

Raymond J. Jirran

A. Introduction

This lesson has for its course goal **the evaluation of the relationship between politics and economics in Medieval England** according to criteria of the people, places, and times involved and the degree of certitude warranted. The main thought is that the political weakness of the monarchy was a source of economic strength for the country. In England, the truths of economic forces dominated the realities of politics.

B. The Normans

The Normans invaded France and occupied Normandy before they conquered England. See "The Bayeux Tapestry" on page 256 in the seventh edition of Chambers.¹ William was the Duke of Normandy and King of England from 1066 until 1087. He first claimed the English throne through an alleged promise. He contested the claim of Harold, the brother-in-law of the previous king, whom William defeated at the battle of Hastings. Hastings Hall, where the professor used to have his office at Thomas Nelson Community College is named after a college benefactor, not this battle. William: (1) established a centralized feudal system with himself as head; (2) gave England her first really united government; (3) maintained a firm control over the church in England; and (4) brought England into closer touch with the Continent and gave her a new language and new people.

What William did was part of the Gregorian Reform developed in Topic--24 The Middle Ages.² It was a reform in which "vices were well mixed up with virtues."³ Bishop Odo of Bayeux was the mace-swinging half brother of William the Conqueror.

If William I was "King Order," Henry II was "King Law." Henry II (1154-1189) improved the administration of law. He and archbishop Thomas a Becket became involved in a bitter quarrel over the three questions of: (1) trying clergy in royal court; (2) making bishops meet feudal obligations; and (3) allowing appeals to the Pope. Some overzealous followers of the king almost ruined his cause by murdering the man now revered as Saint Thomas a Becket. Norman control of England was complete, although remnants of church prerogatives, such as a special court, lasted into the Nineteenth Century.⁴

C. French Holdings

Overlapping jurisdictions were common enough. Because of his position as Duke of Normandy, the king of England had considerable possessions in France under the jurisdiction of the king of France. See "Map 9.3 Medieval England, France, and Germany," on page 298 in the seventh edition of Chambers.⁵ Besides the places mentioned below, note: Lombardy, Saxony, Swabia, Kingdom of Burgundy-Arles. Henry II of Anjou, the first of the English Angevin kings, controlled Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Brittany, and other portions of southern France. He made the mistake, however, of dividing these possessions among his three sons, rather than leaving them all to one. This weakened the English strength in France. In time, France would force the British out.

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Richard the Lion-Hearted, oldest son of Henry II, succeeded him as king. Richard spent practically all of his time on a crusade to the Holy Land. Richard ruled from 1189 until 1199, spending less than ten months in England. He proved the tremendous stability of English government by the fact that he did not lose his kingship by being gone so much. Another of the sons of Henry met death by murder. The third son, John, variously known as John Soft-Sword or John Lackland, allowed the French king, Philip Augustus, to capture practically all of the English possessions in France. There is a special section on John in the supplement. English rulers were losing their political command of adjustment to the times. English rulers lacked the political force to ignore the truths of changing times.

D. Civil Rights

From this temporary lack of political distinction, nevertheless, some of the basic greatness of English power was established. The rule of John involved him in a quarrel with the nobles, who forced him to sign the Magna Carta in 1215. In late Twelfth Century England, law may not have been much more rational than the ordeal. The basic difference was the authority with which it was backed. The Magna Carta laid the basis for many later fundamental rights, such as habeas corpus and trial by jury. The role of the ruler became more than peacemaker. He now imposed law and order by virtue of his own skill. Those who came after John had to rule by virtue of their political skills. Simply holding the office of king was not enough. The professor would like to see scholars examine the proposition that political skill meant letting truth determine politics, rather than politics truth.

Opposition to the king grew and in 1265, Simon de Montfort summoned the first parliament in which representatives from the shires and towns sat. The meeting was called against the king and the friends of the king put it down. But in 1295, Edward I both accepted and extended this practice of representational meetings in his Model Parliament. The division into two houses occurred during his reign (1272-1307). This political line of command would, five hundred years later, keep the English nation in tune with the industrial revolution as the industrial revolution began to take off and set forth its new economic demands for people.

