceremonial activities – formal entrances, prize-giving – that allowed each group to express their ‘civic pride and individual identity’. Finally the part these fraternities played in regional relations and the maintenance of ‘social peace’ and unity is emphasised, more or less drawing together the findings of the previous chapters. ‘Guilds represented ideals of civic honour and civic community in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Flanders’, which was, one should remember, the most urbanised area of Western Europe.

This satisfying and interesting study is concluded by an impressive Bibliography of archival and printed sources and a less impressive index.

LIVIA VISSER-FUCHS

THE MAIRE OF BRISTOWE IS KALENDAR. Edited by Peter Fleming. 2015. Bristol Record Society, Volume 67. On sale to public in 2017, £15 plus p&p. ISBN 978-0-901538-36-9

The Maire of Bristowe is Kalendar, begun in the winter of 1478-79, is unique among town chronicles. Its constituent parts, the chronicle, collections of legal precedents [these were for London, which Bristol followed closely in its civic structures and customs], civic oaths and other related material, all have individual precedents elsewhere, but to have put such a collection together, accompanied by numerous high quality illustrations, is something no other English city achieved. The *Kalendar* was edited in 1872 by Lucy Toulmin Smith for the Camden Society, but while her edition was accurate it omitted all the

non-Bristol material, the eighteenth and nineteenth century extensions of the chronicle and all the illustrations with the exception of the well-known mayor-making ceremony, which graces the cover of this new edition.

In his Introduction, Professor Fleming makes an authoritative identification of Richard Ricart, the town clerk who was the author of some of the chronicle, and explains the background to its commissioning by the mayor, William Spenser, in the winter of 1478 to 1479. Bristol's governing elite had supported the Yorkists in 1460 and as a reward, Edward IV had confirmed and extended the town's liberties, but in 1470 under Spenser it had declared for Warwick and the Lancastrians. The result was heavy fines for those involved and for Spenser himself a belated accusation of treachery in early 1479. He was exonerated, but no doubt felt that a chronicle which put a heavy gloss over the city's actions in 1470 could only be a good thing. The more overt reason for creating the *Kalendar* was to record the liberties which earlier charters had granted to the town so that they could be easily identified and their history understood by later generations. The Introduction discusses the sources used by Ricart and why there is little said about the town prior to the 1440s. The chronicle was maintained throughout the following centuries, though often the only entries were the names and dates of the mayors and sheriffs. They cease in 1899 when Bristol acquired a Lord Mayor. This volume does not print these lists *in extenso*, but only a selection of them; it does, however, include some later ancillary material, for example, documents relating to the final demolition of Bristol castle in the 1650s.

The illustrations which form such an important part of the *Kalendar* include an increasing number of coats of arms of the mayors, some of them added much later, but the real glories are the eighteen images from the late fifteenth century. Apart from the mayor-making, the best known is the bird's eye view of the town cross and its four main streets. Most of the rest are depictions of medieval kings from William the Conqueror to Henry VI. Blank spaces left at the beginning of the reigns of Edward III, Henry IV, Henry V, Edward IV and Henry VII suggest that images were planned but never executed. No such space was left for Richard III; the text for his reign notes his coronation, the great flood that occurred in Bristol and the execution of Buckingham in 1483 and was almost certainly added after his death. A marginal note, added later, but almost certainly still in the fifteenth century, says that Edward IV's two sons 'were put to scylenge in the towre of London'.

Even without the illustrations, the *Kalendar* is a significant piece of late medieval civic history, an image of how one of the most important English cities saw itself, or at least chose to have itself portrayed. The images raise it to another plane entirely. The volume is to be recommended to any student of the late fifteenth century.

ANNE CRAWFORD

THE GERALDINES AND MEDIEVAL IRELAND. The Making of a Myth. Edited by Peter Crooks and Seán Duffy. 2016. Four Courts Press, Dublin, €45 (hbk). ISBN 978-1-84682-571-2

This volume contains fifteen essays, thirteen of them delivered by their authors as lectures at the inaugural session of the Trinity Medieval Ireland Symposium, held at Trinity College Dublin in September 2013. The Geraldines, a Cambro-Norman family, played a prominent role in Irish history during the medieval period, making them a fitting subject for this new venture - 2013 being the quincenentenary of the death of Gerald Fitzgerald, the eighth or 'Great Earl of Kildare'.

As the subtitle suggests, this book exposes many of the myths created by the family itself or by those who sought to use it and its history to further their own ends. Through meticulous scholarship, long-standing assumptions, such as the family's total assimilation into the Gaelic milieu, becoming 'more Irish than the Irish themselves', hell-bent on rebelling against the English Crown, are seriously challenged by expert authors drawn from both sides of the Irish Sea.

The family's Norman origins are firmly demonstrated, as well as its rapid transfer to Ireland via England and South Wales in just three generations. Although named after Gerald of Windsor, the kin-group also includes the descendants of Gerald's wife, Nest, the daughter of Rhys ap Tewdwr, king of Deheubarth, who had offspring by other men. Due to a Welsh resurgence in the 1160s, the Geraldines were forced to seek their fortunes elsewhere. Although they lost their initial pre-eminence in Ireland to the favourites of Henry II and John, they soon established themselves among the middling ranks of the new order. As well as military prowess, this was achieved by an astonishing fecundity due to a plentiful supply of Irish women, as well as land for legitimate and illegitimate younger sons to conquer and inherit. Their power was further consolidated by judicious castle-building, with many of their earlier motte and bailey structures rebuilt in stone, demonstrating innovative expertise, as well as an ability to mobilise local resources effectively.

The Geraldines recovered ground during the troubled reign of Edward II and its immediate aftermath, with two branches being raised to comital rank and their heads appointed to the deputyship. Although founded by Gerald of Windsor's youngest son, the earls of Desmond were the strongest branch initially, firmly establishing themselves in Munster. After several false starts, the earls of Kildare eventually settled on the western edge of the English Pale.

Far from isolating themselves, both houses communicated directly with the English court and cultivated close contacts with those around the king. This influence was further bolstered by their anticipated heirs marrying English-born wives, or at least one taken from the English settlers. Younger sons and daughters usually took Gaelic partners, thereby creating a strong network of alliances within Ireland itself. Both Geraldine earls undoubtedly embraced Gaelic culture, because some acculturalisation was inevitable after generations

spent in a frontier society. Nevertheless, their cosmopolitan tastes, as demonstrated by the books they owned, the portraits they commissioned, as well as their own promotion of a fictitious Florentine ancestry, linking them to the ancient glories of Rome and Troy, places them firmly in the mainstream of European aristocratic culture of the early renaissance period.

Peter Crooks' 'The ascent and descent of Desmond under Lancaster and York' and Steven Ellis' 'The Great Earl of Kildare (1456-1513) and the creation of the English Pale' will be of primary interest to members of the Richard III Society. Crooks demonstrates that James 'the Usurper' carefully consolidated and expanded the power of the earls of Desmond once his succession to the title was secure from 1420 onwards. This was due in part to his alliance with James Butler, the fourth earl of Ormond, made for mutual support against the Talbot interest in Ireland. Ormond's rapprochement with the Talbots shortly before his own death in 1452, resulted in James supporting the claims of Thomas fitz Maurice to the earldom of Kildare. Thomas was the great-nephew of the octagenian fifth earl of Kildare, whose lands passed to his daughter Elizabeth, Ormond's second wife, when he died in 1432. During the 1450s and 60s, the two Geraldine earls worked closely together, supporting the Yorkist cause in Ireland. However, the Desmonds' ascendancy came to an unexpected end in February 1468, when James the Usurper's son and successor, Thomas, was summarily executed in Drogheda by John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, his replacement as lord deputy. This was for collaborating with 'Irish enemies' – a trumped-up charge that could have been levelled at many in the English community in Ireland at the time.

Crooks comprehensively dismantles the premise that Desmond's fate was due to the alleged comments he made on Elizabeth Woodville's suitability as queen – a tall story created by the earls of Desmond themselves to appease the paranoid Henry VIII after the same king had executed the tenth earl of Kildare and five of his uncles for rebellion. Unfortunately, the story of the queen's vindictiveness has been given a new lease of life in a recent book on Edward IV's dalliances. Crooks demonstrates that Desmond's fate had more to do with the king's nervousness during a period of instability in his reign, which was aggravated by the Geraldines' achievement of unrivalled power in Ireland. Desmond's usurpation of the royal prerogative, appointing his brother-in-law Kildare as the chancellor of Ireland for life, as well as imposing coign and livery within the 'four loyal shires', contrary to his previous indenture as Clarence's deputy as lord lieutenant, would not have mollified Edward's fears either. Due to the king's astonishing act of ruthlessness, the Geraldines subsequently rebelled. Indeed, one of the major themes running through this book is that the Geraldines only did so as a last resort, after severe provocation by the Crown and/or its English-born servants in Ireland.

With the eclipse of Desmond, the earls of Kildare prospered, thanks to the absence of the Butler earls of Ormond in England. As Ellis shows, this was not all plain-sailing for Thomas fitz Maurice's son and successor, Gerald, the eighth

and Great Earl of Kildare, who soon found himself at loggerheads with Edward IV and successors. Indeed, Gerald's temerities to preserve his own position in Ireland soon exceeded those of the executed Desmond: in 1478, he forcibly opposed Edward IV's choice of lord deputy, assuming the role himself; in 1483, he appointed his own brother chancellor of Ireland, instead of Richard III's candidate; and in 1487 he crowned a rival monarch to Henry VII himself! Nevertheless, Kildare won the grudging acceptance of all three kings and continued to administer Ireland on their behalf until his death in 1513, handing over to his son and successor Gerald Óg. The rest of Ellis's essay is a synthesis of his life's work, demonstrating that the Kildare ascendancy at the end of fifteenth/beginning of the sixteenth centuries was one of English consolidation and expansion in Ireland, rather than of stagnation and decline, as generally thought.

This is an excellent book and a fine addition to the bookshelves of anyone interested in medieval Ireland. If there is just one criticism, the period 1360-1420 is poorly covered, although this is partially addressed by earlier work on James the Usurper found elsewhere in this publisher's stable of festschrifts.

RANDOLPH JONES

THE ABBOTS AND PRIORS OF LATE MEDIEVAL AND REFORMATION ENGLAND. Martin Heale. 2016. Oxford: Oxford University Press, £65. ISBN 978-0-19-870253-5

According to Smaragdus of St Mihiel, in his early ninth-century commentary on the Rule of St Benedict, it was the responsibility of the abbot to show virtue by his actions; his very manner should evangelise the word of the Lord. As Martin Heale's volume demonstrates with great insight, such were the impossible demands of spiritual leadership in late medieval England. The duties of monastic superiors were wide-ranging, onerous, and occasionally a source of conflict; yet their rewards offered abbots and priors a privileged place in late medieval English society. Building on Heale's recent scholarship, including his earlier edited volume, *The Prelate in England and Europe, 1300-1569*, *The Abbots and Priors of Late Medieval and Reformation England* offers a comprehensive insight into the lives and careers of the men who governed some of England's largest religious institutions.