E. Conclusion

In this lesson, the student has seen the chaotic state of affairs existing in England as the Normans conquered the land and, again, as the English went back and fought in France. Out of this chaos came a politicization of the Western civilization notion that truth should determine politics. The student has taken account of various prerogatives of civil rights becoming the rule and causing chaos. Yet, this political chaos belied a deeper economic unification that existed within England on a broader scale than seen anywhere else in Europe. All of this, combined with the readings, has enabled the student to evaluate the relationship between politics and economics in Medieval England.

Supplement

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F. Introduction

The section on the Hundred Years War was relegated to this section of the lecture in 1992 in order to expand earlier points which students had found confusing. The section on Anglo-Scottish relations was incorporated because several articulate Scottish students have come through these classes. Lack of space had moved that section into the supplement for the fall of 1990. The business on Wales is added because Professor Barker, a native Welsh, was once an office mate of the professor. The Irish have always been a part of professorial thought because he grew up with many Irish friends. Finally and the overriding reason why this material is offered is that order is not a prerequisite for either economic or political success. Willingness to let truth determine politics, rather than politics truth, is the issue. Understanding that is a prerequisite for meeting the course goal for this topic, evaluating the relationship between politics and economics in Medieval England.

The American Historical Review, Vol. 104, No. 2 (April 1999), pages 426-500 elaborates the points made above (and below) in "AHR Forum: The New British History in Atlantic Perspective." The titles of the articles in those seventy-five pages outline the issues: "Greater Britain: A useful Category of Historical Analysis?" "Seventeenth-Century Ireland and the new British and Atlantic Histories"; "Nation, Migration, and the Province in the First British Empire: Scotland and the Americas, 1600—1800"; "A Virtual Nation: Greater Britain and the Imperial Legacy of the American Revolution"; and "The New British History in Atlantic Perspective: An Antipodean (diametrically opposed) Commentary." One comment in particular makes the point well:

If they [the British] were going to write their history as that of "Europe," they needed a plausible way of doing it, and here it was important that a merely Anglocentric history calling itself that of "Britain" was satisfactory neither in archipelagic nor in oceanic terms, nor in terms of that peninsula (misnames "continental") history to which that of "Europe" is too often confined.⁶

G. Marriage

William played an important role in the development of monogamous marriage. That he had been born a real bastard may have influenced his role. Before he changed his name to "the Conqueror" in 1066, he was known as "the Bastard." He was the last fully attested illegitimate ruler on the English throne. Earlier kings had kept concubines and both legitimate and illegitimate sons could succeed to the throne. Shortage of land to divide among many heirs and pressure from the Church promulgated the new standards of marriage that stressed monogamy, fidelity, and indissolubility.⁷

H. The Hundred Years War

The Hundred Years War abroad was neither a war nor did it last one hundred years. It was a series of wars between the English and the French lasting from 1337 until 1453. There followed the War of the Roses that ended with the triumph of a Welshman,⁸ Henry Tudor (a Lancastrian), on

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Bosworth Field in 1485. England had: (1) a new and vigorous line of Kings; (2) a weakened nobility, and (3) a temporary setback for the power of Parliament.

I. Anglo-Scottish Relations

The British Isles were never really one big happy family. Constant competition seemed to prepare the people for the changes useful in the industrial revolution. England and Scotland differed not only in national origin but also existed only with the disturbances created by border warfare. This continuing unrest caused more than one English king to seek control of Scotland. But the Scots resisted valiantly and successfully. Only in 1328 did the English formally recognize Scottish independence. As sobering as this recognition was, England, nonetheless, continued to struggle at home and abroad.

J. Anglo-Welsh Relations

The Welsh nation was already formed before the time of William the Conqueror, when the Anglo-Saxons first defeated them. Wales is shown in the seventh edition of Chambers on page 298, "Map 9.3 Medieval England, France, and Germany."⁹ The struggle to conquer Wales continued through Norman times and was completed, after a fashion, under Edward I in 1282-83.¹⁰ In 1400, there was a revolt that was not finally put down until 1415. By that time, Wales had gotten relatively used to being part of England.¹¹

The Welsh stayed out of the Cromwellian revolt of 1642-1660. Oliver Cromwell is indexed in the seventh edition of Chambers for pages 527-530.¹² The Puritans tried to break the Welsh of their traditional loyalties by outlawing the Welsh language. Puritanism in Wales favored the Congregationalist and Baptist sects, rather than the Presbyterianism that developed elsewhere. Religion, music, and literature served to hold the Welsh nation together, reaching the height of significance between 1660 and 1730. Between 1730 and 1780, strides were made in the control of disease, in the advancement of agriculture, and the emergence of industry.¹³