The opening part of Heale's book deals with abbatial duties *in clauistro*. Chapter 1 examines the election of abbots and priors, the problems and expenses incurred by vacancies and the opportunities available for careerist monks. Heale then considers, in chapter 2, the responsibilities of abbots and priors within their own communities as leaders, disciplinarians, educators, pastors and, in chapter 3, administrators. Heale demonstrates that an abbot or prior did not simply play a symbolic role at the head of his institution, but an

essential practical role that ensured its smooth-running. Chapter 4 explores abbatial households, living standards, entertainment and the contentious issue of abbot's lodgings, which grew considerably in size and splendour during the later Middle Ages, rivalling those of their secular counterparts. In the second part of the book we are reminded that it was not the preserve of the mendicants to engage with the world beyond the cloister walls. Heale devotes a chapter to the role played by monastic superiors in bridging the divide between monastery and the world. We learn that the skills developed in the administration and care of their own communities prepared abbots and priors for public life, in which they acted as representatives of their order at general and provincial chapters and as prelates, diplomats, litigators and even members of parliament. Chapter 6 evaluates the impact that these public roles had on the reputation and representation of monasticism. Such representations could be both positive and negative, a charge that Heale suggests may have been partly a result of the occasional roles that abbots played as litigators and defenders of the rights of their houses. Heale's aside delving into the pages of literary representations of monastic culture, as well as heterodox criticism, reminds us that recent works exploring antifraternalism and anticlericalism often neglect to consider portrayals of the unreformed religious orders.

Heale's work highlights a tension between what he describes as the 'staid' character of insular monastic culture, the need to maintain respectability and stability (p. 56), and ever-changing political, religious and societal demands. English monasticism had a deep heritage that its members sought to honour; yet they strove to remain at the forefront of spiritual and social exchange. This tension is evidenced in Heale's lengthy and fascinating discussion of abbot's lodgings. Though the lavishness of abbatial lodgings were criticised by earlier generations of monastic historians, including Dom David Knowles, for their worldliness, Heale argues they signified the changing roles of monastic superiors. By the fifteenth century monastic heads were becoming less itinerant as the demands of their houses increased, were increasingly expected to entertain guests and, as primates of the Church, project suitable magnificence (p. 183). As a result, their lodgings had to evolve to meet these requirements, not because English monasticism had lost its way, but precisely because it continued to strive to find new ways to be relevant in an era of rapidly changing social and political circumstances.

These changing circumstances are explored more fully in the final part of the work which examines English monasticism in the Tudor Age (chapter 7) and at the Dissolution (chapter 8). Thomas Cromwell emerges as a central figure and Heale's discussion of his relationship with monasticism is particularly enlightening. Cromwell comes across as a man with a vested interest in monastic affairs as early as May, 1532. Monastic communities, perhaps ever eager to remain politically relevant, appear to have relinquished responsibility and power to the Crown. Cromwell and the Henrician regime profited greatly from their involvement in abbatial elections and, by 1536, Cromwell had

become an indispensable part of the administration of monastic life. Indeed, even before the Dissolution of the Lesser Houses that year, many monastic superiors were dependent on Cromwell for guidance and leadership. Heale's Dissolution, therefore, is one in which the majority of English houses complied with the demands of the Henrician regime – awed by its power and ruthlessness, flattered and enticed by its offers of high-profile roles in the Henrician Church and victims of Cromwell's administrative genius.

Heale's book is ambitious in its scope, attempting to synthesise over a decade of research into the unreformed religious orders of late medieval England. As a result depth must necessarily be sacrificed on occasion. A brief section exploring the writings of abbots and priors, for instance (pp. 93-94), only has space to summarise the details of a couple of works and their authors, such as the *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ* (c. 1410) written by Nicholas Love shortly before his election as prior of Mount Grace. One wonders what, if anything, differentiated the writings of monastic superiors from other monastic productions, or what role abbatial writers of vernacular theology played in orthodox resistance to Lollardy. Ultimately, however, this is a comprehensive book written with great skill, care and attention. It will be of interest to specialist and lay readers alike, but will be particularly welcomed by students of late medieval religious culture and the Reformation, both undergraduate and postgraduate, who have lacked a comparable volume of this scope and accessibility.

DAVID HARRY

MEDIEVAL LOWESTOFT: The Origins and Growth of a Suffolk Coastal Community. David Butcher. 2016. The Boydell Press, Woodbridge, £50.00. ISBN 978-1-78327-149-8

Of East Anglia's coastal towns, Lowestoft is far from being the richest in surviving archival, archaeological or architectural evidence from the Middle Ages. That David Butcher, by his own admission 'not a medievalist', has produced a study of such substance is therefore a remarkable achievement.

All coastal settlements in Norfolk and Suffolk were (and still are) affected by physical changes such as the accretion or erosion of land, the formation of sand-spits and the silting of channels, creating opportunities for some places and at some periods, while closing them for others. Like Great Yarmouth, Dunwich, and Orford, Lowestoft has a unique story of opportunities seized. Unlike them, however, medieval Lowestoft did not have borough status: its community affairs were organised within a manorial structure, but one relatively free of seigneurial influence, successive lords of the manor being distant absentees.

At the start, the author confronts the relatively paucity of evidence head-on, making the most of clues in place and personal names, including the toft of

Hluda ('the loud one'), to whom the book is dedicated, and whose settlement may have been sited on a south-facing slope above Lake Lothing. Thanks to a last-minute refusal of the River Waveney (the historic boundary between Suffolk and Norfolk) to enter the sea at that point, instead winding inland and then north to join the River Yare, the northern extremity of Suffolk in which Lowestoft sits - the half-hundred of Lothingland - was effectively an island at the time of Domesday.

A secure grasp of later developments, together with analysis of the personal names of tenants (included as an appendix), has assisted Butcher in interpreting the Lothingland hundred roll, 1274-75, linking apparently minimal topographical clues to the modern landscape. This was a period when Lowestoft was overtaking Gorleston as the dominant community in Lothingland: a shift both marked and encouraged by the royal grant in 1308 of a market and fair at Lowestoft. At about this time a single decisive change transformed the future prospects of the inhabitants: the planning and building of a new town on the cliff-top, almost a mile north of the original settlement, combined with a transition from a predominately agricultural community to one focused on fishing. Again, Butcher's intimate knowledge of the post-medieval town has enabled him convincingly to reconstruct features of this new town, with its long main street running parallel to the cliff-edge and steep access routes, or 'scores', down to the denes (flat, sandy expanses above high-water mark - a usage of the word peculiar to East Anglia, but not explained in the book) below. The scores, adapted from natural gullies created by surface water draining down the cliffs, are still a distinctive feature of the townscape.

Glimpses, at least, of mercantile activities, and of a rôle in national defence, have been gleaned from national archives and are set in a wider context, while a review of fishing and related activities benefits from a practical and informed approach. The herring fishery, to which Great Yarmouth claimed exclusive rights over a stretch of coast which included Lowestoft, was a major cause of friction, compounded by Lowestoft's readiness to exploit its own safe inshore haven at a time when Yarmouth's harbour entrance was silting up. The Suffolk town's lack of respect for the privileges of its larger rival is vividly demonstrated in a story taken from an eighteenth-century history by Edmund Gillingwater. In September 1378, an enquiry held at 'Little Yarmouth' (Southtown) by the sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk was told how certain named men of Lowestoft, together with a hostile and riotous crowd of townsfolk, had prevented the proclamation there on 1 May of Great Yarmouth's liberties and privileges. Butcher was unable to find the original inquisition among public records, but Gillingwater's source may have been a relatively more recent one: a transcript made around 1600 (Y/C 36/7/22), to be found in a file of Great Yarmouth town clerk's papers deposited in the Norfolk Record Office, and still crackling with contempt towards the upstart Suffolk town.

A separate early settlement, Akethorpe, on the inland side of Lowestoft, had its own manor, and also a church, the site of which was later adopted by

Lowestoft, thus explaining the location of the parish church to the west of the medieval town. A chapter devoted to St Margaret's church highlights its imposing size and impressive quality: even in a region with stiff competition, the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century fabric of Lowestoft's parish church is spectacular, and a testament to the prosperity and stability of a relatively modest urban community of around 1,000 people. The lay subsidy of 1524-25 provides the basis for an assessment of the urban community and its governance in the early to mid-sixteenth century, and one of the six appendices in the book uses the lay subsidy data to rank Lowestoft among Suffolk's top twenty-five townships.

The author has been considerate towards general readers (the rôle of the church in medieval society is explained for those unfamiliar with ecclesiastical history, for example, and there is a separate glossary of medieval terms), while the exceptionally full indexes and clear maps drawn by Ivan Bunn are of benefit to all. The quality of the photographs is a minor disappointment (two of the same images appear much more clearly in the author's previous volume, *Lowestoft, 1550-1750*), while a tantalising description of features shown on a coastal chart, c. 1540, in the British Library makes one wish for a facsimile of the relevant section. Its reference (Cotton MS Augustus I i 58) is also incorrectly cited, but this is a rare lapse in a meticulous and engaging book. It would be good to see the challenge of this fine account of Lowestoft's medieval history taken up in respect of its ancient rival, Great Yarmouth, which has a wealth of medieval records but lacks a published history of the standard set by *Medieval Lowestoft*.

SUSAN MADDOCK

FAMINE AND SCARCITY IN LATE MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN ENGLAND: The Regulation of Grain Marketing, 1256-1631.
Buchanan Sharp. 2016. Cambridge University Press, £64.99.

ISBN 9781107121829

This study of grain marketing in England is an addition to the growing body of work, much of it authored by North American-based scholars, which seeks to uncover commonalities and continuities between the late medieval and early modern periods in the realms of economic and social history. Buchanan Sharp defines his central question thus: 'did the late medieval state have a policy of regulating the grain market, especially in times of scarcity or famine, that might be considered an ancestor of the extensive regulatory apparatus of the early modern state?' (p. 1).

In posing this question Sharp sees himself as a pioneer, as most previous studies of the grain market have, he contends, focused on such issues as production, prices and estate management, considering the regulation of marketing as essentially a matter for local jurisdictions, and ignoring or down-

playing the role of crown and parliament. While there may be some truth in this, it seems to overlook the important role which Britnell, Keene, Masschaele and others have allowed to crown initiatives and legislation in shaping the wider context within which grain and other foodstuffs were traded, through the attempts to standardise measures, to encourage the codification and standardisation of urban privileges and perhaps most importantly of all, to mould the marketing system in town and country through the granting of charters. Where Sharp advances matters is in systematically bringing together a large body of information on crown and parliamentary initiatives between the later thirteenth and the seventeenth centuries, and in attempting to relate these initiatives to popular and scholarly views of the 'common good'. He is also interested in the phenomenon of 'grain riots' and their relation both to these ideas and values and to the actual operation of markets, in so far as this can be reconstructed.