By the time of 1780, the Welsh had matured enough to look outside themselves, which served not only to improve their lives, but also to impoverish their culture. Younger generations were more willing to trade economic advancement for their Welsh culture. After 1780, Wales was to be affected by the iron and coal industries. South Wales was soon the chief coal-exporting region of the world.¹⁴ Manchester,¹⁵ the center of such activity, was just outside of Wales, as shown in the seventh edition of Chambers on page 764, "Map 22.1. Europe 1815."¹⁶ A three hundred year study of the development of early industry in Europe lends credence to the nature of Welsh resistance to English dominance.¹⁷

Since 1972, many economic historians have shifted their intellectual focus from urban to rural development and from industrial revolution to economic evolution. In his HIS 102 lectures the professor describes how he has come to consider the industrial revolution as more about communication than about industry. The professor regards his approach as congruent with the more scholarly shift away from the focus on the industrial revolution.¹⁸

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Broad patterns are developed with three major turning points: (1) a late-Fifteenth-early-Sixteenth-Century decline in urban centers when merchants failed to adapt with sufficient alacrity to the changing economy; (2) a Seventeenth Century shift in production from urban workshops to rural stream powered cottage industries; (3) an Eighteenth Century shift back to the cities as production was first centralized and then mechanized. The main idea, fitting the Welsh experience, was that, "industrial growth and change was a logical and evolutionary process, undertaken by businessmen from an older milieu who were in search of solutions to immediate problems."¹⁹

The availability of workers and consumers, the level of agricultural and industrial production, and the organization of production were intimately related. Studying these broad patterns offers a well-documented challenge to the Anglo-centric view of industrial development. Mainstream scholarship almost seems to assume that England furnished the engine for the industrialization of Western civilization, and, eventually, of the world. That view merits the challenge. England was not the only nation with a wool industry, for example. Industrial development can also be tracked through the Low Countries.

K. Law

Given the unity of Europe, what is Europe doing with two different kinds of law, common and canon or civil? In common law, judges were pre-eminent; in civil law, professors. Britain has even lacked a written constitution, down to the present time. By what criteria is good law to be judged? "incorruptible and impartial judges," "comprehensible and cognoscible [capable of being understood] law," and "accessible justice."²⁰ Understanding the two traditions of law in Western Europe is a continuing scholarly enterprise.

The professor regards truth determining politics as the fundamental authority in Western civilization. Scholars are developing the concept of fundamental law without the professor's insight. English law does have a leadership role in Europe. Until the Fifteenth Century, English law was undifferentiated between theory and practice. In the Fifteenth Century, tension developed between the two approaches to the law.²¹

The relationship between conscience and the law, the professor tentatively regards as a relationship between truth and politics. In the middle ages, there was no doubt but that conscience was to determine the law. The traditional view is that modern times preempted the role for conscience. Recent scholarship realizes that the role of conscience persisted. There was a change, however, from law regarded as something divine to law regarded as something human and irrelevant both to the divine and to right and wrong.²²

Studying the law can be a source of soft pornography for scholars interested in the history of sin. What is pornographic is the descriptions of the sins, not the penance due to them. During Seventeenth Century England, penances for sins were still highly dramatic and degrading. Society

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was still governed by symbolic action. Though sometimes used, the regular practice of private penance was self-defeating for the purpose of such governance.²³

A vast change in the English personality over the last three or four centuries has been uncovered. During the Seventeenth Century prurience (arousing an immoderate or unwholesome interest or desire, especially marked by arousing or appealing to unusual sexual desire), voyeurism (obtaining sexual gratification from seeing sex organs and sexual acts), and inquisitiveness was required for church courts to operate. The modern Englishman has changed to be quite concerned with minding one's own business.²⁴

L. John

As rich as England was, in all of its history it could only afford one John. How King John has been described through the years is a study in political correctness. The medievalists thought he was an unmitigated catastrophe, a moral monster that had killed his brother, insulted the Pope, and abused his subjects.²⁵ Times do change.

During the Sixteenth Century of Henry VII, it had become all right to insult the Pope and kill siblings for the throne. At that time, John became a heroic defender of the realm against the papacy. When Elizabeth took over, John became "a flawed king against whom it was still wrong to rebel."²⁶ Elizabethan Catholics still thought of John as a villain. During the Seventeenth Century, John became the hero of the Magna Carta and constitutional rights. During the Twentieth Century, John was no longer a hero, but rather a bumbler from whom good things were developed by way of the Magna Carta.