The book begins with an overview of market regulation in the later thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, before moving on to consider government responses to the great famine which struck England and many other parts of northern Europe between 1315 and 1318. In addition to urging enforcement of by then traditional regulations like the assizes of bread and ale and weights and measures, Edward II's government enacted prohibitions on the export of grain and encouraged imports. In a letter of April 1316 to the bishops of England Edward urged compassion from the holders of private granaries towards their neighbours in a time of famine and starvation; grain should be released onto the market, rather than stored while prices soared. Buchanan considers this 'the earliest surviving example of a written statement by an English monarch that he regarded meeting the food needs of his subjects in time of scarcity to be a moral obligation' (p. 42).

The earliest grain riots known from England are dated by Sharp to 1347, rather than to the years of the great famine. They appear to have stemmed from a popular reaction against the large-scale commercial trade in grain and purveyance for Gascony during a year of shortage, but not famine. Ports around the Wash and in Kent were targeted by crowds apparently incensed by the large-scale export of supplies for military campaigns, on top of the regular commercial export trade and coastwise supply of London and other towns. The other focus of unrest was the River Severn where cargoes bound for Bristol were intercepted. The main aim of the 'rioters' appears to have been the upholding of what they regarded as traditional marketing regulations and the obligation to bring grain to local markets at a fair price. The 'moral economy of the crowd' which E.P. Thompson and others identified in the eighteenth century was, Sharp believes, firmly in place by the middle of the fourteenth.

Sharp traces the evolution of the crown response to grain scarcity and supply through the later fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, emphasising how a traditional set of measures - the assizes, encouragement of the prosecution of forestalling and regrating, the periodic banning or restriction of exports - was

reverted to again and again, culminating in measures to alleviate the severe dearth of 1437-39. Disappointingly for readers of this journal, the story then jumps, from 1440 to the reign of Henry VIII. During this extended period - indeed until 1527 - Sharp has uncovered only one episode, in 1481-83, of crown response to grain scarcity, which took the form of prohibitions on exports and encouragement of shipping supplies to London. For the remainder of the period, he argues, the infrequency of harvest failures and consistently low prices meant that there was little to provoke government intervention. This may be so, but it is necessary to bear in mind that data on both grain production and prices become increasingly sparse and geographically unrepresentative during the course of the fifteenth century. Bruce Campbell's online databases (www.cropyields.ac.uk) reveal that there were in fact a number of poor harvests after 1440, with a concentration in the 1470s, but as with the price series these may reflect regional rather than national trends. Legislation in the Irish parliament in the 1470s sought to counter exports of grain to England, Scotland and Wales, which may point to dearth in western Britain as well as in Ireland itself (*Statute Rolls of the Parliament of Ireland, First to the Twelfth years of the Reign of King Edward the Fourth*, ed. H.F. Berry, Dublin 1914, p. 853). Moreover, Sharp himself shows, in the example of responses to the scarcity of 1519-22, that local initiatives seem to have replaced central government action and perhaps this was part of a longer-term trend.

All was changed by the re-appearance of crown intervention, orchestrated by Cardinal Wolsey, in 1527-9; earlier forms of action were revived, the principal innovation being the appointment of commissioners in each county empowered to search for private grain stocks. The language of commonwealth and the common good were deployed, but Sharp shows that this was far from a novelty, being traceable back at least to the thirteenth century. Pursuing the story through the later Tudor period and into the seventeenth century, Sharp argues that the paternalism seen in the 'book of orders' and other measures aimed at helping the poor had clear medieval antecedents.

Sharp has produced a valuable overview of an important topic. It is not always an easy read, however. There is some repetition, perhaps a product of the book's long gestation period, referred to in the author's acknowledgements. The volume would have benefitted from some charts or tables, for example a graphed price series and the tabulation of the issuing of export bans and licenses. One or more reference maps would also have aided understanding of the geography of conflicts over grain in 1347 and later. Also lacking is a concluding chapter which, in addition to reiterating the continuities over time and the connections between popular and governmental views of the market, might have posed the following question: what effect, if any, did these centuries-worth of attempted regulation and moral censure have upon the real-world operation of grain markets and the lives of the poor?

JAMES A. GALLOWAY

TRAVELS AND MOBILITIES IN THE MIDDLE AGES. From the Atlantic to the Black Sea. Edited by Marianne O'Doherty and Felicitas Schmieder. International Medieval Research 21. 2015. Brepols, Turnhout, Belgium, € 90. ISBN 978-2-503-55449-5

As the title indicates and as a book on travelling should do, this study of medieval mobility is very wide ranging and partly for that reason contains some eye-openers for readers, whether professional, student or just interested. Unfortunately, as so often these days, the price is prohibitive and will limit the book's own movements severely.

For the sake of brevity, I will bypass the introduction and rather irrelevant sub-division of the book and sail straight into chapter 1: Johnny G.G. Jakobsen on mendicant *terminario* in Scandinavia, that is, the sending out of friars from their convent to travel round within a limited area – hence the term – to preach and to beg, the latter ensuring the survival of their houses; there are some fascinating practical details, such as these men's relations with local priests and their ferrying around of movable platforms to speak from. Papal delegations to the north of Europe, who were the delegates, where they stayed, and what they had to deal with, such as the problem of prayer times during the short northern days or nights, and linguistic and cultural differences, are the subject of the next paper by Sæbjørg W. Nordeide. Chapter 3, by Iona McCleery, explores European expansion in the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries through the records of the impressive travels of Portuguese medical practitioners, which include their views of and relations with the people they met. Even more fascinating and very readable is Irina Metzler's overview of how disabled people (were) moved around in the Middle Ages, using the evidence of saints' lives and visual images: baskets for carrying children, wheelbarrows, waggons and carts of different shapes and sizes, litters and crutches, a pope moving around St Peter's in a wheelchair to celebrate mass, hermits engrossed in their books while being pulled along in similar contraptions.

The next paper sits a bit oddly with the rest, John D. Hosler's 'Why didn't King Stephen crusade?', a question that may be asked because this king was connected to many men who did go on the Second Crusade and can be shown to have been sufficiently informed about crusading ideology in general. It appears that he missed his 'slot', being too involved in domestic politics to leave for the Holy Land at the right moment. Next Hrvoje Kekez describes in great detail how the fourteenth-century Slavonian nobleman, Ivan Babonic, travelled extensively throughout his life, for both financial and socio-political reasons, maintaining the position and status of himself and his family. Mary Fisher explores the role of the *Chronicle of Prussia* (1326) in legitimising the Prussian crusade, led by the Teutonic Knights and joined by many from other parts of Europe (e.g. Chaucer's knight), as a kind of successor to the 'real' crusade after the fall of Acre in 1291.

The (mainly German) *Landsknechte* (1450-1570) and their 'self-definition', including their own image of their 'masculinity', is discussed by Stefanie Rütter, using the songs these mercenaries sang about their life and profession; one cannot help wondering whether there was perhaps a lot of irony (however brutal) in these texts (which the author does not mention). In the next paper Zita Rohr claims that Yolanda of Aragon (1384-1442), grandmother of Henry VI's queen Margaret of Anjou, in her itinerant rulership followed the tradition of the Iberian queens. As is almost inevitable when tackling the Anjou family and their many lands and connections, the text is weighed down with a great number of names and events that leave the reader confused and little wiser. Student mobility (and, for some reason, masculinity) is studied by Maximilian Schuh, focussing on the university of Ingolstadt, founded 1470; he concludes that student life was characterised by the same differences in social status as the rest of society and mobility depended on means and rank.

The last two chapters deal with the movements of material objects: Rafal Quirini-Poplawski in an interesting round-about way was able to gain knowledge of many church furnishings in pre-1453 Constantinople. When the Turks threatened the City, treasures from the mainland were perhaps taken across to the churches of Pera, the relatively safe separate northern area across the Golden Horn, where there was an important colony of Genoese. Though the latter had an agreement with Mehmet that they could keep their property, they decided to ship many objects, both their own and those entrusted to them, back home and it is in the documents recording this transfer that descriptions of precious items survive. Finally, Gemma Watson looks at some of the material possessions of Roger Machado, herald to four kings, from Edward IV to Henry VII, and what they tell us. Her main tenet is that the (extremely short) inventory of some household goods made in 1484 suggests that he was going into exile, having taken part in the 1483 Buckingham Rebellion. Without space to go into detail all this reviewer can do is warn the reader that almost every statement in this paper may be in dire need of being checked. A brief look at the transcripts and translations of the inventory in the thesis (see eprints.soton.ac.uk) on which this article is based reveals an almost incredible number of errors (e.g. *doubleye* means 'lined' not 'a doublet'). There is much to be (re-)done here.

Each contribution to this nicely presented book has its own bibliography. There is a limited overall index, which unfortunately omits many of the fascinating people and places that fill these stories and would make them even more worthwhile to scholars working in adjacent fields – if they could be seen to occur in this book.

LIVIA VISSER-FUCHS

MEDIEVAL MERCHANTS AND MONEY. Essays in Honour of James L. Bolton. Edited by Martin Allen and Matthew Davies. 2016. University of London School of Advanced Study, Institute of Historical Research, London, £40.00 (hbk). ISBN 978-1-909646-16-2

This volume emerges from a conference held in 2013 in honour of Jim Bolton, one of the outstanding medievalists and economic historians of his generation. The editors remind us of the breadth as well as depth of Bolton's scholarship in the Preface, and in a useful list of his published work at the end of the volume. It therefore is not surprising that the topics covered in the essays are similarly wide-ranging, something that is both a strength and weakness of this collection.

The volume is divided into six themed sections, with a total of sixteen essays, some of perhaps more direct interest to readers of this journal than others, but all a welcome indication of the lively state of medieval scholarship. In the first section, 'London merchants: companies, identities and culture', Justin Colson's essay explores civic and socio-economic identity in the late medieval city through close analysis and a selection of case-studies, while both Matthew Davies's and Caroline M. Barron's essays highlight the scale and diversity of the capital's literate and literary culture, in contrast to the traditional views of the subject; Christian Steer rounds-off this section with a detailed study of St James Garlickhythe (burial-place of Richard III's illegitimate daughter, Katherine), reminding us of the richness of the commemorative landscape of the later Middle Ages. The second section, on 'Warfare, trade and mobility', includes essays by Sam Gibbs and Adrian Bell, drawing on the *Soldier in Later Medieval England* project and Gibb's Poll Tax database (hopefully soon to be made available to all!) to explore the varied role of merchants in the Hundred Years War; F. Guidi-Bruscoli on the wealth of valuable information about English merchants contained in Italian archives; and Jessica Lutkin revisiting, through the *England's Immigrants* project material, the work of Sylvia Thrupp and Jim Bolton on aliens in London. Anne Sutton's essay, which uses a detailed study of disputes involving English merchants operating in the North Sea during the 1480s to consider the broader context of royal governance, politics and economics, is the first of two in a short section on 'Merchants and the English Crown'; Samantha Harper then looks at the role of goldsmiths as royal servants in the reign of Henry VII. The next two sections, on 'Money and mints' and 'Markets, credit and the rural economy', are complimentary and, as the authors all note, closely related to Jim Bolton's central research interests. Martin Allen provides a chronologically broad overview of the interconnection of trade, the production of coinage, and responses to problems with the monetary system, while Hannes Kleineke uses some remarkable case-studies to explore the issue of counterfeiting in the fifteenth century; John Oldland's detailed and important study of the rural cloth industry suggests that its economic impact has been considerably underestimated, while the essays by Phillipp Schofield and James Davis both draw on extensive research to provide timely reminders

of the crucial significance of credit to the economy of later medieval England. In the final section, 'Merchants and the law', Paul Brand employs a close investigation of legal records relating to agents' accounts in the later thirteenth and fourteenth centuries to highlight the complex web of mercantile interactions, while Tony Moore's essay uses a re-evaluation of a well-known fifteenth century case in the London mayor's court to explore the question of negotiability and credit at a time when coinage was restricted.

The thematic coherence of essays in each section is sometimes very strong, at other times less so, and with so many different approaches and topics under consideration on occasion the volume feels rather more like a special issue of a journal than a collection in book form, and one cannot help but feel that a formal introduction by the editors might have been useful in these circumstances. This does not however detract from the value of this volume, which includes some outstanding contributions that should become staples on bibliographies, stir debate and lead to further investigation, although it is almost inevitable in a collection of this sort that there are also some weaker offerings. It is also good to see a range junior, mid-career and established contributors in one volume, and the inclusion of scholars from a range of career paths rather than just traditional academia.

The volume is handsomely produced, with clear text, tables and charts, a good index, and an attractive but robust cover (important for a book that will almost certainly draw the reader back on numerous occasions); a salutatory reminder to some other publishers that it is possible to have a quality product at a reasonable price.

ELIZABETH NEW

THE LIVERY COLLAR IN LATE MEDIEVAL ENGLAND AND WALES: Politics, Identity and Affinity. Matthew Ward. 2016. The Boydell Press Woodbridge, £50 (hbk). ISBN 978-1-78327-115-3

In his introduction Ward notes that the collar is ubiquitous. It can be found on church monuments, in stained glass and in manuscripts, and is generally considered to be a symbol of allegiance, either to the house of York or to the house of Lancaster. It is therefore familiar, but he skilfully demonstrates that its meaning is much more nuanced and not fully understood. The introduction also provides an extremely useful historiography.

When the collar was first introduced in the fourteenth century it was awarded to esquires and above, whereas those beneath esquire wore the common livery badge made of cloth or base metal. Initially the collar was conferred by kings and nobles, but it became solely the preserve of kings by the early fifteenth century. Granted to household servants and possibly officers in the localities, it was also given to soldiers for loyalty on the battlefield. Under the Tudors it became a mark of office to be worn by high ranking government

officials. By the second half of the fifteenth century the collar had become the well-known 'collar of SS', whose origins can be traced back to the fourteenth century and the house of Lancaster. The less common 'collar of suns and roses', representing the house of York, was introduced in 1461 by Edward IV. This helps to explain the received view that the collars were symbols of support for particular sides in the Wars of the Roses which dominated the second half of the century, however as with much of this period, it was never quite that simple.

The book has two parts. Part one explores the function, meaning and significance of the collar, the political milieu, and its associations, to establish the context in which it was used. Part two offers case studies examining collars on church monuments and their distribution across the country. These findings are not restricted to England as they also cover the collar in Wales, with specific reference to the 'Edgecote Connection' and the Herberts. The analysis is obviously limited by the survival rate of tombs and brasses, and more are mentioned in antiquarian works than actually exist today. The distribution of collars has a south east/north west split, and there are more brasses in the south east, reflecting the locations of workshops in the larger urban centres, however clusters are also evident, some of which reveal a longer time scale stretching into the early sixteenth century. The clusters reviewed are therefore confined to the period covering the Wars of the Roses, and it can be seen that some indicate kinship groups rather than the availability of a workshop. These groupings are examined in detail.

The possible motivations between donor and recipient are explored, along with an examination of how politically active some of the collar owners were. One of the interesting questions raised is whether donor and recipient both had the same understanding of what ownership of the collar meant, or if the recipient was placing their own interpretation upon ownership of the collar. Monuments depicting a collar are not just looked at to see who was wearing it – Ward also attempts to discover the possible motivation behind why the wearer chose to be so depicted.

The collar was much more than a decorative item or symbol of allegiance. Its possible meanings for the owner could be multi-faceted, and Ward shows that the lives of people in the middle ages were far more complex than we sometimes acknowledge. The collar was more than an expression of support for Lancaster or York: it symbolised allegiances between friends and families, comrades in arms, and support for the king.

I can thoroughly recommend this book, which is a revelation for anyone interested in livery collars and what they meant. My only complaint is that I would have liked to have seen more illustrations, because this is a subject that really cries out for pictures, although I note that this may have made the work more expensive, thus limiting the potential number of readers able to experience the pleasure of discovering the complex history of the livery collar. That said, I will now use the comprehensive appendix which lists livery collars on church monuments county by county and have a look myself.

LYNDA PIDGEON

THE REGISTER OF EDWARD STORY, BISHOP OF CHICHESTER, 1478-1503. Edited by J. H. Stevenson. 2016. Canterbury and York Society Volume CVI. The Boydell Press, Woodbridge, £35.00. ISBN 978-0-907239-79-6

In many ways there has never been a better time to embark upon research into England's medieval bishops. The *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* has now extended its medieval coverage to include every member of the English episcopacy from the Conquest to the Reformation; the Early English Episcopal Acta series continues to publish the output of bishops' chanceries; and innovative new projects like the 'York's Archbishops' Registers Revealed' project offer new ways for historians to engage with England's medieval episcopal records. Arguably, the Canterbury and York Society pre-empted and inspired much of this activity. Since 1904 it has published a host of ecclesiastical records, primarily episcopal and archiepiscopal registers, thereby making these problematic sources more accessible and enabling the research of amateur and professional historians alike. The latest volume in the series is *The Register of Edward Story, Bishop of Chichester: 1478-1503*.

Whilst there was no such thing as a typical late medieval bishop – Story's tale seems familiar. He was academically able; his career was accelerated by royal patronage; he was politically active and yet pastorally conscientious. The introduction provides a brief biography of Story from his birth around 1420 to his death in 1503 (pp. xvii-xxii). Regrettably, some of the most intriguing details of his life lack precise referencing. For example, we are told: 'His path to advancement in royal service had begun by 1460, as evidenced by the patronage of Henry VI in that year' (p. xviii) – the evidence for this is not divulged. The introduction then identifies several important themes which emerge through the register: National Affairs (pp. xxii-xxiv); Diocesan Administration (pp. xxiv-xli); Diocesan Administrators (pp. xli-xliv); Patronage (pp. xlv-xlv); and The Clergy (xlv-li). Although the introduction is extremely informative, it could usefully have been further subdivided. For example, heresy (currently listed under National Affairs, p. xxiv) would have benefited from a subheading. Similarly, 'Diocesan Administration' might have been further divided into subsections including Visitations and Taxation. Such changes would have made the volume even more accessible – especially for the amateur researcher.

Unsurprisingly, most of the original Register was written in Latin, except for an English letter from Edward IV to the archbishop of Canterbury in 1480 (no. 136, pp. 54-55) and a royal writ from 1497 (no. 285, pp. 142-3) – the former is transcribed in full and the latter calendared. The text of the Register is presented in the form of 699 entries calendared in English and contains all significant details including persons, places, dates and 'everything of substance' (p. lvii). Four appendices offer much useful additional information. Appendix I, is an itinerary of Bishop Story from May 1478 to February 1503. Appendix II offers proposed itineraries of the visitations of July 1478 and February-April 1482. Appendices III and IV provide a very useful concordance for the printed register entries with their appropriate folio references in the original

manuscripts (WRSO, EP. 1/1/3 and EP. 1/1/4). The appendices will be extremely valuable to future students of Story and his diocese – especially those wishing to check the original entries in the West Sussex Record Office. The volume is completed with an excellent index – essential in making the text more accessible.

Historians of a variety of topics will find much of interest in the text itself. The Register sheds considerable light on national affairs – a striking example being the orders of November 1498 to publicise a papal bull which threatened excommunication on all those who questioned the legitimacy of Henry VII's reign (No. 288, pp. 143-44). Unsurprisingly, taxation is a common theme. For example, in 1497 Henry VII was granted £40,000 in two instalments for defence against the Scots (Nos. 279-287, pp. 137-43). The diocese of Chichester was ordered to find £1467 10s of this subsidy - roughly comparable to Exeter (£1420 18s 7¾d), but a fraction of that provided by Lincoln (£9187 10s). The spiritual life of the diocese is prevalent throughout. The rulings of convocations were faithfully transmitted throughout the diocese – as in 1481 when the churches of the diocese were ordered to observe a number of feasts as double feasts according to the Sarum Use (no. 156, p. 65). Story's pastoral dedication to his diocese is evident from regular visitations (see, p. xxix). Those of 1478 are particularly well documented (nos. 2-57, pp. 1-34) in the register which offers fascinating details of abuses and how they were tackled. These suggest that neglect of liturgical and educational duties was a significant problem – but that Story was keen to address it. For example, John Wigmore, the rector of Whatlington, was accused of absenteeism, and ordered to present himself to the bishop - presumably to offer an explanation for his transgression (no. 63, p. 36). Such incidents reveal that although the late medieval Church was open to abuse and neglect it was also successful in identifying and tackling problems.

Readers of this journal will be particularly interested a series of entries (nos. 226-28, pp. 101-02) which attest to orders by the archbishop of Canterbury, in December 1484, to organise a procession for 'the affairs of Richard III, the defence of the king and his realm and the tranquillity of the populace'. These processions were to be accompanied by the chanting of the litany, masses and special collects. In January 1485 Story forwarded this mandate to the archdeacon of Chichester and requested that he encourage participations in such processions and prayers – granting an indulgence of forty days to all who did so. These entries offer an interesting insight into diocesan experience in the difficult months leading to the battle of Bosworth in August 1485.

Bishops' registers are a rich source for those interested in a particular diocese or bishop and also offer a wonderful perspective on wider topics. Without the work of the Canterbury and York Society these sources would be largely inaccessible to the vast majority of historians. The volume is a good example of its genre and will surely facilitate important new research.