This is a place to mention the Plantagenets who are not indexed in the seventh edition of Chambers; the Angevins are indexed for pages 295-298 and 384. The Plantagenets ruled England from 1154-1485, beginning with Henry II, ending with the end of the War of the Roses and the beginning of the reign of Henry VII (Tudor). The professor had not found a clear distinction between Angevin and Plantagenet in readily available general reference books. That may account for why Chambers avoids the Plantagenets altogether.

Scholarly use of the terms Angevin and Plantagenet can be found in Ralph V. Turner, "The Problem of Survival for the Angevin `Empire': Henry II's and His sons' Vision versus Late Twelfth-Century Realities," in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 100, No. 1 (February 1995), especially page 89. Turner also avoids defining the distinction between Angevin and Plantagenet, when first used on page 78. Plantagenet seems to refer to ancestral lands in the Loire Valley. The Loire Valley is found by locating the Loire River on the Physiography of Europe map on the frontispiece, where it is marked, and, then, following that location to "Map 9.3 Medieval England, France, and Germany" on page 298, where Loire is not marked. The Angevin patrimony included Anjou, Aquitaine, Maine, and Touraine which the map shows as both French Royal Domain and (because west of the red line) as English holdings in France 1180.

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M. *Anglo-Irish Relations*

The issues of law and politics pervade this supplement. So far, the Scots, the Welsh, the law, and John have all been treated in a political manner. The Irish also call for a political treatment. With the Irish, politics rests with religion.

Saint Patrick is at the heart of it all. Neither the fifth nor the sixth editions of Chambers indexed either Patrick or Saint Patrick. While this may have been a sign that Chambers was aware of the difficulties Dr. Jirran is about to describe, Patrick (Saint) is indexed for the seventh edition on pages 193-194. Chambers lacks both the space and the theoretical framework to get into the dispute. Since Dr. Jirran is not writing for other professors, as is Chambers, Dr. Jirran is able to take the space required to develop the theoretical framework.

Saint Patrick lived from about 385 to 461. According to one tradition, he was born in Roman Britain and enslaved by the Irish until he escaped to Gaul. Patrick returned as a missionary. By the time of his death, Ireland was Catholic. The Confessions, written toward the end of his life, is the main source for his biography.²⁷

The latest research regards the *Confessions* as representing the Hellenized Christianity of the Latin West, rather than a Christianity less committed to the rules of logic. The roots of Irish Christianity have generally been considered Celtic, i.e. less committed to the rules of logic, rather than either German or Roman. Only two centuries after his death, was Patrick transformed into the "patron Saint of the Seventh-Century Celtic Church."²⁸

The conflict running through Irish history is that between Gaelic custom and English law. To rely on the *Confessions* for the biography of Patrick is to rely on an apparently non-Gaelic source. In the seventh edition, Chambers seems to accept the *Confessions* without question. The Irish regarded their customary rights and obligations as the source of justice. The English regarded the law as the source of justice. Insofar as the British Isles are concerned, law won out over custom, but the law was based on custom. King John could only do what custom allowed and the ever-changing law permitted.

N. *Conclusion*

The incompatible inseparables are work here in four ways. There was conflict (1) between the supremacy of the territorial state as the "natural" unit of human society and the claim of the church to govern human souls. With William the Conqueror, the state won out, but based on truth and justice. The incompatible inseparables at work here (2) are those between faith and reason, value and fact, morality and science, each claiming to be the path to truth. Reason, fact, and science got the upper hand, but without overbearing political interference. The incompatible inseparables at work here (3) are those between violence and law, particularly as seen in the career of Henry II. Law won out, helped by politics, but grounded in truth and justice. The incompatible inseparables at work here (4) are those between the vernacular, or language as spoken by the people, and Latin, or language as spoken by the intellectual specialist. In this case the English vernacular won

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out over both the Latin and the French. There was no overt political effort one language over the others. Understanding this theme is valuable for meeting the course goal of evaluating the relationship between politics and economics in Medieval England.