CHARLES FARRIS

WIVES AND WIDOWS OF MEDIEVAL LONDON. Anne F. Sutton.
2016. Shaun Tyas, Donington, £24. ISBN 978-1-907730-57-3

Studies of the lives of medieval women, as is often lamented, tend to be exercises in shooting in the dark. Few sources relate directly to women's concerns or experiences, still less record their voices; and the circumstances of their lives have for the most part to be hypothesised from documentary evidence shaped in accordance with the requirements of their male relatives and acquaintances. Anne Sutton's work, as brought together in this attractively produced and well priced book, is a lesson in just what can be achieved by patient accumulation and interpretation of detail from these records. Drawing on wills, on civic and company archives, and on provincial and other records of different kinds, *Wives and Widows of Medieval London* brings to life the activities of women in their households, their parishes, and above all in the business economy of the city in which they played a dynamic role.

In keeping with their author's scholarly interests, the essays deal primarily with women who were associated with mercers or whose work related to the mercery trade: silkwomen, embroiderers, makers of vestments and girdles (the recent *Opus Anglicanum* exhibition at the V&A has drawn to attention just what a significant and productive workforce this must have been). Five of the ten essays assembled here are biographies of individual women who came from or became part of prosperous mercer households. The remainder deal more broadly with specific categories of women (silkwomen, the women of the mercery, and *femmes soles*) and in one case more generally still with the potential of wives as sources of income, a matter of special interest to aspirant aldermen. Eight of the essays have been previously published, but for the purposes of this book they have been updated, and their concerns drawn into a substantial introductory overview which signals some general trends in the trajectories and preoccupations of medieval urban women's lives. Although the formal arrangement of the book allots individual essays to sections on 'wives' and 'widows', a helpful chronological pattern also emerges, with the first essays in the collection addressing the period c. 1200-c. 1500, and the later ones concentrating on individual fifteenth-century biographies.

A number of significant points emerge from the early essays in the collection. One is that there seems nothing especially distinctive about employment practices involving skilled female artisans (*femmes soles*) in London in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries – a period that has been described as their 'golden age'. Close study suggests that the processes by which they were enrolled as apprentices were the same as those governing the enrolment of young men, and unlikely to have afforded any special privileges at particular points during the years c. 1200-c. 1500. The data furnished here supports arguments for the prominence of women in certain kinds of employment, and for their ability to move upwards from apprenticeship to freedom of the city by a variety of routes. It also confirms that women frequently acted as executrices,

that they were able to petition the king to protect their trading practices, and that in both their craft and household roles, at least in relatively prosperous urban contexts, they probably had more advanced skills of reading, writing and arithmetic than is often supposed.

The individual biographical studies here suggest that the wives and widows of medieval London enjoyed reasonable social and regional mobility. Although some were born in London, others came to the city from elsewhere: Joan Haynes, for example, who originated in a Northamptonshire village and perhaps came to London in household service, made successive marriages in London to a pewterer, a mercer, and to the clerk of the king's council. Many of the women whose lives are documented here were to spend long periods as widows (thirty years in the case of Alice Claver, eighteen eventually for Joan Haynes), with responsibilities for extensive property portfolios as well as for business interests. For those who remarried, new husbands seem sometimes to have materialized, reasonably enough, from existing networks of acquaintance: Alice Domenyk, whose first husband was the lawyer William Markby, married another lawyer after his death, and thirdly another man with legal training who would become receiver-general to Henry Beauchamp.

Parish and guild connections, clearly of central importance, are patiently and revealingly unpicked in several of these essays. For Alice Domenyk, later to be Alice Markby-Shipley-Portaleyn, these connections centred on St Bartholomew's Hospital Close, and brought acquaintance with a range of interesting contacts. A number of the prosperous families described here also had interests outside London: Alice Domenyk's household had a country property in Isleworth; Joan Bradbury, born in Northamptonshire and married successively to a London tailor and a London mercer who would become Lord Mayor, was benefactress to a church in Saffron Walden where her brother was vicar. Through careful interpretation of guild and parish records, and above all through extensive consultation of wills, each of the biographical essays in this volume has at its heart an illuminating 'spider's web of interconnections'.

Together with their detail of the shapes and textures of women's lives, the essays here present a good deal of evidence about the value of a good wife to her husband. A survey of the marriages of London aldermen between 1400 and 1499, reinforced by various of the individual biographical studies, demonstrates that marrying a widow, or better still a widow who was also an heiress, was an attractive route to financial advancement and household stability, as well as offering the means of providing an heir. Alice Claver's husband Richard acknowledged in his will that she had been to him a 'full luffyng woman en my sekeness'. The murky outlines of a would-be abduction that took place between Alice Markby's second and third marriages perhaps indicates just how desirable a property a trusty wife might have seemed. Much about the women whose lives are recovered in these essays remains beyond our reach, as the author acknowledges: her comment that Alice Domenyk 'is dimly seen through the glass of her husbands and sons' is true of the other female subjects here. But

the accumulation of detail in this rich collection about many different facets of women's lives, from their marriages and children to the material objects they handled, goes a long way to bringing them to life.

JULIA BOFFEY

HENRY VII'S NEW MEN AND THE MAKING OF TUDOR ENGLAND. Steven Gunn. 2016. Oxford University Press, Oxford, £60 (hbk). ISBN 978-0-19-965983-8

The long-awaited publication of Professor Gunn's masterful study will prompt many historians to re-think what the phrase 'extensive research' might entail. Gunn offers a tour-de-force of the historian's art of persistent archival digging and also the science of processing that historical evidence into a compelling study. This book is the end result of a project that has been thirty years in the making. Collections from almost seventy archives are cited. At 416 pages it is a substantial piece of work, but clearly could have been much longer, given the scope offered by the subject and the author's outstanding expertise. Gunn matches his own existing high standards and leaves a difficult trail for others to follow.

New Men presents a benchmark and a challenge to anyone writing about the period between the Wars of the Roses and the establishment of Tudor rule before the 1520s. It is obvious from the range of information presented that a bewildering volume of late fifteenth century documentation remains dormant in national, local and private archives and research libraries. As Gunn shows, such a cache of records still has the potential to transform the depth of study that is possible on the early Tudor polity. Few others, however, have Gunn's stamina, patience, expertise and breadth of knowledge to draw a similarly comprehensive study together.

From a cast of many candidates, Gunn selects just eight of Henry VII's new men on which to focus - Sir Thomas Brandon, Sir John Hussey, Sir Henry Marney, Sir Thomas Lovell, Sir Edward Poynings, Sir Andrew Windsor, Sir Henry Wyatt and Sir Robert Southwell. These gentlemen become the vehicles through which Gunn discusses and analyses all of the 'caitiffs and villains of simple birth' who worked in close partnership with King Henry to secure the Tudor grip on power after 1485. This choice was evidently done to find a balance between familiar and lesser known individuals. It does mean, therefore, that despite its long gestation and comprehensive scope, the book's main subjects are probably not those new men who are usually identified as Henry VII's foremost gentry allies - Edmund Dudley, Sir Richard Empson, Sir Christopher Urswick, Sir Richard Guildford, and Sir Reginald Bray. They all feature but are not the principal subjects of this study. They already have some prominence in the historiography of Henry VII's reign. Gunn saw an opportunity to add to our broader understanding of the period by examining

how less visible men fitted into the known pattern of personal administrative service to Henry VII.

The book proceeds in a structure that explains how the new men were identified and the skills and talents that Henry VII looked for in recruiting them – although what the term ‘new men’ actually means is not explicitly defined. The next section looks at the points of service that these men occupied – in parliament, in the law, in financial affairs and as diplomats and representatives. Their interaction with the institutions and mechanisms projecting early Tudor power are then analysed. Those connections included stewardships of Crown lands, retaining and networks, influence in the church, control over the law and ties through marriage and affinity.

The most powerful parts of the book cover the ways that the new men generated their wealth through immense hard work around control of the law, the land market, and their roles as lords. Some of it was barely legitimate or legal activity. All of it allowed them to improve their visible status and invest in the trappings of power. The final part of *New Men* charts their fortunes as the reign of Henry VIII began to take shape after April 1509.

In drawing out the intricate professional lives of his subjects, the extent of Gunn’s archival mining is truly impressive and inspirational. All researchers will gain much from the interplay of evidence and narrative in the text. But therein lies the chief difficulty with this study. The presentation of fresh or forgotten information is undeniably abundant. In fact it is so comprehensive that analysis of the evidence is pushed towards the periphery of the book. For that reason there is a slight impression of incompleteness about *New Men*. The author succeeds in a first-rate presentation of evidence, anecdote and detail. We could wish for little more on what the new men did and the networks they forged. The counterbalance that explains the impact of their conduct and influence upon those who were outside of the circle of the king’s most-favoured counsellors is not so prevalent. Readers still have to package the revelations of the lives and careers of the new men into their own existing knowledge of early Tudor government and politics. For those not well-armed with this broader context, *New Men* might be something of an intimidating and possibly unsatisfactory read. That is the trade-off Gunn has made between realising a major new study crammed with archival gems, or diluting the impact of such comprehensive research by supplying additional narrative and analytical context that can be gathered from the historiography with a little effort. Since the definition of new men is specifically related to the officials of simple birth who came to wield the Crown’s power, there are important elements of the novelty of Henry VII’s kingship that cannot be accommodated here. The book has little room for the central and regional roles of the few early Tudor promotions to the nobility, such as Giles, Lord Daubeney or Robert, Lord Willoughby de Broke. The focus on rising gentry administrators also distorts the importance of Henry VII’s clerical allies in administrative roles, like bishops Hugh Oldham or William Smyth. Smyth, in particular, as president of the Council of the Marches

of Wales during Prince Arthur's upbringing at Ludlow, was as much an architect of the future shape of Tudor kingship as Bray or Lovell.

Henry VII's New Men is an uncompromising and brilliant study. Its value will be fully realised by those already aware of the current state of scholarship of Henry VII's reign. This book makes a major leap in explaining Henry VII's kingship and the men that helped to shape it, and should be welcomed by all those who wish to understand how late medieval England was governed.

SEAN CUNNINGHAM

THE CULTURE OF FOOD IN ENGLAND 1200-1500. C.M. Woolgar. 2016. Yale University Press, New Haven and London, £30.

ISBN 978-0-30-018191-3

It comes as no surprise to read in the preface to this excellent book that it has been a long time in the production, stimulated initially by the discovery of some medieval domestic accounts in the archives of Magdalen College, Oxford in 1979. The volume is enriched throughout by reference to a diversity of evidence, including a wide range of documentary sources, manuscript illuminations and literary evidence, as well as the remains of medieval buildings and their furnishings and surviving objects associated with food production and consumption, such as brass cooking pots and wooden storage chests, as well as silver basins, ewers and spoons. It is this breadth of knowledge derived from such a wide range of source material which informs us of the diet, preparation and service of food across all social groups in late medieval England which gives the book its interest and authority. Woolgar has trawled the archives of royal and noble households, municipal authorities and guilds, as well as educational and monastic institutions, in addition to searching the correspondence of fifteenth-century gentry families such as the Pastons, to provide a detailed insight into the eating habits of such diverse social groups as kings and queens, abbots and prioresses, children and the sick and elderly. We note with interest that the 'diet in many female monastic institutions was not on a par with the aristocracy or with many male houses, but on a lower level'. Eggs, being cheaper than meat or fish, were consumed in large quantities in the smaller and poorer nunneries along with bread and ale.

The book is divided into twelve roughly equal chapters covering every aspect of the culture of food in medieval England. It is clearly laid out and the text is enhanced by extracts from a selection of key documents to provide illustrative detail, such as a list of the spices, and their quantities, used at feasts of the guild of the Holy Cross, Stratford-upon-Avon, in 1407-08 to 1427-28 and 1490-91, and the annual consumption of a broad range of foodstuffs at Lacock Abbey in the 1340s. We are reminded of the ceremony associated with the service of food in wealthy households by a list of textiles used at the table of John de

Sandall, Bishop of Winchester in 1319, in his London residence at Southwark and in his manor at Sandall (near Doncaster). The napery, which indicated the high standing and honour of the household, included the highest quality linen both for covering the table and also for wiping the hands of guests, with a strong emphasis on personal cleanliness. There is a useful glossary to help readers who are unfamiliar with medieval foodstuffs, serving vessels and cooking terms. The index is exemplary, including itemised lists of commodities such as corn and cereal products, dairy produce, fish, various types of meat, sauces and vegetables, under sub-headings for ease of reference. Thirty-one black-and-white illustrations taken from manuscript illuminations such as the Luttrell Psalter and the Taymouth Hours, medieval buildings associated with food production and consumption such as the abbot's kitchen at Glastonbury, and silver items such as the Studley bowl of c. 1400, enhance the text. The use of colour would have added still further to the enjoyment of the illustrations but, no doubt, cost did not allow for this luxury.

Perhaps surprisingly, there is much in this book which resonates with the experiences and concerns of the reader today: the importance of gardens for the supply of seasonal fruit and vegetables; the health benefits of eating fresh fish; an awareness of the value of different oils and spices in food preparation – by the fifteenth century cooks in wealthier households were using olive oil, groundnut oil, vegetable oil including rapeseed oil as available; the avoidance of waste as far as possible with a strong sense of social obligation amongst the richest households to give surplus food to the poor on a regular basis. By the fifteenth century the distribution of food alms to the poor in the locality had become highly organised by monastic institutions and urban authorities but individuals could also play their part, as testamentary evidence indicates. Funerals provided the obvious opportunity for almsgiving, and bequests of gifts of food to the poor of the parish on the day of the funeral appear frequently in late medieval wills. Recently, Brendan Cox, widower of the murdered MP for Batley and Spen, Jo Cox, announced that a number of charities were joining together with royal backing and family support, to organise street parties across the country on the weekend of 17/18 June 2017 to mark the anniversary of the death of one of the most inspirational young women of our generation. The purpose of this event, also known as 'The Great Get Together' is to bring people together in local communities to share in the experience and enjoyment of food preparation and consumption. The importance of food as a way of creating community among the living and with the dead through commemoration forms the subject of the final and most thought-provoking chapter of Woolgar's book. It serves to remind us that, in this respect, we have much to learn from the actions and preoccupations of late medieval society.

DIANA DUNN

MARGARET OF YORK. Princess of England. Duchess of Burgundy, 1446-1503. Harry Schnitker. 2016. Richard III and Yorkist History Trust in association with Shaun Tyas, Donington, £35. ISBN 978-1-907730-54-2

I heartily applaud Harry Schnitker's decision to publish the biography of Margaret of York he wrote to fulfil the requirements for a PhD in History at the University of Edinburgh (2006). As he admits in the 2015 Introduction he has retained 'the shape and content' of the original PhD thesis in his current publication (p. 1), making very good use of this new introduction to explore and record important publications that have appeared in the meantime to supplement our knowledge of and insights into Margaret's political, intellectual, emotional and religious life. He cites all of these works in the bibliography. Eschewing a traditional manner of biography writing that proceeds chronologically and focusses predominantly on political events, as does Christine Weightman in her *Margaret of York. Duchess of Burgundy 1446-1503*, for example, the author of the present biography chose to follow the model of Louis Galesloot's *Marguerite d'York, duchesse douairière de Bourgogne (1468-1503)* and orient his investigation topically clustered around three themes.

These three themes: structures of power and influence; the expression of power and authority; and the intellectual and religious foundations of power and authority, provide the titles for the three parts of his study which is supplemented by an Appendix reconstructing Margaret of York's Library.

In the original introduction to his PhD thesis Schnitker describes and evaluates the contributions of numerous scholars to sketching various aspects of Margaret of York's political, emotional, intellectual and religious life and the role she played in the political life of Burgundy during her marriage to Charles the Bold and especially during her widowhood. In some of these studies Margaret's role in support of pretenders to the throne of England in opposition to Henry VII play a central role, in others important events in her life dominate. Yet *Madame la Grande* remains an elusive figure. The author is determined to rectify this situation.

Part One begins by assessing female role models who exercised palpable influence on Margaret of York: her mother, Cecily Neville, and her mother-in-law, Isabella of Portugal. It immediately goes on to delineate the foundation of power underpinning Margaret's authority, especially important once she became a widow in January 1477: 'familial influence, economic independence, and a close and loyal affinity' (p. 33), by emphasizing her close relationship with Mary of Burgundy, and later her husband, Maximilian of Habsburg, by stressing her close bonds with her dower towns, and above all by presenting the individuals and families that constituted her affinity. These included members of her household, of the House of Glymes, in particular Henri de Glymes, Bishop of Cambrai, her representatives in her dower towns, as well as important, wealthy personages in these towns, and many others. These

individuals were instrumental in implementing Margaret's projects throughout her widowhood as the author repeatedly makes clear in the pages that follow.

Part Two explores the tools that the dowager duchess made use of to express her power, authority and influence. The first of these is the language of architecture. The author carefully guides his readers through the renovation projects that Margaret had carried out in her dower towns – Mechelen, Brielle, Binche – to underscore her power and authority. He thereupon shows how *Madame la Grande* strengthen her ties to two of these towns, Mechelen and Binche, by cultivating public devotion to the cults of their patron saints: St Rombout and St Ursmer. She likewise enhanced her reputation for piety by witnessing urban religious processions and participating in numerous pilgrimages. The author highlights Margaret's active involvement in Burgundian ceremonial, whether the pageantry of Mary and Maximilian's wedding in 1477 and that of Philip the Fair and Juana of Castile in 1496, the baptism of Mary and Maximilian's children, Philip the Fair and Margaret of Austria, and of Philip and Juana's children as well, or her interaction with the chapters of the Order of the Golden Fleece whose meeting in 's Hertogenbosch she attended (1481) in order to accompany Philip the Fair for his investiture and twenty years later in Brussels (1501) to do the same for the future Charles V. Clustering all these diverse media for expressing power and authority: architecture, religious pageantry and political ceremonial, in one chapter, allows Schnitker to demonstrate how essential Margaret's role was to the survival of Burgundian political and cultural ideals.

Part Three investigates the intellectual foundations of Margaret of York's political and religious world view first through the lens of her book collection where her passionate interest in Christian *renovatio* is palpable. As Schnitker puts it: '[T]here is a strong Carthusian imprint on her reading combined with a particularly vibrant interest in the Observant Dominicans and Franciscans on her part' (p. 181). Margaret's patronage of three Bridgettine houses in the Low Countries and the presence of two manuscripts she donated to the library of the house in her dower town of Dendermonde underscore her endorsement of their views on religious renewal and reform. The author concludes Part Three by postulating Margaret's interest and participation in two important devotional movements: that of the Rosary and that of Our Lady of the Seven Sorrows, that stood prominently for spiritual renovation in the last quarter of the fifteenth century. While I can certainly agree that Margaret would have found both of these devotions consistent with her own religious outlook, I would stop short of assigning to Margaret a pivotal role in promoting the Seven Sorrows devotion and confraternity as the author seems to do (pp. 208-09). This intriguing suggestion ignores the essential participation of two key members of Philip the Fair's entourage in this regard: that of his preceptor, François de Busleyden and that of his confessor Michael Francisci de Insulis (Michel François de Lille) both of whom were indispensable to the establishment and spread of the Seven Sorrows devotion and the confirmation of its statutes.

Appendix Margaret of York's Library. Comprising forty-four items this Appendix includes, among other volumes, manuscripts Margaret is known to have owned, manuscripts she commissioned, acquired, or received as gifts, and books she gave as gifts to others. It likewise mentions manuscripts that had been presented to Margaret but that are now lost, as well as those in which her name is present, but that she did not own, and books previously thought to have been part of her collection but that the present author rejects.

The shortcoming of this book is frankly the presence of too many small errors, from typos and errors of punctuation to errors in prepositional usage, from spelling errors and errors in word choice to inconsistencies in the spelling of a number of proper names, some possibly deriving from Dutch, the author's native tongue. Present too are small errors of fact that it is not possible to discuss in detail here. Suffice it to mention a couple: the function that Olivier de La Marche exercised in 1488 (p. 42): he was *grand et premier maître d'hôtel* to Philip the Fair; the date of the performance in Mechelen of Hendrik Maes's play on the Seven Sorrows (p. 211): it took place on 25 March 1494 (new style), the repeat performance on 3 April 1494; the relationship of Margaret and Edward IV to Anne, the Prioress of Syon (p. 247): she was their niece.

While these mistakes are distracting, they really do not call into doubt the value of Schnitker's biography of Margaret of York. They are, furthermore, overwhelmed by the vast wealth of detailed information the author brings to his subject at every stage particularly where the involvement of members of Margaret's affinity is concerned. His methodology of assessing Margaret's activities through the lens of gender, networks, architecture, devotional cults, book possession and commission, allows the author to create a more full-bodied and multifaceted portrait of Margaret of York than has heretofore been achieved. He has, thus, ensured that *Madame la Grande* is no longer an elusive figure.

SUSIE SPEAKMAN SUTCH

FROM WOOL TO CLOTH. The Triumph of the Suffolk Clothier.

Nicholas R. Amor. 2016. RefineCatch Limited, Bungay, Suffolk (the book can be bought direct from publisher), £20.