The difference between William the Conqueror and Emperor Henry IV of the Germanies and the investiture controversy is a difference between truth and politics. William venerated the truth of whether the man would be a bishop for the church or not. Henry venerated the politics of whether the man would be a bishop for the emperor or not. William dominated the church as much and more than Henry, but the Pope did not challenge William. The reason was different approaches to truth.

Comments on the Seventh Edition of Chambers, pages 0238-0262

In the opinion of the professor, Chambers is the most scholarly textbook on the market. Chambers well represents mainstream thinking in the history profession. The professor, however, disagrees in many significant ways with mainstream thinking. These disagreements are set forth in the following comments.

Page Column
Paragraph

Line

0252 1 1 2nd last “. . . German settlement . . .”

Chambers is including the Franks with the Germans, which is how the professor understands the situation.

0252 1 3 3rd last “. . . Kingdom . . . “

Chambers here refers to the Hauteville brothers uniting “two regions into the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily,” evidently one kingdom with two names. On page 0249, column one, paragraph one, line one, “The brothers established a Norman kingdom in these two areas.” “Map 8.5 The Eastern Mediterranean during the Early crusades” on page 288 only identifies the “Norman Kingdom of Sicily” with no mention of Naples.

0254 Map 8.4 The Growth of Medieval Bruges

“Map 8.4 The Growth of Medieval Bruges” is similar to “Map 2.2 Mycenae” on page 41.

Page Column

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Paragraph

Line

0238 caption “ . . . sword. . . ”

The handle of the sword is seen immediately below and behind the right wrist.

0239 title “Restoration of an Ordered Society”

This title incorrectly implies that the old order was restored. The professor would prefer “Inaugurating a New Order.” The old order was based on politics determining truth. The new order is based on truth determining, somehow, politics.

0239 5 “ . . . patron-client . . . ”

This patron-client relationship is described on page 0244, column 2, paragraph 4, line 1-2 as “an honorable personal bond.” That point of vassalage being an honorable relationship is important.

0241 2 1 5-6 “ . . . origins of our holiday eating traditions.”

The professor sees the Eucharist or Communion as a religious eating tradition and wonders about the relation of that tradition to the secular tradition mentioned in Chambers.

0242 1 2 2nd last “ . . . could not be raised . . . ”

Lords would do whatever they might get away with, including raising rents. The professor would be more comfortable with “might not be raised.”

0243 1 4 3rd last “ . . . lords had to offer generous terms . . . ”

This sense of lack of options is tempered on page 0251, column 2, paragraph 1, lines 5-6, “As we saw on page 243, lords were willing to offer good terms . . . ”

0244 2 5 7th last “ . . . the second feudal age . . . ”

Chambers elaborates the second feudal age on page 0248, column 1, paragraph 2, as beginning about 1050.

0247 1 1 3 “ . . . money payment.”

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Money broke down feudalism. Feudalism was based on honor, which nobles were willing to trade for money. This exchange of labor for money rather than honor leads to the so-called class struggles of modern times and neo-Marxism.

0248 2 3 10 "The Arab and Greek factions . . ."

The Arab Empire is mentioned in the Chronology on page 235 in the last line.

0251 1 4 8-9 ". . . the fall of the Roman empire . . ."

That the Roman Empire "fell" rather than "withered" is not avoided, even by Chambers.

0251 2 2 "Conquest of Frontiers"

Trying to track what happened limited to "Map 8.2 German Migration Eastward" is insufficient for Sweden and Finns which can be located on page 233, "Map 7.6 Principality of Kiev." The professor was unable to locate the Neva River named anywhere in Chambers. The best way to locate the Neva River would be to locate Lake Ladoga, north of St. Petersburg on the Physiography of Europe map on the inside front cover of Chambers. The Neva River leads from Lake Ladoga to the Gulf of Finland.

0252 2 3 8th and 7th last ". . . woolen cloth woven in Flanders and finished in Italy . . ."

versus

0252 1 4 3rd last to last "Flanders . . . its excellent cloth.

Evidently Flanders produced excellent cloth which was made even more excellent in Italy. The professor is very conscious that wool grown in England went to Flanders because Flanders made better cloth. That that cloth was then sent to Italy, somehow, has made less of an impression.

0253 1 1 5 ". . . six great fairs . . ."

The professor only counts four dots to account for six fairs. This anomaly extends back through all seven editions.

0254 1 1 1 ". . . bishops . . ."