ISBN 978-0-9955085-0-7

In this engaging and thoughtful book Nicholas Amor provides both an overview of existing literature on the cloth trade in the later middle ages as well as a more particular study of cloth production in late medieval Suffolk. Drawing upon his earlier research and publication in this area, Amor offers both a county case study and a more general reflection upon the development of and explanations for the cloth industry in late medieval England. As such, it offers a considered retelling and a new assessment of more than a century's long historiography as well as the injection of new research.

In an intriguing conclusion to his opening chapter, which oversees the main regional, urban and rural developments in the cloth trade, Amor challenges head-on the recent suggestion by Stephen Broadberry *et al.* in their modelling of *British Economic Growth* that the cloth trade declined across the later middle ages, a view which, as Amor remarks, stands in contrast to most earlier work on the subject. In this respect his study of Suffolk and the success of the cloth industry there in the fifteenth century is a case in point.

In a following chapter, Amor also very usefully reviews the range of influences that may or may not have explained why certain regions became cloth-making regions whilst others did not. He has particular interest in Suffolk cloth production, of course, but is suitably wide-ranging in addressing this topic and makes good use of the existing literature, both the long-standing historical discussions and the most recent commentaries on this and related themes. Having reviewed the kinds of causative mechanisms which may have helped explain the rise of cloth production in some regions but not in others, including the relative influence of lordship, the nature of the peasant land market, proximity of market towns, landscape and the availability of rivers, and so on, Amor concludes that overseas demand, an especially high density of local and regional markets as well as good road and river networks explain the particular advantage of Suffolk clothiers.

Thereafter, Amor turns his attention more particularly to the Suffolk story. In the first chapter of the second part of his book, Amor examines wool production and the wool trade in Suffolk; he sets out evidence for the county's wool-producing sub-regions as well as the nature and activities of Suffolk woolmen. In a useful discussion, here, Amor analyses common pleas debts involving Suffolk woolmen and notes the relative tendency for contracts to be formed over fairly short distances as well as the typical size of debts, which inclined to the middling rather than the very large or very small. Echoing similar patterns in local court debts, debts occasioned further from home tended to be larger while the strong presence of clergy in debt disputes elides with earlier work by Pamela Nightingale on Norfolk clergy as creditors, as evidenced by certificates of debt. Amor returns to the message of debt litigation in later chapters, applying it successfully to, for instance, the different kinds of trading axes of weavers and clothiers. A further chapter on wool production also includes many further and related insights, including the high prevalence of wool production across the majority of Suffolk parishes. Revealing in this respect is Amor's discussion of spinsters and his charting of a decline in the involvement of spinsters, a falling off consistent with that observed by Judith Bennett for brewing and representative of growth in the industry which forced out the independent female labourer in favour of a male-dominated and more extensively organised system of production. Weavers also, as Amor's analysis of debt litigation, were often of relatively modest means but, as with fullers who Amor also discusses, the range, in terms of individual wealth, could be considerable. Also illuminating is the social range of those investing in cloth

production, investors including, as well as clergy, wealthier peasants, local landlords and merchants. In a final chapter, Amor discusses the group perhaps most familiar as exemplars of the late medieval cloth trade, the clothiers. As with other personnel of the cloth production process, clothiers display socio-economic variety, but with a range that, as is well-known, takes in the late medieval 'super rich'. Amor does not make too much of such families as the Spryngs of Lavenham but instead explores the ways in which clothiers operated, the distance of their trading and the social benefits, including welfare, that might flow from their activities. In a brief conclusion, Amor charts the changes within the Suffolk region, noting the ebbs and flows of certain cloth towns and returning again to the variety of causative mechanisms, including demographic change, changing overseas markets, an adjusted standard of living, and so on, that might explain such developments.

Whether, strictly speaking, the author is correct to describe, in conclusion, his work as an example of 'history from below', depends on how particular or general a definition we allow our use of the term but there is no doubt that book offers a highly readable and most informative account of a regional cloth trade set within a national and international context. The author writes throughout with a refreshingly light turn of phrase, as well as one that is confident and informed. Illustrative vignettes, as in the brief recounting of shepherds apprehended for poaching which leads into estimates of sheep flock sizes and days worked per annum, are sometimes interspersed within the broader analysis and the combination tends to work well. The volume, produced fittingly enough in Suffolk, is an attractive work, well-supported by plates and a suitable gathering of figures and tables. Aside from the main text, four appendices also provide valuable material, not least Appendix B which itemises clothiers by English and Welsh counties in the late fifteenth century as extracted from court of common pleas and Appendix D, the contents of a probate inventory for a later-fifteenth century Norfolk clothier, John Reynham.

PHILLIPP R. SCHOFIELD

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

Nicholas Bennett, *Lincolnshire Parish Clergy c. 1214-1968. A Biographical Register. Part II: The Deaneries of Beltisloe and Bolingbroke*. 2015. Printed for the Lincoln Record Society by the Boydell Press, £40. ISBN 978-1-910653-00-5

The second volume of this exhaustive and useful study.

Julia Boffey and A.S.G. Edwards, editors, *A Companion to Fifteenth-Century English Poetry*. 254 pages. 2016. D.S. Brewer, Boydell and Brewer, Woodbridge, £19.99 (new in paperback). ISBN 978-1-84384-430-3

Comprehensive overview including the great poets and the lesser known ones such as Ashby, Audelay, Bokenham, Capgrave, and Idley. Subjects covered include romance, translations and patronage.

Anne Dubois, *Valère Maxime en français à la fin du Moyen Âge. Images et tradition*. 2016. 540 pages. Brepols Publishers, Turnhout, Belgium, €125. ISBN 978-2-503-56698-6

Full study of the manuscripts and printed editions of the very popular fourteenth-century French translation by Simon de Hesdin and Nicolas de Gonesse of the *Facta et dicta memorabilia* of Valerius Maximus, and the various traditions of their illumination. The numerous stories in some cases inspired as many as ninety-nine images spread over the nine volumes of the work, which above all present the modern reader with fascinating scenes from medieval daily life. Includes, for example, the copy owned by the historian Philippe de Comines (BL Harley 4374-75) and the two manuscripts owned by Edward IV (BL Royal 17 F iv and 18 E iii-iv). Twenty-eight colour illustrations and 168 in black and white.

M.A. Michael, editor, *The Age of Opus Anglicanum*. 240 pages. Over 200 illustrations in colour. 2016. Studies in English Medieval Embroidery, Volume 1, Harvey Miller Publishers, an imprint of Brepols Publishers, London and Turnhout, Eur. 111. ISBN 978-I-909400-41-2

Chapters by several authors cover aspects of the secular and ecclesiastical use of these magnificent and intricate works of embroidery (mostly copes), collected together in one exhibition at the V&A for the first time in 2016. Works celebrated for their intricate interlaced designs and the perfection of their pictorial details whether a human face or a bird's plumage. The essays cover the historiography and the accuracy of the term *opus anglicanum*; the stitches used; chronological list of surviving examples; papal acquisitions 1300-1370; embroideries for Edward III with names of the women embroiderers; the role of commissioners; the iconography; donors' wishes; English embroidery from the Wars of the Roses to the Reformation and the development of the English funeral pall; concluding with reflections on the style and trends revealed in the surviving examples. There are also details of the Italian silk used as the base fabric. Bibliography, glossary.

Elizabeth Morrison and Zrinka Stahuljak, *The Adventures of Gillion de Trazegnies. Chivalry and Romance in the Medieval East*. 2017. 154 pages. Over 89 colour illustrations; diagrams; maps. The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, £35.

ISBN 978-I-60606-463-4

The adventures, military and amatory, of a medieval nobleman on a journey to Jerusalem. Illustrated by Lieven van Lathem in Flanders. Extensive commentary and explanation of manuscript, the story (originally composed 1450-70, the longer version made for Anthony, Grand Bastard of Burgundy in 1463), the career of the painter, and of the patron who commissioned Getty MS 111, Louis de Gruuthuse. Later owners were Louis XII and the dukes of Devonshire. Magnificent illustrations; index.

ARTICLES

Justin Colson, 'Commerce, clusters, and community: a re-evaluation of the occupational geography of London, c. 1400-c. 1550', *Economic History Review*, volume 69, number 1, 2016, pages 104-30.

The economic geography of cities is often thought to have changed dramatically between the medieval and early modern eras. The medieval city is seen as having been strictly regulated, both in terms of markets and space. The early modern city, by contrast, is associated with growth, the breakdown of rigid regulation by guilds and a new commercial outlook. However, empirical studies of the spatial organisation of medieval cities have been limited, and

quantitative surveys of urban economic geography have focused upon the seventeenth century and later. This article analyses the spatial distribution of occupations in the City of London between the 1370s and 1550s using a large probate dataset. It examines occupations that remained clustered or dispersed, but concentrates on the apparent breakdown in economic clustering amongst London's leading trades. Prosopographical analysis reveals that merchants and retailers became more specialised, but accommodated within London's existing guild-based occupational identities, which had become ossified. Rather than the end of the middle ages having marked a dramatic change from guild-based spatial organisation, occupational clusters simply continued to evolve in line with the principles of locational economics.

Anne DeWindt, 'A fifteenth century London chaplain and his colleagues', *Medieval Prosopography*, volume 30, 2015, pages 105-38.

How Richard Berenger, the son of a serf of the manor of Warboys, Huntingdonshire, belonging to the Abbey of Ramsey, achieved education and ordination. The background of family and manor builds on the author's extensive research (with her husband Edwin DeWindt) into the estates and records of this abbey. Berenger's will survives and enables an analysis of his clerical colleagues and his acquaintances among the laity (including a number of butchers) during his short career in London. Full text of will given: 1455, parish of St Clement Eastcheap. Table of Wills of Chaplains proved in the Commissary Court, 1447-58.

James A. Galloway, 'The economic hinterland of Drogheda in the later middle ages', in *Space and Settlement in Medieval Ireland*, edited by Vicky McAlister and Terry Barry. 2015. Four Courts Press, Dublin, (ISBN 978-1-84682-500-2), pages 167-85.

Overview from late twelfth century to the sixteenth century, showing a confident port and town. Brief history from its foundation by Hugh de Lacy before 1186; it existed as two towns on either side of River Boyne with separate jurisdiction and charters until 1412 when the town was created as a county under a mayor. It had a large area within a well-maintained wall and remained an important port throughout the fifteenth century. Covers imports and extent of trading by Drogheda ships, with occupations including weaving, dying, baking, pottery, malting, tanning and shipping-associated activities. The emphasis of the paper is on the grain and fuel of this fertile area of rich pasture and arable, producing especially wheat and oats; detailed analysis of grain supply, routes, personnel, problems, and export. These commodities made the town an important centre and drew in merchants from other towns of Ireland and England. In comparison, fuel and wood were scarce, with reliance on furse for burning, and measures had to be taken to compensate. The supply of and

trade in meat (cattle and sheep), hides (including hides from the Irish controlled areas), wool, fish (estuary and sea) and salt, are also covered. The importance of smaller towns in the hinterland, such as Trim, is emphasised. Maps, tables.

Hannes Kleineke, 'The library of John Veysy (*d.* 1492), Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, and rector of St James Garlyckhythe, London', *The Library*, volume 17, number 4, 2016, pages 399-423.

There is an unusual amount of detail known about this library because, not only does Veysy's will (printed in appendix) survive and mention twenty-six books, there is also a probate inventory (also printed) listing another fifty-four items, mainly scriptural, theological and philosophical titles, many of them printed, but also a number of classical texts proving their owner's interest in the 'new learning', as well as some 'pamflettes' and bookbinding material. All aspects of the collection and its owner's career have been thoroughly studied and are discussed, too many to rehearse here. Particularly remarkable is Veysy's scholarly habit of including the beginning of the books' second folio in his description, which does of course help with the (possible) identification of some copies and printed editions.

Jennifer Ledfors, 'St Dunstan in the East: an architectural history of a medieval London parish church', *London and Middlesex Archaeological Society Transactions*, volume 66, 2015, pages 47-77.

One of the riverside parishes of London; its main records are churchwardens' records from 1494, wills and Husting deeds (the last two including some earlier information). An attempt is made to trace the architectural and archaeological history of a building destroyed by the great fire of 1666 and its four cemeteries, using every reference found, from possible pre-Conquest beginnings to the seventeenth century. Maps, plans including the layout of adjacent tenements, illustrations and a list of funeral monuments.

Gordon McKelvie, 'The bastardy of Edward V in 1484: new evidence of its reception in the inquisitions *post mortem* of William Lord Hastings', *Royal Studies Journal*, volume 3, number 1, 2016, pages 71-79.

There are twelve surviving inquests into the lands of Lord Hastings for twelve counties made on his death when his lands fell to the king for the wardship of his heir who was a minor. The article examines the dating formula used to date the death of Hastings '13 June in the year of Edward V, the bastard'. Finds the use of 'bastard' to be uniform. Cites the other inquests which fell in the reign of Edward V, that is before Richard's formal accession on 26 June. Notes examples of the use of *de facto* and *de iure*.

Richard Marks, 'A widow, two wills, two windows and two tombs. The memorial of Dame Anne Danvers in Dauntsey Church, Wiltshire', in *Licht(t)räume. A Festschrift für Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz zum 65. Geburtstag*, edited by Katharina Georgi, Barbara von Orelli-Messerli, Eva Scheiwiller-Lörber, Angela Schiffhauser, Petersberg, Switzerland, 2016, pages 145-51. Illustrated.

A church dominated by its surviving fifteenth-century Doom painting which was known to Dame Anne (daughter of Sir John Stradling) whose twenty-five years of widowhood allowed her to mark her tomb and memorial in a positive way. She emphasised her descent from her great-grand-mother, Joan Dauntsey (the manor of Dauntsey had come to Joan on the death of her brother in 1420). Anne's husband, Sir John Dauntsey died 1514, and she died 1539; their four sons predeceased their mother but the daughters married well. A fine brass shows her before the Holy Trinity. The badly damaged windows are reconstructed and shown to have included several female saints and St Fremund, whose relics ended up at Cropredy, Oxfordshire, and at Dunstable Priory, Bedfordshire. Sir John's father, Sir Richard Danvers (d. 1488), had had a devotion to the chapel of St Fremund, Cropredy, where the Danvers family had their main seat. Full inscriptions given, with extract from will. Anne is an important example of an heiress emphasising her own descent and pride in her family, and is compared to Margaret Mawteby, Isabel Morley and Anne Harling.

Ben Murtagh, 'The medieval Tower of Hook: a review of its dating and history', in *Medieval Wexford: Essays in Memory of Billy Colfer*, edited by I.W. Doyle and B. Browne, Four Courts Press, Dublin, 2016, pages 124-80.

The Tower of Hook is the oldest operational lighthouse in Ireland and Britain and still guides shipping into the ports of Waterford and New Ross. Probably initiated as a building project by William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke (d. 1219), who was nearly ship-wrecked nearby (c. 1200); he was the founder of New Ross where he also built a bridge and encouraged trade in the area. The present structure has been dated to the 1240s and is considered to have been built in one phase; the original structure (found to be almost intact within its modern carapace) has been fully investigated; plans, isometric drawings, photographs and plans; comparison is made with other large single towers of the period (including William Marshal's great tower at Pembroke). The existence of earlier medieval structures are considered and the roles of a local monastic community and the Templars, with comparison to other beacons supported by religious communities. In the fifteenth century it was technically part of the Mowbray estate until the death of Duchess Anne, but it was operated and maintained by the town of New Ross.

M.T.W. Payne, 'Caxton the businessman: a new glimpse', *The Library*, 7th Series, volume 17, number 2, June 2016, pages 103-14.

The discovery of a few fragments of a day book of a merchant covering 6 October 1488 to 19 November 1488 and 26 January to 7 February 1489 has been identified as belonging to Richard Nunneley, a grocer of St Stephen Coleman Street, London. Nunneley came originally from Shrewsbury and was a prosperous stapler; he served as MP 1488 and died 1497, having married twice and left children. His day book gives a fraction of his business activities and shows him dealing with leading servants of Henry VII. One entry refers to William Caxton and concerns books from the printer Pierre Levet of Paris, and another records Nunneley correcting entries in a *legendam* at night when he could not sleep. This is identified as the *Legenda Sarum* imported by Caxton from Paris, and leads to speculations about Nunneley's book trade, making him yet another London merchant importing books. Illustrated.

Susan Powell, 'Mirk's *Festial* and Theodoric Rood', *Journal of the Early Book Society*, volume 18, 2015, pages 50-102.

Examines the problem of which printer produced the 1486 edition of John Mirk's sermon collection, the *Festial*, which has been reopened by Part XI of the *Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century in the British Library*. The author continues to maintain that the most likely printer was Theodericus Rood and investigates all the evidence produced to deny him the edition as well as the evidence concerning all the Oxford presses of 1478-86, their possible sponsors and ties to certain colleges. Explains the three editions: two by Caxton 1483 and 1491, and Rood 1486. Emphasises the role of Bishop Waynflete as a promoter of printing for the benefit of his college, its library and his school and suggests that he could have presented Rood's edition of Lyndwood's *Constitutiones provinciales* to Richard III in 1483. The apparent anomaly of Rood printing a book in English is explained by pointing out the mixture of English and Latin to be found in the *Festial* itself and other works associated with Rood.

Christian Steer, 'The canons of St Paul's and their brasses', *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society*, volume 19 part 3, 2016, pages 213-34.

Uses the example of William de Fulbourne (d. 1391) buried under a surviving brass at Fulbourn, Cambs., to illustrate the innumerable brasses of medieval St Paul's destroyed 1666 (if not before). Stow, Weever and Dugdale recorded 61 monuments of clergy before the Fire; wills add other details. Describes St Paul's and its buildings and many chapels, precinct, the great cemetery, the Pardon Churchyard (cloistered over with paintings of a Dance of Death in the early fifteenth century), and the charnel house, all used for burials. Illustrations reveal something of the 'spectacular floorspace' such as the elaborate brasses of richly endowed deans, including William Worsley (d. 1499).

Anne F. Sutton, 'East coast ports and the Iceland trade, 1483-85 (1489): protection and compensation', in *Medieval Merchants and Money: Essays in Honour of James L. Bolton*, edited Martin Allen and Matthew Davies, University of London Institute of Historical Research 2016, pages 159-76.

A study of the protection, damage management and compensation for loss afforded by Edward IV and continued under Richard III, focussing on the North Sea. The problems of the licensed trade with Iceland (a dependency of Denmark), the piratical attacks between merchants of all nations and the increasing ambitions of the Hanse in the area, are set out, with an analysis of Richard III's advisors on the Hanse and the North Sea, including his chancellor, John Howard his admiral, and Thomas Roger, his clerk of the king's ships. Merchants involved in the trade 1483-85 are listed, some known personally to the king, and reveal that the trade was organised and prospered with the support of royal ships. The place of Lynn Episcopi is considered. Known, genuine attacks are sifted from idle complaints. The convoys of royal ships for fishing fleets started by Edward IV were continued by Richard (keeping their growing navy profitably occupied), and their failure and consequent losses under Henry VII shows how valuable that royal support was. Complete records of lawsuits pursuing compensation for losses in the appropriate courts are few, but a letter from Richard and his clerk of the council over a conflict between English and Hansards provides a rare glimpse of the understanding and humour brought to the solution of these highly coloured legal battles.

Peter Wain, 'The medieval port of Gosford', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History*, volume 43, part 4, 2016, pages 582-99.

Gosford was a large area which included the towns of Bawdsey, Falkenham and Alderton on the lower River Deben, with some other small places; just north of Harwich and opposite Felixstowe. An anciently settled area from Roman times, with a three-day fair by 1154, extended to eight days 1283. It provided Edward III with ships and was among the regular suppliers of Calais. Discusses its organisation as a port (compared to Exmouth) with local merchants and ship-owners in control under a weak structure of local lords. Its decline from 1379 is traced, suggesting heavy losses to piracy 1401-04; the last mention of Gosford was 1551. Maps including a Lidar map.

David Yorath, 'Disorder and rebellion: Perkin Warbeck and South West England', *The Devon Historian*, volume 84, 2015, pages 53-67.

A survey of the actions and movements that brought Warbeck into contact with Cornwall, Devon and Somerset in the autumn of 1497. Drawing on a full range of sources, the author outlines how Warbeck's plot to unseat Henry VII aroused mass protest in the West Country on two occasions. The first protest was caused indirectly by Warbeck: the Western Rebellion of 1497, which ended

in slaughter at Blackheath, was against taxation for war against Scotland, where James IV was openly encouraging Warbeck. Secondly, in September 1497 Warbeck landed near Land's End to a warm welcome and was proclaimed Richard IV. After a failed attack on Exeter, the rebels entered Taunton; they received some support from people of note. Henry VII raised a large force but Warbeck himself did not have the courage to stand and fled to Beaulieu. At Taunton Henry VII summoned Warbeck and pardoned him 'his life'. Henry VII punished the supporters by fines. The surviving lists of those fined reveal the names of over 4,000 individuals from the three counties. This article uncovers the local dimensions of the latter months of the rebellion.

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ERRATUM

Marie Barnfield and Stephen Lark would like to correct an error that appeared in their article 'The Paternity of Lady Lumley' published in the last issue of *The Ricardian*. On page 155 it was stated that Lady Lumley was first identified as the daughter of Elizabeth Lucy Sir George Buck. In fact, this suggestion was first made in the 1930s by Muriel St. Clair Byrne, editor, *The Lisle Letters*, London 1983, page 13.

Notes on Contributors

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