Due to their orientation toward Jesus on the cross, bishops had a special relationship to the tension between truth and politics. The professor wants to call attention to where the Church is mentioned in the remainder of the readings for this assignment for the purpose of pointing out how the new order of society was based on a new order of the relationship between truth and politics.

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Page	Column	Paragraph	Line	
0255	2	1	3	"The parish church served . . ."
0255	2	2	2	"Church feast days"
0257	2	2	5	". . . bishops, abbots . . ."
0257	2	3	5 th last	". . . able bishops . . ."
0259 Primary Source Box				
	1	2	7	". . . clergy . . ."
0260	2	4	8	". . . bishops and abbots . . ."
0261	1	2	6	". . . abbesses."
0261	2	1	6	". . . bishops and abbots . . ."

0254 2 4 3-5 "Vertical social mobility was easier in the city than in any other part of the medieval world, except possibly in the Church.

Chambers never bothers to square this assertion with the peasant boy who became pope, Sylvester II, described on page 0261, column 1, paragraph 3.²⁹

0255 2 3 3 Map 9.3 is titled "Medieval England, France, and Germany" and found on page 298.

0258 1 2 6 ". . . a large abacus . . ."

The abacus is also mentioned on page 0261, column 1, paragraph 3, line 10.

The professor knows that shortly after World War II ended, someone skilled with an abacus could compute practically as fast as a computer. But that skill was not well distributed then. The professor wonders why not.

0258 1 2 9th last ". . . wealth was the basis of power for any medieval king . . ."

Chambers does not distinguish between feudal and commercial wealth. The king needed both, though commercial wealth would destroy feudal wealth as the centuries passed.

0298 2 1 9 ". . . frontier . . ."

The frontier in Europe means something quite different from the frontier in the United States. "Map 9.3 Medieval England, France, and Germany" on page 259 shows frontiers meaning borders between areas rather than wilderness.

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0260 caption " . . . cloisonné . . ." defined below.

Of, relating to, or being a style of enamel decoration in which the enamel is applied and fired in raised cells (as of soldered wires) usually on a metal background. Cloisonné compares with champleve which is of, relating to, or being a style of enamel decoration in which the enamel is applied and fired in cells depressed (as by incising) into a metal background.

Endnotes

¹ See "The Bayeux Tapestry" on page 308 in the fifth edition of Chambers; 223 in the sixth edition; 256 in the seventh edition.

² Lecture 27 in the seventh edition.

³ Orderic Vitalis, *Historia Aecclesiastica*, Book IV, chap. vii, in Marjorie Chibnall, ed., and trans., *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1968-80), 2:266 as cited in John Howe, "The Nobility's Reform of the Medieval Church," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 93, No. 2 (April 1988), page 331, footnote 65.

⁴ ?? -- the only documentation for this is the memory of Dr. Jirran. Fernand Braudel, *The Identity of France*. Volume 1, *History and Environment*, translated by Sian Reynolds, page 120 quotes Jules Michelet. According to the book review by David H. Pinkney, the endnote, identifying the source Braudel used reads, "Jules Michelet, reference mislaid." Pinkney then goes on to muse, "What historian of our century could get away with that save Fernand Braudel? See *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 96, No. 4 (October 1991), page 1202.

⁵ "Map 8.4 Medieval England, France, and Germany," on page 311 in the sixth edition; "Map 9.3 Medieval England, France, and Germany," on page 298 in the seventh edition of Chambers.

⁶ Jane Ohlmeyer, "Seventeenth-Century Ireland and the New British and Atlantic Histories," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 104, No. 2 (April 1999), page 493.

⁷ Jenny M. Jochens, "The Politics of Reproduction: Medieval Norwegian Kingship," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 92, No. 2 (April 1987), page 331.

⁸ *The Concise Columbia Encyclopedia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), page 903.

⁹ Wales is shown in the fifth edition of Chambers on page 311, "Map 8.4. Medieval England, France, and Germany;." Wales is shown in the sixth edition of Chambers on page 226 (not page 236 as indicated on page xxv), "Map 8.4 Medieval England, France, and Germany"; Wales is shown in the seventh edition of Chambers on page 298, "Map 9.3 Medieval England, France, and Germany."

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10 The time-line in the fifth edition of Chambers on page 373 used 1284 rather than 1282-1283. The Concise Columbia Encyclopedia (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), uses 1282 on page 903. The source Dr. Jirran uses in the lecture, 1283-1283, is cited in the next footnote.

11 J.R.S. Phillips, review of R.R. Davies, *The History of Wales. Volume 2, Conquest, Coexistence, and Change: Wales, 1063-1415* in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 95, No. 1 (January 1990), pages 175-176.

12 Oliver Cromwell is indexed in the fifth edition of Chambers for pages 593 and 594-595; in the sixth edition for pages 482-485, and 484b; in the seventh edition of Chambers for pages 527-530.

13 G.E. Jones, review of Geraint H. Jenkins, *The History of Wales. Volume 4, The Foundation of Modern Wales, 1642-1780*," in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 95, No. 1 (January 1990), page 176.

14 *The Concise Columbia Encyclopedia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), page 903.

15 Manchester is indexed in the fifth edition of Chambers for pages 775, 789, 890; in *Nineteenth Century*, 922; in the sixth edition for pages 582, 586, 723, 760, 752, 757; in the seventh edition Manchester is no longer indexed.

16 Manchester is found in the fifth edition of Chambers on page 871, "Map 22.1. Europe 1815" in the sixth edition on page 706; in the seventh edition on page 764.

17 Gay L. Gullickson, review of Myron P. Gutmann, *Toward the Modern Economy: Early Industry in Europe, 1500-1800*, in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 95, No. 2 (April 1990), pages 485-486.

18 The professor invites students to check either the precis or the actual article involved, Franklin Mendels, "Proto-Industrialization: The First Phase of the Industrialization Process," in the 1972 volume of *Journal of Economic History* (1972). [The ??? is designed to facilitate computer searches for instances in which the professor requests help from students for more research.]

19 Myron P. Gutmann, *Toward the Modern Economy: Early Industry in Europe, 1500-1800*, page 232 as cited by Gay L. Gullickson, in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 95, No. 2 (April 1990), pages 485-486.

20 R. C. Van Caenegem, *Judges, Legislators, and Professors: Chapters in European Legal History* (Goodhart Lectures, 1984-85) pages 158, 160, and 162 as cited in the review by A. W. Brian Simpson in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 94, No. 4 (October 1989), page 1090.

21 Bryce Lyon, review of Norman Doe, *Fundamental Authority in Late Medieval English Law* in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 97, No. 1 (February 1992), pages 180-181.

22 Bryce Lyon, review of Norman Doe, *Fundamental Authority in Late Medieval English Law* in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 97, No. 1 (February 1992), page 181.

23 Michael Mullett, review of *Sin and Society in the Seventeenth Century*, by John Addy in *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 76, No. 3 (July 1990), pages 599-600. Placing the title before the author alleviates the need to use the possessive noun. Such is the style of *The Catholic Historical*

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Review. Dr. Jirran has generally followed the format used in *The American Historical Review* but, in the summer of 1992, came to have some misgivings. Good scholarship demands consistency in documentation. Dr. Jirran acknowledges that his inconsistency is a sign of poor scholarship. Scholarship in these notes is meant for the students of Dr. Jirran. Dr. Jirran expects his documentation to be functional and needs to experiment in order to find out what works with his students. His students have consistently told him to furnish the documentation for the lectures, even if that documentation is but rarely checked out. In a word, Dr. Jirran does not think that the level for which he is writing demands the same scruples as that required for archival research. Student comments will receive careful attention.

24 Michael Mullett, review of *Sin and Society in the Seventeenth Century*, by John Addy in *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 76, No. 3 (July 1990), pages 599-600.

25 Michael Mendle, review of Carole Levin, *Propaganda in the English Reformation: Heroic and Villainous Images of King John* (*Studies in British History*, number 11.), *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 96, No. 1 (February 1991), page 148.

26 Carole Levin, *Propaganda in the English Reformation: Heroic and Villainous Images of King John* (*Studies in British History*, number 11.), page 260 as cited in the review by Michael Mendle in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 96, No. 1 (February 1991), page 148.

27 *The Concise Columbia Encyclopedia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), page 647.

28 Emmet Larkin, review of *The Churches, Ireland and the Irish*. Papers read at the 1987 summer meeting and the 1988 winter meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society. Edited by W. J. Sheils and Diana Wood. *Studies in Church History*, Volume 25.) in *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 76, No. 3 (July 1990), pages 573-574.

29 In 1951, the professor read Harriet Lattin's *The Peasant Boy Who Became Pope* (Sylvester II).